University of Oxford
Magdalen College

J. S. Bach at the Coffee House: Music as Edifying Practice

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Burkhard Schwalbach

Michaelmas Term 2011/2012

ABSTRACT
J. S. Bach at the Coffee House: Music as Edifying Practice
Burkhard Schwalbach
Magdalen College, University of Oxford
Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Michaelmas 2011 - 2012

This thesis proposes a new critical perspective on Bach's Collegium musicum and its performances at a Leipzig coffee house. Based on a range of fresh literary, architectural, and administrative sources, I argue that coffee houses in Bach's time were highly prestigious, if often controversial performance-venues. As a cultural sphere, they were guided by a neo-humanist ideal, known as 'useful edification' (*nützliche Erbauung*), which has not been recognised by scholars so far. Yet, applied to musical practice, the notion of useful coffee-house edification can provide a fruitful paradigm for rethinking the reception of Bach's music in its secular performance-contexts. As the contents of several coffee-house periodicals from the early eighteenth century suggest, edifying thought (also described as pondering, or *Nachsinnen*) was widely understood as a combination of critical and associative thought, which closely resembled Bach's own preoccupation with exploring musical ideas as rhetorical *inventiones*. Seen this way, a rich reception context emerges that, as a historical web of anthropological meaning, can shed new light, for example, on the socio-cultural context of Bach's keyboard music that was published under the title of *Clavier-Übung*. In addition, it can reveal how Bach's musical inventions were often combined with further allegorical signs to result in rich music-dramatic, and arguably also emblematic tableaux in a range of secular cantatas. A newly-recovered document relating to Bach's cantata *Blast Lermen ihr Feinde* (BWV 205a) suggests, for example, that the *dramma per musica* was performed as part of a highly theatrical event that staged an emblematic representation of the coronation of August III as Polish King in 1734. But recognising Bach's reliance on emblematic allegories can also yield new perspectives on, for example, *Hercules at the Crossroads* (BWV 213) and *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* (BWV 201). Viewed as 'useful' and 'edifying' performances, I argue that their music-dramatic symbolism articulated a rich counterpoint of religious, secular and political meanings that can be linked to a corresponding variety of pragmatic, artistic and satirical agendas.

Table of Contents

Lists of Examples and Illustrations ..... **iv**

Acknowledgements ..... **v**

Introduction **1**

1) Scholarly Perspectives on Bach's Collegium Musicum **9**

The Collegium musicum in nineteenth-century biographies 10

The Collegium musicum in music-historical studies 16

The return of biography 26

2) Music, Coffee and the Mechanisms of Cultural Edification **42**

Musical practice and social hierarchies 44

Musical spells, worldly desires and heavenly music 54

The spirit of Pan and Leipzig's Apollonian sphere of coffee houses 65

Johann Mattheson's notion of musical edification 71

Coffee houses and the notion of 'useful edification' 77

3) Vices of the Coffee House and Stylistic Transgression in the *Coffee Cantata* (BWV 211) **83**

The dangers of gambling and prostitution 85

Zimmermann's coffee house and public order in Bach's Leipzig 92

Questions of style and musical order in the *Coffee Cantata* 96

4) Bach's *Clavier-Übung* and Leipzig's Musical Coffee-House Academicians **114**

Collegia musica and Germany's academy movement 116

Reflective criticism in Leipzig's coffee-house journals 123

Bach's *Clavier-Übung* and the notion of critical *Nachsinnen* 132

5) Reflections on Keyboard Practice in the *Goldberg Variations* (BWV 988) **149**

Serious and humorous affects in the *Goldberg Variations* 150

Emblematic variations of keyboard practice 160

6) Emblems of Power and Obedience in Festive Performances by Bach's Collegium Musicum **174**

Coffee-house politics in Restoration England and Bach's Leipzig 175

Emblems of power in Bach's honorary cantata BWV 205a 182

Emblems of obedience in *Hercules at the Crossroads* (BWV 213) 198

7) Competing Pictures of Virtue in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* (BWV 201) 218

Phoebus and the art of style-historical polyphony 220

Competing satirists in Bach's Leipzig 228

Henrici's god of satire and the vice of Midas 235

Conclusion 248

Appendix 253

Bibliography 256

Lists of Examples and Illustrations

List of Examples

Example 1: Title page of 'The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice' (1698). *3*
Example 2: Apel's House and Schlaff's House. *45*
Example 3: Virgil Solis, The Judgement of Midas. *59*
Example 4: Street view of Schellhafer's House. *65*
Example 5: Street view of Zimmermann's coffee house *66*
Example 6: Leipzig's central market square according to a map from 1710. ..... *94*
Example 7: 'Here comes Schlendrian' (BWV 211/1) *105*
Example 8: Distinctive motives of main characters in BWV 211/2 & 4, according to Alfred Dürr. *106*
Example 9: Rhythmic and melodic diminution in BWV 211/4 ..... *111*
Example 10: 'Crooked paths' in 'Ei, wie schmecket der Coffe süße' (BWV 211/4) *113*
Example 11: J. S. Bach, 'Hudemann Canon' *128*
Example 12: Johann Kuhnau, Praeludium in d minor, Clavier-Übung Anderer Theil, (Leipzig, 1692) *138*
Example 13: Inventiones in BWV 830/1 ..... *142*
Example 14: Fugal entries, segmentations and permutations, bars 27 - 88 ..... *142*
Example 15: Aria (BWV 988) *151*
Example 16: Folk-song quotations in BWV 988/30 ..... *151*
Example 17: Succession of movements in BWV 988 ..... *153*
Example 18: Bergamasca according to Hudson et al *155*
Example 19: Bergamasca according to G. Frescobaldi (1635) *155*
Example 20: Valentin Rathgeber, Tafel-Confect (1737), Quodlibeticum 7, 'Salvete hospites'. *157*
Example 21: Emblem 'Tis useful and delights in various ways'. *165*
Example 22: Emblem 'For God vouchsafed us this grace'. *168*
Example 23: Eighteenth-century illuminations *189*
Example 24: Angles of reflected sound according to Athanasius Kircher *205*
Example 25: G. Angeloni, 'Caffé-Haus' on the papal grounds at Mons Quirinalis (1741) *207*
Example 26: J. S. Bach; instrumental echo motive (BWV 213/5) *208*
Example 27: Feast days and holidays on 5 Sept. 1733 ..... *209*
Example 28: Johann Amos Comenius 'CIX., Ethica/ Die Sittenlehre' (Noribergæ, 1740) *211*
Example 29: Aegidius Albertinus, 'In Bivium Herculis'. *212*
Example 30: 'Schlafe, mein Liebster', "hypnotic" pitch descent (BWV 213/3) *214*
Example 31: Contrapuntal properties of opening ritornello in Pan's aria *225*
Example 32: Structural Voices in 'Mit Verlangen' (BWV 201/5) *227*
Example 33: Frontispiece of J. C. Gottsched's 'Die Vernünftigen Tadlerinnen' *239*
Example 34: Rooftop statues of Apollo and Mercury at the Leipzig stock exchange (1714) *243*
Example 35: Fugal opening ritornello, 'On my wings you shall hover' (BWV 213/7) *247*

List of Tables

Table 1: An architectural view of Bach's likely performance environment *33*
Table 2: Preserved works and their chronological relationship with the Collegium musicum *39*
Table 3: Leipzig's Collegia musica: venues and directors (1720-32) *68*
Table 4: Early eighteenth-century moral weeklies set in coffee houses *82*
Table 5: Overview of movements in 'Hercules at the Crossroads' (BWV 213) *215*
Table 6: Movements in 'The Contest between Phoebus and Pan' (BWV 201) *238*

List of Figures

Figure 1: Zimmermann's former coffee house at Leipzig in the late nineteenth century. *1*
Figure 2: Johann Kuhnau, Praeludium in d minor (reference score) *147*
Figure 3: Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 830/1(reference score). *148*

Acknowledgements

The composition of this thesis has invariably incurred countless debts and would not have been possible without the help of a great many people. My first thanks go to Laurence Dreyfus who was a keen reader of early drafts, and proved a far-sighted critic in the intermediate and more advanced stages of my work. I am similarly indebted to Michael Burden, who has greatly enriched my research with his good-humoured advice and encyclopaedic mind. Furthermore, I would like to thank Stephen Rose who kindly offered his much-needed expertise on literary sources relating to J. S. Bach.

As my thesis draws on a range of newly-recovered documentary source-material, I am also grateful for the support and advice provided by various members of staff at several libraries and specialist archives. During early stages of archival field work in Germany, I benefited in particular from discussions with Carla Calov at the Stadtarchiv in Leipzig, who offered invaluable assistance with numerous handwritten catalogues and *Findbücher*. Furthermore I would like to thank Peter Wollny at the Bach Archiv for both his scholarly advice and keen interest in this project.

None of these encounters would have been possible, however, without the financial support by a multitude of benefactors. By far the greatest part of academic fees and expenses was met by a doctoral grant awarded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and I was fortunate to also be able draw on a small travel grant, which enabled me to broaden my archival enquiries in Germany beyond the scope that had been originally envisaged. In combination with additional funds provided by the Graduate Travel Scheme at Magdalen College, Oxford, and the Magdalen College Research Fund, geographical distances appeared to shrink even further. And although individual contributors to both support-schemes remain anonymous, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for their generosity and financial assistance.

Early findings of my research also found a warm and receptive audience at various conferences and dialogue meetings of the Bach Network UK. I am particularly indebted to Ruth Tatlow for her inextinguishable enthusiasm and encouragement, and would also like to express my gratitude to Reinhard Strohm, whose passionate commitment to musicological research and intellectual enquiry has proved an enduring source of inspiration. Finally, I would to thank my uncle, Dr Klaus Gornik, and my aunt Maria. During the latter stages of this project they kindly came forward with a wealth of support and advice, and it has made an incalculable difference to experience their personal solidarity.

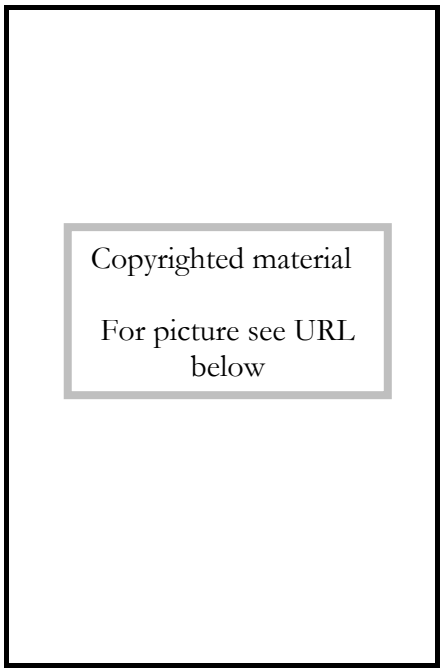


Figure 1: Zimmermann's former coffee house at Leipzig in the late nineteenth century.[1]

Introduction

Gottfried Zimmermann's coffee house belongs to the most important venues in the performance history of J. S. Bach's music. For well over a decade, Bach frequented its premises, often twice weekly, to direct a resident ensemble known as the *Bachische* Collegium musicum. Its performances included a broad range of Bach's own music, as well as repertoire by contemporary composers. Moreover, as has long been known from entries in local business-calendars, musical events alternated between Zimmermann's inner-city venue on *Katharinen-Straße* and a coffee garden outside the historic city-walls as part of a seasonal rotation.[2] Taken together, both locations provided Bach with a highly versatile performance environment which, as further evidence from newspapers, printed text-booklets and musical part-copies indicates, accommodated large-scale musical

[1] Picture source: <http://www.stadtgeschichtliches-museum-leipzig.de/site_deutsch/sammlungen/objektdatenbank.php>, accessed 19/07/2008.
[2] For an example of relevant entries, see Anon., *Das jetzt lebende und jetzt florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: Theodor Boetius, 1732), 57.

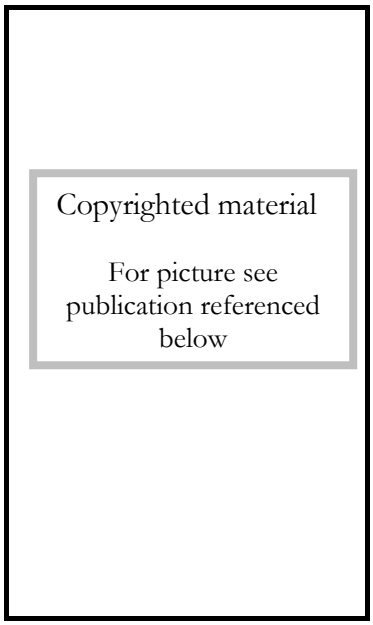
productions with similar ease as performances of chamber music and, very likely, also compositions for solo keyboard. However, in stark contrast to the historical circumstances of Bach's sacred music, which is well documented in numerous scholarly studies on, for example, liturgical customs and wider theological debates, very little is known about Leipzig's coffee-house culture that framed Bach's performances with the Collegium musicum.[3]

It has indeed gone unnoticed so far that Leipzig's licensed coffee houses were uniquely distinguished venues in the eighteenth century. As I argue for the first time in this thesis, they were not only lucrative businesses, but their wide-ranging cultural pursuits were also consciously modelled on the humanist ethos of the German academy movement, its various learned societies and associated print-culture. One of Leipzig's earliest coffee-house journals, a title known as *Das Curieuse Caffe-Hauß zu Venedig* (*The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*), can usefully provide some introductory examples to illustrate these observations.[4] Its author was the German academician Philipp Balthasar Sinold von Schütz (1657 - 1742), and in a series of dialogues that are set in a fictitious coffee house, Sinold employs a range of intriguing neologisms that highlight particularly salient features of German coffee-house culture at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Proprietors of coffee houses are, for example, mocked as 'masters of hot water' (*maitres* [sic] *de l'eau chaude*), which emphasises the reportedly generous profit-margins in a business based on colonial commodities. Coffee-house visitors, moreover, are identified by a closely related expression as 'banqueters of water' (*Wasser-Depochenten*), which is of arguably more far-reaching significance. Instead of merely making a satirical point, the characterisation invokes the convivial dimension of tea- and coffee-rooms, which also

[3] Two outstanding studies that discuss the cultural context of Bach's sacred music are, for example, Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig, 1650-1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Günther Stiller *et al.*, *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig* (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1984).

[4] Philipp Balthasar von Sinold (gen. Schütz), *Das curieuse Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig* (Freyburg [Leipzig]: J. G. Wahrmund, 1698). Further and similar titles are summarised in table 4 at the end of chapter 2.

links their cultural sphere to the ideas and print-culture of German academicians at the time. Instead of identifying his fictitious debates as a series of coffee-house conversations, Sinold published individual volumes of the journal as consecutive *Wasser-Debauchen* (example 1), which not only varies an identical expression, but also suggests a conceptual overlap between hot-water beverages as a cultural metaphor, their associated social spaces, and related spheres of spoken and printed dialogues.



Example 1: Title page of 'The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice' (1698).[5]

Coffee drinking, informal debating and its literary echo in humanist print-items were indeed inextricably linked in Bach's time. Musical coffee-house audiences would have associated their visits not only with informal meetings and social encounters framed by shared rounds of tea and coffee; as occasions for *Wasser-Debauchen* coffee houses also provided a social space that was readily associated with the cultural sophistication and humanist endeavours of contemporary academicians, such as Sinold von Schütz, and their various subscription journals.

[5] G. Ulrich Grossmann *et al.*, *Von teutscher Not zu höfischer Pracht, 1648-1701: Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg, 2. April - 16. August 1988* (Köln: Dumont, 1988), 165.

However, as I argue in chapter 1, scholarly perceptions of Bach's Collegium musicum have long been guided by a more sceptical view of its cultural surroundings at an eighteenth-century coffee house. Its associated ambience appeared to contrast sharply with Bach's historical standing. The traditional view of Bach as leading representative of a musical age of sacred counterpoint (that also shaped Philipp Spitta's influential historical positioning of Bach) resulted, for example, in a seeming spiritual divide between the overtly mercantile sphere of eighteenth-century coffee houses and Bach's personal musical priorities. Moreover, nineteenth-century conceptions of musical high art and its defining principle of non-functional aesthetic beauty were not easily reconciled with the social character of coffee houses that usually were multi-functional venues. At the beginning of the twentieth century the resulting scepticism towards musical coffee-house culture was even codified explicitly. As I argue for the first time, the German theorists Jakobus Menzen and Leo Kestenberg coined an influential, genre-specific category that defined *Kaffeehausmusik* (coffee-house music) in opposition to the aims and canonical repertoire of high art-music.[6] Partly as a result, Bach scholars (most notably Werner Neumann) also sought to distance Bach from the socio-cultural ambience at Gottfried Zimmermann's coffee house, which could even distort faithful interpretations of historical evidence.

Paradoxically, aesthetic misgivings about the cultural dignity of coffee houses as music venues can also be traced in Jürgen Habermas's seminal hypothesis on the emergence of a public sphere in eighteenth-century coffee houses.[7] Although Habermas invests their social realm with a unique importance (as a driving force in furthering the importance of rational debate in systems of political governance), his reliance on music-

[6] For bibliographical details refer to chapter 1 of this thesis.
[7] Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, Berlin: Luchterhand, 1962). Page numbers hereafter refer to the following English translation: Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).

historical texts from the early twentieth century also transferred some of their scepticism towards *Kaffeehausmusik* into the cultural case-studies that underpin Habermas's socio-political analysis. Based on the writings of Leo Balet, Habermas for example describes eighteenth-century Collegia musica in Leipzig as pioneering, but also less advanced musical events than those that were held at the city's famous *Gewandhaus* in the nineteenth century. According to Habermas, a wider historical 'shift' towards collective (and more rational) decision-making (as part of a rising public sphere) was at the heart of this development, and engendered a corresponding rise in the standards and quality of musical practice. In keeping with the crucial tenet of an absence of social function in sophisticated art, only at the *Gewandhaus* could audiences appreciate musical performance for its intrinsic cultural value:

> The shift … can be grasped with even more vigour in the case of the concert-going public. …. First, private *Collegia Musica* appeared on the scene; soon they established themselves as public concert societies. …. For the first time an audience gathered to listen to music as such….[8]

As a footnote annotation reveals, the passage is based on the following observation by Leo Balet, which also awards the greatest artistic importance to the *Gewandhaus* and its 'enduring' concert-series:

> In Leipzig the *Grosse Konzerte* were founded in 1743 by some enterprising merchants. Later on these were expanded into the famous *Gewandhauskonzerte* still in existence today.[9]

Read in the broader context of Habermas's writings, the alleged 'rise' of musical high-art and Leipzig's *Gewandhaus* therefore creates an uncomfortable paradox for Bach's immediate performance environment. Whilst it affords coffee houses an unprecedented significance as social outlets of an emerging public sphere, their cultural standing as venues of Collegia musica clearly ranks below that of later musical events and nineteenth-century concert halls.

---

[8] Ibid., 39.
[9] Leo Balet, *Die Verbürgerlichung der deutschen Kunst, Literatur und Musik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leyden, 1938), 38; translated and cited in: Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 259.

However, as I argue in chapter 2, Bach's contemporaries evaluated Leipzig's coffee houses according to a diametrically opposed hierarchy of cultural values. Unlike twentieth-century aesthetic thought, eighteenth-century critics and commentators categorised musical practice and performance venues in keeping with a tri-partite scheme that distinguished between diabolical, intoxicating and edifying music. As a variety of sources which are considered here for the first time suggest, eighteenth-century coffee houses were described accordingly as venues of 'useful edification', which corresponds directly to the most sophisticated kind of cultural practice.

Indeed, if the eighteenth-century notion of 'useful edification' is integrated into an anthropological approach to historical culture that understands musical meaning as the result of a broad and interconnected web of cultural concepts, a far-reaching critical perspective on Bach's performances at Zimmermann's coffee house becomes conceivable. Following, for example, Clifford Geertz's attempts to trace cultural practice as a semiotic 'life of signs in society', and Gary Tomlinson's application of Gilbert Ryle's concept of 'thick description' to music-historical scenarios, the case studies that follow on from chapter 2 seek to specifically explore those aspects of historical meaning in Bach's performances with the Collegium musicum that possess a clear correlation to aspects of Germany's wider coffee-house culture in the eighteenth century.[10] Owing to the extensive scope of repertoire Bach is known to have performed at Zimmermann's coffee house, this applies to a considerable number of Bach's surviving compositions. To mark a beginning in this wide-ranging task (which inevitably exceeds the scope of this study), I focus specifically on the so-called *Coffee Cantata* (BWV 211) in chapter 3. Read against the background of eighteenth-century debates on the usefulness and cultural standing of coffee houses, I argue that Bach's famous *dramma per musica* not only reflects

[10] Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), 109. Gary Tomlinson, 'The web of culture: a context for musicology', *19th-Century Music* (1984), 7/3, 350-62. Gilbert Ryle, *Collected Papers* (London: Hutchinson, 1971), 2, 480-96.

on the topic of coffee-drinking, but also appears to take a stance in the debate itself, by means of Bach's musical characterisations, which continue to be perceived as suggesting a strong link between coffee and cultural refinement.

Chapters 4 and 5 focus on Bach's published keyboard music that, as I argue, can be usefully related to the wider print-culture of Leipzig's coffee-men, or *Caffëisten*, in the eighteenth century. As part of a music-analytical study of Bach's Toccata from Partita Nr 6 (BWV 830/1), I seek to show in chapter 4 that Bach's musical design and structure of the piece appears to correspond closely to the aim of Leipzig's coffee-house *literati* to critically rethink aspects of written language in print-journals. Based on a broader contextualisation of edifying thought in further literary sources (such as the writings by the seventeenth-century academician Georg Philipp Harsdörffer) I also outline the contours of a specifically pedagogical perspective on Bach's so-called *Goldberg Variations* (BWV 988) in chapter 5. In view of a range of allegorical references to contemporary teaching methods in its penultimate movement, famously entitled Quodlibet (BWV 988/30), I contest that Leipzig's *Caffëisten* in the 1740s may well have understood Bach's variation cycle as an emblematic reflection on the subject of keyboard practice itself.

Allegorical symbolism and associative meanings are of similar importance in Bach's secular cantatas. Based on a newly-discovered document relating to Bach's cantata 'Blast Lermen ihr Feinde' ('Sound Noises Ye Foes'), BWV 205a, I argue in chapter 6 that its (mostly lost) music can be shown to have featured in a highly theatrical event at Zimmermann's coffee house that commemorated the coronation of August III as Polish King in 1734. The document not only sheds new light on the likely performance date of the cantata, but also provides specific evidence that Bach's music formed part of an emblematic display at the coffee house, which represented the royal coronation ceremony held at Krakow. Moreover, venue-specific emblems and allegorical iconography can open up new perspectives on further cantatas, such as *Hercules at the*

Crossroads (BWV 213) and *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* (BWV 201). As specific examples of partly musical and partly emblematic dramas, both cantatas are at the centre of two case studies that conclude this thesis. Owing to their rich layers of context-specific meaning that rely heavily on extra-musical means, the pieces provide particularly powerful examples to rethink the unrivalled sophistication of Bach's music from a fresh angle. At the same time, they seek to illustrate how individual performances formed an integral aspect of their cultural surroundings at Zimmermann's coffee house.

1) Scholarly Perspectives on Bach's Collegium Musicum

As a historical topic, the fortunes of Bach's Collegium musicum have been decidedly mixed. Although scholars have known about the ensemble since at least the mid-nineteenth century, its significance only began to be acknowledged more widely at the beginning of the1960s. Johann Nikolaus Forkel's pioneering biography from 1802, for example, was largely devoted to aesthetic questions, including Bach's spirit and musical genius, which left no room for discussing performance contexts.[11] Christoph Wolff's recent study on Bach's life by comparison, places a programmatic emphasis on the Collegium musicum, and discusses both its likely repertoire and historical surroundings in great detail.[12] The shift in emphasis can only partly be explained by respective differences in the amount of available source material, however. Different scholars were guided by a range of different priorities, and in this chapter I trace their underlying historiographical and aesthetic categories. This, I hope, will serve a twofold purpose. Firstly, a discussion of cardinal publications on the Collegium musicum will re-affirm the factual content of existing writings, and thus summarise the current state of research. Secondly, I seek to relate individual studies to their scholarly aims and genres, which ranged from idealist biography to music-historical writing and critical source studies. As a result, the wide range of research methods Bach scholars have developed to tackle specific challenges in their work will become clearer, and surveying the existing literature will also reveal a conspicuous gap, which this thesis attempts to address. What is more, existing accounts of Bach's performance environment at Zimmermann's coffee house occasionally require factual amendments, mainly for two reasons. Known discoveries of

[11] Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Ueber J. S. Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802).
[12] Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 351-65.

evidence often superseded findings of earlier texts, which needed to be corrected subsequently as a result. In addition, my own archival work has uncovered fresh sources that clarify previous research, for example, on Bach's architectural surroundings at Zimmermann's coffee house. Nonetheless, perhaps the most significant finding of the following survey consists in a uniquely meaningful absence. Whereas a sizeable number of Bach's musical compositions have been firmly integrated into the performance context of the Collegium musicum, neither biographical nor critical studies so far have approached Bach's performance environment specifically from the vantage point of eighteenth-century coffee-house culture.

The Collegium musicum in nineteenth-century biographies

Possible explanations for this are as fascinating as they are varied. Early nineteenth-century scholars in particular discussed Bach's historical circumstances primarily to illustrate the development of his musical thought. Johann Nikolaus Forkel, for example, included only comparatively few details on Bach's historical circumstances in his pioneering essay, *Ueber J. S. Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (*On J. S. Bach's Life, Art and Art Works*).[13] Unlike later biographies, one of the principal aims of Forkel's narrative was to illuminate Bach's surviving compositions by means of a critical survey, which discussed Bach's 'art' as a gradual (and arduous) progression towards perfection. The importance of this focus on an unfolding of artistic spirit is perhaps best illustrated by an intriguing idiosyncrasy in one of the first translations of Forkel's text. Some of Forkel's earliest translators (whose individual contributions can be difficult to identify) rendered the German word *Kunst* as 'genius', rather than 'art' in English.[14] In keeping

[13] Forkel, *Bachs Leben*. For an early English translation, see Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Life of John Sebastian Bach*, transl. by Stephenson and Kollmann (London: T. Boosey and Co., 1820).
[14] As Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel note on this point, 'the word "genius" is used ... to represent *Kunst* ("art") in the German original.' Their reprint of Forkel's text in English is consequently also entitled 'On Johann Sebastian Bach's Life, Genius and Works'. Hans T. David, *et al.*, *The New Bach Reader* (New York; London: W.W. Norton, 1998), 417. See also ibid., 'footnote 1', 419. For questions relating to Forkel's

with this metaphysical approach, Forkel sought to discuss more than merely external life events. Rather, chronological order serves primarily as a structural device to delineate a process of gradual perfection in Bach's writing. A chapter on 'Harmony', for example, states (rather boldly perhaps) that 'Bach's first attempts at composition were, like all first attempts defective'.[15] The unfavourable verdict must not be misread as dismissive criticism, however, as it underpins an aesthetic evaluation of Bach's musical achievement (whilst also being palpably imbued with a moral dimension). Notwithstanding Bach's exceptional creative powers, Forkel depicts his life as an arduous road to artistic perfection, which was only attained through a process of gradual improvement. Bach's musical skill is consequently ascribed just as much to his musical gifts as to the industry of his spirit. Given this dual emphasis on aesthetic and moral values, it is not surprising perhaps that Forkel found little room for discussing Bach's performing ensembles. Although Forkel valued Bach's instrumental music particularly highly, the Collegium musicum does not feature in the biographical narrative.

It was not until 1850 that Bach's ensemble, which combined professional expert-forces with support from students and competent amateurs, was first mentioned in a biographical context. To mark the centenary of Bach's death, a member of the first *Bach-Gesellschaft*, Carl Ludwig Hilgenfeldt, published a biographical outline, which made specific reference to 'private musical gatherings called *Collegii musici*'.[16] Yet Hilgenfeldt remained largely committed to Forkel's biographical template and aesthetic outlook. The connotations of biographical chronology did not change decisively until musical biographers began to model their writings on the archival and evidence-based research-methods of academic philologists. The definitive landmark publication in this respect was

translators, see Walter Emery and S. Wesley, 'The English Translator of Forkel', *Music & Letters* (1947), 28/3, 301-02.

[15] Forkel, 'Bach's Harmony' in: David, *et al.*, *NBR,* 441.

[16] Carl L. Hilgenfeldt, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Leben, Wirken und Werke* (Leipzig: F. Hofmeister, 1850), 151.

Otto Jahn's biography of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart.[17] Published in several instalments during the second half of the 1850s, Jahn not only placed an unprecedented emphasis on biographical life-events, but also underpinned his narrative with an extensive body of archival documents.

The impact on Bach scholarship was felt almost immediately. In 1863 Carl Hermann Bitter emphasised the importance of 'external' historical events in the preface to his own, two-volume Bach biography as follows:

> Hence, one cannot consider the phenomenon of J. S. Bach … without casting a simultaneous glance on the circumstances which, outside his own, powerful nature, enabled him to follow the path he chose.[18]

Similar to Mozart's genius, the biographical development of Bach's 'nature' (or art-spirit in Forkel's sense) could no longer be depicted without also reconstructing a broader historical context. The development was of seminal importance for the historical reception of the Collegium musicum. For the first time, Bitter discussed Bach's residency at Gottfried Zimmermann's coffee house on the basis of specific archival documents. Bitter's biography, for example, included a transcribed excerpt from an eighteenth-century periodical, entitled *Newly-Opened Musical Library* (*Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek*) by the Bach student Lorenz Mizler (1711 - 1778). It details the specific times, frequency, and performance venues of Collegium-musicum events. In its original entirety, the 'Report on Musical Concerts in Leipzig' reads as follows:

> The two public Musical Concerts, or assemblies, which are held here, continue to flourish constantly. The first is directed by the *Capellmeister* at the august Court of Weissenfels and music director at the local Thomas and Nicholas Church, Mr Johann Sebastian Bach. [I]t takes place once a week at Zimmermann's coffee house on *Cather-*

[17] Otto Jahn, *W. A. Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1856-59). For an excellent discussion of the broader context of Jahn's biography see Wolfgang Sandberger, *Das Bach-Bild Philipp Spittas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bach Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997), 43.

[18] 'So darf man auch die Erscheinung J. S. Bachs ... nicht in Betracht ziehen, ohne einen begleitenden Blick auf die Umstände zu werfen, welche außerhalb seiner eigenen gewaltigen Natur ihm die Bahn, die er beschritten hat, ... möglich gemacht haben.' Carl Hermann Bitter, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider, 1865), 2, 1. (All translations in this and the following chapters are my own, unless indicated otherwise.)

> *Strasse*, every Friday night between 8 and 10 o'clock; during trade fairs, however, twice, on Tuesdays and Fridays at the same time.[19]

Bitter's foray into archival source work was not greeted with universal approval, however. In the preface to an even more voluminous study of Bach's life by Philipp Spitta, Bitter was singled out for explicit criticism. As a trained philologist, Spitta acknowledged the diligence of Bitter's research, but fiercely rejected what he perceived as an inept treatment of historical sources:

> Caught up in the historical current of our time, this author [Bitter] seeks to handle a scientific apparatus without, however, being in the least capable of doing so.[20]

According to Spitta, archival evidence had to be presented strictly in keeping with the underlying causes of historical events. The principle was of particular importance in research on J. S. Bach:

> But if it is undisputed that each original [*Individualität*] can only be fully … appreciated when the circumstances that shaped it and the causes according to which it developed are clearly laid out, then this principle must attain its utmost validity for a man, who, in German music of the past three centuries, effectively forms a nexus [*Knotenpunkt*], to which all new developments of previous periods were heading in a concentric movement, to depart from it, diverging as fresh consequences [*Wirkungen*].[21]

The forces Spitta believed to be at work in Bach's life had an unexpected consequence, however: they placed the Collegium musicum in direct opposition to Bach's designated role in music history. Whereas Spitta saw Bach as the last great composer in an age of religious music, he identified Leipzig's Collegia musica as institutional harbingers of a coming, secular age. Both, the antithetical dynamic and

---

[19] 'Nachricht von den Musikalischen Concerten zu Leipzig. Die beyden öffentlichen Musikalischen Concerten, oder Zusammenkünffte, so hier wöchentlich gehalten werden, sind noch in beständigen Flor. Eines dirigirt der Hochfürstl. Weissenfelsische Capell-Meister und Musik-Direktor in der Thomas und Nikels-Kirchen allhier, Herr Johann Sebastian Bach und wird ausser der Messe alle Wochen einmahl, auf dem Zimmermannischen Caffe-Hauß in der Cather-Strasse Freytag Abends von 8 biß 10 Uhr, in der Mess aber die Woche zweymahl, Dienstags und Freytags zu eben dieser Zeit gehalten.' Lorenz Christoph Mizler von Kolof, *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek* (Hilversum: E. Knuf, 1966), I, 63.

[20] 'Fortgerissen von der historischen Strömung unserer Zeit sucht dieser Schriftsteller [Bitter] mit dem wissenschaftlichen Apparate zu operieren, aber ohne in irgendeiner Weise dazu fähig zu sein.' Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873), I, IX.

[21] 'Aber wenn es unbestritten ist, daß jede Individualität nur dann ... vollständig gewürdigt werden kann, wenn die Verhältnisse klar entfaltet vorliegen, aus und unter denen, und die Wirkungen, zu denen sie sich entwickelte, so muß dieser Grundsatz ausgedehnteste Gültigkeit erlangen für einen Mann, der in der deutschen Musik der letzten drei Jahrhunderte gleichsam den Knotenpunkt bildet, welchem alle früheren Richtungen einer neuen Periode convergierend zustreben, um aus ihm zu frischen Wirkungen sich zu vereinzeln.' Ibid., I, v.

Bach's association with a retreating (or 'converging') strand of history are clearly evident, for example, in the following passage:

> Bach no longer took part in the reversal [*Umschwunge*], which was imminent: the waning of the church as the primary site for the cultivation of music and the emergence of the free, public concert.[22]

Spitta outlined this development as an institutional evolution that would ultimately culminate in Leipzig's prestigious *Gewandhaus*. Even in Bach's life time, Spitta believed that Collegia musica were beginning to be outperformed by 'private societies', such as the so-called Grand Concert (*Großes Konzert*), which in turn paved the way for its ultimate successor:

> [The] transfer from a private house to a public situation is sufficient evidence of the rapid progress made by the new society [the Grand Concert]. It is in fact the same which still exists as the "Gewandhaus Concert," and the very day of the performance remains unaltered.[23]

Given the highly speculative nature of this development, it is not surprising perhaps that Spitta's argument is sketched out only in the broadest of outlines. Nonetheless, the historical goal of the trajectory, which was a secular institution, was of cardinal importance for Spitta's evaluation of Bach's Collegium musicum. It not only marked the performance culture of musical events in the early eighteenth century as implicitly 'less free' than that of later *Gewandhaus* concerts, but also limited the significance of Bach's Collegium musicum by categorical definition. An ensemble whose historical emergence would eventually lead to the demise of church music could hardly be of true significance for the leading composer of sacred polyphony.

Yet Spitta's emphasis on historical explication and periodic progress was of far-reaching intellectual significance. It aligned his narrative closely with the work of contemporaneous historians, such as Leopold von Ranke and Heinrich von Sybel, which

---

[22] 'Bach [nahm] an dem Umschwunge, welcher ... sich allmählich anbahnte, nicht mehr Theil ... : das Zurückweichen der Kirche als Hauptpflegestätte für die Musik, und das Hervortreten des freien öffentlichen Concerts.' Ibid., II, 497.

[23] Ibid., II, 498. Translation quoted from Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach. His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750, transl. Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland* (New York: Dover Publications, 1951), 19.

in turn ensured that Spitta's findings could be readily integrated into a wider intellectual context, as well as applied to future historical studies.[24] The legacy of Spitta's biography loomed large indeed, for example, in English-speaking countries (a success that was made possible by Clara Bell's and J. A. Fuller-Maitland's dependable and widely-disseminated translation).[25] Sir Hubert Parry's Bach biography from 1909 can usefully illustrate this trend. The Oxford scholar not only espoused a supposedly Bachian conservatism in his own compositions, but also emulated German musicologists in his research.[26] Even the title of Parry's Bach monograph clearly announces his allegiance with late-Romantic monumentalism and evolutionary narratives: *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Story of the Development of a Great Personality*. Similar to Spitta's historical evaluation of Bach, Parry for example praises the composer as a 'higher type of man', whose work articulates a period-defining *Zeitgeist*. What is more, Parry explicitly acknowledged that his work was merely following in the footsteps of more eminent minds. The preface introduces the book with the perhaps surprising observation that, '[t]he exhaustive research of Philip [sic] Spitta … might seem to render any further efforts in the same direction superfluous'.[27] Parry consequently limited the scholarly scope of his own work to the provision of an abridged version of Spitta's more extensive effort. Nevertheless, musicological research was soon to break with such reverent bows to Bach's nineteenth-century biographers, and an increasingly evidence-based methodology adopted by twentieth-century scholars approached Bach's Collegium musicum from a significantly different angle.

[24] The historiographical kinship was first pointed out by Wolfgang Sandberger. For an indepth discussion of Spitta's response to the writings of von Ranke and Sybel, see Sandberger, *Das Bach-Bild*, 49.
[25] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach, his work and influence on the music of Germany,1685-1750*, transl. by Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland (London, New York: Novello Ewer and Co., 1884).
[26] C. Hubert Parry, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Story of the Development of a Great Personality* (New York; London: Putnam (Knickerbocker Press), 1909).
[27] Ibid., v. For previous quotes see ibid., 204.

The Collegium musicum in music-historical studies

In contrast to the dominance of biographical writings at the end of the nineteenth century, the greatest part of research on Bach's Collegium musicum in the twentieth century was published in the form of historical monographs. Between 1909 and 1941, for example, Rudolf Wustmann and Arnold Schering presented a series of studies on Leipzig's local history, supported by the Historical Board of Saxony (*Sächsische Kommission für Geschichte*). Arnold Schering's concluding volume in particular can be characterised most concisely perhaps as a systematic expansion of the documentary aspects of Spitta's biography from 1873. Schering outlined his approach in the following introduction, which professes an almost identical commitment to historiographical explication and higher-level causes as those established by Spitta:

> Also this time, the chief task was to integrate the sprawling branches of historical events into a great and coherent trajectory. …. Not … individual events, but their historical causes, not names, but acting personalities were chosen as the main focus.[28]

Nonetheless, Schering's localised focus and emphasis on socio-historical structures facilitated an unusually detailed discussion of Bach's performances at Zimmermann's coffee house. The study, for example, includes a concise list of Bach's traceable performances with the Collegium musicum and, although it was mostly based on previous research by Hermann von Hase and the palaeographic research that underpinned the first complete Bach edition, the tables clearly illustrate the extent of Bach's secular musical commitments.[29]

Schering also established salient details about the relationship between Bach's Collegium musicum and its performance venue. Based on records of Leipzig's City Council, he argued that Zimmermann's coffee house not only provided a performance

[28] 'Auch diesmal kam es darauf an, das weitverzweigte historische Geschehen auf eine große, durchgehende Linie zu bringen. …. Nicht … einzelne Vorfälle, sondern Gründe ihres Eintretens, nicht Namen sondern handelnde Persönlichkeiten hatten im Mittelpunkt zu stehen ....' Arnold Schering, *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Musikleben Leipzigs im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: F. Kistner & C. Siegel, 1941), IX.
[29] Hermann von Hase, 'Breitkopfsche Textdrucke zu Leipziger Musikaufführungen zu Bachs Zeiten', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1913), 69-127; Schering, *Bach und das Musikleben*, 140.

space for Bach's musicians, but also equipped its members with musical instruments. The point is borne out by specific evidence: In 1721, Bach's predecessor as director of the Collegium musicum, Balthasar Schott, compiled an inventory of musical instruments that were owned at the time by Leipzig's *Neukirche*. Schott listed 2 violins, 1 viola and 1 cello as church property, and added the crucial remark that '2 violins, 1 viola, 2 bassoons and 2 viols' could be obtained from the *cafétier* Gottfried Zimmermann if need be.[30] A later inventory of church instruments from 1729, by comparison, no longer mentions the additional string consort. Schering reasonably infers from this omission that the collection, in fact, belonged to Zimmermann's coffee-house business, and was purchased specifically for its resident Collegium musicum.

Two further observations, not considered by Schering, lend support to this finding. Ulrich Dähnert, for example, recently established that a keyboard instrument was acquired by (and invoiced to) the manager of a Leipzig coffee house in the 1740s. As Dähnert reports, records of the town council in Naumburg mention the sale of a 'Clavicymbel' by the instrument builder Zacharias Hildebrandt to a 'Mr Richter, a *cafétier* from Leipzig' in 1745.[31] Moreover, the instrument represented a significant investment. According to research by Hans-Joachim Schulze, the keyboard ranked among Hildebrandt's finest models. At 120 *Thaler*, its quality was considerably above average, as, as Schulze also points out, the price of an average keyboard instrument would typically have ranged somewhere between 50 and 80 *Thaler* at the time.[32]

Schering's emphasis on the active support of Leipzig's coffee entrepreneurs for Collegia musica must be recognised as a far-sighted observation, therefore. His depiction of the cultural character of this musical environment, however, is less reliable. As Bach's

[30] Paraphrase of 'Titelakte IX. C. 17' (presently kept at Stadtarchiv Leipzig). See footnote 5 in Schering, *Bach und das Musikleben*, 134-35.
[31] Ulrich Dähnert, *Der Orgel- und Instrumentbauer Zacharias Hildebrandt: sein Verhältnis zu Gottfried Silbermann und Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Institut für Denkmalpflege, 1962), 231.
[32] Schulze estimates the price of a standard keyboard as between 50 and 80 *Thaler* at the time of the sale. Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Frühe Schriftzeugnisse der beiden jüngsten Bach-Söhne', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1964), 70.

Collegium musicum performed in a commercial context at Leipzig's coffee houses, Schering is keen to point out that, Bach too, would have insisted on being paid for his performances. The centrality of this claim is not only reflected in the title of Schering's chapter, which reads, 'In the service of the coffee-house owners Richter and Zimmermann', but is also palpable in the following passage:

> It is altogether inconceivable that Bach … would have spared only a single hour of his working week without having been reimbursed by money, drink or 'hearty meals'. One must envisage a literal (*buchstäblich*) engagement.[33]

A variety of eighteenth-century sources indicate, however, that Bach's musical income was more likely to have been commission-based rather than contractual. A literary travel report by Johann Georg Friedrich Franz from 1769, for example, which has not been considered by musicologists so far, likens the payment of service personnel at a Leipzig inn to the customs that regulated the payment of musical ensembles at festive events:

> Two servants, each of them carrying two candlesticks, saw us to our rooms, and one had to leave money on these lights before they took their leave, similar to the custom at wedding banquets, where *Cantores* and *Musici* engage in a courteous form of begging, when they go around the table with a book, asking the guests for payment.[34]

Performances by Bach's Collegium musicum are therefore indeed likely to have generated commercial revenue. But it was raised by a variety means, such as payments by public and private patrons, as well as musical audiences. Christoph Wolff, for example, established that Bach received fixed commission fees for the composition of honorary cantatas from municipal authorities.[35] A letter by the Bach student Johann Schweinitz, furthermore, documents the sale of tickets for regular Collegium-musicum events, as

---

[33] 'Es ist ganz ausgeschlossen, daß Bach ... nur eine einzige Wochenstunde drangegeben, ohne ... durch Geld, Trank oder kräftige "Köstchen" entschädigt worden zu sein. Man darf an ein buchstäbliches Engagement denken ....' Schering, *Bach und das Musikleben*, 133.

[34] 'Zween Bediente, jedweder mit zween Leuchtern in der Hand leuchteten uns bis in unser Zimmer, und man mußte auf diese Leuchter, da sie Abschied nahmen, Geld legen; ohngefähr wie bey Hochzeitsmälern die Cantores und Musici mit einer höflichen Betteley ein Buch über die Tafel herumgehen und die Gäste auflegen lassen.' Johann Georg Friedrich Franz, *Das nach der Moral beschriebene Galante Leipzig* ([Leipzig]: Eleutheropolis, 1769), 15.

[35] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 540.

Hans-Joachim Schulze has discovered more recently.[36] In addition, Johann Franz's writings suggest an account-based mode of payment, which facilitated discretionary *honoraria* by private patrons to remunerate performers (*Cantores* and *Musici*). To be sure, none of these arrangements positively exclude a contractual engagement of Bach's Collegium musicum at Zimmermann's coffee house. But it seems unlikely that a commercial host would have agreed to compensate resident musicians with various in-house services, if Collegia musica were entitled to raise money independently as well. On a more speculative note, Zimmermann may even have claimed a percentage of such takings, as a commission fee perhaps.

Still greater problems afflict the proposition that payments to Bach's Collegium musicum may have taken the form of 'hearty meals' (*kräftige Köstchen*).[37] Once more, contemporaneous customs contradict Schering's assumption, and it is unlikely that Zimmermann's establishment would, in fact, have been equipped to cater for an entire ensemble. Eighteenth-century citizens frequented local coffee houses primarily after lunch or supper, and hot meals were usually taken either at home, inns or taverns. An entry in the diary of an eighteenth-century student in Leipzig, Johann Christian Müller, can usefully illustrate this convention:

> [I]f we didn't feel like a coach ride, we headed to Puffendorff's coffee house straight after table [at Renner's Inn].[38]

As customers were expected to arrive at coffee houses with a full stomach, therefore, it would hardly have made good business-sense for their proprietors to offer further substantial catering in the form of 'hearty meals'.

---

[36] Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Johann Friedrich Schweinitz, "A Disciple of the famous Herr Bach in Leipzig"', in: Gregory Butler, *et al.* (eds.), *About Bach* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 82.
[37] See above for full quote. Schering, *Bach und das Musikleben*, 133.
[38] '[Hatten] wir ... keine Neigung zum ausfahren, so gingen wir gleich nach Tisch nach dem Puffendorffschen Caffe-Haus ....' Johann Christian Müller; Katrin Löffler and Nadine Sobirai (eds.), *Meines Lebens Vorfälle und Nebenumstände* (Leipzig: Lehmstedt, 2007), 203.

Given these discrepancies, Schering's attempt to depict Bach's Collegium musicum as an integral aspect of Leipzig's social fabric was only partly successful. Whereas the study added valuable detail to previous accounts, observations are not always in keeping with the socio-cultural character of Bach's historical surroundings. At the same time, Schering remained committed to Spitta's larger historical framework, including his evolutionary history of Leipzig's music venues. Like Spitta, Schering outlines a process of institutional growth and decline, according to which the 'glittering history' of Leipzig's Collegia musica had already been arrested by the middle of the eighteenth century.[39] The character and significance of coffee houses continues to be defined retrospectively, therefore. Despite the greater detail of Schering's account, Bach's performances with the Collegium musicum also derive the best part of their historical significance from the cultural status of Leipzig's later and, presumably, more advanced musical institutions.

In addition, Schering's work exemplifies a wider trend in twentieth-century Bach studies. As a music-historical text book, it reflects the growing importance of evidence-based research that gradually replaced character-driven narratives. One might expect therefore that Schering's research was perfectly in tune with the aims of later, post-war Bach scholarship. Yet an extensive re-examination of Bach's musical autographs in the 1950s revised the compositional chronology of Bach's sacred cantatas to such an extent that most existing research, including Spitta's and Schering's, needed to be substantially revised.

The German scholars Alfred Dürr and Georg von Dadelsen were able to demonstrate in the final years of the 1950s that most of Bach's church cantatas had not been composed continuously up until 1750 (as Philipp Spitta had assumed), but were

[39] 'Die so glänzende Geschichte der Universitäts-Collegia hatte bereits um die Mitte des Jahrhunderts ihre Endschaft erreicht.' Schering, *Bach und das Musikleben*, 148.

essentially complete as early as 1730.[40] As Bach became director of the Collegium musicum in 1729, a radical prospect emerged: the importance of Bach's secular commitments suddenly loomed larger than ever before. Scholars were quick to respond to the challenge. Werner Neumann, for example, proposed a detailed re-assessment of the Collegium musicum in 1960.[41] Yet he presented his widely-noted article as an explicit attack on Arnold Schering. Whilst conceding that Schering had already presented a 'quite coherent' picture of Bach's Collegium-musicum activities, he objected particularly strongly to their social characterisation. According to Neumann's more austere, post-war perspective, Schering had reduced Bach's duties as Collegium-musicum director to an 'amusing pastime' of the cantor, a mere distraction from his official duties.[42] The charge points to a crucial difference in the respective historical priorities of Neumann and Schering. Although both scholars were, in principle, committed to evidence-based reconstructions of Bach's historical circumstances, Neumann's conclusions were driven more strongly by a palpably Austro-German post-war perspective. Instead of Schering's emphasis on Bach's 'rootedness' in local culture (which may well be considered an indication of his political ultra-conservatism and fascist convictions), Neumann advocated a programmatic 'absoluteness' of Bach's creative aims.[43] To emphasise the departure, Neumann argued for a strict separation between the turbulent business of Zimmermann's coffee house and Bach's art. Unlike Schering, who had characterised Bach's audience as a crowd that enjoyed 'beer, coffee and long tobacco pipes' alongside performances, Neumann maintains that Leipzig's noisy *hoi polloi* was consciously shunned:

---

[40] Alfred Dürr, 'Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1957); Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958).
[41] Werner Neumann, 'Das "Bachische Collegium Musicum"', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1960), 5-27.
[42] Ibid., 5.
[43] For the conceptual (and terminological) link between cultural 'rootedness' and reactionary ideology see especially Theodor Adorno's critique of historical performance practice in post-war Germany. Theodor W. Adorno, *Ohne Leitbild. Parva Aesthetica* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967), 141.

> The fact alone that *Collegia* deliberately avoided the traditional coffee hours in the afternoon (as Schering erroneously assumed) and chose to convene in the evening between 8 and 10 o'clock must change our perception of these events significantly. The musical activities of the Collegium thus move emphatically from the sphere of entertaining restaurant music (*Gaststättenmusik*) into the realm of serious concert events.[44]

Schering, in fact, never claimed that regular Collegium meetings were scheduled during 'traditional coffee hours'. More importantly still, Neumann's alleged segregation of Zimmermann's coffee customers and Bach's musicians is not borne out by historical evidence. According to a licensing law dating from 1716, the opening times of Leipzig's coffee houses were by no means restricted to what Neumann (anachronistically) identifies as the early to late afternoon. They demonstrably extended into the late evening.[45] In keeping with municipal regulations, Zimmermann's 'turbulent' coffee-house bustle could overlap with Collegium-musicum meetings for up to a whole hour during the winter. In the summer season, Bach's following was even allowed to enjoy Zimmermann's hospitality for a further two hours after performances had ended.[46]

Neumann had a profound reason to argue that Zimmermann's coffee house was a coffee house only by day, and effectively a modern concert hall in the evening. Both, late-Romantic and twentieth-century aesthetics, were rooted firmly in the notion of a categorical divide between high art-music and entertainment. The mutual exclusivity of 'art' and 'entertainment' is indeed invoked explicitly by Neumann in his article. It surfaces with principled vigour, for example, in the following:

> [I]t is an absurd idea that Bach would have complied with the convention of dubious coffee houses to provide <u>entertainment</u> with his <u>art</u>.[47]

In the opening paragraph, Neumann introduces his argument with a further variation on the binary theme:

---

[44] Neumann, '"Collegium Musicum"', 23.
[45] For a facsimile reproduction of the 1716 *Ratsverordnung* see Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Ey! How sweet the coffee tastes: Johann Sebastian Bach's Coffee Cantata in its time', *Bach: The Journal of the Riemenschneider Institute* (2001), 32/2, 2-34.
[46] For regular hours of Collegium meetings see above and Mizler von Kolof, *Musikalische Bibliothek*, 63.
[47] Neumann, '"Collegium Musicum"', 24. (Emphases added.)

> [B]ut [Schering's] existing account [of the Collegium musicum] seems afflicted by a prejudice [;] just as if one was merely dealing here with an amusing pastime of the Thomas-Cantor, which did not count very much compared to his church-based obligations.[48]

However, Neumann's juxtaposition of professional duty and leisure-time arguably reveals more about his own aesthetic stance than Schering's characterisation of the Collegium musicum. To be sure, Schering had a palpable desire to depict Bach as a virile musical leader that is conspicuously resonant with his political involvement with Nazi-ideology, but Neumann's emphasis on the cultured seriousness of Bach's performance environment also raises the wider question why the Collegium musicum in particular seemed to invite such an intense tension between Bach's 'art', 'amusing pastimes' and 'musical entertainment'.

The seeming contradiction can be traced to a venue-specific category. It emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century and is still encountered in current critical literature (especially by German-language authors) as so-called coffee-house music (*Kaffeehausmusik*).[49] The term is programmatically derogatory, and continues to function as an antithetical synonym for music that is opposed not only to so-called high art-music, but also Bach's compositional aims and historical standing. As the following excerpt from a discussion of 'trivial' music by the musicologist Karl Nef indicates, it had already acquired a degree of self-evidence by 1920. To reinforce a negative evaluation of Georg Philipp Telemann's music, Nef denounces Telemann's Orchestral Suites not only with fierce critical zeal, but also derides the music as coffee-house trivia:

> It is interesting to compare the latter [Telemann's 'Badinage' from the third Orchestral Suite] with Bach's well-known 'Badinerie' from the B-minor Suite; with Bach [:] effervescent spiritedness [,] but shallow and superficially pleasing music there, Coffee-House Music as one would call it nowadays.[50]

---

[48] Ibid., 5.

[49] For a recent example by Arno Forchert see 'The return of biography' below.

[50] 'Interessant ist es, diese [Telemann's Badinage aus der 3. Suite] mit der bekannten „Badinerie" in Bachs H moll-Suite zu vergleichen; bei Bach geistsprühendes Spiel und hier platte aber sinnschmeichelnde Musik, Kaffeehausmusik würde man heutzutage sagen.' Karl Nef, *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921), 93.

In addition, the newly-forged venue-genre acquired a close association with cultural decline and economic depravation after the end of World War I in 1918. The educationist and pianist Leo Kestenberg (1882 - 1962), for example, associated the rising popularity of coffee-house music specifically with social injustice and the phenomenon of a widening gap between rich and poor during this period:

> The universal decline and corrosion of popular taste, which has caused a flowering of cinema- and coffee-house music, variété- and rattle-tattle music, restricts access to the liberal arts and sciences exclusively to the financially well-endowed.[51]

An even closer proximity to Neumann's later writing can be observed in another text on musical education from the early 1920s. As part of a wider sociological study, the left-leaning pedagogue and composer Jakobus Menzen proposed the following, enumerative definition of coffee-house music for teaching purposes:

> Coffee House Music. a) Music that rightfully belongs to this realm [is of] shallow character, [such as] operetta, dance, march and, most of all *Potpurri* [re-arranged and amalgamated hit melodies]. Extracts from undemanding and superficially appealing stage music. Associated expressive quality: Leisurely relaxation after or between work and the serious business of daily duties. Music which has no place in the Café: Extracts from serious, profound works: Fidelio, Parsival, Tristan, Oratorios etc.[52]

According to Menzen, therefore, neither the music of Beethoven and Wagner, nor Handel or Bach had a 'rightful place' in the performance context of coffee houses.

Given this background of early twentieth-century categorisations, Neumann's call to consider the Collegium musicum as more than an 'amusing pastime', gains a decisive, sociological dimension. As Neumann was keen to de-emphasise the importance of Bach's sacred music generally, arguably as a result of his status as leading musicologist in Germany's Communist East, the performance setting of the Collegium musicum in a coffee house presented a unique challenge. What had to be avoided most of all, one

[51] 'Die allgemeine Verflachung und Geschmackverderbnis, die zur Blüte der Kino- und Kaffeehausmusik, der Varieté- und Tingeltangelmusik geführt hat, läßt nur noch dem Kapitalkräftigen den Weg zur freien Kunst und Wissenschaft offen.' Leo Kestenberg, *Musikerziehung und Musikpflege* (Leipzig, 1921), 131.
[52] 'Kaffeehausmusik. a) Dort berechtigte Musik. Leichte Art, Operette, Tanz, Marsch und vor allem Potpurri, Auszüge aus leichter, sehr sinnfälliger Bühnenmusik. Lebensäußerung: Zeit der Ausspannung nach oder zwischen der Arbeit und dem Ernst des Tages. Im Café nicht berechtigte Musik: Auszüge aus ernsten, tiefgründigen Werken; Fidelio, Parsival, Tristan, Oratorien usw.' Jakobus Menzen, 'Aufbau eines einführenden sechstündigen Lehrganges', in: Leopold von Wiese (ed.), *Soziologie des Volksbildungswesens* (München & Leipzig, 1921), 414.

presumes, was to inadvertently tarnish Bach's secular music by assimilating it into a cultural sphere that represented one of the worst symptoms of decay in capitalist society. In short, Bach could not possibly have been a coffee-house musician at heart.

Similar to Philipp Spitta's lasting influence on subsequent Bach scholars, Neumann's article on the Collegium musicum commanded a unique scholarly authority during the remaining decades of the twentieth century. Indeed, it was not until the late 1980s and early 1990s that a resurgent interest in social contexts by musicologists appeared to offer a fresh angle for historical discussions of Bach's secular performances. In a succession of two detailed articles towards the end of the 1980s and in 1990, Don L. Smithers, for example, gave Schering's research on Leipzig's *Kunstgeiger* and *Stadtpfeifer* a fresh focus. Centred on the historical personality of Gottfried Reiche, Smithers re-investigated the relationship between Collegia musica and Leipzig's foremost trumpeter.[53] Further aspects of Schering's work on Leipzig's musical institutions were followed up in contemporaneous research on Leipzig's *Neukirche*. Andreas Glöckner, for example, provided detailed accounts of the history of the *Bachische* Collegium musicum in this context.[54]

Arguably of greater relevance still was a comprehensive revaluation of Bach's instrumental and chamber works by Christoph Wolff in 1985. In a widely noted article, entitled 'Bach's Leipzig chamber music', Wolff argued that Collegium-musicum concerts may well have occasioned the composition of some of Bach's Orchestral Suites, for example.[55] The presented findings also inform Wolff's detailed discussion of the

---

[53] Don L. Smithers, 'Gottfried Reiches Ansehen und sein Einfluß auf die Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1987), 113-150. Don L. Smithers, 'Bach, Reiche and the Leipzig Collegia Musica', *Historic Brass Society Journal* (1990), 2, 1-51.

[54] Andreas Glöckner, 'Zur Vorgeschichte des "Bachischen" Collegium musicum', in: Martin Geck (ed.), *Bachs Orchesterwerke: Bericht über das 1. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1996* (Witten: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1997), 293-303. Andreas Glöckner, *Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Leipzig: Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten Johann Sebastian Bach, 1990).

[55] Christoph Wolff, 'Bach's Leipzig chamber music', *Early Music* (1985), 13/2, 165-175. Many of the article's findings also formed part of Christoph Wolff, *Bach: Essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1991).

Collegium musicum in a later biography, which was timed to coincide with the beginning of the new millennium. Indeed, the 250th anniversary of Bach's death proved an important year for Collegium-musicum research. Several eminent scholars, including Arno Forchert, Christoph Wolff and Martin Geck, set out to reintegrate the wealth of findings from empirical autograph studies and music-historical research into coherent biographical narratives once more.[56]

The return of biography

The most important difference between these recent biographies and their nineteenth-century counterparts is a unanimous recognition of the Collegium musicum as a major aspect of Bach's commitments in Leipzig. Evaluating the extent of this importance however (and the question of how to account for it), remains more divisive. The most traditional account in this respect was proposed by Arno Forchert in his book *Johann Sebastian Bach und seine Zeit* (*Johann Sebastian Bach and his Time)*.[57] Similar to Philipp Spitta, Forchert places a particular emphasis on the strategic importance of the Collegium musicum for Bach. Forchert consequently focuses primarily on Bach's vocal works, especially the honorary cantatas that celebrated the Saxon aristocracy and members of the Royal household in Dresden. The significance of such commissions for Bach's eventual appointment as Royal Court Composer to the Polish-Saxon King in 1736 was indeed considerable. The participation of the Collegium musicum in official events offered welcome opportunities to bring his work to the attention of political leaders, which included the King himself on several occasions.[58] Yet Forchert is

[56] Arno Forchert, *Johann Sebastian Bach und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber, 2000); Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, Martin Geck, *Bach: Leben und Werk* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2000).
[57] Forchert, *Bach und seine Zeit.*
[58] An example is Bach's cantata 'Preise Dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen' ('Praise Your Good Fortune, Blessed Saxony') (BWV 215), which was also presented to August III as a manuscipt copy. Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach*, transl. by Richard Douglas Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 834-35. Forchert summarises the significance of such occasions in the following: '[D]ie Arbeit mit dem Collegium [wurde wichtig], weil sie ... die Möglichkeit gab, die Verbindung zum Dresdner Hof ... zu intensivieren.' Forchert, *Bach und seine Zeit*, 167-68.

considerably more conservative in his assessment of the cultural standing of Leipzig's coffee houses. A discussion of Bach's Sonatas for Violin and Harpsichord (BWV 1012 - 1019), for example, finds that their contrapuntal voice-leading and complex texture would have rendered them unsuitable for audiences at Zimmermann's:

> It is difficult to conceive that Bach may have performed music of this kind to a coffee-house audience in the Collegium musicum, which was not yet under his direction, harder still [to imagine] that he may have composed it specifically for this purpose.[59]

In an unmistakable echo of Leo Kestenberg, Jakobus Menzen and Werner Neumann, even the 'absence of ostentatious virtuosity' (i.e. superficial appeal) is emphasised to argue that the high-art character of the Sonatas could only have been intended for a performance at an aristocratic court, such as Cöthen.[60] Forchert's reliance on the twentieth-century category of *Kaffeehausmusik* clearly illustrates its continued critical currency therefore. Moreover, it also highlights the importance to develop a more specific understanding of Bach's cultural surroundings at an eighteenth-century coffee house.

A significant move in this direction was initiated by Christoph Wolff.[61] As George B. Stauffer recently pointed out, Wolff's biography set a new benchmark for critical discussions of Bach's Collegium musicum:

> It was Christoph Wolff, in his Bach biography *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*, who finally gave full due to the Collegium directorship and its central role in Bach's musical development during the Leipzig years. Drawing on the critical post-World War II studies of Werner Neumann and Andreas Glöckner and his own work on Bach's Leipzig chamber music, Wolff outlined the history of the student ensemble …, and set forth in several tables the instrumental and vocal works that Bach wrote or revised for Collegium performances.[62]

Stauffer's praise is well-founded. One would be hard pressed, for example, to summarise the varied aspects of Bach's collaboration with the Collegium musicum more succinctly than Wolff's following summary:

---

[59] Forchert, *Bach und seine Zeit*, 222.
[60] Ibid., 222.
[61] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*.
[62] George B. Stauffer, 'Music for "Cavaliers et Dames": Bach and the repertoire of his Collegium Musicum', in: Gregory Butler, *et al.* (eds.), *About Bach* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 135-36.

> [The Collegium musicum] affected [Bach's] work in at least three important ways: (1) it allowed him to perform a diversified repertoire of contemporary music that interested him; (2) it provided opportunities for composing works to be performed at the regular weekly series and at special concerts; and (3) it supported his ongoing church music projects.[63]

The list illustrates both the continuation of traditional thought and innovative scholarship in Wolff's work. The final point, for example, is palpably rooted in aspects of Spitta's research, which also remain central to recent studies on the role of Collegia musica in liturgical performances.[64] Wolff's two preceding observations, on the contrary, go considerably beyond the established scholarly consensus. To underpin the musical significance of Collegium-musicum activities for Bach (i.e. points one and two), Wolff compiled detailed summaries of Bach's own compositions that are likely to have belonged to the repertoire of his ensemble.[65] The findings not only supplement Schering and Neumann's earlier work on Bach's honorary cantatas, but also prompted further research. In a recent contribution to an edited book, George Stauffer for example traced a range of pieces composed by Bach's contemporaries (such as Telemann, Hasse and Graun) that are likely to have featured in Collegium-musicum events.[66]

Wolff's observations on Bach's performance setting at Zimmermann's coffee house, by comparison, are delimited more strictly by the findings of traditional research. Even echoes of Schering's work are discernible, as the occasional substitution of 'coffee house' with 'restaurant' indicates, perhaps.[67] Similar to Neumann, Wolff also emphasises the presumed kinship of Collegium-musicum events with Leipzig's nineteenth-century *Gewandhaus*. Not only is Bach's concert series characterised as 'a crucial cell in the development of public concert life in Germany', but Wolff also follows Neumann by assuming that the Collegium musicum performed in a spacious hall at Zimmermann's:

---

[63] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 354-55.
[64] See, for example, Glöckner, *Die Musikpflege*.
[65] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 356-57, 362.
[66] Stauffer, 'Bach and the repertoire', 151-52.
[67] '[W]e can assume that he [Zimmermann] attracted an audience who ... would patronize his restaurant ....' Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 352.

> Located on Katharinen-Straße, Leipzig's most prestigious avenue off the main market square, the mansion … contained a hall suitable for performances by large ensembles, including trumpets and timpani, and for an audience of up to 150.[68]

Although no specific sources are identified to support these findings, the passage clearly draws on Neumann's article on the Collegium musicum, given that it remains the only publication to date that comments specifically on the architecture of Bach's longstanding performance venue. Yet it is worth returning to Neumann's original research, as fresh evidence which is discussed here for the first time, calls some of its principal findings into question.

In a footnote to his 1960 article, Neumann outlined the characteristics of Zimmermann's coffee house as follows:

> The house possesses … a considerable depth on the front facing *Böttchergäßchen* ("28 Ells 4 Inches"). A description of the building dating from 1806 details 3 rooms (*Vorsäle*) on the first floor …. It is possible that two adjacent rooms of a hall-like character were available in Bach's time, with 3 side-windows each, similar to those that were reinstated in 1890 by the demolition of partitioning walls (according to architectural records they were deemed non-existent in former times). (Size ca. 10 x 8 and 10 x 5.5 m respectively).[69]

The caveat, which qualifies the description of Bach's performance venue as a possibility was indeed more important than subsequent commentators generally acknowledged. Most importantly, none of the documents Neumann consulted date from Bach's life time, but originated in the nineteenth century (e.g. 1806 and 1890). In addition, Neumann's assumption that the creation of 'two adjacent rooms of a hall-like character' in 1890 restored a room design that Bach himself would have recognised, is not founded on specific evidence. On the contrary, a description of the design of the building from the early eighteenth century suggests that Zimmermann's coffee business occupied a floor that was partitioned into three rooms.

In his research Neumann appears to have overlooked an extant surveyor's report, which not only records the scale and dimensions of Zimmermann's later venue, but is

[68] Ibid., 352, 353.
[69] Neumann, '"Collegium Musicum"', 23.

also in considerably greater chronological proximity to Bach's Collegium-musicum directorship than any of the sources Neumann consulted. A so-called building inspection (*Baubesichtigung*) from 1716 describes the extensive redesign of an inner-city house located on the corner of *Böttger-Gäßlein* and *Katharinen-Straße*. The property was owned at the time by the wine merchant Johann Schellhafer, who later sold the house to Gottfried Zimmermann's eventual landlord, Theodor Oertel. The envisaged changes are detailed as follows:

> As, on the other hand, Mr. Schellhafer intends to construct three new floors on top of the basement, he … shall … construct on each floor three rooms and [*samt*] a hallway ….[70]

The original design of the building consequently featured neither a large hall 'seating up to 150' (as stated by Wolff), nor 'two adjacent rooms of a hall-like character' (as Neumann assumed), when it was constructed in 1716.

What is more, Neumann's report on a (regrettably unidentified) description of the house from 1806 suggests that the contents of the 1716 report also reflect the state of the building during Bach's time.[71] Although the nineteenth-century document indeed mentions 'three rooms' (rather than 'three plus a hallway'), the apparent discrepancy presents no fundamental contradiction. As the anonymous surveyor listed locations on the first floor of a property, the presence of a staircase may well have seemed too obvious to mention. All of the historical documents Neumann paraphrased are consequently at least consistent with the contents of the *Baubesichtigung* from 1716, and point towards a chamber-like interior at Zimmermann's, rather than a vast performance space.

---

[70] 'Da hingegen H. Schellhaffer auf das untere Geschoß drey neue Geschoße ... erbauen, will, ... soll ... in iegliches Geschoß Drey Stuben samt einem VorSaale angeleget ... werden ....' [corp. author] Leipzig, 'Baubesichtigung, 23. May 1716', *Bauberichte 1715-1727*, Stadtarchiv, Tit. XXIV C (F) zu 1 a Baubesichtigungsprotokolle Bd. 3, 59. For a full transcript and translation of the document, see Appendix I.

[71] Neumann's omission of bibliographical details presents a considerable obstacle. At the time of writing, I have not yet been able to identify and access the relevant documents.

Assuming a room design of smaller dimensions is of vital importance to envisage their likely musical use. By an intriguing twist, the contents of the 1716 survey (although calling into question the notion of a spacious performance space) also lend support to Christoph Wolff's reconstruction of Bach's Collegium-musicum repertoire. Unlike Arno Forchert, who believes that 'presentations of chamber works in the Collegium are likely to have remained rare', Wolff places a particular emphasis on pieces for small ensembles during regular Collegium-musicum meetings:[72]

> Whilst it is safe to assume that most if not all of Bach's keyboard pieces from at least 1729 to 1741 … would have been presented …, a core repertoire of Bach's chamber music had an even closer connection with Collegium activities.[73]

The 1716 description vindicates Wolff rather than Forchert, and is also in keeping with literary accounts of performances by Collegia musica from the early eighteenth century. Based on Telemann's activities in Hamburg, the writer and librettist Erdmann Neumeister, for example, described the musical proceedings of a Collegium musicum in a cantata libretto. Neumeister's text was published by the poet Christian Friedrich Hunold (who collaborated with Bach as librettist for honoary cantatas at Cöthen), entitled *An ein Collegium Musicum* (*To a Collegium Musicum*).[74] The cantata re-enacts the following musical programme, replete with stage instructions for corresponding interludes, and narrates the following mix of genres and pieces: 1) A 'tuning of violins', followed by a sonata for strings; 2) a 'dialogue' between oboes and flutes (either a concerto grosso or instrumental duet); 3) a 'popular turkish march'; 4) 'a ball-room favourite' (*Redouten-Stück*); 7) a solo piece for viola da gamba; 8) an accompanied solo aria; 9) a concluding overture, comprising an 'Allemande, Courante, Sarabande and *Chique* [sic]'.[75] Christoph Wolff's emphasis on the significance of Bach's chamber music

[72] Forchert, *Bach und seine Zeit*, 222.
[73] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 356.
[74] Erdmann Neumeister and Menantes, Christian Hunold (ed.), *Die allerneueste Art, zur reinen und galanten Poesie zu gelangen* (Hamburg, 1722), 329-33.
[75] Ibid., 329-33.

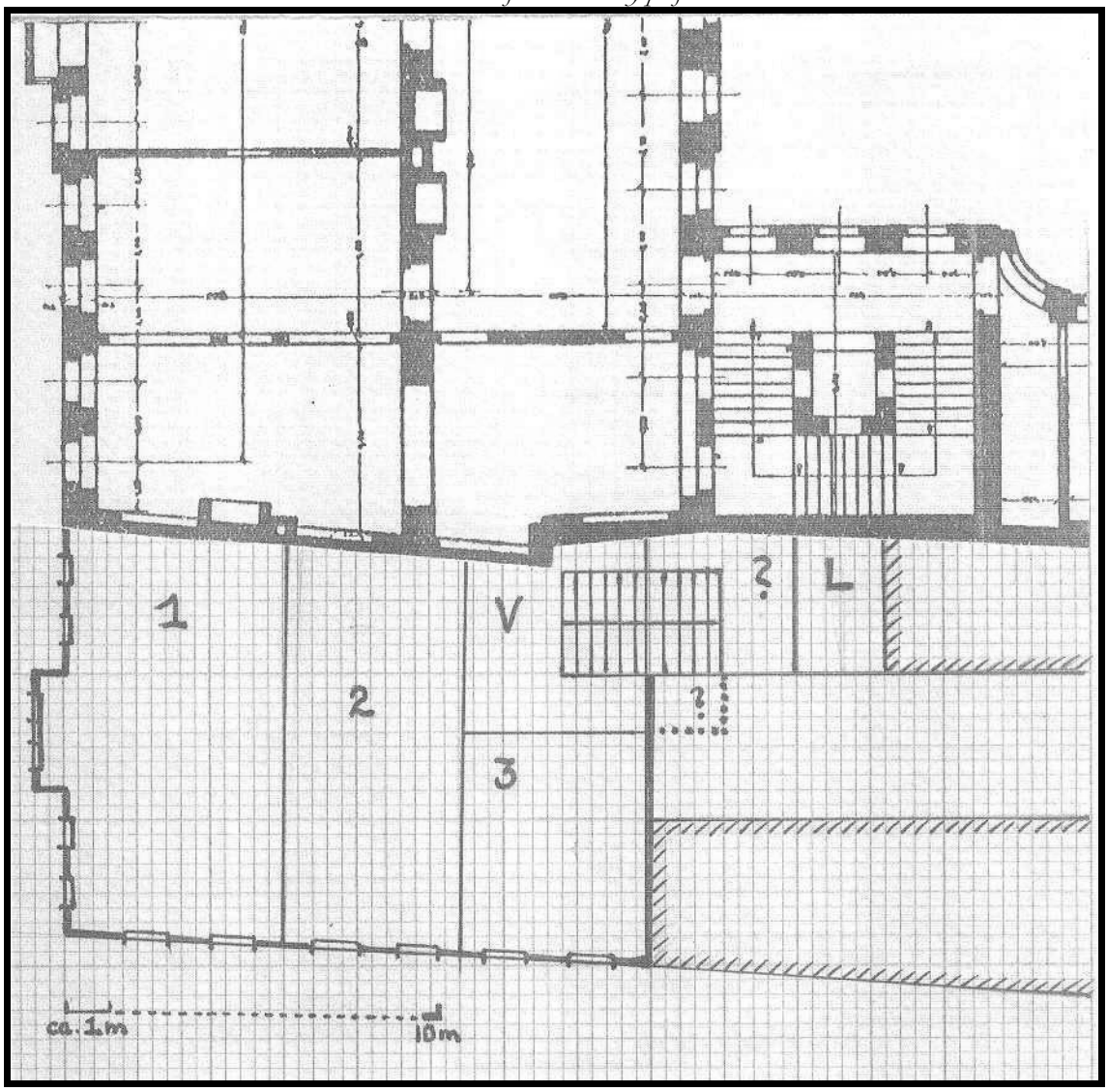
for Collegium-musicum meetings is therefore confirmed by both architectural evidence and Neumeister's literary source.

Moreover, the *Baubesichtigung* of Schellhafer's House even allows the reconstruction of a functional room layout. Table 1 (see below) proposes a likely scenario, based on the 1716 floor partitions and specifications that detail historical beam lengths of the building.[76] The *Vordersaal*, or hallway, of the reconstruction has been modelled on the neighbouring address, Hohmann's House, which was built in the same decade (1715).[77] As a nineteenth-century street map by the cartographer C. F. Kanitz shows, Zimmermann's former premises faced a small courtyard at the back, which may well have featured similar rear buildings to accommodate the entire staircase, perhaps, and sanitary facilities (as is documented for Hohmann's House). Notwithstanding the hypothetical nature of the reconstruction, the layout is specific enough to allow fresh insights into the likely audience size for musical indoor events at Zimmermann's coffee rooms. Christoph Wolff gives a useful estimate in his biography of approximately 150, which is in keeping with estimates that are inferred from the number of printed librettos for festive productions, recorded in the ordering books of the Leipzig publisher Breitkopf.[78] As table 1a) illustrates, it is more likely, however, that this figure was nearer a range of between 80 and 100 people, especially if the space is taken into account that would have been required for coffee-house furniture, musical instruments, and performance-areas for solo singers and a choir. Given the availability of several rooms, however, and the possibility that Zimmermann's coffee rooms may have occupied two

[76] Ground measurements are specified as follows: '18 ells, 19 inches' in width; '27 Ells, 21 ells, 21 inches' in depth; width of first floor bay-window: 5 ¼ ells, 1 ½ ells deep. For metric equivalents of these historical units, see Appendix II. Figures are given as recorded in: Leipzig, 'Baubesichtigung', 59-60.
[77] Gustav Wustmann, *Leipzig durch drei Jahrhunderte: Ein Atlas ... des Stadtbildes ....* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1891), 14.
[78] A detailed list of individual pieces is contained in Hermann von Hase's study on Breitkopf's business records. Hase, 'Breitkopfsche Textdrucke', 69-127.

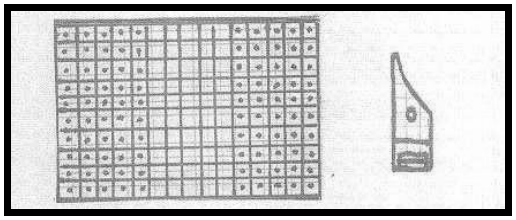
storeys of the building, accommodating 150 customers would not necessarily have been impossible.

Table 1: An architectural view of Bach's likely performance environment



V= 'Vordersaal', L=Lavatories.
Proportional reconstruction of likely room partitions on 1st floor of Oertel's House (paper with grid, bottom half). Neighbouring address (with documented staircase in courtyard) as reproduced in N. Pevsner (1990).

1a)



Relative representation of the space required for a seated audience of 150, allowing ~ ½ m^2 per person, instrument size 3m × 1m.

1b)

Copyrighted material
For picture see
<http://www.stadtgeschichtliches-museum-leipzig.de/sammlungen/objektdatenbank.htm>
Inventarnummer: S/694/2003

Contours of Hohmann and Oertel's house (circled) in an ordinance map by Carl R. F. Kanitz (around 1880).

Wolff's account of Bach's Collegium musicum is consequently evenly balanced in its innovative and traditional aspects. It is uniquely successful in fusing a diverse range of existing publications into a cohesive and authoritative summary, and its pioneering enquiry into a likely repertoire adds much-needed musical detail to existing accounts. At the same time, observations relating to Bach's performance environment remain indebted to more traditional views. The exclusive reliance on existing research, in particular Werner Neumann's influential study on the Collegium musicum, also preserved aspects of its traditional outlook and consequently infers the status of Bach's coffee-house performances primarily from historical hindsight and later concerts at the *Gewandhaus*. It is largely in this respect that the scenario of a cavernous performance space acquires an unacknowledged subtext, which tacitly endorses Spitta, Schering and Neumann's evolutionary view of Bach's performance environment.

The third of Bach's recent biographers, Martin Geck, by comparison acknowledges the cultural gap between eighteenth-century Collegia musica and nineteenth-century concert life more explicitly. Departing decisively from Werner Neumann's separation of coffee-house business and musical performances, Geck describes a performance environment that offered opportunities for experts and enthusiasts alike to engage 'in musical discussions, in what is likely to have been an informal atmosphere'.[79] In keeping with eighteenth-century customs and etiquette (and specifically informed by a description of Collegia musica in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*), Geck sees no contradiction between coffee-drinking, attentive listening and musical connoisseurship.[80]

[79] Geck, *Bach: Leben und Werk*, 213.
[80] For a related account of the conduct of musical audiences in the eighteenth century see, for example, William Weber, 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?', *Early Music* (1997), 25/4, 678-91. See also 'Musicum Collegium' in: Johann Heinrich Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste* (Halle and Leipzig, 1732), 22, 1488.

Yet Geck awards the Collegium musicum only a limited importance as a creative context for Bach. Although he also considers its meetings as a significant occasion for repertoire performances, he remains sceptical whether new compositions were prepared specifically for its weekly meetings. In direct opposition to Wolff, Geck questions, for example, whether some of Bach's Orchestral Suites and instrumental works had indeed been originally intended for performances in Leipzig:

> The named works [BWV 1041, 1043, 1067, 1068] have, with great likelihood been played in the Collegium musicum, but must by no means have been composed at this time.[81]

The passage highlights a crucial difficulty for approaching the Collegium musicum primarily from a chronological angle. Unlike the detailed insights into the performance calendar of Bach's sacred cantatas, which could rely on aspects of liturgy and biblical readings as contextual aids, for example, first performances of instrumental compositions are uniquely difficult to determine. Bach's musical drafts and sketches are mostly lost, and the vast majority of extant scores and autographs generally postdate their original composition. It is not surprising, therefore, that the secure exclusion of possible earlier versions is rarely possible, which in turn presents often insurmountable obstacles for substantiating compositional dates for Bach's non-liturgical music with definite certainty.[82]

Bach's Orchestral Suites offer an instructive case in point. Only three of the surviving four (BWV 1066, 1067, 1068) exist in part-copies dating from Bach's life time, and no full scores have been preserved.[83] However, two Ouvertures (BWV 1067, 1068), in addition to Bach's *Suite in D major* (BWV 1069), are accounted for in later copies, believed to have been written out between 1755 - 1760 by the Bach student Christian

[81] Geck, *Bach: Leben und Werk*, 222.
[82] Christoph Wolff, 'Die Orchesterwerke J. S. Bachs: Grundsätzliche Erwägungen zu Repertoire, Überlieferung und Chronologie', in: Martin Geck (ed.), *Bachs Orchesterwerke: Bericht über das 1. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1996* (Witten: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1997), 26.
[83] Ibid., 26.

Friedrich Penzel.[84] Even without probing this complex source-critical picture in greater detail, the imbalance between available secondary copies and compositional manuscripts reflects a characteristic pattern: although none of the known autographs allow reliable insights into the time at which the Orchestral Suites were composed, their subsequent duplicates, nevertheless, give a reliable indication of when they were copied out and, more than likely, received a full performance.

Taken by itself this observation hardly seems noteworthy perhaps. Read in view of the scholarly discourse about the Collegium musicum, however, it reveals a significant gap in the evaluation of historical sources. Although numerous autograph-copies match up with the chronological context of Bach's Collegium-musicum events, researchers rarely focus on this performance context as a source of historical meaning in the music. (A summary of compositions that fall within this group is given in the tables at the end of this chapter.) Instead, a far greater proportion of research remains devoted to questions of compositional chronology which, as the debate surrounding the Orchestral Suites usefully illustrates, often cannot be settled decisively.[85] This is not to deny the importance of establishing a robust framework of compositional dates and first performances, of course. After all, it is unlikely for example that without Dürr and Dadelsen's meticulous revision of Spitta's style-historical ordering of Bach's cantata cycles the beginning of Bach's directorship of the Collegium musicum in 1729 would have become widely accepted as a biographical watershed. Yet, as Christoph Wolff recently pointed out, musicological research is uniquely dependent on a dialogue between 'fundamental' and 'interpretative' research', in which a body of historical facts (in the sense of *Grundlagenforschung*), 'makes possible and facilitates individualized interpretive

[84] Ibid., 28.
[85] A concise summary of competing hypotheses is contained in Siegbert Rampe and Dominik Sackmann, *Bachs Orchestermusik: Entstehung, Klangwelt, Interpretation* (Kassel, London: Bärenreiter, 2000), 256-76.

scholarship or provides corrective measures'.[86] Applied to the Collegium musicum, the observation outlines a clear-cut challenge: whereas the likely repertoire of Bach's ensemble has by now been established in clear and reliable outlines, the findings of this 'fundamental research' still need to be supplemented with an interpretative counterpart that reads the repertoire specifically from the vantage point of its historical performance context.

Before such a reception-based approach to Bach's Collegium can be envisaged, it is essential to gain a clearer understanding of the immediate cultural surroundings that framed performances of the ensemble. Indeed, a vital key to reconstructing the character and historical meanings of Bach's secular performances with the Collegium musicum has been overlooked so far. The cultural aims and intellectual ethos of the city's numerous coffee houses remains largely unknown to both, musicologists and Bach scholars. This reveals a two-fold task: First, it is necessary to establish the cultural and intellectual values of Germany's early eighteenth-century coffee-men and *Caffëisten*. Second, the role of music needs to be ascertained in this context, which will, in turn, facilitate more detailed discussions of repertoire. Nonetheless, in order to ensure a clear basis for this source-critical and interpretative endeavour, it seems sensible to briefly recall the *Grundlagen* about Bach's Collegium musicum that have safely been established in existing studies.

As is clearly documented in a personal letter to his former student Christoph Gottlob Wecker, Bach assumed the directorship of the Collegium musicum in the spring of 1729.[87] It is more difficult, however, to be similarly precise about the end of Bach's official involvement with the ensemble. As Werner Neumann pointed out in 1960, a crucial gap in relevant archival records leaves the exact length of Bach's musical

[86] Christoph Wolff, 'Images of Bach in the Perspective of Basic Research and Interpretative Scholarship', *The Journal of Musicology* (2005), 22/4, 505.
[87] For a further clarification of the likely date, see also chapter 7 of this thesis. For the original document, see Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze; *Bach-Dokumente* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1963), I, 57.

responsibilities for the ensemble somewhat underdetermined. The German historian Fritz Müller (1875-1942), for example, reported in a newspaper article on 28 June 1935 that Bach still commissioned a set of cantata librettos 'several years after [1741]'.[88] Although this clearly suggests that Bach continued to stage large-scale performances with the Collegium musicum well into the 1740s, it is not until 1746 that local newspapers consistently identify the Leipzig musician Carl Gotthelf Gerlach as Bach's successor. The timeframe of Bach's Collegium directorship is therefore only partly documented, but nevertheless clear in the following outlines: After succeeding Balthasar Schott in 1729, Bach directed the ensemble until approximately 1744, if not longer. In the intervening years, Gerlach had already directed the ensemble between 1737 and 1739, and (as Neumann was able to demonstrate convincingly) Bach resumed the directorship on 2 October 1739.[89]

During this time Bach's ensemble convened regularly on a weekly basis, and meetings were scheduled according to a seasonal rotation. Performance times fell between 20.00 h and 22.00 h in winter, and during the summer season took place from 16.00 h to 18.00 h. Regular meetings, which were also known as *ordinaire* concerts, usually featured a wide range of repertoire. They presented orchestral suites for larger ensemble forces and a mixture of chamber and vocal music that was either performed by soloists or small ensembles. In addition, Bach's musicians were routinely called upon for additional performances, which could, for example, be commissioned by private individuals, the University of Leipzig, or the City Council to frame official receptions and public ceremonies. Taken together, both regular (*ordinaire*) and additional (*extra-ordinaire*) Collegia musica covered a substantial body of Bach's compositional output. To illustrate

[88] Neumann, '"Collegium Musicum"', 8.
[89] In his article Neumann corrected a widely-copied transcription error in a letter by Bach to his cousin, Johann Elias Bach, dating from the same year. The finding not only extended Bach's confirmed time as Collegium director into the 1740s, but also yielded the specific date in relation to the beginning of an imminent trade fair. Ibid., 7.

their likely breadth and musical variety, the tables which follow summarise titles and catalogue numbers that have so far been linked to Bach's performances. Moreover, whilst they not only provide a statistical overview, they also illustrate the remaining challenge to complement these *Grundlagen* with context-specific readings that discuss which meanings these performances would have acquired as events that were situated within the rich art-world of Leipzig's eighteenth-century coffee houses.

Table 2: Preserved works and their chronological relationship with the Collegium musicum
a) Concerted ensemble pieces

Nr.	**BWV**	**Genre**		**Key**	**Extant autographs**	
					Performance	Dates[90]
1	1041	Concerto	violin	a min.	✓	~1730
2	1042	"	violin	E maj.	(✓)	<1730
3	1043	"	2 violins	d min.	✓	~1730-31
4	1044	"	'Triple Concerto'	a min.	✓	1729-41
(5)	1045	Sinfonia	(fragment)		(✓)	
6	1046	Concerto	'Brandenburg'	F maj.	(✓)	
7	1047	"	'Brandenburg'	F maj.	(✓)	
8	1048	"	'Brandenburg'	G maj.	(✓)	
9	1049	"	'Brandenburg'	G maj.	(✓)	
10	1050	"	'Brandenburg'	D maj.	(✓)	
11	1051	"	'Brandenburg'	B maj.	(✓)	
12 - 18	1052-1058	" "	harpsichord (×7)	various	✓ (×7)	1734-39
(19)	1059	"	(fragment)		(✓)	
20	1060	"	2 harpsichords	c min.	✓	~1736
21	1061	"	2 harpsichords	C maj.	✓	1732-35
22	1062	"	2 harpsichords	c min.	✓	~1736
23	1063	"	3 harpsichords	D min.	✓	~1730
24	1064	"	3 harpsichords	C maj.	✓	1729-41
25	1065	"	4 harpsichords	a min.	✓	~1730
26	1066	Ouverture		C maj.	✓	~1725
27	1067	"		b min.	✓	~1738-39
27	1068	"		D maj.	✓	1731
29	1069	"		D maj.	✓	~1725

✓ = performance indicated by autograph, (✓) = possible performance
shaded field = likely composition before 1729

[90] Christoph Wolff, *The New Grove Bach Family* (London: Macmillan, 1983), 93-5; Wolff, 'Bach's Leipzig chamber music', 169.

Table 2 b): Chamber music ('Sonatas'), likely to have been composed for ordinaire *Collegia musica:*[91]

BWV	Scoring	Key	Dating
1014-19	Violin, harpsichord	Var., Set of six	~1725 (?)
1021	Violin, *continuo*	G maj	1732-35
1023	Violin, *continuo*	e minor	after 1723 (?)
1025	Violin, harpsichord	A maj	1739
1027-29	Viola *da gamba*, Harps.	Var., Set of 3	~1736-41
1030, 1032	Flute, harpsichord	Var. Set of 2	1736-37
1031	Flute, harpsichord	E♭ maj	unknown
1033	Flute, *continuo*	C maj	1731
1034	Flute, *continuo*	e minor	~1724 (?)
1035	Flute, *continuo*	E maj	~1741 (?)
1038	Flute, Violin, *cont.*	G maj	1732-35
1039	2 Flutes, *continuo*	G maj	~1736-41

Table 2 c): Keyboard works[92]

- **Clavier-Übung I**:

Partitas published separately between 1726 and 1730, collected in 1731.
BWV 825-830

- **Clavier-Übung II**: 1735

Italian Concerto, *French Overture*,
BWV 971; 831

- **Clavier-Übung III**: 1739

Various Preludes and Hymns
BWV 552; 669-689; 802-805

- **Clavier-Übung ('IV')**: 1741

Aria with Diverse Variations ('Goldberg Variations')
BWV 988

- **The Well-Tempered Clavier II**: ca. 1740

BWV 871-893

[91] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 357.
[92] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 373-74.

Table 2 d): *Regular and Festive Collegia musica. Cantatas: Occasion unknown*

BWV	Title	Date[93]
201	*The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*	1729 (?)
203	'Amore Traditore'	(?)
211	*Coffee Cantata*	1734
216a	'Erwählte Pleißen-Stadt'	1729 (?)

Table 2 e): Honorary Cantatas: Dedicated to individual citizens

36c	'Schwingt freudig euch empor'	1725 (Leipzig dedicatee)
204	'Ich bin in mir vergnügt'	1726-27 "
205	*Æolus Pacified*	1725 "
209	'Non sa che sia dolore'	1734 (?)
210a	'O angenehme Melodei'	12 January, 1729
Wedding Cantatas		
202	'Weichet nur, betrübte Schatten'	(?)
210	'O holder Tag, erwünschte Zeit'	1730-40
Music lost "	'Auf! süß entzückende Gewalt' 'Vergnügte Pleißenstadt'	(?) (?)
(Bjb, 1994) "	'Trauungs-Cantata'	18 January, 1729
"	'Dort wo der Pleissen Urn' und Fluß'	5 July, 1729
"	'Trauungs-Music'	26 July, 1729

Table 2 f): Honorary Cantatas: Dedicated to members of the ruling aristocracy

Anh. 9	'Entfernet Euch, Ihr heiteren Sterne'	12 May 1727
193a	'Ihr Häuser des Himmels'	3 August, 1727
Anh.11	'Es lebe der König, der Vater im Lande'	3 August, 1732
Anh. 12	'Frohes Volk, vergnügte Sachsen'	3 August, 1733
Anh. 13	'Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter der Erden'	28 April, 1738
205a	'Blast Lermen Ihr Feinde'	17 January, 1734
206	'Schleicht, spielende Wellen'	7 October, 1736
207	'Vereinigte Zwietracht der wechselnden Saiten'	3 August, 1735 (?)
207a	'Auf schmetternde Töne der muntern Trompeten'	3 August, 1735 (?)
208a	'Was mir behagt, ist nur die muntre Jagd'	3 August, 1742
212	*Peasant Cantata*	1741
213	*Hercules at the Crossroads*	5 September 1733
214	'Tönet ihr Pauken, erschallet Trompeten'	8 December, 1733
215	'Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen'	5 October, 1734
(BJb, 1994) Music lost	'Des Zephyrs Atem rauscht und fliegt'	21 July 1729
"	'Erschallet mit doppelter Anmut und Schöne'	12 Sept 1729

[93] Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 356, 362. Hildegard Tiggemann, 'Unbekannte Textdrucke zu drei Gelegenheitskantaten J. S. Bachs aus dem Jahre 1729', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1994), 7-23.

2) Music, Coffee and the Mechanisms of Cultural Edification

> Never mind the worries swarming,
> Cap them with a cup of coffee,
> Light a little pipe as well: thus unrest comes to an end.
> Together with the rising bubbles
> Produced by sugar's shipwreck,
> Surrenders sorrow's short-lived frenzy,
> Rising, falling, Good Night,
> And stops an anxious way of life![94]

The verses of this *da capo* aria belong to a cantata on the virtues of coffee by the Silesian poet Daniel Stoppe (1697 - 1747). They were published in 1735 as part of a collection of poetry, which was subtitled *Scherz-und ernsthafte Gedichte* (*Light-hearted and Serious Poems*). The genre description suggests an intriguing kinship with the libretto of J. S. Bach's *Coffee Cantata* by Christian Henrici (1700 - 1764), which also appeared in a volume of *Ernst-Schertzhaffte und Satyrische Gedichte* (*Light-heartedly Serious and Satirical Poems*) in 1732.[95] Stoppe's text is indeed closely linked to Leipzig's literary scene. Stoppe was not only an external member of Leipzig's influential literary circle, known as *Deutsche Gesellschaft* (German Society), but its president at the time, the eminent academic, poet and critic Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700 - 1766) was also directly involved in the publication of Stoppe's collection.[96] Unlike the libretto of Bach's *Coffee Cantata*, however, Stoppe's coffee aria was never set to music. This is surprising, perhaps, as Stoppe frequently collaborated with composers, as for example Georg Philipp Telemann.[97] Nonetheless,

---

[94] 'Laßt die Grillen immer schwärmen!/ Setzt ein Schälgen Coffe drauf,/ Und steckt ein Pfeifgen an: so hört die Unruh auf./ Mit den aufgeworfnen Blasen,/ Die des Zuckers Schiffbruch macht,/ Gibt des Kummers kurzes Rasen,/ Steigend, fallend gute Nacht,/ Und endigt unversehns den bangen Lebenslauf.' Daniel Stoppe, *Der Parnaß im Sättler, oder scherz-und ernsthaffte Gedichte* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Gottlieb Siegert, 1735), 175. For a recent reprint of Stoppe's cantata in German, see Walter Salmen, *Zu Tisch bei Johann Sebastian Bach* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms, 2009), 122-23. For a different translation and a brief commentary, see also Schulze, 'Ey! How sweet the coffee tastes', 14.
[95] Christian Friedrich Henrici, *Picanders Ernst-Schertzhaffte und Satyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig, 1732), 564-67.
[96] Eberhard Haufe, 'Daniel Stoppe als Textdichter Telemanns', in: Günter Fleischhauer and Walther Siegmund-Schultze (eds.), *Telemann und seine Dichter: Konferenzbericht der 6. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage vom 9. bis 12. Juni 1977* (Magdeburg: Kulturbund der DDR, 1978), 1, 76.
[97] Haufe, 'Daniel Stoppe als Textdichter', 1, 75-86.

Stoppe's poetic imagery still possesses a profoundly musical quality. In fact, its praise for coffee espouses a range of cultural values and concepts that, on closer reflection, can reveal a great deal about sophisticated musical practice in Bach's time.

In this chapter I argue that, just as Stoppe ranks tobacco-smoking alongside coffee-drinking, music, moral virtue and artistic endeavour were closely entwined in Bach's time. Indeed their shared hallmarks, which were widely described as improving the balance of humoral affects, applied to a range of diverse pursuits. This included not only accomplished musical practice and coffee-house visits generally, but also extended to further pastimes, such as following a newspaper and studying history books. Yet none of these activities were understood by Bach's contemporaries as exclusively intellectual or artistic. Rather, they transcended disciplinary boundaries and, as I shall argue in the following, were collectively understood as different aspects of cultural edification.

Reconstructing this conceptual space is of vital significance. Firstly, it is essential for a comprehensive understanding of Bach's performance environment at Zimmermann's coffee house. But, secondly, it also touches on a range of music-historical questions and can, for example, point towards a compelling alternative to the historiographical dilemma that resulted for Bach scholars from the quasi-aesthetic notion of coffee-house music in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As I have argued in the opening chapter, theorists, such as Jakobus Menzen and Leo Kestenberg, had literally defined coffee-house music as a synonym for 'low' culture, which was fundamentally at odds with Bach's historical standing.[98] Rethinking Bach's performances as part of a wider sphere of cultural edification, however, provides a unique opportunity to recognise how Bach's creative achievements can be meaningfully reconciled with the socio-cultural standing of Zimmermann's coffee house.

[98] See chapter 1 of this thesis.

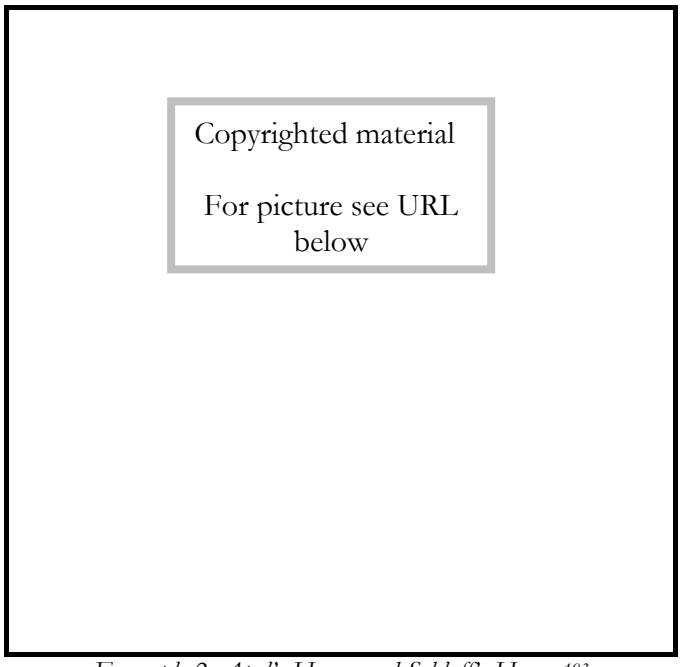
In addition, coffee houses offer a useful foil to also explore lower kinds of musical practice and their customary venues in Bach's Leipzig by comparison. Preserving a clear sense of cultural stratification and different kinds of musical practice in the eighteenth century is indeed vital. It safeguards, for example, against integrating Bach into a socio-cultural background at the cost of losing sight of how easily his musical thought could invite conflict and challenge contemporary views on music. Moreover, an essentially listener-focussed and performance-related notion of eighteenth-century cultural practice is of considerable historiographical relevance. It can, for example, contribute to moving beyond viewing Bach's musical surroundings in Leipzig through the anachronistic prism of concepts and values that derive from nineteenth-century aesthetics and its defining contrast between 'absolute' art music and 'functional' entertainment.[99] Furthermore, rethinking Zimmermann's coffee house as both a convivial (i.e. 'functional') and dignified cultural venue removes the need to position Bach's Collegium musicum on a progressive trajectory that was yet to culminate in the performance culture of nineteenth-century art music. Instead, eighteenth-century notions of cultural edification can provide the foundations of a markedly different approach; one which allows recognising Zimmermann's coffee house as a social space that was, in fact, programmatically well-suited to performances of demanding, complex and often also challenging repertoire indeed.

Musical practice and social hierarchies

The significance of coffee houses as a measure of economic affluence in eighteenth-century Germany offers a useful starting point in this respect. Whereas the presence of one coffee house in German cities was no longer unusual in Bach's time, a choice between several indicated a more sizeable degree of regional prosperity. As Peter

[99] For a concise summary of the corresponding contrast between nineteenth-century high-art repertoire and so-called *Trivialmusik*, see, for example, Carl Dahlhaus, 'Is history on the decline?', in: *Foundations of Music History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 8-10.

Albrecht notes, 'by 1715 at the latest every petty capital of district city and every university town of any importance had its own coffee house. Only the largest cities had several ….'.[100] Bach's Leipzig clearly belonged to the latter. Although Hamburg and Vienna were the first large centres in German-speaking countries to establish coffee houses (in 1677 and 1685 respectively), Saxony's mercantile capital quickly followed suit.[101] In 1694 Johann Schmidt obtained Leipzig's first license to serve coffee to a paying public and, as contemporary records suggest, enticed his customers with a distinguished setting to do so comfortably and frequently. Schmidt's premises (which became Lehmann's coffee house in 1705) were not only located at the city's central market square (in 'Dr Schlaaf's House', which was alternatively spelled 'Schlaff', or 'Schlaf's House'), but also adjacent to the King's temporary residence. An inner door connected both properties, which illustrates perhaps how closely coffee houses were associated with notions of elegance, power and social refinement at the time (example 2).[102]



Example 2: Apel's House and Schlaff's House.[103]

[100] Peter Albrecht, 'Coffee-drinking as a symbol of social change in continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (1988), 18, 94.
[101] Ibid., 94.
[102] Hannelore Stingl, *Der 'Kaffeebaum' in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Lehmstedt, 2003), 18.
[103] Picture source: <http://museum.zib.de/sgml_internet/img.php?img=s0000419&width=260>, accessed 11/04/2011.

In keeping with this perception, Leipzig's coffee houses were a regular feature in promotional depictions of the city. A music-dramatic portrayal of their ambience has survived, for example, in the form of an opera libretto, entitled *The Bon Vivant or The Leipzig Trade Fair* from 1710.[104] It is likely to have been performed at Hamburg with music by Reinhard Keiser (which is no longer extant). The plot, which is a light-hearted reflection on the value of true love, was set in Leipzig, and sought to promote the leisurely delights of the city's triennial trade fairs. More importantly, the libretto (by an author who is only known by his surname, Weidemann) has preserved a vivid impression of the function of coffee houses as social venues. Relieved of the obligation to provide food and shelter, coffee houses were frequented primarily after meal times. As dramatised events suggest, public coffee rooms provided an intriguing hybrid between temporary parlour-room and public advertising space, for example in the hours between breakfast and lunchtime. The male protagonists of *The Bon Vivant* (fashionably called Rinaldo and Cleander) are introduced as they arrive at a coffee house to discuss their plans for the day. After a shared aria, which praises the invigorating properties of tobacco, coffee as well as liqueurs ('Frisch auf ihr Brüder' ('Brothers, Take Heart')), they then begin to study a variety of leaflets, which are distributed to customers by associates of local theatre companies and travelling performance artists ('Leute mit *Coemœdien* und andern Zettels').[105] Evidently, the commercial potential of a social meeting place at brunch time had not gone unnoticed in the local artistic community. Given the promotional character of the opera, it is likely that the depicted scene corresponded closely to contemporary perceptions of coffee houses. Particularly for leisurely travellers,

[104] For a discussion of its significance in the context of contemporary perceptions of Leipzig, see Wolfgang Martens, 'Zur Einführung: Das Bild Leipzigs bei Zeitgenossen', in: Wolfgang Martens (ed.), *Zentren der Aufklärung III: Leipzig. Aufklärung und Bürgerlichkeit* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1990), 13-22. The libretto itself is reproduced in facsimile in Reinhart Meyer, *Die Hamburger Oper: eine Sammlung von Texten der Hamburger Oper aus der Zeit 1678-1730* (München: Kraus Reprint, 1980), 2, 337-86.
[105] Meyer, *Die Hamburger Oper: eine Sammlung von Texten der Hamburger Oper aus der Zeit 1678-1730*, 345-49.

they must have provided a welcome setting for dispelling any lingering fatigue from the previous night, and decide on plans for the day ahead.

The importance of coffee houses as evening venues, by comparison, is documented in a description of the largest coffee house in nearby Dresden by Johann Christian Crell (also known as Iccander). It is presented here for the first time, and was originally published in 1719:

> [P]ublic and licensed coffee houses are also often visited by noble travellers, amongst which is also the French [Coffee House] on *Schloß-Gasse* that is the most famous, as, noble gentlemen and ladies find diversion there, particularly in the evening by enjoying coffee, hot chocolate, *Rasade* [a liqueur], lemonade, as well as tobacco, and reading newspapers in several languages etc.[106]

A similar account that was published in 1725 by the same author quickly reveals the more varied cultural profile of Leipzig's coffee houses by comparison. As Crell clearly states, their customary services included, in addition to the obligatory provision of coffee, tea, hot chocolate and tobacco, a range of board and card games, house-based subscriptions to journals and newspapers, publicly available books, and a schedule of various assemblies:

> [L]icensed coffee houses … are especially renowned for their beautiful location and views, fine interiors and the great public assemblies, which are being held there on a daily basis. As a result, all who frequent them can enjoy pleasant entertainments, either by studying a variety of gazettes and history books, or in an *Academie de Jeux* through various sophisticated and permissible chess, draughts and billiard games.[107]

It may appear at first as if Crell had overlooked musical performances in this summary. Yet when he enumerates 'fine interiors', 'great public assemblies', and communal games (*Academies de Jeux*), music would not have been far from his mind. The cultural kinship

---

[106] '[D]ie öffentlich privilegirten Caffee-Häuser werden von vornehmen Passagiers auch häuffig besuchet/ unter denenselben ist das Französische auf der Schloß-Gasse das berühmteste/ als worinnen sonderlich Abends die vornehmsten Cavalliers and Dames, sich mit Caffee, Chocloade, Rasade, Limenade auch Toback divertiren/ und die Gazetten in vielerley Sprachen lesen etc.' Johann Christian Crell [Iccander], *Das ... fast auf dem ... höchsten Gipffel der Vollkommenheit prangende Dreßden* (Leipzig, 1719), 24-5.

[107] '[D]ie ... privilegirten ... *Caffé*-Häuser [sind] so wohl wegen ihrer schönen Gelegenheit, Aussicht, und guten Accommodement, als auch sonst wegen dere sich täglich darinnen ereignenden grossen *Assembléen* berühmt, sintemahln alle dahin kommende Personen, theils in Lesung allerhand Gazette*n* und Historischer Bücher, theils als einer *Academie de Jeux* in sinnreichen und zuläßigen unterschiedenen Schach- Bret- Damen- und *Billeard*-Spiel, sehr angenehmes *Divertissement* finden.' Johann Christian Crell [Iccander], *In gantz Europa berühmte, galante und sehens-würdige königliche Leipzig in Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1725), 87-8. For a different translation and commentary, see for example, Schulze, 'Ey! How sweet the coffee tastes', 9-10.

between gaming, learned discourse and music, for example, in Italian courts of the eighteenth century was recently noted by Michael Talbot. In a far-reaching discussion of genre conventions relating to Italian cantatas, he reports the following:

> In Italy courts were not necessarily the residence of political rulers, but also of aristocratic households … living in a courtly manner, including social customs and occasions, such as *accademie* and *conversazioni*, which were assemblies during which music-making took its place amongst learned debates, poetry recitals and games of cards.[108]

The conventions of Italian *accadamie* and *conversazioni* consequently routinely combined spoken discourse, card games and music and can, indeed, be usefully applied to Leipzig's coffee houses. As a local business register, published as *Leipzig as it Flourishes in the Year of 1714* (*Das Anno 1714 florirende Leipzig*) confirms, 'twice weekly performances by *Collegii Musici* [sic]' took place, for example, at the distinguished address of Lehmann's coffee house.[109]

Nonetheless, Bach's musical surroundings at Zimmermann's are rarely discussed in view of the wide-ranging and distinguished customs of *accademie* and *conversazioni*. On the contrary; one of the few academics who has published on Leipzig's coffee houses, the literary historian Ulla Heise, even doubts that eighteenth-century coffee houses provided an adequate setting for 'serious' music at all:

> In spite of the significance of Leipzig's coffee-houses for the development of a bourgeois [and] public concert-praxis, they play but a marginal role in the development of serious concerts [*ernste Konzertpraxis*]. For a certain time such smoke-filled venues satisfied standards, but were soon unable to keep up with the rapidly unfolding development and became too small and, most importantly, were no longer respectable enough. Musicians, who were devoted to serious genres, turned their back on coffee houses and taverns by the end of the eighteenth century, played in middle-class rooms in the nineteenth century and gave way to military brass bands and … ensembles for light entertainment.[110]

---

[108] Michael Talbot, 'Die italienische weltliche Kantate', in: Christoph Wolff and Ton Koopman (eds.), *Johann Sebastian Bachs weltliche Kantaten* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler/ Bärenreiter, 1997), 2, 35.
[109] 'Das eine ist Hrn. Johann Lehmanns, Königl. Pohln. und Churf. Sächs. Hof-*Chocolatier*, am Marckte, in *D.* Schlaffs Hause, ist allergnädigst *privilegi*ret, und wegen der schönen Zimmer, Gelegenheit, Ausicht, und gutem *Accomodement*, als auch des allda wöchentl. 2. mahl gehaltenen *Collegii Musici*, wovon pag. 38 Meldung geschehen, berühmt.' Anon., *Das Anno 1714 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: C. F. Rumpff, 1714), 93.
[110] 'Trotz der Bedeutung der Leipziger Kaffeehäuser für die Entstehung einer bürgerlichen-öffentlichen Konzertpraxis ... spielen sie jedoch für die Entwicklung der ernsten Konzertpraxis nur die Rolle einer marginalen Episode. Eine gewisse Zeit genügten die verräucherten Räumlichkeiten den Ansprüchen, dann waren sie für die sprunghaft einsetzende Entwicklung zu klein und vor allem zu wenig repräsäntativ. Die Musiker, die das ernstere Genre pflegten, zogen am Ende des 18. Jh. aus den deutschen Kaffeehäusern und

Heise outlines a familiar narrative, which has already been touched upon in chapter 1, for example in the historiographical framework of Philipp Spitta's seminal Bach biography.[111] Based on a combination of Marxist-Leninist historiography (Heise taught and published most of her work under Communist rule in East Germany) and perhaps even a free paraphrase of Spitta, aspects of nineteenth-century high art are transferred to an earlier century and then identified as an identical phenomenon *in nuce*. However, owing to a tacit equation of chronology with progress, historical precedents are also assigned an inferior status compared to later developments.

According to Heise, 'serious' musicians for example gradually abandoned coffee houses in search of superior venues as their art allegedly advanced. Their deserted cultural home even serves to illustrate a less-developed state of music itself ('smoke-filled premises may have conformed to contemporary [i.e. lower] standards, but … were unable to keep up with a rapid development'). Misunderstandings about the character of Bach's performance environment promptly ensue, which is perhaps best illustrated by the cultural evaluation of tobacco smoking. Whereas Heise clearly sees it as an indication of disrespectful listening habits, Bach's contemporaries almost certainly held views to the contrary. As is documented, for example in Stoppe's coffee aria and Iccander's promotional characterisation of Dresden's largest coffee house on *Schloß-Gasse* (see above), the use of tobacco and the availability of prepared pipes rather signalled both, economic affluence and cultural refinement.

Nevertheless, circumventing Heise's implicit reliance on late-Romantic conceptions of 'high' and 'low' art requires the crossing of several aesthetic and historical divides. The first among them, to borrow an influential metaphor by the cultural theorist

---

Wirtschaften wieder aus, spielten im 19. Jh. in bürgerlichen Konzertsälen und machten Platz für Militärkapellen oder .... Unterhaltungskapellen.' Ulla Heise, *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus: eine Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1987), 152.

[111] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 39; Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, II, 497-98.

Andreas Huyssen, is of course a notion of high art that conforms to the disembodied ideals of musical absoluteness advocated by nineteenth-century thinkers.[112] As Huyssen lucidly argues in his collection of essays, *After the Great Divide*, its emergence as a cultural concept depended to a considerable extent on a concomitant and antagonistic other; the (allegedly) mindless entertainment for undereducated and often destitute masses.[113] However, Huyssen's analysis also reveals a conceptual void for cultural endeavours in Bach's time. Merely assuming, for example, that Bach lived at a time 'before' a chasm between the cultured few and the unschooled many had opened up, will hardly suffice. Indeed, few thinkers (as well as musical practitioners) were preoccupied more intensely with rank, hierarchy and levels of skill than Bach's contemporaries. It is of vital importance, therefore, to trace the socio-cultural fault lines that separated different kinds of musical practice also in the eighteenth century.

A considerable degree of critical prestige was invested in (and inferred from) the professional rank of musicians. As is well known, Bach himself took great pride in his occupational status as Capellmeister. In an extensively discussed personal letter from 28 October 1730, he expressed the following concern, for example, about his decision to move to Leipzig in 1723:

> [I]t pleased God that I should be called hither [Leipzig] to be … Cantor at the St. Thomas School. Though at first, indeed, it did not seem at all proper to me to change my position of Capellmeister for that of Cantor.[114]

Whereas Robert Marshall considered the passage as evidence of Bach's essentially 'progressive' stylistic outlook at end of the 1970s, Alfred Dürr recognised as early as 1962 that social rank must have been weighing on Bach's mind rather more heavily than

[112] Andreas Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).
[113] Ibid., viii.
[114] David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 151.

matters of creative conviction.[115] In a public exchange with Friedrich Blume on the musical significance of Bach's faith, he noted that

> although he, according to Blume, donned the cantor's robe 'only with great reluctance' once more- was it a reluctance to be in the service of the church, or a reluctance to accept the social position of a cantor?[116]

It is particularly revealing to note in this context that the influential critic and theorist Johann Mattheson (1681 - 1764) published a clear distinction between the social positions of Cantors and Capellmeister in 1740. It lends clear support to the observation, Dürr's rhetorical question evidently implies. In keeping with Bach's personal concerns, Mattheson also associates the most wide-ranging achievements with the courtly duties of Capellmeister, whilst ranking the position of Cantor a close second. In Mattheson's widely-read treatise *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (*Foundation of a Triumphal Arch*), he details his views on the matter as follows:

> I shall describe a Capellmeister, Cantor, Organist und *Musikant* … with precision, so that everyone shall recognise them and be able to tell them apart with ease. …. A Capellmeister is a learned court official and composer of the highest rank, who creates sacred and secular music for an emperor, king, great duke and patron …, and has it performed for the glory of God, the pleasure of his patron, and to the benefit of the entire court. … A cantor, however, is an employee of the church and school, who is musically trained, teaches the young in an orderly manner, must be well-versed in composition …, for the glory of the Highest [and] the edification of the congregation ….[117]

---

[115] Robert L. Marshall, 'Bach the progressive: observations on his later works', *The Musical Quarterly* (1976), 62/3, 327. For a far-reaching critique of the notion of stylistic progress in Bach's music, see Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 219-44.

[116] 'Wenngleich er [Bach] nach Blume den Kantorenrock "nur sehr widerstrebend" wieder angezogen hat – galt dieses Widerstreben dem Kirchendienst oder der sozialen Stellung eines Kantors?' Alfred Dürr, 'Zum Wandel des Bach-Bildes. Zu Friedrich Blumes Mainzer Vortrag.', *Musik und Kirche* (1962), 4, 151. For an excellent summary of key publications in the protracted Capellmeister-versus-Cantor debate and its scholarly nuances, see Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen, 'Universalität und Zersplitterung. Wege der Bachforschung 1945-2005', in: Michael Heinemann and Hans-Joachim Hinrichsen (eds.), *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Gegenwart* (Köln: Verlag Dohr, 2007), 117-57.

[117] '[Ich] will ... einen Capellmeister, Cantor, Organisten und Musikanten ... genau beschreiben, daß sie alle Welt kennen, und leicht von einander unterscheiden soll. .... Ein Capellmeister ist ... ein gelehrter Hofbeamter und Componist im höchsten Grad: welcher eines Kaisers, Königs oder grossen Fürsten und Herrn geist- und weltliche Musiken verfertiget ... und ... vollziehen läßt: Gott zu Ehren, seinem Herrn zur Vergnügung , und dem gantzen Hofe zum Nutzen. .... Ein Cantor hergegen ist ein musikgelehrter Kirchen- und Schulbedienter, der die Jugend in wohl-bestellter Weise unterrichtet, der Composition wohl erfahren seyn ... muß; zum Lobe des Höchsten [und] Erbauung der Gemeinde ....' Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Kassel, Paris, London, Basel: Bärenreiter, 1969), xxxii-xxxiii.

Whereas a Cantor is consequently entrusted with taking care of the spiritual edification of congregations, the calling of a Capellmeister is yet more distinguished. As composers of the 'highest calibre', their musical practice not merely fortifies the spirits of ordinary citizens, but the august minds of kings, emperors and noble members of their courts. Moreover, the musical responsibilities of a Capellmeister also had the widest scope, as it required appointees to compose music both for stately and religious celebrations.

Further links between professional rank and different levels of competence are known to have applied to musicians in Bach's time. In a comprehensive study on musician novels, dating mostly from the seventeenth century, Stephen Rose recently uncovered a wealth of fresh evidence that illustrates how closely music-critical evaluations overlapped with professional roles.[118] Bach's office in Leipzig, for example, routinely required him to examine salaried town musicians, who were a comparatively privileged group of practitioners at the time.[119] Indeed, their higher level of musical respectability rested mostly on an official endorsement of their skills and abilities. As Rose's reading of a novel from 1691 by Wolfgang Caspar Printz (1641 - 1717), *Musicus magnanimus oder Pancalus* demonstrates, municipal musicians were routinely compared to a group of less accomplished practitioners, commonly (and usually dismissively) known as Beer-fiddlers. Whereas Printz characterised Beer-fiddlers as unable to 'read music', accustomed to being 'paid with beer', performing for 'peasants, burghers and nobility', known to 'lower the honour of their audience', and perform 'music full of consecutive fifths and octaves' whilst serving 'Bacchus [the God of Wine], and Venus [the Goddess of Love]', their more reputable opposite of municipal musicians, 'play from notation or from memory', 'charge fees', 'play for burghers', 'refresh and delight men tired by work',

[118] Stephen Rose, *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[119] Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 261.

'play music based on careful industry and practice', and 'serve God by playing in church'.[120]

Evidence of such distinctions is immensely valuable. However, it is not yet apparent how they might also illuminate the cultural character of Bach's performance environment at Zimmermann's coffee house. Although Bach's Collegium musicum featured a handful of Leipzig's salaried town pipers, for example, their professional standing can hardly be equated with the repute of the entire ensemble (which also included a varying body of student musicians and perhaps even competent amateurs). Similarly, Michael Talbot's socio-cultural conventions relating to *accademie* and *conversazioni* apply primarily to aristocratic circles, as does Johann Mattheson's professional hierarchy that culminates in a court appointment and regal title.[121] It is vital to recognise, therefore, that in addition to hierarchical considerations, a considerable degree of physiological theory and concern over the impact of music on audiences is implicit in Rose's reading of Printz's novel already. Beer-fiddlers, for example, are derided for lowering the 'honour of their audience' (which clearly implies a dishonourable, or corrupting effect of their music), whereas the practice of municipal musicians is deemed to 'refresh and delight men tired by work' (which suggests a corresponding opposite). The distinction indeed hinges on a combination of moral and physiological observations that were believed to govern the effect of musical sound at the time. It is necessary, therefore, to also explore the foundations of this juxtaposition, and determine which venues these different kinds of performances were typically associated with.

[120] Rose, *The Musician in Literature*, 95.
[121] For details concerning the collaboration between Leipzig's local musicians and Bach's ensembles, see Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 252, 261-62, 364.

Musical spells, worldly desires and heavenly music

Vital evidence regarding covert moral evaluations in music-critical thinking in Bach's time has survived, for example, in a literary description of a performance by itinerant musicians at Leipzig during one of the city's trade fairs. In 1724 the inaugural issue of a short-lived periodical, entitled *Der Leipziger Patriot* (*The Leipzig Patriot*), carried a chilling report of musical goings-on outside the city gates. It provides a vivid impression not only of the performances of travelling singers and their accompanists, but also illustrates the disdain (and fear) with which more affluent citizens viewed their music. The extract has so far been discussed primarily by scholars of German literature, but its contents are also of considerable music-historical interest:

> As soon as one crosses the thresholds of the inner-city gates at the moment, eyes, ears and the sense of smell tell us that a trade fair is being held at Leipzig. The unmistakable and disagreeable odour of field kitchens that are erected from a mixture of wood and excrement, announces to all visitors that this is the place, where one is ready to serve putrid pork-meat, moulded sausages and boiled cabbage to each and everyone according to their rank and honour. The ear cannot help but be diverted by the agreeable song of fair-harpists, and the barbaric shouting of a cruel spirit (*Weicht*) and a screaming caution bewitches all listeners, and awakes such awe for these crude master-singers that they readily disperse in front of them to grant an easy passage. The harps of these people therefore have a rather different effect than the harp of Orpheus, because, whereas the latter was capable of drawing all human and animal creatures near on account of a well-liked tone, those hurry people and animals along instead.[122]

The condemnation of the described musicians could hardly be expressed in starker terms. Indeed, the graphic depiction of squalid field kitchens and foul stenches translates effortlessly into a veritable dystopia that illustrates the acute danger posed by the

[122] 'Sobald man anjetzo die Schwellen unserer Stadt-Thore überschreitet, verkündiget uns so wohl das Gesicht und Gehör, als auch der Geruch, daß in Leipzig die Messe gefeyert werde. Der empfindliche und unangenehme Geruch derer von Holtz und Koth erbauten Gar-Küchen berichtet allen Ankommenden, es sey hier der Ort, da man jedem mit stinkendem Schweinen-Fleisch, verschimmelter Knackwurst und aufgewärmten Kohl nach Stand und Würden aufwarten wolle. Das Gehör kan nicht anders, als sich an dem angenehmen Gesang derer Meß-Harpffenisten vergnügen, und das unmenschliche Geschrey eines grausamen Weicht und brüllenden Vorsehens, bezaubert alle Zuhörer, und erwecket in ihnen eine so große Ehrfurcht vor diesen groben Meistersängern, daß sie ihnen willig und gerne den Weg räumen, und einen freyen Durchzug gestatten. Die Harpffen dieser Leute haben demnach eine weit andere Würckung als die Harpfe des Orpheus, denn da dieser durch einen beliebten Thon alle Menschen und Thiere an sich zu ziehen vermochte, pflegen im Gegentheil diese durch ihre Music alle Menschen und Thiere von sich zu treiben.' Anon., '1. Stück', *Der Leipziger Patriot* (1724), partly transcribed in Joachim Kirchner, '"Der Leipziger Patriot"', *Publizistik* (1962), 3, 165.

'barbaric shouting' of 'crude master-singers'. Yet, even if the literary device of satirical exaggeration is taken into account, the judgement of the vexed *Patriot* is rooted in a clear critical framework.

Rather than commenting on the performed music, for example, the account focuses exclusively on its effect on bystanders and passers-by. In stark contrast to later, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century criticism, no reference is made to specific songs or repertoire. Furthermore, the critic's description is steeped in allegorical types and figures that would have been readily identified at the time as articulating a clear contrast between the presented scenario and the spheres and character of reputable musical practice. Musical instruments, for example, are characterised as a debased counterpart to the enchanting and life-affirming harp of Orpheus. Indeed, the author clearly objects to something more fundamental than a lack of musical skill and formal training. Rather, readers are presented with a highly dramatic account of moral discord between 'all human and animal creatures' caused by the demonic wailing of an evil *Weicht* (which is likely to denote a goblin-like creature).

In keeping with this allusion to supernatural forces, the lowest kind of musical practice in Bach's time was indeed feared as the work of the devil. As such, it not only presented an acute danger to the human mind and its spiritual integrity, but was also deemed capable of temporarily depriving individuals of the very quality that distinguished humans from animals; free will. A short piece from a music-journal called *Der musicalische Patriot* (*The Musical Patriot*), which is presented here for the first time, can usefully illustrate this perceived danger. In a didactic anecdote about a fictitious diplomat, called Nostalgites, an author, who has only been identified as Henke, warned readers in the 1740s that magic spells could easily be cast in the guise of music. What is more, demonic

musical practitioners not only moved freely among social outcasts and misfits, but also penetrated affluent circles with remarkable ease:[123]

> The all-too-close friendship, which music has secretly entertained with the craft of magical embezzlement so far … is a further cause of our incited rage. Magicians and Sorceresses have undoubtedly found refuge in the realm of music, since their persecution with fire and sword has ceased. …. Nostalgites [once] was acquainted with a musical lady in a foreign place. But he then received a swift order to seek out his motherland …. What happens? …. She sits down at the … *Claveßin*, and discloses her passion to him in a … magical aria. Nostalgites is deeply stirred, but has to travel. As soon as he arrives at home … he is befallen by a well-nigh insurmountable homesickness, and cannot be cured from it, until he has chosen as his doctor the one who bewitched him with this plague. One must decide for oneself if such things occur naturally … ?[124]

Similar to the pernicious song of Leipzig's trade harpists, Henke's 'magical aria' derives its power from the same supernatural source. Once more, its presence is seemingly independent from object-based characteristics (i.e. not tied to the music 'itself'), and becomes manifest solely as an affective response. Instead of causing an outer commotion, however, (as the panicked flight of a human crowd), the musical poison of Henke's aria wields its power internally, causing restlessness, confusion of thought, and loss of willpower. Body and soul could therefore become subjugated to acoustic powers emanating from an even lower sphere than that of corporeal reality. In its most debased and dangerous form, 'low' music in Bach's time was feared and condemned as demonic magic.

Ranking one step above such satanic spells was a further kind of 'low' music, which exercised musical writers mainly for its strong resonance with appetitive faculties

---

[123] For questions of attribution regarding *Der musicalische Patriot*, see Wilhelm Freystätter and Eduard Gregoir, *Die musikalischen Zeitschriften seit ihrer Entstehung bis zur Gegenwart* (Amsterdam: Frits A.M. Knuf, 1963), 8; Ernst Ludwig Gerber, *Neues Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1966), 2, 634.

[124] 'Die gar zu genaue Freundschaft, die die Musica ins geheim mit der Bezauberungs-Kunst bisanhero unterhalten … ist die andere Bewegungs-Ursache unseres gegen sie aufgebrachten Unwillens. Die Zauberer und Zauberinnnen haben sich ohn allen Zweifel zu der Zeit, da man sie mit Feuer und Schwerdt zu verfolgen aufgehöret ... in die musicalischen Gebiethe verstecket. .... Nostalgites hat am fremden Orte einigen Umgang mit einem musicalischen Frauenzimmer gehabt. Er bekömmt aber schleunigen Befehl, wiederum sein Vaterland zu suchen ... Was geschiehet? .... Sie setzt sich an ... das Claveßin, und entdeckt ihm in einer ... zauberhaften Arie ... ihre Leidenschaften. Nostalgites wird gerühret, er muß aber reisen. Er ist kaum zu Hause, so ... plaget ihm das fast unheilbare Heimweh, und kann also nicht eher davon befreyet werden, bis er diejenige zu seiner Arztin angenommen, die ihm seine Plage an den Hals gehexet. Man urtheile, ob dieß mit rechten Dingen zugehe ... ?' Henke, 'Das sechste Stück', *Der musicalische Patriot* (1741), 45, 46-7.

of the soul and human desire. Even the nineteenth-century aesthetician Eduard Hanslick still spoke of music's unique propensity to further the ingestion of food and drink. Hanslick chose banqueting as an example to illustrate a contrasting opposite to the highest form of musical appreciation, the contemplation of 'sounding form', in his treatise *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (*On Musical Beauty*). As Hanslick explains, even '[t]he best compositions can be played as *musique du table* to ease the digestion of roast pheasants'.[125] Paradoxically, affective hierarchies consequently continued to function as critical categories even for a theorist who was mostly concerned with matters relating to abstract form and aesthetic beauty in the late nineteenth century. Crucially, Hanslick also considers music that stimulates physical appetite a lesser art, which suggests perhaps that older associations between music, desire and appetite continued to influence also his critical thinking on some level.

The greatest concerns for eighteenth-century theorists, by comparison, concerned sexual appetites. Henke's choice to illustrate the power of musical magic with a story about a female sorceress is unlikely to have been a coincidence, therefore. Nevertheless, musical enchantment still had an important role to play in musical practice by young women. As part of respectable courtship rituals, for example, the aim of rousing romantic affection by means of musical affects was, in fact, a common justification for instructing women how to play a musical instrument. The importance of lutes and clavichords in this respect was illustrated, for example, by the famous eighteenth-century engraver Johann Elias Ridinger (1698 - 1767) in a mezzotint, entitled *The clavichord that awakes contemplation and pleasure*. Ridinger's evocative depiction of a female keyboard player, who fixes the viewer with a longing glance from her instrument, is explained by the following verse, which indicates that musical charm indeed shared certain qualities with acoustic spells:

[125] 'Die besten Kompositionen können als Tafelmusic gespielt werden und die Verdauung der Fasane erleichtern.' Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (Leipzig, 1858), 83.

> This game is rightfully called a key to the heart/
> Because the heartfelt affect heeds its sound ….[126]

Similar to musical witchcraft, amorous performances are credited with the power to influence the affective state of another person externally ('the heartfelt affect [i.e. emotions of male suitor] *heeds* its sound [i.e. music played by the female keyboardist]'). Nonetheless, a crucial difference separates both kinds, as musical affection merely sways the heart of an admirer, but does not seize it with literal magical force. Also, as the reference to contemplation and 'pleasure' in the title suggests, the awakened desire is directed reassuringly towards the worldly domain of romantic longing and human courtship.

Music that stokes affectionate passion frequently features in depictions by visual artists, and its iconography can usefully point towards some of the mythological allegories that were frequently invoked to describe it in Bach's time. Physical needs were routinely represented as anthropomorphised animal shapes, and sexual desire in particular was customarily depicted in the shape of half-goat figures. They are easily recognised by walking upright on their hind legs, and often fix other characters or the viewer with rigid and mildly threatening half-smiles. In the eighteenth century, they were known as Satyrs, and Bach's contemporary and literary critic, Johann Christoph Gottsched explained their relevant symbolism as follows in 1760:

> Satyrs ... are gods of the wood …. They are usually depicted as half human and half goat with horns. Often they only feature horns and goat hoofs. A Satyr is the customary emblem for sexual arousal.[127]

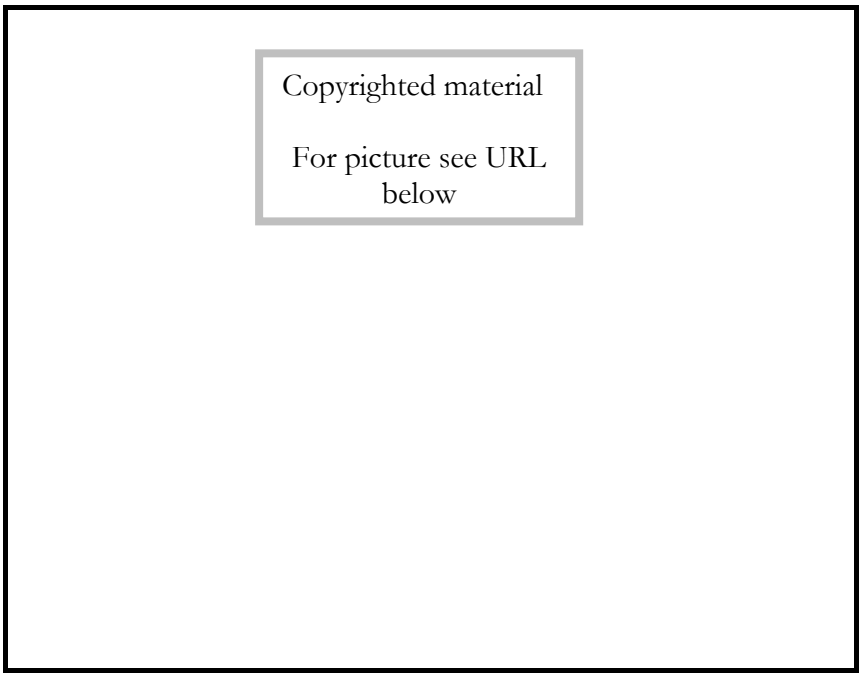
---

[126] 'Ein Herzens Schlüssel wird mit recht dis Spiel genenet, / Dieweil nach dessen Klang sich richt der Herz-Affect.' It is difficult to ascertain a precise date of publication. For bibliographic details of similar 'musical figures with scenery and German and Latin German verses', see Georg August W. Thienemann, *Leben und Wirken des unvergleichlichen Thiermalers und Kupferstechers Johann Elias Ridinger* (Leipzig, 1856), 262 ff. For an online reproduction of the poem with original illustration, see Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, <http://www.kk.haum-bs.de/?id=j-e-ridinger-ab2-0071>.

[127] 'Satyren … sind Waldgötter …. Man malet sie halb als Menschen und halb als Böcke mit Hörnern. Sehr oft haben sie nur die Hörner und Bockfüße. Ein Satyr ist das gewöhnliche Sinnbild der Geilheit.' Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Handlexicon ... der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* (Leipzig, 1760), 1444.

Satyrs make regular appearances in depictions of musical performance, where they unfailingly identify the quality of expressed affects as appealing to the lower faculties of the soul.

One of the most prominent contexts for such depictions of low musical art is Ovid's legend of the contest between Apollo and Pan. Owing to Pan's mythological association with the physical universe, artists often combined his characteristic attribute, the flute (and by implication his music) with symbols of physical desire. A sixteenth-century wood carving by Virgil Solis, for example, explicitly links the symbolism of half-goats to the musical realm of Pan, and even depicts the ancient deity as a half-goat (example 3). (In a visual allusion to the outcome of the contest, he is placed on the right-hand side of the picture, which means that he is facing the judge from the left.) What is more, Pan's losing side of the competition is also represented by an observing crowd of Satyrs.



Example 3: Virgil Solis, The Judgement of Midas.[128]

[128] Picture source: German Masters of the Sixteenth Century, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, 19/1, Retrospective conversion by ARTstor Inc., <http://library.artstor.org>, accessed 17/05/2008.

Pan's spirit and fears of conjuring up physical desires are encountered with similar frequency in musical treatises. Owing to this ubiquity, this includes texts that are closely linked with Bach and his musical teaching. Friedrich Erhardt Niedt's famous manual on thoroughbass, for example, which was published as *Musicalische Handleitung* (*Musical Manual*) in 1710, is known to have guided countless Bach students in their study of polyphonic part-writing.[129] The influential text also distinguishes between 'heavenly' and 'earthly' purposes of music, identifying the latter as deficient and in need of improvement. Adapted to a Christian context, Niedt identifies the highest end of music as a skilled practice that enhances the glory of God. Similar to Solis's depiction of Pan's crowd, moreover, its corresponding opposite is identified as musical practice that seeks to awaken sexual desire:

> Lastly, the purpose and ultimate aim of all music … shall be nothing but the glory of God and recreation of the mind/ … those who abuse this noble and divine art to incite sexual pleasure and physical desire are musical craftsmen of the devil/ but in the ears of God it is nothing but a disgraceful din.[130]

At the lower end of the critical spectrum, unsophisticated musical practice was consequently equated with 'bad' music in an overtly moral sense. It was acutely feared as an acoustic means to incite carnal vice and potentially pernicious sins of the flesh.

However, the basis of such fears was more profound than mere prudishness or regressive conservatism. In Bach's time, music was still widely believed to possess partly irrational powers, a conviction that was based on an intriguing combination of neo-Aristotelian ideals of balanced moderation and Galenic and Paracelsian views on the

---

[129] Spellings of Niedt's first name vary. Most Anglo-American bibliographers render it with two 'e's, following the title page of, for example, the third volume, which I have also adopted. For further details on Niedt's importance for Bach's teaching and the relevant documentary evidence, see Hans-Joachim Schulze, '"Das Stück im Goldpapier": zu Bachs Generalbasslehre', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1978), 19-42.

[130] 'Endlich soll auch der Finis oder End-Ursache aller Music ... seyn/ nichts als nur Gottes-Ehre und Recreation des Gemüths/ .... diejenigen/ welche diese edle und göttliche Kunst mißbrauchen zum Zunder der Wollust und fleischlichen Begierden/ die sind Teufels-Musicanten/ ... aber in den Ohren Gottes ist es ein schändliches Geplärr.' Friederich Erhardt Niedt, *Musicalische Handleitung* (Hamburg, 1700), folio A4 *verso*. For a full translation of Niedt's treatises see Friederich Erhardt Niedt, Irmgard C. Taylor (ed.), *The Musical Guide*, transl. by Pamela L. Poulin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

inner workings of human temperament and its physiological humours.[131] Henke's sixth instalment of the *Musical Patriot* summarises the central mechanism that was believed to short-circuit musical passions with human thought with exceptional clarity in the following:

> The stirred mechanisms of the ear, at the same time stir those parts of the brain with which it is connected, and thus provoke thoughts of such kind in the soul, as music seeks to teach it. Now, it is furthermore known that the motions of the soul and the senses form a close union with those of the passions and the mind.[132]

Even without delving deeply into contemporary philosophy and medicine, Henke's metaphor of music as a 'teacher' of human passion is particularly useful to summarise the affinity that was generally believed to connect the human mind, its bodily passions and musical affects. The partly enchanted 'mechanisms of the ear' were considered an almost immediate link between affects that were portrayed in music, and a physical response. As a result, reputable and dishonourable musical practice were largely described in terms of their effect on audiences, either as beneficial and a force for good (by increasing serenity and balanced calm), or detrimental and harmful (by agitating and confusing both mind and the senses).

To be sure, the precise mechanisms of how musicians might stir or calm these passions remained largely conjectural. Contrary to the hopes of many musicologists in the late 1970s, for example, attempts to reconstruct specific affective 'figurae' in eighteenth-century music ultimately proved futile, partly for this reason. As George Buelow explains,

---

[131] For a useful summary of this medico-philosophical background see Penelope M. Gouk, 'Music in Francis Bacon's natural philosophy', in: Marta Fattori (ed.), *Francis Bacon: Terminologia e fortuna nel XVII secolo. Seminario internazionale, Roma, 11-13 marzo 1984* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984), 139-54.

[132] 'Die gerührten Werkzeuge des Gehörs rühren auch zugleich die mit ihnen verknüpften Theile des Gehirns, und veranlassen also die Seele zu solchen Gedanken, welche die Music ihr auf solche Art beyzubringen bemühet ist. Nun ist ferner bekannt, daß die Veränderungen des Cörpers und der Sinne mit denen Leidenschaften und Bewegungen des Gemüths in genauer Vereinigung stehen ....', Henke, *Der musicalische Patriot*, 46.

> [m]usic theorists and composers talked incessantly about expressing the Affections, although one finds little in the literature that is consistent as to … how the Affections were to be conveyed in practical, musical terms.[133]

As far as rhetorical impact was concerned, however, the difference between music that was believed to derange or soothe the human mind did indeed operate as a critical benchmark. Excessive turbulence and aroused excitement either indicated a control of the mind by demonic spirits, or was feared for its potential to reinforce earthbound desires of the humoral soul.

The highest kind of musical practice, by comparison, was believed to achieve an opposite effect, and calm the human mind. A particularly useful description of this purpose is contained in a cantata libretto, entitled *An ein Collegium Musicum* (*To a Collegium Musicum*), which was published in 1722.[134] Its authorship is not entirely clear, but it was either written by the theologian and poet Erdmann Neumeister (1671 - 1756), or the editor of Neumeister's treatise *Die allerneueste Art, zur reinen und galanten Poesie zu gelangen (On the latest Method to Achieve a Pure and Gallant Poetry*), Christian Friedrich Hunold.[135] As in Stoppe's *da capo* aria on coffee, 'good' music is praised for its capactity to calm humoral turbulence in listeners and induce a state of serenity and contentedness:

> Does music played by violins/ want to calm my soul?/ Yes. Yes./ Rejoice oh senses!/ The remedy is certain./ Neapolis knows/ Of a kind of spider,/ The bite of which cannot be cured,/ Except for/ The sound of sweet strings./ Thus if a melancholic poison/ like a spider, penetrates my mind/ Music shall provide me with/ a panacea.[136]

The medicinal metaphor is steeped in contemporaneous ideas on humoral physiology and associated ideas on musical sound. The references to 'Neapolis' and poisonous spider bites, for example, allude directly to some of the most famous

---

[133] George J. Buelow, 'Mattheson and the invention of the *Affektenlehre*', in: George J. Buelow (ed.), *New Mattheson Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 396.
[134] Neumeister and Menantes, *Die allerneueste Art*, 329-33.
[135] For recent research on Hunold's professional dealings with Neumeister, see Jens-F. Dwars, *Das zu Unrecht vergessene Leben & Werk des ... Christian Friedrich Hunold alias Menantes* (Bucha bei Jena: Quartus, 2005), 33-4.
[136] 'Will die Music mit Violinen/ Mir zur Gemüths-Ruh dienen?/ Ja. Ja./ Ermuntert euch ihr Sinnen!/ Das Mittel ist gewiß./ Es weiß Neapolis/ Von einer Art der Spinnen,/ Vor deren Stich hilfft sonsten keine Cur,/ Als nur/ Der Klang der süssen Sayten./ Drum da ein melancholisch Gifft/ Als eine Spinne, mein Gemüthe trifft,/ Soll die Music,/ Mir eine Panacee bereiten.' Neumeister and Menantes, *Die allerneueste Art*, 330.

examples of therapeutic music. The mention of Neapolis invokes both a figurative authority and refers to an identifiable historical person. In 1706 the physician and scholar Ludovico Valletta published a widely-read treatise on the effects of tarantula bites at Naples, which is identified as 'Neapoli' on the orginal title page.[137] Like many authors before him, Valletta believed the bite of tarantulas to be the cause of a disease which had been described since the fourteenth century as 'tarantism'.[138] Like the 'panacea' mentioned in *To a Collegium Musicum*, the traditional treatment of choice was musical. It consisted of the performance of select tunes (known accordingly as tarantellas) which were widely reported to induce cathartic dancing fits to cure (or relieve) symptoms that typically included a temporary loss of consciousness (in response to initial contact with the poison), which was followed by hypersensitivity to particular colours and sounds.

Although Valetta envisaged the therapeutic effect of tarantellas as a kind of musical exorcism, earlier physicians also invoked the principles of humoral medicine to explain the phenomenon. As Gary Tomlinson notes,

> the fourteenth-century [treatise] *Sertum papale* [*de venenis* (written by the Paduan doctor Guilielmus de Marra in 1362)] … elucidated the … healing power [of tarantula songs] instead on the basis of the mechanics of traditional humoral medicine: the melancholic sickness caused by the bite is combatted by the joyful nature of music ….[139]

Bach's contemporaries would readily have associated such contrasting combinations of physical and musical affects (melancholic sickness and joyful music) with medical notions of healing. Since ancient times, philosophers and physicians as, for example, Galen of Pergamon had sought to explain human diseases in terms of imbalances between bodily humours. This invested the notion of harmonious affects with a crucial significance

---

[137] Ludovico Valletta, *De phalangio apulo opusculum* (Neapoli, 1706).
[138] For a comprehensive account of the history of the disease, see Henry E. Sigerist, 'The Story of Tarantism' in: Dorothy M. Schullian and Max Schoen (eds.), *Music and Medicine* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948), 96-116. A more recent summary can be found in Jerri Daboo, *Ritual, Rapture and Remorse: A Study of Tarantism and Pizzica in Salento* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 100-52. See also Penelope Gouk, *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1999), 178-79.
[139] Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*: *Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 163.

which, as Henke's explanation of affective mechanisms in the brain suggests, also had an immediate musical relevance in Bach's time.

The cantata *To a Collegium Musicum* provides a useful illustration of this healing effect associated with the highest kind of musical practice. After witnessing a succession of pieces (which is specified as a 'sonata with violins', a two-part arrangement for flute and bassoon, a Turkish March and 'ball room favourite', a piece for viola da gamba and singing voice, a suite, and a concluding 'Partie'), the narrating poet, likewise, describes reflief from troubling thoughts and a lifting of spirits:

> All frustration has now disappeared/ sorrows are fading into the background./ I sense my heart is/ following melancholy/ in all enjoyment calmed down.[140]

In stark contrast to music that fills listeners with desire (or even controls their actions), the reported outcome of sophisticated musical practice at a Collegium musicum is consequently described as an improvement in well-being which, in keeping with contemporary ideas on humoral physiology, leads to greater contentedness and calm.

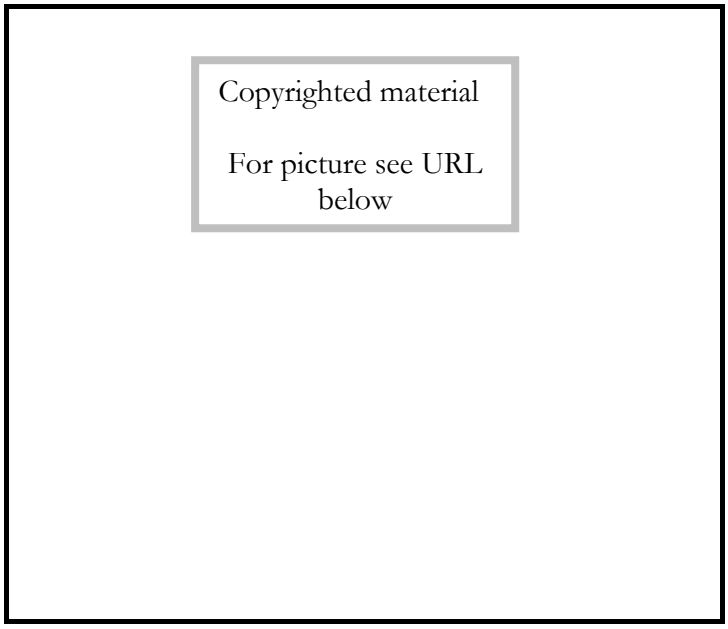
Integrated into an even wider context, the cantata *To a Collegium Musicum* also suggests a perhaps surprising link between, for example, Daniel Stoppe's praise for coffee-drinking and the professional musical practice by eighteenth-century Collegia musica. Similar to Hunold's (or Neumeister's) praise of music as an antidote for melancholy, Stoppe's aria about the virtues of coffee, tea and tobacco smoking, refers to an identical set of values when it praises coffee for 'shipwrecking' troubling thoughts. The combination of coffee-drinking and Collegium-musicum performances on Zimmermann's premises consequently possessed a far more profound significance than has so far been recognised. Both were associated with an identical ideal of improving physical and mental well-being by engaging in pursuits that furthered humoral balance and lightened dark moods.

---

[140] 'Kein Uberdruß ist weiter da,/ Die Grillen streichen hinterwärts./ Ich fühle, daß mein Hertz/ Auf die Melancholey/ In aller Vergnügung beruhiget sey.' Neumeister and Menantes, *Die allerneueste Art*, 332.

The spirit of Pan and Leipzig's Apollonian sphere of coffee houses

Based on this critical framework it is possible to also rethink the cultural standing of individual performance venues in Bach's Leipzig. Allegorical references to the spirit of Pan can, for example, be related specifically to Collegium-musicum events by the city's second ensemble under the direction of Johann Gottlieb Görner. As I show in the following, they were held for a long time at a public ball-room, known as Schellhafer's House (example 4).



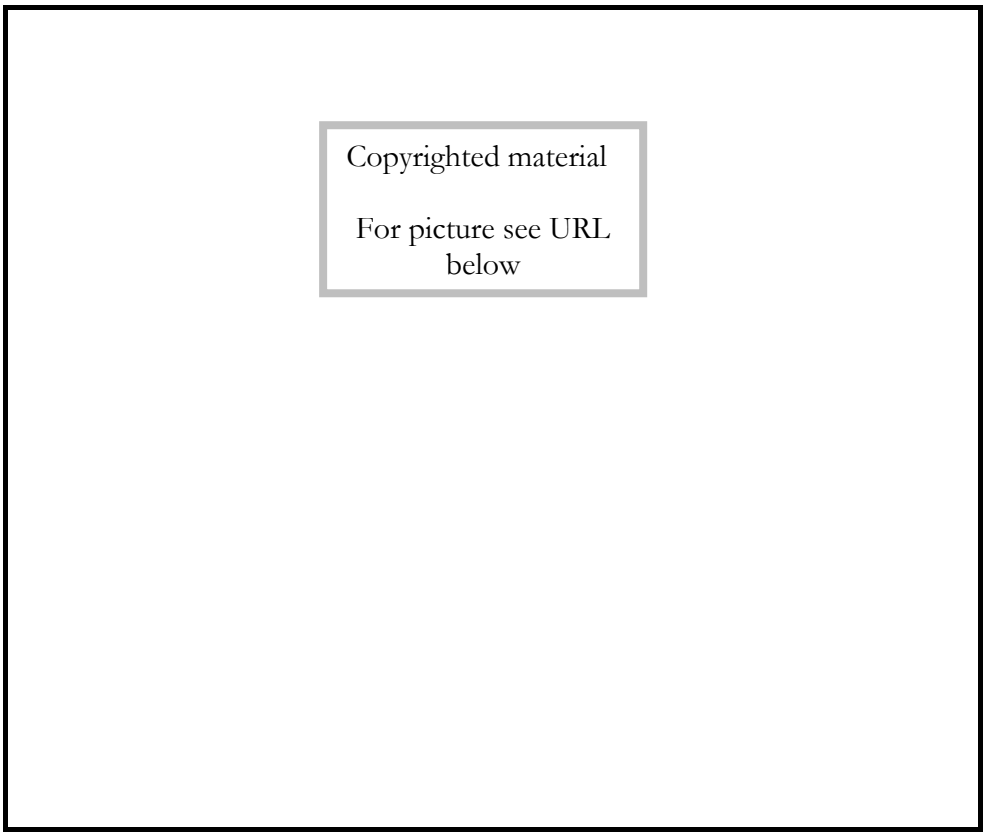
Example 4: Street view of Schellhafer's House.
The front gate of the property gave access to a courtyard with further buildings, facing the River Pleisse and some of Leipzig's formal gardens on the opposite side of the embankment. It is not documented in which part of the building musical performances took place.[141]

At the same time, administrative officials praised the ambience of coffee houses specifically for the absence of beverages and types of music that might confuse senses and affects, as many among Bach's contemporaries also suspected dance-music and alcohol of causing humoral turbulences. It is useful, therefore, to reconstruct the institutional affiliations of Leipzig's two Collegia musica in greater detail. This will not only clarify their respective reception contexts, but also illuminate how Bach's

[141] Picture source: <http://www.stadtgeschichtliches-museum-leipzig.de/site_deutsch/sammlungen/objektdatenbank/framesetting.html>, accessed 15/04/2011.

contemporaries applied humoral categories and affective theory to identify the cultural character of coffee houses as part of a distinct and arguably Apollonian cultural sphere.

A wealth of untapped and specific information about the venues that hosted Collegium-musicum events in Leipzig is contained in the city's business calendars. Gottfried Zimmermann's coffee house, for example, (example 5 below) is first mentioned in 1720, when Zimmermann appears to have founded the establishment.



Example 5: Street view of Zimmermann's coffee house (end of terrace, right hand corner). The engraving shows a scene during the earliest years of Zimmermann's business around 1722.[142]

Securing an affiliation with a Collegium musicum must have been an immediate priority, as performances by the city's second ensemble begin to be announced at Zimmermann's venue in the same year (see table 3 below).[143] In 1723, however, Zimmermann appears to have succeeded in redrawing Leipzig's musical map decisively in his favour: after having

[142] Picture Source: <http://museum.zib.de/sgml_internet/img.php?img=z0006761&width=600>, accessed 15/04/2011.
[143] Anon., *Das Anno 1720 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1720), 50, 121.

performed for approximately two decades at the city's market square, Leipzig's most prestigious Collegium musicum, Telemann's former ensemble, relocated from Lehmann's coffee-house at the market square to Bach's later venue on *Katharinen-Straße*.

In the course of this development, Zimmermann is likely to have benefited from a number of changes that affected Leipzig's coffee-businesses towards the end of the first decade in the eighteenth-century.[144] In 1718, the city's arguably most successful *caffétier*, Johann Lehmann, had purchased an inner-city property on *Kleine Fleischer-Gasse* with the intention of moving his business to newly refurbished premises. Before construction works were complete, however, Lehmann died unexpectedly at the age of 54 in 1719. The move of his coffee house still went ahead, but Telemann's former Collegium musicum remained resident at its traditional venue. Performances continue to be listed at the old address, which was now known as Hellwig's coffee house.[145] The years leading up to 1723 also brought a significant change for Fasch's former Collegium musicum, which had, up until then, been affiliated with Zimmermann's coffee business. Either in 1722 or 1723 the 'second' Collegium musicum relocated to Leipzig's arguably most spectacular performance venue at the time; Schellhafer's House on *Closter-Gasse* (example 4 above).

[144] The following summary is based on Stingl, *Kaffeebaum*, 17-23.
[145] The entries in Leipzig's business calendar for 1720 are not entirely clear. The venue of Balthasar Schott's Collegium musicum is given as 'Mr Hemm's above the Council's wine cellar'. Yet it is likely that Hellwig's Coffee house was located above Mr Hemm's cellar, as the edition of the business calendar from 1721 identifies the location of the Collegium musicum 'at Mr Hemm's on Mr Helwig's Coffee House at the market'. The address of Helwig's is, once more, given as Dr Schlaff's House, which is identical with the description of Lehmann's former premises. Anon., *Das Anno 1720 florirende Leipzig* , 50, 121. Anon., *Das Anno 1721 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: Theodor Boetius, 1721), 56.

Table 3: Leipzig's Collegia musica: venues and directors (1720-32) according to Das ietzt lebende und florirende Leipzig *1720-32.*

	('Telemann's')		('Fasch's')	
1720	Georg B. Schott	Hemm's at the market	Johann G. Vogler	**Zimmermann's** **Coffee House**
1721	Melchior Hoffmann	Hemm's ('on Helwig's Coffee House')	Samuel Endler	**Zimmermann's** **Coffee House**
1723	Georg B. Schott	**Zimmermann's** **Coffee House**	Johann G. Görner	Schellhafer's (Closter Gasse)
[1729] 1732	**J. S. Bach**	**Zimmermann's** **Coffee House**	Johann G. Görner	Schellhafer's (Closter Gasse)

To be sure, the name and location of Schellhafer's has long been known to scholars.[146] Yet it has gone unnoticed so far that its social function and interior design corresponded exactly to the defining qualities of Pan's music that so often troubled music-critics and their fellow intellectuals. To recognise the cultural kinship of Görner's longstanding venue with the worldly sphere of Pan, it is particularly revealing to consult a poem, which is partly set at Schellhafer's House and was published in 1744 by the poet Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä (1726 - 1777).[147] As the satirical *Heldengedicht* (heroic poem) entitled *Der Renommist* (*The Pretender*) clearly records, Görner's musicians must have regularly performed to audiences of lovelorn dancers, jubilant revellers or, metaphorically speaking, the joyful devotees of Pan.

[146] Schering, *Bach und das Musikleben*, 132.
[147] Friedrich W. Zachariä, *Der Renommiste. Ein komisches Heldengedichte* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1744). A brief reference to this important source is contained in Ulla Heise, 'Zum arabischen Coffee Baum', *Leipziger Blätter* (1983), 3, 34-5. Heise's article does not, however, comment on the significance of the text as a source about musical life in Bach's Leipzig. For research on the literary context of the poem and its author, see Hans Zimmer, *Just Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä und sein Renommist: Ein Beitrag zur Litteratur- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Rossberg, 1892).

The following extract, which is presented here for the first time in the context of Leipzig's Collegia musica, gives a vivid impression of this resplendent cultural sphere:

> Not far from the market, there's Schellhafer's roof,
> Rising glistening to the sky; many tender woes swarm around its tiles,
> And when love has wounded, linger here confused,
> Its gable proudly straddles the city's longest hall,
> Where many-a-bride has thrown her bouquet,
> And hired poets strew their wedding songs,
> Beause the clever patron, dedicates it to balls and banquets.
> Its windows, in an elongated row, let in a cheerful light
> That, in different forms, is broken by pure glass.
> One hardly is aware of any walls, and where one spots them,
> They are adorned by columns with art and splendour:
> Columns, which were invented by Corinthian wit,
> But remade, even more cleverly, by German hands.
> As the raw stone was covered to resemble marble,
> The probing gaze is pleasantly deceived.[148]

According to Zachariä, Schellhafer's was not only Leipzig's most spacious interior ('the city's longest hall'), but the splendour of its design was further heightened by spectacular lighting ('windows in an elongated row', 'translucent glass'), neo-classical columns, and capitals designed in the so-called Corinthian order ('walls … adorned by columns … invented by Corinthian wit'). The poem also refers to specific musical detail, such as the location of Görner's ensemble in a wooden swallow's nest and its use of trumpets and timpani:

> A choir loft protrudes from the wall, resembling a half moon,
> Where many a love god lives in the carved woodwork.
> From here the sound of festive strings mingles every once in a while
> With trumpets and timpani during celebrations.[149]

[148] 'Es hebt nicht weit vom Markt Schellhafers stolzes Dach/ Sich prangend in die Höh'; um das manch zärtlich's Ach,/ Und mancher Seufzer fliegt, der, wenn Liebe sich härmet,/ Hier in der Irre bleibt, und um die Ziegel schwärmet./ Es deckt dies stolze Dach den längsten Saal der Stadt,/Auf welchem manche Braut den Kranz verloren hat;/ Und wo der Gratulant manch Hochzeitlied verstreuet/ Weil ihn zu Ball und Schmaus sein kluger Bauherr weihet/ Der Fenster lange Reih' gibt ihm ein heitres Licht,/ Das in verschiedener Form durch reines Glas sich bricht./ Man sieht fast keine Wand, und wo man sie erblicket,/ Ist sie mit Kunst und Pracht mit Säulen ausgeschmücket:/ Mit Säulen, die zwar erst Korinthens Witz erdacht,/ Doch die des Deutschen Hand beglückter nachgemacht,/ Da sie nach Marmorart den groben Stein bezogen,/ Und angenehm den Blick, der es erforscht, betrogen.' Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä, 'Zweiter Gesang', in: *Der Renommist* (Leipzig: P. Reclam, 1900), 15.

[149] 'Ein Chor hängt an der Wand, gleich einem halben Mond,/ Wo mancher Liebesgott im hölzern' Schnitzwerk wohnt. Von hier schallt oftermals, bei hohen Lustbarkeiten,/ Trompet und Paukenschall in feierliche Saiten.' Ibid., 15.

However, the carved ornament that framed Görner's performances places his musicians amidst a multitude of conspicuously worldly deities. Based on Zachariä's verses it is highly likely that wooden Satyrs were carved into the balcony that seated resident ensembles at Schellhafer's.

Zachariä's recorded architectural symbolism is of considerable music-critical interest. Henke's *Musical Patriot*, for example, is particularly unsparing in his criticism of 'whirling' dance bands. He even hesitates to identify dance and wedding music as proper music at all, and relegates it to the lowest level of resonant noise, akin to trumpet signals and ambient sounds:

> Not everything that is perceived as sound genuinely is music. …. One hears trumpets calling from the tower nearly every day, or perceives the noise and whirling of wedding bands, wine- and beer concerts, but hardly any of it is genuinely music.[150]

For some of Bach's contemporaries at least, Görner's performances at Schellhafer's House did not even belong to any recognisable musical sphere, therefore.

Given the cultural imperative to strive for a greater balance of affects, moreover, Henke's characterisation of dance music as 'whirling' (*Geschwirre*) implies further concerns. Agitated states of mind were not only associated with physical disease, but also public disorder. It is indeed the latter context which prompted a Leipzig official, who addressed his readers in 1744 as 'Friend of the Sleeping' (Semnotophilus), to comment specifically on the superior sophistication of Leipzig's coffee houses compared to local beer taverns and dance venues. Once more, the criterion by which moral respectability is measured is the putative effect of performed music on the humoral composition of the mind:

> If one considers then … that beverages as those that are being served here [in coffee houses] also do not derange the senses and reason like in beer- and wine taverns … and it is, further, not customary in coffee houses … to have these beverages fiddled, bowed and piped down people's throats as the beer in beer taverns to the detriment of a good

[150] 'Alles was da klinget ist nicht wahrhaftig Music. .... Man höret fast alle Tage entweder vom Thurm blasen, oder man vernimmt so ofte das Geräusche und Geschwirre der Hochzeit-Musiken, Wein= und Bier Concerte, und das wenigste davon ist doch wahrhaftig Music.' Henke, 'Das dreyzehende Stück, § 77', *Der musicalische Patriot* (1741), 104.

> Christian order, and make [them] even thirstier still with opportunities for dancing and leaping, then I, for my part, cannot consider coffee houses anything other than a very good institution ….[151]

Even more explicitly than Henke, Semnotophilus clearly considers 'whirling dance bands' a harmful influence. What is more, he specifically sets up a contrast between their harmful effect on visitors (i.e. to derange the senses and reason) and the ambience of coffee houses, which he praises for not serving beer in large quantities and an absence of intoxicating music for 'dancing and leaping'. Yet Semnotophilus praises the serene surroundings of coffee lovers primarily in negative terms, which leaves especially those aspects of coffee-house conviviality underexplained that, in Bach's time, were considered to benefit individuals as part of a broader range of what was commonly known as 'edifying' pursuits. The concept of edification drew on a rich amalgamation of humoral thought, contemporary philosophy, and Christian learning in the eighteenth century that not only made it particularly relevant to German coffee-house culture at the time, but also contemporary accounts of sophisticated musical practice. To illustrate this important link, it is worthwhile to first establish the salient features of musical edification, and then relate them specifically to contemporary notions of cultural edification at German coffee houses.

Johann Mattheson's notion of musical edification

Arguably the most detailed account of the kinship between musical practice, harmonious acoustics and moral wellbeing was published by Johann Mattheson in 1728. Referring specifically to accomplished musical practice as 'musical edification', he argued

[151] 'Wenn man nun ... bedencket, daß auch dergleichen Geträncke, wie hier verschencket werden, die Sinne und Verstand nicht wie in Bier- und Wein-Schencken verrücken, ... und zu unmäßigen Sauffen reitzen, überdem aber noch nicht Herkommens ist, daß man in Coffee-Häußern denen Leuten diese Geträncke wie in Bier-Schencken das Bier zur Schande einer christlichen Policey einfiedeln, eingeigen und einblasen, oder die Menschen durch die Gelegenheit zum Tantzen und Springen noch durstiger machen lässet, so kan ich meines Theils, wenn ich die Coffee-Häußer auf dieser Seite ansehe, dieselben nicht anders als vor eine sehr gute Anstalt ... ansehen ....' Semnotophilus, 'Sendschreiben, worinne die Coffee-Häuser nach der Policey betrachtet werden', in: Georg Heinrich Zincke (ed.), *Leipziger Sammlungen von Wirthschafftlichen- Policey Cammer- und Finantz- Sachen* (Leipzig: Carl Ludwig Jacobi, 1744), 389.

in the third volume of his widely-read periodical *Der musicalische Patriot* (*The Musical Patriot*) that music was not only a pleasant pastime, but had profound effects on the well-being of individuals and society as a whole.[152] Although the *Musical Patriot* is mostly concerned with musical practice in Lutheran worship (which is also the primary focus of existing research on the text, as for example Robin A. Leaver's outstanding contextualisation of its theological background), it has been overlooked so far that Mattheson's account of three distinct spheres of cultural practice in human society is of similar importance for secular performance contexts, especially Bach's cultural surroundings at Zimmermann's coffee house.[153]

As Mattheson points out, musical edification is a considerably broader concept than edification in its original meaning as an aspect of religious worship and Christian teaching. Particularly owing to Mattheson's reliance on secular thought and philosophy, it also applies to performance contexts outside the realm of the Church, including stately ceremonies and private occasions. Accordingly, Mattheson identifies two complimentary 'politica' (or spheres of influence) of musical practice, *politica statūs* (matters of state and community) and *politica privata* (matters of individual concern) in addition to an ecclesiastical domain (*politica ecclesiastica*).[154] The result is a total of three spheres, in which musical practice either serves the well-being of individuals, political communities or Christian congregations.

Most of Mattheson's principal ideas that underpinned this conception had already been outlined in an earlier treatise of 1713, *Das forschende Orchestre* (*The exploring Orchestra*). It can therefore provide useful evidence to not only position Mattheson's

[152] Johann Mattheson, *Der musicalische Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728), 25-32.
[153] A concise summary of Mattheson's indebtedness to Lutheran thought is contained, for example, in Robin A. Leaver, *Luther's liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans, 2007), 285. See also Eric Thomas Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 246. For an assessment of the significance of the *Musical Patriot* in relation to further periodicals by Mattheson, see Imogen Fellinger, 'Mattheson als Begründer der ersten Musikzeitschrift (Critica musica)', in: George J. Buelow, *et al.* (eds.), *New Mattheson Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 179-97.
[154] Mattheson, *Patriot*, 28.

music-theoretical stance within the context of wider intellectual debates, but also yield specific insights into how the notion of musical edification related to contemporary notions of humoral as well as musical affects. According to Mattheson,

> Cicero himself agrees with Plato here: that nothing enters tender minds as easily as sound. [Further,] that by means of the ear and the manifold variations of music the moral customs of people are also much varied. Such things are ascribed to the following cause by Franciscus Baco ['de Verulam', i.e. Francis Bacon]: Because the ear moves [the soul] in a more immediate manner than the other senses.[155]

Mattheson's allegiance with Bacon is of far-reaching importance. It, for example, forms the basis of his stern defence of the cultural relevance and social importance of instrumental music. (Mattheson detailed some of these views, in particular those pertaining to untexted sacred music in a printed exchange with the cantor at Wolffenbüttel, Heinrich Bokemeyer.[156]) Following Bacon, Mattheson also assumes that acoustic sound affects the human mind in a more immediate manner than any other sensory impression. As a result, Mattheson's notion of musical edification differs decisively from contemporary rationalist thought, which places the faculty of reason above all senses that act upon it in essentially identical ways. Assuming an acoustic impact of music on the mind, however, enables Mattheson to challenge thinkers who maintained that language (and the semantic content of texted music) was the only artistic medium capable of conveying intelligible meaning.

The third volume of the *Musical Patriot* articulates this tension with particular clarity. It mainly consists of a critical response to an earlier publication on social theory, (which also touched on music) by the philosopher Christian Wolff (1679 - 1754). In the treatise *Vernünftige Gedanken von dem gesellschaftlichen Leben der Menschen* (*Rational Thoughts on*

---

155 'Cicero selbst pflichtet Platoni hierinn bey: Daß nichts so leicht in zärtliche Gemüther Eingang finde/ als der Klang. Daß vermittelst des Gehörs/ und der musicalischen/ vielfältigen Veränderung/ auch die Sitten der Menschen sich sehr ändern/ solches schreibet Franciscus Baco dieser Ursach zu: Weil das Gehör mehr unmittelbar beweget als die übrigen Sinne ....' Johann Mattheson, Dieter Bartel (ed.), 'Die *Orchestres* of Johann Mattheson', in: *Die drei Orchestre-Schriften* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2002), 3, 64-5.

156 '*Eine Instrumental-Music ist erbaulich; eine Vocal-Melodie aber erbaulicher*'. Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica* (Amsterdam: Frits Knuf, 1964), 299. An outstanding discussion of Bokemeyer's views on composition and counterpoint, partly in relation to Mattheson, can be found in David Yearsley, 'Alchemy and counterpoint in an age of reason', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1998), 51/2, 201-43.

the Societal Life of Humans) Wolff had argued that music merely affects listeners as tactile sensation.[157] As such, he deemed it devoid of specific content and incapable of conveying either cognitive or moral concepts. Mattheson by comparison rejects this analysis and its principal concept of 'ear tickling' (*Ohrenkützelung*). He rather maintains that music is not only fully capable of, but is also at all times obliged to instruct and edify the human soul through 'the ear's tool':

> [B]ut it is not known to everyone [i.e. Wolff] that music belongs to the edification of soul and virtue. …. Merely tickling the ear is by no means the true purpose [of music] but heart, soul and reason must be bettered by the tool of the ears.[158]

Just as Bacon maintained that the ear moves the soul in a more immediate manner than any other of the senses, Mattheson also insists that the acoustic properties of musical sound can move the affects of listeners in particular ways, and hence 'edify' soul and virtue. This capacity to 'teach' by means of humoral resonance indeed amounts to considerably more than a Wolffian *Ohrenkützelung*.

Notwithstanding Mattheson's firm basis in Baconian philosophy, the overall conception of his three *politicae*, remains deeply rooted in Judeo-Christian ideas. As Eva-Maria Bangerter-Schmid points out in a study on edifying pamphlets in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Christian *aedificatio* traditionally referred to personal religious practice, for example, but also denoted a communal process, or the metaphorical construction of a wider community (*aedificatio mutua*).[159] Both elements remained central to Christian teaching also in Bach's time, as an entry on 'Edification and Betterment of One's Neighbour' (*Erbauung und Besserung des Nächsten*) in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* confirms. The entry explains the salient features of Christian edification as follows:

---

[157] Christian Wolff, *Vernünftige Gedanken von dem gesellschaftlichen Leben der Menschen* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum, 1971).

[158] '[A]ber das weiß ein jeder nicht, daß die Music zur Seelen= und Tugend=Erbauung gehöret. .... [A]llein die Ohrenkützelung ist darum lange nicht der endliche Zweck [der Music], sondern Hertz, Seele und Verstand müssen, durch das Werkzeug der Ohren, gerühret und gebessert werden.' Mattheson, *Patriot*, 27-8.

[159] Eva-Maria Bangerter-Schmid, *Erbauliche illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahren 1570 - 1670* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986), 18.

> Edification and Betterment of One's Neighbour is … a construction or the making of a house in order to make visible the spiritual edifice and temple of the Holy Trinity, which very much likes to dwell in our hearts, body and soul; … but also the central task [i.e. commandment] itself: because thus shall come to pass the betterment of mankind … [which] consists … of insight into what must be bettered; which is our neighbour, and also oneself ….[160]

Mattheson's account of musical edification, with its three domains of personal, religious and worldly *politicae* consequently remains firmly rooted in religious ideas, especially in its twofold emphasis on personal and communal well-being. Nevertheless, the physiological mechanism Mattheson believes to be at work in this was drawn from secular philosophy.

The performance environment of Bach's Collegium musicum was characterised by a similar mixture of Christian and secular thought. An entry on coffee houses in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, for example, explains their convivial ambience with an identical application of Christian ideas to a secular context. Whilst the anonymous author of the article readily concedes that not all coffee houses are similarly respectable, he finds that distinguished establishments

> give occasion and opportunity for properly edifying and learned conversations, noble, useful and agreeable social introductions, reading or hearing the latest news, or to enquire, or otherwise learn about how to further the endeavours and well-being of one's neighbour.[161]

The article not only explicitly refers to 'edifying and learned conversations' but, like the article on Christian edification, also explains their purpose as enquiring and learning about the 'well-being of one's neighbour'.

Further references to notions of secularised edification can be traced in contemporaneous descriptions of Leipzig's coffee houses. Iccander's well-known account of their varied activities and pursuits, for example, emphasises not only the

---

[160] 'Erbauung und Besserung des Nächsten ist ... eine Aufbauung oder Verfertigung eines Hauses, damit gesehen wird auf das geistliche Hauß und Tempel der H. Dreyeinigkeit, welche in unsern Herzen, Leib und Seele gerne wohnen wil; ... Theils die Sache selbst: denn da soll geschehen eine Besserung des Menschen ... [die] bestehet ... in Erkenntniß dessen, den wir bessern sollen; welches ist unser Nächster, und auch ein ieder vor sich selbst ....' Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 8, 1478.

[161] 'An andern Orten geben sie Anlaß u. Gelegenheit zu guten erbaulichen Gesprächen, vornehmen, nützlichen und angenehmen Bekanntschaften, auch die neusten Zeitungen zu lesen, oder zu erfahren, oder sonsten seinen oder des Nechsten Nutzen und Wohlfahrt zu befördern ....' Ibid., 6, 112.

cultural worth of their 'great assemblies', 'fine interiors' and gazettes, but also recommends coffee houses for the availability of history books: '[A]ll … can enjoy pleasant entertainments … by studying a variety of gazettes and history books'.[162] Although it is not immediately apparent how history books might reassure or calm one's mind, Bach's contemporaries also considered their content to be edifying. The related mechanism was not believed to be humoral, however, but faith-based. An article on 'pastime' in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* explains the connection:

> Pastime … generally means any delectation of the body or soul, lat. *Oblectatio*; …. Many people don't read books for the purpose of edifying themselves … but only for the sake of idleness. Some also read certain writings that they find agreeable … Yet they could equally well pick other [titles] that would edify and refresh the mind at the same time [;] such are history books.[163]

The reason for this effect is then detailed further:

> Firstly, one recognises the providence and reign of the great God on earth, that is his love, wisdom, justice, and his reward for good and punishment of evil, which reaffirms us in our love of God and also calms the mind. …. From natural history one can also understand many aspects of economy and physics, which are likely to also become useful in a practical sense.[164]

Like Mattheson's ideas on musical edification, accounts of edifying coffee-house pursuits consequently shared a similar mixture of Christian and secular thought. Yet, read in light of Mattheson's description of music that 'betters' and instructs the soul as edifying practice, they also reveal how Bach's contemporaries described and accounted for the most distinguished pastimes and cultural pursuits. Indeed, the partly intellectual and partly spiritual concepts of musical and cultural edification provide a clear terminological

---

[162] [Iccander], *Leipzig*, 88.

[163] 'Zeitvertreib … heißt überhaupt eine jedwede Leibes= und Gemüths=Ergetzlichkeit, Lat. Oblectatio; .... Viele Menschen lesen nicht die Bücher zu dem Ende, daß sie sich daraus erbauen ... sondern nur vor die liebe lange Weile. .... Manche lesen auch gewisse Schrifften, die sie vor andern vor angenehm achten .... Beyderley Art Leute erwehlen meistentheils entweder die Romainen, darinnen mancherley erdichtete Liebes=Intriquen, oder solche Schrifften, darinn allerhand lustige Histörgen und Schwäncke vorgestellet werden. Doch könnten sie an deren Stelle auch wohl andere nehmen, die zugleich erbauten, und das Gemüthe erquicken, dergleichen sind die Historischen Bücher ....' Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon* , 61, 896.

[164] 'Zum ersten erkennt man daraus die Vorsehung und Regierung des grossen Gottes, auf Erden, das ist, seine Liebe, seine Weisheit, seine Gerechtigkeit, seine Belohnung des Guten und Bestraffung des Bösen, welches uns in der Liebe zu Gott befestiget, und das Gemüth auch beruhiget .... Aus der natürlichen Historie kan man viel politische, öconomische und physicalische Anmerckungen fassen, die man sich nachgehends wieder zu Nutze machen kan.' Ibid., 61, 896-97.

counterpart to activities and less-accomplished kinds of musical practice that were deemed to agitate and confuse the senses. As a result, their putative effects and associated critical categories also provide a wealth of information on how and why Bach's contemporaries would have considerd musical performances, for example at Zimmermann's coffee house, as part of a dignified and profoundly beneficial cultural sphere.

Coffee houses and the notion of 'useful edification'

The centrality of cultural edification for coffee houses is also documented *expressis verbis* in an early eighteenth-century journal. Owing to close cultural links between coffee houses and educated *literati*, literary periodicals also featured discussions on the merits of public coffee- and tea-rooms. A particularly detailed text appeared in a subscription journal, which is likely to have been published in Hamburg at the turn of the eighteenth century. Subtitled *Caffe- und The-Logia*, it formed part of a series in seven parts, which was collectively presented to readers as a *Newly Revealed, Comical Theatre of Human Habits and Follies*.[165] The second instalment applied the concept to the setting of coffee houses. Partly for this reason, perhaps, coffee drinking does not feature among the array of exposed 'human … follies', but, as in actual coffee houses, occasions wide-ranging discussions. The dialogues of the *Caffe- und The-Logia* indeed paint a remarkably detailed picture of the social sphere of eighteenth-century coffee lovers who, in the course of their conversations, also reflect on the purpose and character of their own surroundings. Similar to Balthasar Sinold's imagined coffee house 'at Venice' that forms the setting of his Leipzig journal, the *Caffe- und The-Logia* also features a range of *Caffëisten*

[165] Anon., *Die neu-eröfnete lustige Schaubühne menschlicher Gewohn- und Thorheiten* (n.p., ca. 1695). According to some catalogues the series was printed in Hamburg. See Table 4 for details. The title has previously been discussed, however without a further exploration of its literary and cultural background, for exmaple, in Ulla Heise, *Coffee and Coffee-Houses* (West Chester, Penn.: Schiffer Publ., 1987), Ulla Heise, *Coffeana: Lob und Tadel von Kaffee und Kaffeehaus in Gedichten aus vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1988), and Schulze, 'Ey! How sweet the coffee tastes'.

from different walks of life, from a variety of different countries. Moreover, they specifically identify the aim of Germany's first coffee houses as *nützliche Erbauung*, or 'useful edification'.

Architectural design was of central significance to achieve this goal. As the text of the *Caffe- und The-Logia* documents, major coffee houses usually consisted of several interconnecting rooms, which enabled visitors to engage in different types of conversation, as different areas offered different degrees of privacy. The beginning of the *Caffe- und The-Logia* describes how this aided spontaneous debating, and it is worth to consider the opening in greater detail. It forms part of a larger narrative frame that illustrates specifically how coffee-house visits could be instructive and edifying, for example, by providing opportunities to observe human behaviour and subsequently reflect on it as part of a collective discussion.

Events in the *Caffe- und The-Logia* initially focus on an anti-hero, who is a covert antagonist to the ideas and ideals of Germany's *Caffeïsten* by the name of Carsico.[166] Having arrived at the coffee house, he becomes the centre of a comic episode with a moral twist. By accident he collides with a fellow visitor, and severs the elongated neck of his earthen pipe. Ash and glowing tobacco is released into the air, and as some of the discharge settles on Carsico's neck scarf, he takes great offence. On discovering that the smoker is a Jew, Carsico breaks into a torrent of anti-Semitic abuse, which causes other coffee-house visitors to listen up and pay closer attention.[167] Intrigued by the calm and measured self-defence by the Jewish smoker in particular, they then withdraw to a side room to discuss the incident further.

In the course of these conversations, a character that is identified as Monsr Philibert is of particular significance. His convictions allow detailed insights into the

[166] Anon., 'Caffe- und The-Logia', *Die neu-eröfnete lustige Schaubühne*, 3-5.
[167] For a detailed discussion of depictions and elements of anti-semitism in eighteenth-century writings, see for example Jeanne Swack, 'Anti-Semitism at the opera: the portrayal of Jews in the "Singspiels" of Reinhard Keiser', *The Musical Quarterly* (2000), 84/3, 389-416.

views and cultural values that were typically held by proponents of Germany's first coffee houses. He for example positions the social space of coffee houses in clear opposition to Carsico's fiery temperament and evident intolerance. In an ingenious allusion to the usually derogatory description of coffee as 'hot water' (*eau chaude*), Philibert invokes the famous dictum by the ancient writer Ovid, 'usus communis aquarum est' (the use of wells is universal).[168] Similar to the seventeenth-century philosopher Baron Samuel Pufendorf (1632 - 1694), Philibert cites the passage to make a point about humanist egalitarianism.[169] Just as coffee is prepared with hot water, Philibert reasons, lovers of coffee must also be mindful of the human dignity that is shared by all customers at the coffee house:

> [N]o respectable person … should become disgruntled when noble-man and commoner, lord and peasant, ruler and servant, Christian and Jew, join each other at the coffee-house, to fetch water from the same source.[170]

In addition to the aim of coffee-houses to further compassion among eighteenth-century *gentilhommes* in the spirit of Christian edification, Philibert consequently widens the cultural scope of coffee-house culture yet further, and also grounds it in humanist and ancient thought.

Even the time expended to conduct conversations at the coffee house receives a corresponding justification. When Philibert notices the length of the discussion that frames his explanations, he is momentarily disturbed by the thought that it might have prevented him from attending to more pressing matters. Yet he quickly reassures himself and his coffee-house companions by stating that the conversations and dialogue had not only been 'edifying', but also 'useful':

---

[168] Anon., 'Caffe- und The-Logia', 6. For Ovid's original prose in Latin, see William Scovil Anderson (ed.), *Ovid's Metamorphoses. Books 6-10* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972), 48.
[169] Samuel Freiherr von Pufendorf, *Of the law of nature and nations ... Done into English by Basil Kennet* (London, 1729), 237.
[170] 'Also darff keinem/ der vor anderen Persohnen will ein Ansehen haben/ ..../ verdrießlich fallen/ wann Edel und Unedel/ der Juncker und Bauer/ Herz und Knecht/ Christe und Jude auff einem Caffe-Hause sich beysammen einfinden/ und aus einem Brunnen Wasser schöpfen wollen.' Anon., 'Caffe- und The-Logia', 6.

> I am surprised … by the hour glass …. But it is for the best, as all our speeches were indeed edifying and useful.[171]

The notion of 'edifying and useful' pursuits is of central importance for the cultural aspirations of Germany's first coffee houses. The idiom recurs, for example, in an earlier passage of the *Caffe- und The-Logia*. As part of a description of the 'essential purpose' (or *Endzweck*) of coffee houses, Philibert tells his companions that,

> [o]ccasionally one also encounters coffee taverns that … truly conform to their essential purpose of honest assembly and useful edification.[172]

Similar to both Zedler's characterisation of edifying history books (that are 'likely to also become useful in a practical sense'), and its praise for respectable coffee houses (as venues that give 'occasion and opportunity for properly edifying and learned conversations'), the literary character of Philibert provides further evidence that early eighteenth-century coffee-houses were indeed widely identified with a secularised notion of cultural edification.

Coffee houses in Bach's time consequently provided visitors with a uniquely varied and richly stimulating social ambience. The aim to provide a range of 'useful and edifying' pursuits was not only palpably modelled on the Horacian twin-pillars of education and learning, *prodesse et delectare* (to be of use and to delight), but their simultaneous commitment to a variant of Christian edification also suggests that they provided a uniquely meaningful setting for musical performances in Bach's time. In keeping with Mattheson's ideas on musical edification, coffee-house edification was, likewise, understood as a hybrid space that was delicately poised between secular and religious thought and, owing to a combination of humoral and spiritual thought, provided the foundations of a social environment in which the potential (and imperative) of music to speak to the minds and souls of listeners was fully recognised.

---

[171] 'Ich verwundere mich/ sagte dieser [Philibert]/ über den Seiger/...; doch ist es das beste/ daß alle unsere Reden gar erbaulich und nützlich sind gewesen.' Ibid., 80.
[172] 'Man findt auch hin und wieder Caffe-Tavernen, die … den Endzweck einer ehrlichen Zusammenkunfft und nützlichen Erbauung wahrhafftig besitzen.' Ibid., 15.

Concerning musical practice, this clearly distinguished coffee houses from other venues in Leipzig, as I have argued for example on the basis of local commentators, such as the 'Friend of the Sleeping', Semnotophilus, and Friedrich Zachariä's *Heldengedicht*. But as the relevant entries in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* and the content of the *Caffe- und The-Logia* suggest, moreover, this contrast to banquet halls and their 'whirling' dance bands was also perceived as more than a musical distinction. Rather, sophisticated cultural practice was understood as comprising a variety of 'Apollonian' arts which, at major coffee houses, all sought to delight, instruct as well as 'better' their audiences.

Based on these findings, Bach's performance environment at Zimmermann's coffee house appears in a profoundly different light. Apart from providing Bach and his musicians with a 'fine exterior' (in keeping with contemporary descriptions of coffee houses by Johann Christian Crell), Bach's Collegium musicum also had a longstanding association with the most sophisticated type of venue in eighteenth-century Leipzig. The finding is of both historical and historiographical interest. Unlike evolutionary accounts of musical high-culture that afford the greatest significance to the customs and institutions of nineteenth-centrury musical practice, the eighteenth-century discourse on musical and 'useful' edification suggests instead that the cultural ambience of, for example Zimmermann's coffee house, was widely recognised as a distinguished performance-setting also in Bach's time.

Table 4: Early eighteenth-century moral weeklies set in coffee houses

Philipp Balthasar von Sinold, gen. Schütz, *Das curieuse Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig, darinnen die Miss-Bräuche und Eitelkeiten der Welt ... vorgestellet ... werden* (Freyburg [Leipzig]: J. G. Wahrmund [Groschuff], 1698).[173]
Teutschmund, Johann Michael, *Das ausgefegte Caffee-Hauß zu Venedig* (Freystadt: Jacob Hammermeister, ca. 1698).
Philipp Balthasar von Sinold, gen. Schütz, *Das Neue und Curieuse Caffee-Hauss, vormahls in Italien, nunmehro aber in Teutschland eröffnet* (Brunnenstadt [Leipzig]: L. Schöpffwasser [Theophilus Georgi], 1707).[174]
Philipp Balthasar von Sinold, gen. Schütz, *Das neue und curiöse Caffé-Hauß, vormahls in Italien, nunmehro aber in Teutschland eröffnet: Zweyte Wasser-Debauche* (Leipzig: Teophilo Georgi, 1708).
Philipp Balthasar von Sinold, gen. Schütz ["Pasquino"] *Das verderbliche Caffee-Hauß: ... in ... drey Gesprächen vorgebildet von Pasquino* ([Leipzig]: [Groschuff], 1703).[175]
Uncertain place of publication, unknown author
Anon., 'Caffe- und The-Logia', in: *Die neu-eröfnete lustige Schaubühne menschlicher Gewohn- und Thorheiten* ([Hamburg]: [T. v. Wiering], ca. 1690).[176] It is likely that further texts were published. The following title, for example, clearly belongs to a similar context, but is lost. Anon., *Die Wasser-Debauchen* (Freyburg, 1691/1692).

[173] The publisher's pseudonym and the actual place of publication was successfully identified by the literary historian Emil Weller. Emil Weller, *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte: Repertorium der ... deutschen, lateinischen und französischen Schriften* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1864), 47.
[174] Ibid., 56. The title is ascribed erroneously to Heinrich Anselm von Ziegler und Kliphausen in Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 'VD17, Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts', <http://www.vd17.de>, accessed 27/02/2010. For correct details and further bibliographic information, see Gerhard Dünnhaupt, *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1990), 6, 4343. Dünnhaupt's research is based on Martin Pistorius, *H. A. von Ziegler und Kliphausen: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Jena: University of Jena, 1928), 41.
[175] Weller, *Fingierte Druckorte*, 53.
[176] Staatsbibliothek, 'VD17'.

3) Vices of the Coffee House and Stylistic Transgression in the *Coffee Cantata* (BWV 211)

In spite of the ambitious aims of cultural coffee-house edification, coffee drinking was frequently attacked as a source of temptation and sign of moral weakness in Bach's time. According to the eighteenth-century historian Jacob Gottlob Krüger, for example, the popularity of coffee owed at least as much to its affinity to human vanity as to the physical qualities of the beverage itself:

> Meanwhile I doubt, however, whether the agreeable taste of coffee alone would have sufficed to make it popular among almost all Europeans, if vanity had not contributed its fair share. Enjoyment seems to appeal to all people without any difference, vanity, however, seems to be fit only for souls made of a finer fabric. …. And now one can well imagine why coffee drinking first became popular among members of the nobility, and how its seeds could then be sown further from there to even reach the masses ….[177]

Coffee houses by comparison were associated with an even larger range of vices than just vanity. Writing approximately eight years before Krüger, the pharmacist and physician Caspar Neumann, for example, observed that

> these public taverns have also caused all sorts of misfortune, not only as drinking has in numerous places and houses, alas, become an abuse and excessive fashion, but also as unchristian side dishes are being held in store in some coffee houses.[178]

Neumann's concern about 'unchristian' offerings points towards a significant contradiction in the perception of coffee houses in the eighteenth century. Although supporters and literary *Caffëisten* hailed them as beacons of public enlightenment, critics

---

[177] 'Indessen zweifle ich doch, ob der angenehme Geschmack des Caffees allein vermögend gewesen wäre, ihn bey nahe allen Europäern beliebt zu machen, wenn nicht die Eitelkeit das ihrige dazu beigetragen hätte. Die Ergetzung scheinet vor alle Menschen ohne Unterscheid, die Eitelkeit aber nur für Seelen von einem feineren Stoff gemacht zu seyn. .... Und nun kan man leichte dencken, warum das Caffee trincken zuerst bey den vornehmen Leuten seinen Anfang genommen habe, und wie es möglich gewesen, daß es von ihnen biß auf den Pöbel habe fortgepflanzt werden können.' Johann Gottlob Krüger, *J. G. Krüger's Gedancken vom Caffee, Thee, und Toback* (Halle, 1743), 3.

[178] '[E]s haben diese publique Schencken dagegen auch schon manch Unheil erreget, weil nicht nur das Trincken an manchem Orthe und Hause leider! zum Mißbrauche und übermäßig Mode geworden, sondern auch in einigen Café-Häusern noch verbothene unchristliche Neben-Gerichte auf den Vorrath gehalten werden.' Caspar Neumann, *Lectiones publicæ ... vom Thee, Caffee, Bier und Wein* (Leipzig: Gottlob Benjamin Fromman, 1735), 176.

were equally vocal in decrying what they believed to be a threat to public order and moral decency. Placing Bach among eighteenth-century coffee lovers consequently requires a thorough evaluation of these seemingly contradictory sources. However, given the lack of historical accounts that relate directly to Gottfried Zimmermann's coffee house, I shall adopt a twofold approach in the following, which is partly contextual and partly music-critical, to address this challenge. First, it is fruitful to establish the nature of objections to public coffee-houses in eighteenth-century cities generally, which will then provide a basis to consider their relevance specifically to Bach's performance-environment. In addition, I argue in this chapter that, apart from literary and documentary sources, Bach's so-called *Coffee Cantata* (BWV 211) can be usefully read as a musical reflection on the sophistication of contemporaneous coffee houses. Recent research by Katherine Goodman on the cantata's libretto has uncovered a literary kinship with popular satires on coffee and their often overtly misogynist subtexts. A closer look at Bach's setting of the text reveals, however, that its stylistic diction is, in fact, considerably more sophisticated than this literary background.[179] Given the resulting tension between music and text, Bach's portrayal of the cantata's coffee-loving protagonist Liesgen gains a particular significance, as the stylistic rank of her musical voice seems, as I seek to show, conspicuously well-matched to a uniquely distinguished cultural ambience. Seen this way, the *Coffee Cantata* appears to reflect its likely performance context not only in its literary kinship with contemporary satirical writings, but its musical diction also emerges as a perhaps equally telling trace of the distinguished cultural sphere that surrounded Bach and his Collegium musicum at one of Leipzig's finest coffee houses.

[179] Katherine R. Goodman, 'From Salon to *Kaffeekranz*', in: Carol Baron (ed.), *Bach's Changing World: Voices in the Community* (Rochester, N.Y., Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 190-218.

The dangers of gambling and prostitution

Nonetheless, according to eighteenth-century travel writers even respectable coffee houses could harbour unexpected moral hazards. Inexperienced or unsuspecting visitors were warned with particular frequency, for example, about scams based on fraudulent card games. Similar to an entry in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, which advised readers that '[i]n some places they [coffee houses] provide an opportunity for gaming and other illegal companies',[180] the eighteenth-century social theorist, Julius Bernhard von Rohr, offered the following advice to aspiring *gentilhommes* in 1728:

> Where it is customary that one can visit a coffee house without damaging one's reputation, one has to select one that is in good standing …. One should not agree to get involved in games there with foreign or unknown people … especially not if they cut a rather too formidable or desolate figure ….[181]

To avoid giving offence in such situations, the travel-writer Peter Ambros Lehmann recommended to not only 'proceed with the utmost caution as a stranger', but also to withdraw from the company of suspicious individuals. Once more, Lehmann admonishes his readers with a stark warning: 'Gaming is dangerous, especially if one gets entangled with miserly and profit-driven companions'.[182]

Rohr and Lehmann had good reason for their warnings, as fraud appears to have been widespread in card games indeed. As Philipp Sinold's journal *Das curieuse Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig* (*The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*) explains, one of the most popular games, known as *L'Hombre* in Leipzig's coffee houses and beyond, provided easy and effective cover for disingenuous players, if they decided to collaborate:

---

[180] Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 5, 112.

[181] 'Wo es gebräuchlich, daß man ohne Verletzung seiner *Renommée* ein *Caffé*-Hauß besuchen kan, muß man ein solches aussuchen, das in guter *Reputatio*n steht .... Man muß sich mit fremden und unbekandten Leuten daselbst in kein Spiel einlassen/ ... zumahl wenn sie außen entweder eine allzuprächtige oder gar zu armseelige *Figur* machen ....' Julius Bernhard von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (Berlin: J. A. Rüdiger, 1728), 515-16.

[182] 'Das Spielen ist gefährlich, vornehmlich wo man mit geitzigen und gewinnsüchtigen Cameraden impliciret wird ....' Peter Ambros Lehmann, *Die vornehmsten Europäischen Reisen* (Hamburg: J. C. Kißner's seel. Erben 1736), w/o pag., folio B3.

> It is probably best to ask the cunning Spaniards about the trickery and fraud that can go on during a game of *L'hombr*e/ if two players understand each other well and target a third one with their manoeuvres [,] as they have invented the game and know best how to handle all its subtleties.[183]

Worse still, gaming odds could be stacked against coffee-house customers with mathematical precision. Reports from the the city of Turin suggest, for example, that losses of unsuspecting visitors were calculated in advance. Deceptively obtained proceeds were also put to musical use, to help finance local opera productions. In a letter from 1729, which has so far escaped the attention of musicologists and opera historians, the travel-writer Johann Keyßler reports an estimate by the 'great financier' Law, who claimed that in a game called *Basset* the organisers (*Tailleurs*) routinely fixed winning odds against players (*Pointeurs*):

> The coffee-house *de Boiri* at the *Rüe neuve* is the only one, where Basset is played in public. Law has shown that, on account of the way that the game is played in Turin, the *Taille* has always an advantage of 40 percent over the *Pointeurs* ….[184]

The income generated by such *Banque*s was lucrative enough to be effectively taxed by means of a royal licence, which required their holders to pay a fixed fee in advance. As Keyßler also points out, in 1729 it had been awarded to 'the company that covers opera expenses', for 50 *Louis d'or*.[185] Partly as a result, impresarios had been able to attract some of the most famous singers to Turin, such as the German *prima donna* and Johann Adolf Hasse's wife, Faustina Bordoni (1697 - 1781). She is reported to have demanded an engagement fee of 500 *Louis d'or* for a string of performances during the carnival season.[186]

---

[183] 'Was in dem al*l'ombre*-Spiel vor Hinterlist und Betrug vorgehen kan/ wen sich zwey Spieler wohl mit einander verstehen/und mit ihren *Finten* auf den dritten loßgehen/ darvon könen die *raffinirten* Spanier am besten urtheilen/ als welch dasselbe erfunden/ und welche mit dergleichen Subtilitäten am besten wissen umzugehen.' Sinold von Schütz, *Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig*, 110.

[184] '[E]s ist das Caffehaus *de Boiri* in der Rüe *neuve* das einzige, worinnen öffentlich Basset gespielet wird. Law hat gezeigt, daß auf diese Weise, wie man in Turin Basset spielet, die *Taille* allezeit vierzig *pro cent* Vortheil über die Pointeurs hat ....' Johann Georg Keyßler and Gottfried Schütze, *Johann Georg Keysslers ... Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen [&c.]* (Hannover, 1751), 192.

[185] Ibid., 192.

[186] Ibid., 192.

Financial ties between coffee houses and opera productions also existed in Leipzig, albeit at a time before Bach directed his Collegium musicum. As the historian Hannelore Stingl has established on the basis of a letter by the coffee-house proprietor Johann Lehmann to the Saxon-Polish King at Dresden, August the Strong, Lehmann took great pride in having given loans to Leipzig's short-lived opera house.[187] Moreover, there is specific evidence to suggest that proprietors of Leipzig's coffee houses boosted their revenues by organised *Banques* on their premises. According to a speech by the student and aspiring author, Theodor Quistorp, which was published in 1743 (and is discussed here for the first time), a game called *Pharao* was particularly popular. Similar to *Basset*, it also required *Pointeurs* to pay for being dealt their cards. Winnings usually remained below this betting fee. But as Quistorp describes in vivid detail, coffee-house owners charged yet further sums to players:

> There is a game, … which is called Pharao! … First and foremost it is expensive. From the outside it almost looks like the lottery stand which is regularly seen at trade fairs outside the local Peter's Gate. What is a bubbly woman there, is a *banquier* here …. What are ticket-buyers there, are *Pointurs* [sic] here, as they are called, that is those who wish to win some money. …. Losses, however, and winnings are uncertain and may vary. The *Banquier* must hold at least two sets of cards when he opens the game; that is what the rules demand. And these, he must pay twice: that is what constitutes the coffee-house tax. If someone spoils a card, and even if it were only a single one, which happens very easily, or it becomes recognisable compared with the other cards in any way … the entire set is rendered unusable and he [the *Banquier*] must request another one. …. These are, again, unexpected costs. …. *Pointeurs* also need cards to bet something on, and like the *Banquier*, they also cannot obtain them for free. To be sure, they have the advantage of being able to share one pack between four people, but they usually also have higher losses once that playing gets under way. And this is the general rule for Pharao: whoever wants to play must take a risk. …. I do not wish to mention anything about draughtboards. Although they are usually still available at coffee houses … their proprietors do not make a profit from them. This is the reason why, when one asks for one, the answer usually is that it is on loan or broken.[188]

---

[187] 'Er habe nämlich "biß anhero in den Opern-Haußе allhier in Brühl unter währenden Opern-Spielen ... allerley eßende Waaren, auch Wachs-Stöcke in einer hierzu angerichteten Bude ... verkaufft, ... auch zur Fortsetzung der Opern-Spiele durch öfftern gethanen Vorschuß an die Operisten ein nicht geringes beygetragen."' Stingl, *Kaffeebaum*, 21.

[188] 'Es giebt daselbst ein Spiel, welches ... heißet Pharao! .... Es ist ... vor allen Dingen auch theuer. Aeußerlich sieht es fast so aus, wie die Glücksbude, so in den Messen vor hiesigem Petersthore aufgeschlagen wird. Was dort die geschwätzige Frau ist; das ist hier der Banquier .... Was dort die Zusetzer sind, das sind hier die Pointurs, wie sie heißen: oder diejenigen so etwas gewinnen wollen. .... Verlust aber und Gewinst sind ungewiß und verschieden. Der Banquier muß wenigstens zwey Spiele Karten haben, wenn er anfängt: so bringen es die Gesetze des Spiels mit sich. Und die muß er doppelt bezahlen: das ist Caffeehäusertaxe. Wird eine Karte befleckt, und wenn es eine einzige wäre; ... ; oder wird sie sonst einigermaßen vor den übrigen kenntlich, ... so tauget das ganze Spiel nicht mehr, sondern er muß sich ein

Card games at Leipzig's coffee houses could therefore be costly indeed, and visitors had good reason to fear unexpected expenses. As Quistorp's frequent references to rules and taxes also suggest, however, the cultural environment was characterised on the whole by a firm sense of licensing and regulation. At the same time, financial losses to individuals could be considerable, as ruthless gamblers were known to prey on inexperienced novices as well as strangers, and proprietors of coffee house were also keen to benefit from charges related to card games.

Personal experience and caution, however, made risks manageable. Seasoned coffee-house visitors in particular knew how to avoid common pitfalls, as a further entry in the fictitious travel diary by Johann Franz records. The following extract contains a rare example of a first-person account of a coffee-house scene in Leipzig, which is also likely to closely reflect the social ambience of Bach's historical performance venue at Zimmermann's. Although no actual location is specified, events are set in 'K… Strasse', which is readily decoded as *Katharinen-Straße*:

> Without a doubt one can call the service at this establishment the most distinguished, and the social standing of visitors the most refined. …. A large choice of pursuits, from which one could choose, also contributed greatly to the entertainment. Among them were billiards, tables for playing cards, draughtboards, and some people had even organised *Banques* next to them, and thus one could choose whichever diversion one desired. Indeed, one was even asked whether one wished to risk taking part in the gaming. If one so desired, one could participate in those games, where there was a smaller risk of being defrauded. But one had to carefully beware of the chance games, as in those one usually drew the short straw. The cause for this was that people had their manoeuvres and rarely respected decency in their manner of playing. I, who was merely observing, was deterred by the sad example of a Danish Duke who lost 500 *Pistolen* in

---

anders geben lassen; ... Das sind wieder unvermuthete Ausgaben. Die Pointeurs brauchen gleichfalls Karten, darauf sie etwas setzen können: und diese bekommen sie eben so wenig umsonst, als der Banquier. Zwar haben diese den Vortheil, daß sich ihrer viere mit einem ganzen Spiele behelfen können; doch verlieren sie gemeiniglich desto mehr bey dem wirklichen Spiele. Und es ist ein für allemahl bey dem Pharao eine allgemeine Regel: Wer es spielen will, der muß etwas daran wagen. ....Vom Damenbrete mag ich nichts erwähnen. Es ist zwar auf den Caffehäusern auch noch wohl im Gebrauche .... Dem Caffeeschenken aber bringet es nichts ein: und darum ist es mehrentheils, wenn man darnach fragt, ausgeliehen, oder zerbrochen.' Theodor Johann Quistorp, 'Abschiedsrede ... worinnen erwiesen wird: Daß die Caffeehäuser die wahren Schulen der schönen Wissenschaften sind', in: Johann C. Löschenkohl (ed.), *Sammlung einiger Uebungsreden* (Leipzig: Christoph Breitkopf, 1743), 527-28.

> one night. In any case, billiards and draught were less harmful …. …. Nonetheless, there is a free choice whether one wants to take part in a game or not.[189]

Whereas the risk of accumulating debts or suffering hefty losses at coffee-house card games was consequently real, the danger was also widely known and indeed widely publicised, as the literature which is cited in evidence here clearly documents. As a result, warnings about financial losses during coffee-house visits should not be mistaken for reports of factual crimes. After all, the comparative ease with which card games could be avoided gave visitors a clear choice whether to tempt fate or engage in other pursuits instead.

Arguably deeper anxieties were stirred by fears about prostitution at coffee houses. The putative association already bordered on the legendary in Bach's day, and modern historians have, likewise, long been aware of it. In 1961, Günther Schiedlausky, for example, reproduced an entry from Gottlieb Corvinus's *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (*Useful, Fashionable and Noteworthy Women's Lexicon*) that explained the expression of *Caffe-Menscher* (coffee creatures) as 'those suspect and dishonourable women, who serve the present men folk in coffee houses, and provide all sorts of willing services'.[190] Schiedlausky relates the stereotype to the origin of coffee beans in colonial and non-European plantations, and their import via shipping routes. As a result, a cultural association may have been forged between coffee taverns and prostitution in

---

189 'Ohnstreitig kann man an diesem Orte die Bewirthung, die vortrefflichste, und die Gesellschaft welche sich da aufhielt die ausgesuchteste nennen. [E]s trugen auch die vielen Veränderungen, die man sich machen konnte, zur Unterhaltung bey. Es war daselbst ein Billard, Tische zum Kartenspiele, Damenbreter, es hatten einge ihre Bänke daselbst aufgeschlagen, und man konnte sich einen Zeitvertreib wählen, welchen man wollte, ja man wurde so gar angesprochen, ob man sich nicht in das Spielen einlassen möchte. Man konnte, wenn man Lust hatte, einige Spiele, bey welchen nicht so leicht ein Betrug gespielet werden konnte, mitmachen. Nur hatte man sich so sorgfältig für den Hazardspielen zu hüten, denn da mußte man gemeiniglich den kürzern ziehen. Die Ursache hiervon war darinne zu suchen, weil die Leute ihre Kunstgriffe hatten und selten die Redlichkeit in spielen beobachten. Mich, der ich einen blossen Zuschauer abgab, schreckte ein trauriges Beispiel ab, denn ein dänischer Graf verlohr in einem Abend 500 Pistolen. Das Billard und Damenbret war in dem Falle weniger schädlich .... Es wird aber jedweden freygestellt, ob er spielen will oder nicht ....' Franz, *Galantes Leipzig*, 63-4.

190 'Caffe-Menscher, ... diejenigen verdächtigen und liederlichen Weibes-Bilder, so in denen Caffe-Häusern das anwesende Mannsvolck bedienen, und ihm alle willige Dienste bezeugen.' Gottlieb Siegmund Corvinus, *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1715), 285; reproduced in: Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, transl. by David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), 15.

major port-cities in the mid-seventeenth century. The whiff of disreputable harbour-taverns is indeed unmistakable in the opening paragraphs of Philipp Sinold's *Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*. Its literary location is outlined in a colourful exposition, which is not only teeming with references to shipping and sea trade, but also augments Sinold's description of coffee as 'hot water' (*eau chaude*) further by adding that it was served by 'universal nymphs' in heated water-grottoes:

> As soon ... as the Dutch imported this type of water logging as a brand-new fashion from India, … it soon became known also in Venice …. To furthermore ensure that the catching of bunnies [*Hasenfang*] would proceed with greater fortune, the privileged lady … had to make an appearance in the windows or door frames of these heated water-grottoes, whilst casting hundreds of thousands of friendly glances, to guarantee that visitors might appear all the more frequently, to enjoy a very delicate delight alongside their drink from the red-painted lips of these universal nymphs, which has already spread disease by licking among countless casual workers and musketeers, or even caused their death after hospitalisation at the *Ospedale degli Incurabili*.[191]

The stereotype of the universal nymph also features in subsequent tales from the coffee house, where, as the introduction points out, one can 'see more neat events and hear more pleasant stories than in amusing comedies'.[192] In a tumultuous scene that follows the introduction, readers learn for example how three unsuspecting coffee companions accidentally interrupt a passionate tussle between a local courtesan, 'who makes a living from her body' and a dishevelled suitor.[193] Notwithstanding the stylistic exaggeration that embellishes this piece of literary slapstick (for example with allegorically blazing, female headwear), Sinold leaves his readers in no doubt that, at least in some coffee houses, prostitutes moved freely among visitors.

---

[191] 'So bald ... die Holländer dieses Wasser-Schlucken/ als eine Nagel-neue Mode/ aus Indien gebracht/ ... so wurde es kurtz hernach auch in Venedig bekandt .... Damit auch der Hasen-Fang desto glücklicher von statten gehen möchte/ so muste das *privilegi*rte Frauenzimmer/ welches wegen seiner ehrlichen Nahrung/ der *Republique* den Monatlichen Tribut erleget/ sich dann und wann an den Fenstern/ oder auf den Thüren dieser gewärmeten Wasser-Groten/ mit hundert tausend freundlichen Blicken sehen lassen/ damit sich die Gäste desto fleißiger einstellen/ und auf den roth *illumini*rten Lippen dieser Universal-Nymphen/ ein sehr delicates *Confect* zum Trunck geniessen möchten/ daran sich schon etzliche Taglöhner/ und *Mousquetai*res kranck gelecket/ oder gar im Spital/ de *Incurabili*, darüber gestorben waren.' Sinold von Schütz, *Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig*, 3-4.

[192] '[In den *Caffé*-Häusern] ... wo mann offtermal mehr artige Begebenheiten sieht/ und mehr *plaisante* Erzehlungen höret als in der lustigen *Comœdie*.' Ibid., 5.

[193] 'Eine *Cortigiana* von derjenigen Sorte/ die sich mit ihrem Leibe ernehren ….' Ibid., 6.

The topic was significant enough for Sinold to treat it more than once. In a slightly later subscription journal, published in 1703 as *Das verderbliche Caffee-Hauß* (*The Pernicious Coffee House*), coffee establishments are even denounced for facilitating 'sinful practices'. As part of the second dialogue conducted by a group of coffee-house visitors, readers found the following, remarkably candid account by an interlocutor, named Leonides:

> As soon as the fire is lit, they [local sales assistants] have already arrived and play their smutty pranks on the girls, fondle their breasts and corsets, bellies, underneath the skirts and so forth. …. Nothing but sin is going on inside [the coffee houses], which I can assure you, dear brother, God will certainly have to punish.[194]

Yet 'smutty pranks' as these would not only have violated Christian teachings, but also contemporaneous legislation. As is routinely pointed out by writers on the subject, Leipzig's authorities had already passed an edict to regulate coffee houses in 1697, which banned 'suspicious female individuals' (*verdächtige Weibspersonen*) from licensed coffee houses.[195] Hans-Joachim Schulze, for example, notes that these measures were enforced by police raids (*Visitationen*), but also speculates that they may have taken some time to affect everyday practice. Even as late as 1730, an entry in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* from 1730 appears to suggest that 'prohibited entertainments' continued to flourish at least in 'some' coffee houses.[196] It is necessary, therefore, to consider a broader range of sources to clarify whether illicit practices may also have been customary in Bach's immediate environment at Zimmermann's coffee house on *Katharinen-Straße*.

---

[194] 'Leonides. [K]aum daß das Feuer angemacht/ so sind sie schon da/ und treiben ihre Zotten mit den Mädgens/ greiffen ihnen an die Brüste und Schnür-Müther/ an Bauch/ untern Rock/ und was des Getadels mehr ist. .... Es geschicht lauter Sünde darinnen/ und mein Herr Bruder sey versichert/ daß Gott gewißlich noch straffen muß.' Philipp Balthasar von Sinold (gen. Schütz), *Das verderbliche Caffee-Hauß: ... in ... drey ... Gesprächen vorgebildet von Pasquino* ([Leipzig]: [Groschuff], 1703), 21-2.
[195] For a digital reproduction of the original, see <http://digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/content/pageview/758905>; a later version was included as a transcript in Johann Jacob Vogel, *Leipzigisches Geschicht-Buch oder Annales* (Leipzig, 1714), 901.
[196] Schulze, 'Ey! How sweet the coffee tastes', 9-10.

Zimmermann's coffee house and public order in Bach's Leipzig

Records on architecture and city planning can provide valuable evidence about the likelihood of public-order violations at Zimmermann's coffee house. In fact, if its location at Leipzig's inner city is linked to contemporary writings on urban policing and public order, a remarkably clear picture emerges. As in most historical periods, socially disadvantaged areas were blighted by unusually high numbers of criminal incidents also in Bach's time. It is significant to note, therefore, that the building that accommodated Zimmermann's coffee rooms was not only situated in a prestigious location, but had also been constructed according to the highest possible standards. When Gottfried Zimmermann opened his business in 1720, he moved into a house that was barely four years old and both structural features and interior fittings had been executed by some of Leipzig's finest craftsmen. As research by the architectural historian Nikolaus Pevsner shows, all stonework for example can be linked to the workshop of one Leipzig's most renowned masons at the time, Christian Döring.[197] In addition, a closer look at the original planning permission of the building from 1716 reveals that wooden parts of the building drew on the expertise of the city's most senior carpenter, Christian Rühl (who in turn delegated some of the work to Johann Christian Schmidt).[198] Leipzig's business calendar for the year 1717 identifies both as principal craftsmen, topping a list of 11 local carpenters.[199] Döring's involvement in the building works therefore also appears to have ensured that all other aspects of construction were executed by the most competent craftsmen.

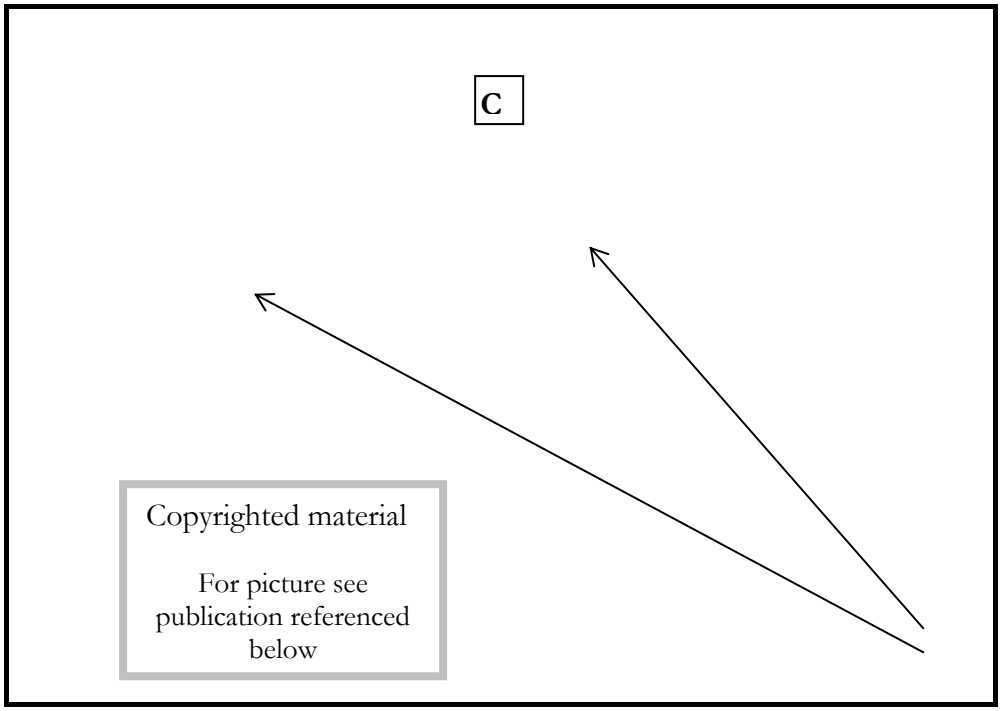
Arguably just as important in terms of cultural standing and social respectability is the location and immediate neighbourhood of the finished building. As a

[197] Nikolaus Pevsner, *Leipziger Barock: die Baukunst der Barockzeit in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1990), 76.
[198] '... wobey dann von Seiten gedachten Hn. Baumeisters deßen *Consulent* Herr Cio.[?Cw] Johann Gottfried Winkler nebst dem Zim[m]er Meister Johann George Rühlen zu gegen gewesen.' Leipzig, 'Baubesichtigung', 58-9. See also Appendix I.
[199] Anon., *Das jetzt florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: C. F. Rumpff, 1717), 90.

contemporary engraving records (example 5, chapter 2), the neighbouring address of Bach's later performance venue was an even grander residence, known as Hohmann's House. At the beginning of the 1720s, it was the official seat of Leipzig's most senior military commander (*Gouverneur*). As the parading troops on the street suggest, Zimmermann's neighbourhood on *Katharinen-Straße* appears to have been thoroughly policed indeed. Moreover, the prestige of surrounding buildings was specifically mentioned in a commercial travel guide of 1725 by Johann Christian Crell. Crell not only draws attention to the splendour of the city's principal banqueting hall at Schellhafer's House (example 4, chapter 2), but also praises the 'many [houses] on *Cather-* and *Häyn-Straße* … which have been depicted in engravings for the world to see because of their almost astonishing repute, and on account of their respectable façades alone'.[200]

In addition, *Katharinen-* and *Hayn-Straße* possessed a further feature that was deemed essential for the orderly running of a coffee house in Bach's time. *Katharinen-Straße* was not only comparatively wide, but like nearby *Hayn-Straße* was also laid out in a straight line and in close proximity to the city's central market place (example 6 below). Viewed from the air, both streets converge symmetrically on the King's temporary residence at Apel's House (example 2, chapter 2). Its central windows must therefore have offered spectacular views of both streets from across the square and, given the popularity of designs centred on one or several vanishing points at the time, the resulting sense of grandeur must have been considerable.

[200] '*Item* das vortreffliche neuerbaute Schellhaferische Hauß in der Kloster-Gasse, auch viele auf der Cather- und Häyn-Straße u.s.w. sind alle wenen ihres fast erstaunens-würdigen Ansehens, und nur wegen der ansehnlichen *Façade* ... in Kupffer der Welt vor Augen gestellt.' [Iccander], *Leipzig*, 30.



Example 6: Leipzig's central market square according to a map of 1710.
'C' indicates the location of Zimmermann's coffee house. Arrows trace lines of sight from Apel's House.[201]

The social standing of Zimmermann's coffee house gained directly from being part of a recognisably geometrical street layout. As a publication on the regulation of coffee houses from 1744 explains, one of the most effective safeguards against illegal activities was to locate establishments on streets that followed a straight line and were in close proximity to a public square:

> Secondly I should argue that it is a particularly useful circumstance, if permission is never granted to plan and run a coffee house on remote plots, corners and alleyways. Because this is also often considered a very convenient occasion for the children and deeds of darkness in major cities. …. Coffee houses shall thus be [situated], on legal grounds, at public and distinguished squares, or at least on the finest main roads, where the wealthiest residents live, where such vicissitudes do not easily find cover and assistance by poor, lowly and slovenly people and in their neighbourhoods, and where consequently follies of such manifold kinds would not even dare to take hold, or are at least easily discovered, owing to the repute and revulsion [of such things] by noble and honest neighbours, which greatly assists the efficacy of any supervision.[202]

[201] Hans August Nienborg and Ernst Müller, *Nienborgischer Atlas* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997), (w/o pag).
[202] 'Zum 2ten solte ich dafür halten, daß es ein besonderer nützlicher Umstand sey, wenn die Coffee-Häußer anzulegen und zu halten, keinesweges in abgelegenen Winckeln, Ecken und Gäßgen verstattet wird. Denn auch dieses wird zum öftern als eine sehr bequeme Gelegenheit vor die Kinder und Wercke der Finsterniß in großen Städten gehalten. .... Coffee-Häußer sollen also von Rechtswegen an denen öffentlichen und vornehmen Plätzen, oder doch in denen vornehmsten Hauptstraßen seyn, wo die besten Leute wohnen, wo dergleichen Bosheiten nicht leicht Unterschleif und Beyhülfe, wie bey armen, geringen und niederträchtigen Leuten, und in ihrer Nachbarschaft finden, und wo sich also allerhand Leichtfertigkeit

Bach's performance venue at Zimmermann's coffee house conformed to all of these recommendations: in addition to being located in an affluent neighbourhood, it faced a principal street whose houses were aligned in a straight line, and was in the immediate vicinity of Leipzig's central market square.

The impeccable repute of coffee houses on *Katharinen-Straße*, particularly in relation to fears about prostitution, is also documented explicitly. Johann Franz's literary travel account of 1763 contains a hierarchy of different kinds of coffee houses, which clearly recommends those in Bach's former neighbourhood ('on *K…strasse*') as among the finest in the city:

> And then my estate manager asked me what we … should explore in Leipzig … on the following day. I suggested a coffee house to him. Of those there are more than a few in Leipzig, but they are of different kinds. In some, coffee is enjoyed pure, and those are the most exquisite. In others, one can enjoy, next to coffee, further agreeable extras, namely that ladies, who do not hold virtue in high regard, offer themselves for company, those are of the lowest kind. Finally there are coffee houses where all sorts of people go, which roughly belong to a middling kind. We, however, as can easily be imagined, did not decide on the lowest place. For this purpose, there was the famous coffee-house Branders on *K…strasse*.[203]

Although Brander's coffee business cannot be traced in contemporary address calendars, it is nevertheless clear that Leipzig's *Katharinen-Straße* was a well-known location for the 'most distinguished' type of coffee house. Given the importance of location as a general indication of respectability, it follows therefore that Bach's Collegium musicum was indeed associated with a coffee house where hot drinks were served 'pure' and without unchristian side-dishes.

---

nicht einmahl getrauet *einzulo*giren, oder doch durch den Ruff und durch die Abscheu vornehmer und *honette*r Nachbarn leicht entdecket, die Auffsicht aber viel besser ausgeübet werden kan....' Semnotophilus, 'Sendschreiben', 415.

[203] '[S]o fragte mich mein Hofmeister, was wir ... den folgenden Tag ... in Leipzig wollten kennen lernen. Ich schlug ihm ein Cafeehaus vor. Davon in Leipzig eine nicht geringe Anzahl angetroffen wird, welche aber von verschiedener Gattung sind. Man kann sie unter folgende Klassen füglich alle bringen. In einigen wird der Cafee pur getrunken, und dieses sind die vorzüglichsten. In andern kann man nebst dem Cafee noch angenehme Zusätze haben, indem Frauenzimmer sich zur Gesellschaft da anbieten, welche nicht eben viel von der Tugend halten, diese machen die niedrigste Klasse. Endlich kommen Cafeehäuser, wo allerhand Leute sich einfinden, welche ohngefähr die Mittelart ausmachen. Wir, wie man sich leicht einbilden kann, wählten nicht den geringsten Ort. Dazumahl war das berühmte Caffeehaus Branders in der K .... strasse.' Franz, *Galantes Leipzig*, 63.

Questions of style and musical order in the *Coffee Cantata*

Nonetheless, although prostitution was no cause for concern in the immediate surroundings of Bach's Collegium musicum at Zimmermann's coffee house, debates on the role of women in coffee houses can still provide a meaningful context for Bach's music in general, and the *Coffee Cantata* (BWV 211) in particular. This may not seem surprising, perhaps, given the topical focus on coffee in the cantata's libretto by Christian Henrici. However, as the literary historian Katherine Goodman has recently argued in a book-chapter entitled 'From Salon to *Kaffeekranz*', the *Coffee Cantata* may have been associated more closely with literary salons than the cultural sphere of coffee houses. Indeed, Goodman argues that the piece reflects the conflicting views of opposing sides in an ongoing 'gender war', which would ultimately create a polarisation between coffee houses as a male and 'public' sphere of influence, and a female domain of domestic and 'private' coffee circles (known in German as *Kaffeekranz*).[204] Yet, on closer reflection, the putative exclusion of women from eighteenth-century coffee houses can be attributed only with difficulty to the categories of 'private' and 'public' spheres that underpin Goodman's reading. What is more, a predominantly gendered focus detracts from arguably the most important finding of Goodman's research, which is the genre-related kinship between the *Coffee Cantata* and Christian Henrici's satirical writings. It is fruitful, therefore, to revisit Goodman's argument in greater detail, as this can yield not only a fresh perspective on the relationship between text and music in the *Coffee Cantata*, but also illuminate how the sophistication of Bach's musical characterisations is perhaps even more in keeping with the refined cultural ambience at Zimmermann's coffee house than the crude populism of Henrici's libretto.

[204] Goodman, 'From Salon to *Kaffeekranz*', 190-218.

Goodman's cultural identification of the *Coffee Cantata* with the literary world of eighteenth-century salons rests mainly on a speculative identification of different authors who may have contributed to the libretto. As is well known, the text was first published in 1732 as a succession of eight recitatives and arias, entitled 'Über den Caffe' ('On Coffee') in one of Henrici's poetry collections.[205] However, when Bach set the text to music, either late in 1734 or early in 1735, a further recitative and chorus was added, and their authorship remains unclear.[206] The change is particularly significant as the new movements effectively reverse the dramatic ending of the shorter original. Whereas Henrici's earlier libretto resolves a familial dispute between a father, Schlendrian, and his daughter, Liesgen, with a promise by the female protagonist to forego coffee-drinking in exchange for permission (and Schlendrian's support) to marry, the deal does not hold in the longer version. As the added recitative points out, Liesgen is not only determined to continue drinking coffee in the amended libretto, but also goes in search of a future spouse on her own. Listeners do not learn the outcome of further developments. But as a conciliatory chorus suggests, Liesgen's disobedience is implicitly vindicated by the final movement of the cantata, which identifies coffee-drinking as an established tradition in Saxon families ('Mother loves the coffee habit,/ Grandma drank it too,/ Who would now blame the daughters?').[207]

Goodman tentatively ascribes the concluding chorus to Bach. But it is the speculative identification of Christiane Mariane Ziegler, a pioneering female author in the first half of the eighteenth century, as the literary mind behind Liesgen's disobedience that carries the greatest weight in Goodman's reading of the cantata.[208] In the absence of any specific evidence that proves Ziegler's authorship conclusively, Goodman argues that

[205] Henrici, *Ernst-Schertzhaffte Gedichte*, 564-67.
[206] Ibid., 208. Werner Neumann, 'Hochzeitskantaten, Weltliche Kantaten', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1970), I/40, 197.
[207] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 918.
[208] Goodman, 'From Salon to *Kaffeekranz*', 210

a kinship in spirit between Liesgen's strong-willed change of heart and Ziegler's own, widely publicised advocacy of 'the public involvement of women in cultural enterprise' renders her hypothesis plausible.[209] Moreover, there may have been a musical link between both figures. Similar to Liesgen's aria, 'Ei, wie schmeckt der Coffee süße' ('Oh, How Sweet the Coffee Tastes'), BWV 211/4, that features a prominent solo flute, Goodman argues that Ziegler too was an accomplished singer and flute player.

Nonetheless, Goodman invests the possibility that Ziegler may have performed Bach's music (partly set to her own poetry) at one of her literary salons with particular significance. Based on the assumption that coffee houses represented a specifically gendered, male sphere of influence (as an ascending public sphere), Goodman situates the *Coffee Cantata* at the 'beginning of an end for the [social] … effort to include women at the centre of cultural production'.[210] The failure of such efforts is exemplified by Ziegler's personal and artistic relationship with Johann Christoph Gottsched. Whereas Gottsched is known to have supported Ziegler fervently in the years before his marriage to Louise Adelgunde Kulmus, his enthusiasm cooled significantly as a married man. Instead of Ziegler's free-spirited independence, Goodman argues that Gottsched now endorsed the more ancillary literary activities of his wife. The resulting decline in Ziegler's cultural status is illustrated with a specific detail from the history of one of Leipzig's most renowned coffee houses. In 1772, the former venue of Ziegler's salon at the famous *Romanushaus* on *Katharinen-Straße* was converted into a coffee house by the *caffétier* Georg Wilhelm Richter. Goodman, however, invests the coincidence with far-reaching significance, and argues that the change, in fact, illustrates a much wider development: 'The cultural segregation of the sexes - men in the coffeehouses discussing

[209] Ibid., 194.
[210] Ibid., 211.

intellectual and public matters, women at the home discussing gossip - appears complete'.[211]

Nonetheless, the narrative trajectory of this rise and fall of Ziegler's egalitarian salon turns on an intriguing historiographical paradox. Its contours are clearly predicated on Jürgen Habermas's seminal hypothesis that British coffee houses gave rise to a 'public sphere' in Western-European societies around the turn of the eighteenth century. The following characterisation of domestic performance-contexts in Goodman's chapter clearly suggests the implicit reliance on Habermasian thought:

> It [the performance of songs in domestic living rooms] was a middle-class domestic art form and decidedly distinct from the emerging public culture that was to be the principal domain of men. The emergence of two spheres of cultural activity contrasted sharply with Ziegler's older ideal, for she had situated women squarely in the middle of a single sphere.[212]

However, Goodman's characterisation of the ascending public realm as a specifically male sphere of influence, in fact, runs counter to Habermas's own understanding of the public sphere. It is worth to briefly revisit Habermas's original terminology, therefore, as this can not only reveal some of the limitations of invoking its associated historiographical framework as a convenient stereotype, but also clarify that coffee houses as well as salons and *Kaffeekränze* were, in fact, all 'public' according to Habermas's understanding of the public sphere.

As Habermas sets out in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, a public sphere denotes a 'sphere of private people come together as a public' through 'people's public use of their reason'.[213] As such, it is a partly philosophical concept (as a manifestation of the faculty of reason) and partly a historical phenomenon that shaped political institutions. However, owing to the central importance of rational thought as an agent of moral justice in eighteenth-century philosophy, Habermas's public sphere as a

[211] Ibid., 211.
[212] Ibid., 200.
[213] Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 27.

historical and 'public use of reason' must, likewise, become ultimately blind to social, cultural and biological differences between rational beings. As a result, it must transcend social divisions, such as schooling, class, race, and sex.

Evidently this requirement runs counter to the social customs (and gender-profiles) of a great many social institutions in the eighteenth century (not least among them political parties and parliaments). And yet, especially political bodies are central to the idea that a collective and public use of reason can become a social reality. To avoid historical contradiction, Habermas is adamant that, in order to become truly public, the social institutions that constitute the public sphere must also be universally accessible:

> The public sphere of civil society stood or fell with the principle of universal access. A public sphere from which specific groups would be *eo ipso* excluded was less than merely incomplete; it was not a public sphere at all.[214]

Applied specifically to Goodman's argument, an emerging public sphere in Habermas's sense could therefore not have manifested itself in the demise of Ziegler's, or indeed any other female salon. Put more specifically still, an 'emerging public culture' that was exclusively male would at least not be 'rising' in the sense of a public sphere that, according to Habermas, does not allow an intrinsic (*eo ipso*) exclusion of 'specific groups', such as women.

Nonetheless, the well-documented discrimination against women in the leading institutions of eighteenth-century society also raises difficulties for Habermas's original hypothesis. But they do not remain unacknowledged. As J. A. Downie points out in a far-reaching discussion of Habermas's ideas, the phenomenon of gender segregation in the eighteenth century was partly addressed by a distinction between a 'political' public sphere, dominated by men, and an 'apolitical' public sphere, which included the literary sphere of domestic circles and the inter-subjective realm of reading collectives:

[214] Ibid., 85.

> Habermas … acknowledges that, *in practice*, women and servants were excluded, yet maintains that they were actively involved in a literary public sphere which was in some sense "apolitical".[215]

As Downie rightly observes, the possibility of an apolitical public sphere causes far-reaching contradictions for a historical framework that is essentially designed to trace a political development (i.e. a transfer of power from absolute monarchs, accountable only to God, to representative and collective bodies of state, such as legislative parliaments). However, from a Habermasian vantage point (even an implied one), it is uniquely difficult to argue that an emerging distinction between public and private spheres might be the cultural cause of a historical displacement of Ziegler's salon by Richter's coffee house. In fact, according to Habermas's original narrative, coffee houses, salons, as well *Kaffeekränze*, all partook in the rise of a rather wider public sphere, irrespective of their location in domestic contexts or association with mercantile businesses.

What is more, eighteenth-century coffee houses are unlikely to have discriminated against women as harshly as is customarily assumed. On the basis of pamphlets that were distributed in London coffee houses in the late seventeenth century, the historian Steven Pincus, for example, found that 'there is every reason to believe that women frequently attended the newly fashionable coffeehouses'.[216] Even Katherine Goodman concedes that 'women of standing might have attended the coffeehouse performances of Bach's *collegium musicum*', and is happy to acknowledge that female visitors were granted access to outdoor coffee gardens, even though they were subject to the same regulations that is cited in evidence of the exclusion of women from inner-city venues.[217] It is also relevant to note in this context that according to Leipzig's address calendar, for example from 1720, two out of six licensed proprietors of coffee houses

---

[215] J. A. Downie, 'The Myth of the Bourgeois Public Sphere', in: Craig Calhoun (ed.), *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass; London: MIT Press, 1992), 70.
[216] Steve Pincus, '"Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *The Journal of Modern History* (1995), 67/4, 815.
[217] 'The summer locations of coffeehouses were more amenable to the presence of ladies...' Goodman, 'From Salon to *Kaffeekranz*', 205.

were women and, as widows of former owners continued to run the businesses of their deceased spouses (specific examples include Johann Lehmann's widow and a 'widow Amberg').[218] It seems more likely, therefore, that concerns about women on licensed premises primarily sought to prevent individuals, such as Sinold's satirical *Cortigiana*, to advertise their trade at the city's coffee houses.[219]

Moreover, there is specific literary evidence to suggest that women visited inner-city coffee houses. Among the various dialogues of Philipp Sinold's journal *The Pernicious Coffee House*, the following exchange is of particular relevance:

> Servius: In my view it is a nuisance that young girls also go to many of these houses.
> Titius: I do not hope so.
> Servius: Oh, I have seen them many times inside / but what they do there is unknown to me.
> Romanus: It's hardly news that women also smoke six or seven and even eight pipes/
> Petrus: This is dishonourable/ I couldn't bear such sights.[220]

The passage is particularly intriguing as a record of the implied audacity of coffee-house visits by women at the time. Clearly, the brief exchange proceeds from the assumption that readers would disapprove of the idea and perhaps the author even meant to reinforce this view too. Nonetheless, exclamations such as, 'I couldn't bear such sights', may also indicate that, similar to private salons, coffee houses may also have offered women a social platform to display their tastes for coffee, tobacco and artistic pursuits.

Collapsing the historiographical dichotomy between salons and coffee houses, however, also puts the strongest aspect of Goodman's research into clearer focus, which concerns the literary background of Henrici's libretto. As Goodman rightly points out, the literary text originated as a rather crude rhymed satire that is indeed unlikely to have conformed to the tastes of literary minds moving within Christiane Mariane von Ziegler's

---

[218] Anon., *Das Anno 1720 florirende Leipzig*, 121.
[219] Sinold von Schütz, *Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig*, 6.
[220] 'Servius: Das kommt mir ärgerlich vor daß auch in viele dieser Häuser Mädgens gehen./ Titius: Das will ich nicht hoffen./ Servius: O derselben hab ich offt darinnen gesehen/ was sie aber darinnen thun/ ist mir unbekannt./ Romanus: Das ist ja nichts neues/ daß Frauenzimmer auch 6. 7. auch 8. Pfeiffen Taback rauchen. Petrus: Das ist mehr als schändlich/ solches Gesicht könte ich ohnmöglich dulden.' Sinold (gen. Schütz), *Das verderbliche Caffee-Hauß*, 47.

social circles. Yet the literary character of the text can also provide the foundations for an alternative explanation of the additional verses in Bach's cantata, which are, in fact, programmatically centred on Leipzig's contemporary coffee-house culture.

Of particularly relevance in this context are earlier treatments of coffee and women as satirical subjects by Henrici. As Goodman notes, Bach's longstanding librettist had, for example, published a satirical play, entitled *Die Weiberprobe* (*The Test of the Wives*) in the mid-1720s, which clearly foreshadows Liesgen's weakness for coffee in the later *Coffee Cantata*.[221] However, literary research by the nineteenth-century historian Paul Flossmann, which is not considered by Goodman, has established a further precedent for Liesgen's passion for coffee drinking. The first instalment of a series of popular spoof-newspapers by Henrici, which were distributed as *Nouvellen*, featured a rhymed sketch which purported to report a failed attempt by the French King to outlaw coffee.[222] The decision not only met with fierce protest by the female population, but also had to be revoked after allegedly causing a swathe of seemingly related deaths, in keeping with the sinister prophecy of the following battle cry: 'Scream the women, woe, rather go and take our bread; as without the coffee, all our lives will soon be dead'.[223]

The broad background of such misogynistic depictions of coffee-crazed women suggests a clear reason why changes to the libretto may have seemed sensible when Bach set the text to music. The original ending of Henrici's libretto with Liesgen's declaration, 'Now, coffee, stay put for ever!', for example, outline an identical triumph of patriarchal convention over irrational women as Henrici's feigned news-report about a deadly coffee ban in the French capital.[224] However, if Bach intended to perform the *Coffee Cantata* with his Collegium musicum at Zimmermann's coffee house, it must have become quickly

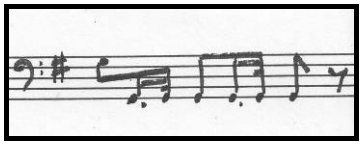
[221] Christian Friedrich Henrici, *Picanders Teutsche Schau-Spiele, bestehend in dem Academischen Schlendrian, Ertzt-Säuffer, und der Weiber-Probe* (Berlin, 1726).
[222] Heinrich Paul Flossmann, *Picander. Christian Friedrich Henrici* (Liebertwolkwitz: F. Zeugner, 1899), 20.
[223] 'Schrie das Weibs-Volck ach nehmt nur das Brodt, denn ohne den Caffee ist unser Leben todt.' Christian Friedrich Henrici, *Picanders ernst-schertzhaffte und satyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig: Boetio, 1727), 523.
[224] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 917.

apparent that a musical performance ending with a public renunciation of coffee by its protagonist would not only have risked alienating the present audience, but also the patron of the business, Gottfried Zimmermann. There can be little doubt that such negative publicity for coffee would have rendered the piece unsuitable for a performance at Bach's customary performance venue. Seen this way, the changes to the text can be plausibly accounted for without recourse to speculative identifications of gendered historiographical theory. Indeed, extending the cantata by a movement that reverses Liesgen's decision, and concluding it with a chorus that praises coffee as a traditional custom, is more likely to have resulted from the pragmatic imperative to render the libretto compatible with the social ambience at Zimmermann's coffee house.

But Bach not only departed from Henrici's original literary design by setting a different ending to music, he also chose a radically different level of musical style than what was called for by the libretto as a satirical text. In fact, Bach elevated the characters of Schlendrian and Liesgen considerably beyond the level of comedic stereotypes, and appears to have been so successful in doing so that the discrepancy has gone unnoticed so far. On closer reflection, Bach's music appears to feature merely one truly comical character, Schlendrian, whereas Liesgen (and by implication also her passion for coffee) is elevated to an altogether different plane of musical sophistication. It is worthwhile, therefore, to establish in greater detail at which junctures the deviation is particularly pertinent, as this will also illuminate which meanings the creative tension might have conveyed to eighteenth-century audiences.

Bach's musical humour in Schlendrian's part has long been noticed. As Hans-Joachim Schulze observes, for example, the comic element of his role is unmistakable immediately from the beginning. As soon as the first recitative announces Schlendrian's appearance ('Here comes Mr Schlendrian') the continuo accompaniment falls into a syncopated, mock-processional rhythm (example 7). As Schulze points out, 'a few

harpsichord arpeggios - "con pompa" - and Schlendrian's entrance is sufficiently sketched'.[225]



Example 7: 'Here comes Schlendrian' (BWV 211/1)

The performance instruction is not Bach's own, of course. But it still provides a concise characterisation of Bach's musical depiction of Liesgen's father, and eighteenth-century audiences are likely to have picked up on Bach's implied gesture in a similar way. Henrici's choice of name for the male protagonist, for example, clearly alluded to a corresponding mixture of ceremonial theatricality and conservatism. According to Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, for example, 'Schlendrian' was also a judicial term, and denoted a manner of proceeding according to traditional convention:

> **Schlendrian**, *Formula procedendi vulgares* (protocol of ordinary proceedings) denotes the conventional customs at court, or those idioms and figures of speech used by the majority of legal counsels ... in court, or traditional customs, according to which judicial hearings ... proceed.[226]

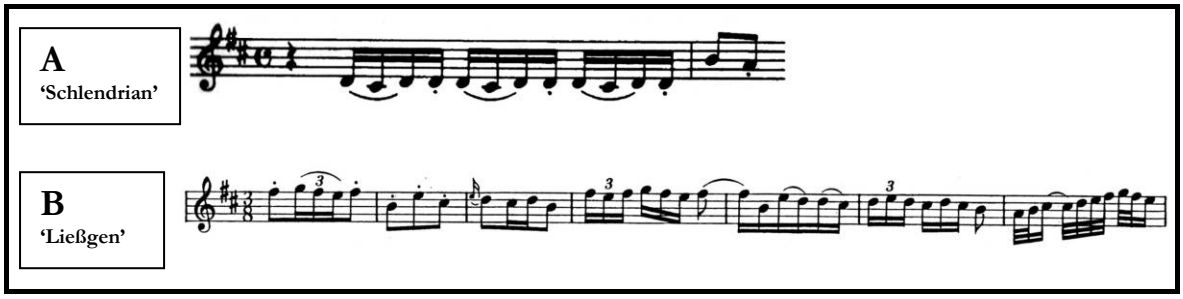
Schulze's observation of musical pomposity corresponds closely with this eighteenth-century definition, whilst being equally sensitive to its inherent comical potential.

Alfred Dürr, by comparison, placed a greater emphasis on Schlendrian's apparent lack of imagination, and pointed out its relative simplicity compared to Liesgen's musical voice.[227] The contrast is convincingly illustrated by a juxtaposition of ritornello motives that introduce the introductory arias of both characters. Whereas Schlendrian's vocal is introduced (and underpinned) by repetitive and harmonically circulating string-figurations in 'Hat man nicht mit seinen Kindern' ('Don't We Have With Our Children'),

---

[225] Schulze, 'Ey! How sweet the coffee tastes', 23-4.
[226] 'Schlendrian, *Formula procedendi vulgares* heißt der gemeine Gerichts-Brauch, oder diejenigen Formeln und Redensarten, dere sich die mehresten Advocaten bey ... rechtlichen Verfahren. ... zu bedienen pflegen, oder auch die hergebrachte Gewohnheit, nach welcher bey denen Processen .... verfahren .... wird.' Zedler *et al*, *Universal Lexicon*, 35, 50.
[227] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 919-20.

BWV 211/2, Liesgen's homage to coffee, 'Ei, wie schmeckt der Coffee süße' ('Oh, How Sweet the Coffee Tastes'), BWV 211/4, adopts a more complex triple metre, is rhythmically enhanced further by embellishing triplet figurations, and is written in a related minor key (example 8).



Example 8: Distinctive motives of main characters in BWV 211/2 & 4, according to Alfred Dürr.

However, contrary to Dürr's reading of Liesgen's characterisation as an example of Bach's mastery of musical comedy, her musical part goes far beyond eighteenth-century codifications of comedic text setting.[228]

To recognise this idiosyncracy, it is necessary to first establish the literary clues about Liesgen's character that are contained in Henrici's libretto, and then relate them to Bach's musical setting. The text contains only a bare minimum of information. Most of Liesgen's literary character needs to be inferred from the exchanges with her father about her favoured pastimes. Important clues, for example, follow from the sanctions Schlendrian threatens to impose in order to curtail Liesgen's longing for coffee. Inevitably, they focus on a range of pastimes Liesgen appears to cherish. Unlike the depth of expression that articulates her passion for coffee musically, however, her tastes hardly indicate a particular depth of character. As Schlendrian is keen to point out, his daughter, for example, craves flirtatious attention whilst looking out of the window and gazing onto the street below ('you shall not … see anyone passing by!'). She also has a strong interest in keeping up with the latest trends in fashion ('You shall not have …/ A

[228] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 919.

silver or golden band/ Upon your bonnet!'). Furthermore, Schlendrian accuses her of unreasonable stubbornness and persistently ignoring his advice ('What I always say every day/ … / Is quite fruitless').[229] Nonetheless, Liesgen's musical voice in her signature aria 'Ei, wie schmeckt der Coffee süße' hardly corresponds to such an evident preference for superficial pleasantries and agreeable distraction. To be sure, the implied coquettishness of the ornamented flute part, its *staccato* quavers in the first two bars and teasing syncopations can be seen as related affects, perhaps. But the predominant impression of the aria nevertheless is one of profound depth, cultural refinement and courtly demeanour (example 8). At the same time, one looks in vain for indications of, for example, a desire to acquire or display intellectual and cultural sophistication. Instead of, say, a fondness of print journals, literature and books, or pleas for additional hours with personal tutors, Liesgen's primary concern lies with coffee, which, especially in Henrici's writings, consistently signifies moral weakness and a propensity for idle chatter among members of the fair sex.

Bach must surely have been aware of this allegorical association. Perhaps he was even familiar with an earlier character that was also called 'Ließgen' in one of Henrici's satirical plays on yet another Schlendrian, *The Academic Hum-Drum* (*Der akademische Schlendrian*).[230] Its plot centres on the marriage prospects of a young woman from a wealthy Leipzig household, the *Vielgeldtins* (Loads-of-Money), where Ließgen is employed as domestic assistant. In keeping with her rank, she does not court young bachelors studying at the university, but is resolute in defending her professional credentials nevertheless: 'But you have to grant me that a young servant counts for quite a lot hereabouts'.[231] Henrici's Liesgen from the *Coffee Cantata*, by comparison, has a higher social repute as a member of Schlendrian's household, which would have given her a

[229] Ibid., 916-17.
[230] Henrici, *Teutsche Schau-Spiele*, 1-111.
[231] 'Ließgen: Aber das muß man mir doch lassen, daß eine Junge-Magd hiesigen Orths schon viel zu sagen hat.' Ibid., 5.

middling rank. Nonetheless, Bach invested her musical voice with the refinement of almost courtly grace and elegance.

The divergence also contradicted a growing consensus among Bach's fellow musicians that text-settings ought to match the stylistic levels of literary characters and librettos. Following the publication in 1730 of Johann Christoph Gottsched's landmark publication, *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst* (*Treatise on a Critical Art of Poetry*), observing a hierarchy of style levels became an increasingly central topic also in music criticism.[232] Gottsched's text (as is by now well documented) inspired a range of publications also on rules of composition, which were codified explicitly in the latter half of the decade and inspired a widely-noted attack on Bach by the influential Gottschedian Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708 - 1776) in 1737.[233] Scheibe expressed particular concern over Bach's excessive application of a musical high style in contexts where lower stylistic registers were indicated to preserve a 'natural' match between musical and literary style levels, which is indeed particularly relevant for Bach's text setting in Liesgen's *Coffee Aria* (even though it is unlikely to have been known to him and, of course, predates Scheibe's public rebuke of Bach by approximately 5 years).

Had Scheibe been familiar with Bach's setting of Liesgen's role, however, he would surely have felt vindicated in his later criticism. It is particularly revealing in this context to compare Bach's aria with, for example, the recommendations on the use of style levels in Johann Mattheson's widely disseminated landmark publication *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (*The Complete Capellmeister*). Similar to the famous charges levelled against Bach by Scheibe, Mattheson also emphasises the dangers of misapplying style levels, and explains their importance in unmistakable Gottschedian terms:

---

[232] Dreyfus, *Patterns of Invention*, 233-34

[233] Scheibe's criticism of Bach on the pages of *The Critical Musician* (*Der critische Musikus*) has generated a wealth of secondary literature. For a chronology of events and relevant documents in English translation, see David, *et al., NBR*, 337-53.

> If ... styles do not correspond to the persons, matters, thought and actions that are to be portrayed, none of them will be natural; least among them the turgid one …. For this reason, it is important to know what makes pomposity and turgidity, which is an elevation and augmentation where it should not occur ... if one decorates lowly matters ... with useless splendour.[234]

On setting satire and comedy, Mattheson advises further:

> If it is the intention of a musical comedy [*Sing-Spiel*] … to be comical or funny, it is best to resort … to cheerful and charming melodies. If the content is satirical … vocal tunes must, every now and then, appear slightly ridiculous, coquettish and prickly.[235]

It is significant to note, therefore that, as Gottsched first set out his ideas on 'natural' uses of style at the beginning of the 1730s, the *Coffee Cantata* may well have struck contemporary audiences also in 1732 for its non-comical treatment of Liesgen's main role.

Indeed, to musical Gottschedians, and particular later Matthesonian critics, Bach's musical treatment of Liesgen's character would have bordered dangerously closely on what was considered 'unnatural'. As a member of a reasonably wealthy middle-class household in Leipzig, Liesgen's appropriate stylistic register would clearly have been a middling one which, as Mattheson points out, might also include 'slightly ridiculous' allusions to the low style, possibly with a tune in the style of folk-melodies perhaps. Indeed, elements of a middling style-level in Liesgen's aria can be recognised, for example, in a flowing triple metre that likens the aria in some respects to Italianate minuets.[236] According to Mattheson's *Capellmeister*, minuets indeed evoked correspondingly moderate affects of light-heartedness: 'Thus, I. *Le Menuet* has, primarily the affect of a moderate cheerfulness … be it fashioned for instruments, singing, or

---

[234] 'Wenn … Schreib-Arten mit den vorzustellenden Personen, Dingen, Gedancken und Verrichtungen nicht übereinkommen, so ist deren keine eintzige natürlich; die schwülstige am allerwenigsten .... Da muß ich nun wissen, was Schwulst und Schwülstigkeit bedeuten, nehmlich eine Erhebung und Erhöhung an solchem Orte, wo sie nicht seyn sollten ... wenn man geringe Sachen ... mit vieler unnützer Pracht .... beleget.' Johann Mattheson, '§. 21', *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Basel, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), 71.
[235] 'Ist die Absicht eines Sing-Spiels …. comisch und lustig, so bedienet [man] sich vornehmlich ... freudiger, frölicher und anmuthiger Melodien. Ist endlich der Inhalt satyrisch .... so müssen die Sang-Weisen hie und da etwas lächerlich, poßierlich und stachelicht heraus kommen.' Ibid., 219.
[236] Meridith Ellis Little, 'Minuet', Stanley Sadie, (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), 16, 743.

dancing'.[237] However, as Mattheson also points out, a moderate middle style (let alone a comical one) would have demanded a straightforward adherence to diatonic progressions, to ensure a natural 'flow':

> If a high style is to be natural, it must sound resplendent. A middling one cannot be natural, if it does not flow.[238]

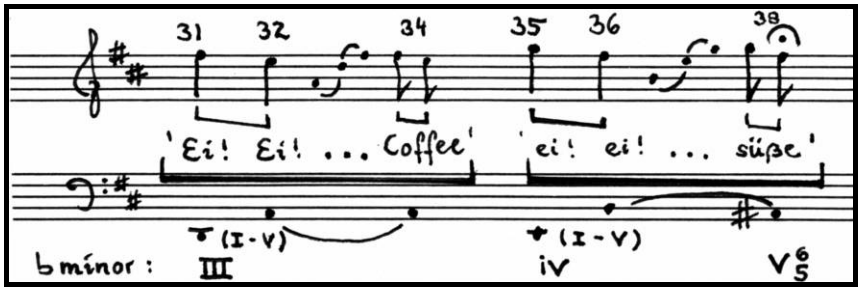
> A never-ending dragging and stooping through semitones and dissonances, with which many are very much in love, has its time and its place, if circumstances tolerate or require it; however, those wanting to set something **flowing** must not embark on such crooked, chromatic paths.[239]

Read in light of these recommendations, it becomes readily apparent that Liesgen's part would indeed violate Mattheson's criterion of harmonic flow, which must not be diverted along labyrinthine lines and embark upon 'crooked chromatic paths'.

However, the enduring charm of Liesgen's aria rests precisely in its harmonic detours and sophisticated chromaticism. As can be seen from an analytical summary of principal sections and progressions in the aria (example 10 at the end of the chapter), Bach's *da capo* design is structured around two strategically placed repeats of an elaborate sighing figure that culminates on an arrestingly discordant, inverted dominant seventh chord (example 9 below). Its affect of passionate yearning is articulated in a powerful link between the words 'coffee' and 'sweet', and the falling semitone step of 'süße' is carefully prepared in a twofold sequence of multiple diminutions. Whereas Bach's setting of Liesgen's exclamations 'Ei!, ei! … Cof-fee' (and 'ei!, ei! … süße') first shortens the note values of a falling whole-tone step from a pair of crotchets to a group of two quavers, the sequence is then repeated on a higher scale step (the subdominant minor of b minor

[237] 'Es hat demanch I. Le Menuet, … sie sey gemacht zum Spielen, zum Singen, zum Tantzen, ins besondere keinen andern Affect, als eine mässige Lustigkeit.' Mattheson, '§. 80', *Capellmeister*, 224.
[238] 'Wenn nun eine hohe Schreib-Art natürlich seyn soll, so muß sie prächtig klingen. Eine mittlere kan nicht natürlich seyn, falls sie nicht fliesset.' (Emphasis added) Ibid., 71.
[239] 'Das ewige Ziehen und Schleppen durch die halben Tone und Dissonanzen, darin macher so sehr verliebt ist, hat zwar seine Zeit und seinen Ort, nachdem es die Umstände leiden oder erfordern; allein wer was **fliessendes** setzen will, darff solche krumme, chromatische Wege nicht suchen.' (Original emphasis) Ibid., 151.

(e), bars 35-8), which also reduces the quality of the repeated interval from a whole-tone step to a falling semitone (bar 38).



Example 9: Rhythmic and melodic diminution in BWV 211/4

Clearly, the gentle charm of the opening comes to an arresting halt. Furthermore, Liesgen voices her affection for coffee in a correspondingly exalted love of 'semitones and dissonances'. As Bach also used the passage as a frame, which bookends a harmonically complex middle section, replete with diminished seventh chords and angular interval leaps (including a daring tritone between bars 93 and 94), listeners could be in no doubt that Bach's music gave Liesgen a voice that overreached the ambitus of her 'natural' affective range by far. What is more, neither Gottschedian style-critics nor attentive musical listeners would have considered such depth of expression merely comical.

The musical drama of Bach's *Coffee Cantata* consequently goes considerably beyond Henrici's original juxtaposition of *buffa* characters. In fact, Bach reserved most comical elements in the music for the role of old-fashioned Schlendrian, which also focuses the entire satirical spotlight of the piece on the mindset and attitude of his character. Ultimately, Bach's musical joke is firmly on Schlendrian, which represents a truly dramatic reversal in a whole range of cultural respects. It suggests, for example, that Bach's treatment of genre and style in the *Coffee Cantata* creates a tension that juxtaposes the simplicity of a comical character with a more sophisticated voice that professes a passionate love of coffee. As such, Bach relies on a musical characterisation that is only

partly based on its literary libretto, and arguably achieves its greatest dramatic depth by departing from indicated levels of stylistic diction and emotional affect.

It is even tempting to speculate that cultural affinities between Liesgen and eminent literary figures, as for example Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, derive much of their musical credibility precisely from the memorable sophistication of Liesgen's musical character. After all, her part in Bach's musical drama projects a compelling combination of stylistic refinement, imagination and passionate yearning that is, indeed, readily associated with a corresponding nobility of mind. The *Coffee Cantata* may therefore well have appealed also to Ziegler's musical tastes and intellectual curiosity.

However, there is little historical justification for assuming that these qualities would have distanced Bach's *Coffee Cantata* from Leipzig's coffee-house culture. On the contrary, the rapture of Liesgen's cries, enthusing about the joys of coffee, possesses a striking affinity to the cultural refinement and elegance of Bach's musical surroundings at Zimmermann's coffee house. Seen this way, her role as a self-declared coffee sister perhaps also provides compelling musical evidence that, particularly on Leipzig's *Katharinen-Straße*, the cultural quality of side dishes served at Zimmermann's coffee houses was indeed of impeccable refinement. Nonetheless, much in the spirit of literary satire, the musical voices of Bach's protagonists also toyed with inviting criticism and provoking critical reproach. Seen this way, Bach's stylistic transgressions in the *Coffee Cantata* reflect not only the affluent privilege of Leipzig's principal coffee houses at the time, but perhaps also their traditional proximity to cultural controversy and criticism.

Example 10: 'Crooked paths' in 'Ei, wie schmecket der Coffe süße' (BWV 211/4)

***DaCapo* Section**	**Ritorn.**	**Bar Nr.[240]**	**Tonality, remarks**
A	**R**	**1 - 6**	**i** (b minor),
		7 - 9	modulating via V7 of III
	(instr.)	**10 - 13**	I/**III**,
		14 - 17	ii/**III**,
		18 - 21	to **i** close in tonic minor
	R	22 - 27	**i**
		28 - 30	**III**, close in relative major,
		31 - 34	
		35 - 38	→ **V** $^{6}_{5}$ **Sigh on 'Sweet'**
B	R	39 - 44	**i**, start of phrase as resolution,
		45 - 48	
		49 - 51	**v**, close in dominant minor
	R	**52 - 57**	**v**
	(instr.)	**58 - 61**	
		62 - 69	**V/III**
		70 - 76	
	(instr.)	**77 - 80**	**'Coffe!'**
		81 - 84	harmonically
		85 - 92	'crooked paths'
		93 - 105	**(d7)** to **iv**
A'	**R**	**106 - 108**	**i**
		109 - 112	**iv**
	(instr.)	**113 - 114**	**i** return to tonic minor
	R	115 - 120	**i**
		121 - 123	**III**, close in relative major,
		124 - 131	
			→ **V** $^{6}_{5}$ **Sigh on 'Sweet'**
	R	132 - 138	**i**,
		139 - 144/1	
		144/2 -148/2	(d7 to i)
		148/3 - 151	**i**
	R	**152 - 157**	**i** (b minor),
		158 - 160	modulating via V7/III
	(instr.)	**161 - 164**	I/**III**,
		165 - 168	ii/**III**,
		169 - 172	to **i** close in tonic minor

[240] Werner Neumann (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke, Hochzeitskantaten, Weltliche Kantaten* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1970), I/38, 202-06.

4) Bach's *Clavier-Übung* and Leipzig's Musical Coffee-House Academicians

According to members of Bach's wider musical circle, keyboard music was never practised with greater skill than in their own time. As a treatise entitled *Gespräch über die Musik* (*Conversation on Music*) proudly proclaims, for example, everyone with a true knowledge of the subject ought to recognise this historical truth:

> That music, and the art of the clavier in particular, has nowadays risen to the almost highest summit of human science and skilfulness, everyone who is true expert of it, will hopefully concede.[241]

The text, which consists of various dialogues between an organist and his apprentice, is linked to Bach not only through his former student Lorenz Mizler (1711 - 1778), who contributed a detailed preface. But Bach's published Partitas for solo keyboard also feature in the following, memorable anecdote:

> Several years ago, an *Ampullas Loquens* [a drunkard, or 'talking bottle-fellow'] visited me in my quarters … and … pretended that he too made a living from the clavier. …. When I presented him with a clavier according to his request ... , well, the playing began, and he played criss and he played cross …. I said to him that it was permissible to start playing at a slower speed in the beginning, in order to make sure one stays within a steady beat [*Mensur*], on the second and third time, it would then come along much better already. But I received the curt reply: These gentlemen and their partitas might as well have stayed at home, … there already was plenty of good music for the clavier by the Italians and the French, as well as the beautiful *Clavier-Übungen* by the renowned Bach, which surely were written very well (*gut gesetzt*). I, being not lazy, fetched some of the keyboard pieces by the said Bach and presented them to him. If he had chopped the keys badly already, here, it now really started.[242]

---

[241] 'Daß die Music, besonders aber die Clavier-Kunst heut zu Tage fast bis zum höchsten Gipffel menschlicher Wissenschafft und Geschicklichkeit gestiegen zu seyn scheint, wird hoffentlich ein ieder, der ein wahrer Kenner derselben ist, eingestehen müssen.' Johann C. Voigt, *Gespräch von der Musik* (Erfurt: D. Jungnicol, 1742), folio B2 ^{recto}.

[242] 'Es kam aber vor etlichen Jahren ein *Ampullas Loquens* zu mir auf meine Stube, ... und ... gab ... vor, er mache auch Profession von dem Clavier. .... Als ich ihm nun das Clavier nach seinem Verlangen vorsetzte, ... so gieng das Spielen an, und da hat er der kreuz und der queer [sic] gespielet .... Ich sagte zu ihm, man könte ja im Anfange nur langsam spielen, damit man in einer Mensur bliebe, zum andern und dritten mahl würde es sich schon besser geben. Ich bekam aber unangenehm zur Antwort: Die guten Herren hätten mit ihren Parthien können zu Hause bleiben, man hätte sonsten ja Sachen genug aufs Claviere von denen Italiänern und Franzosen, wie auch von dem bekannten Bach schöne Clavier-Uebungen, welche gewiß recht gut gesetzt wären. Ich war nicht faul, suchte des bemeldten Herrn Bachs seine Clavier-Sachen hervor, und zeigte ihm dieselben, hatte er aber zuvor nicht gehackt, so gieng es hier erst recht an ....' Ibid., 37-8.

The scene clearly identifies Bach's published keyboard music as a benchmark of professional excellence. The compositions not only unmask the shortcomings of the charlatan Ampullas, but are even invoked by the impostor to feign artistic refinement and sophistication. It seems likely, therefore, that its author (an Eisenach court-musician by the name of Johann Christoph Voigt) closely identified the 'beautiful *Clavier-Übungen* by the renowned Bach' with the contemporary heights to which the art of keyboard-playing had risen.[243]

What is more, Voigt's *Conversation on Music* can shed new light on the contemporaneous reception of Bach's musical thought, both in the performance-context of the Collegium musicum and the wider cultural sphere of Leipzig's *Caffeïsten*. In the introduction, Voigt describes his text as a 'dialogue that was conducted between an organist and his apprentice in a *Collegio Musico*', and sets the conversation in an imaginary organ loft 'after the music had ended' (*Nach geendigter Musik*).[244] Bach would have been readily familiar with this custom. Numerous sources suggest that members of eighteenth-century Collegia musica routinely engaged in informal discussions alongside musical performances, and Bach's ensemble would have been no different. And whilst the concept of convivial musical gatherings has long been linked by scholars to Germany's broader academy movement, it has been overlooked so far that Leipzig's coffee-house culture and its self-proclaimed aim of 'useful edification' had identical roots. The cultural kinship is significant. It not only suggests a compelling link between the social format of Bach's Collegium-musicum meetings and the cultural character of

[243] Biographical information on Johann Christoph Voigt is sparse. According to Zedler's *Lexicon*, he was born in 1689 at Eißleben, and appointed to the Eisenach court in 1717. Bach is also known to have taught a pupil by the name of Johann Georg Voigt (1728 - 1765). Yet as Arthur Mendel credibly argues in an article that first drew attention to remarks on Bach in *The Musical Patriot*, care is needed to distinguish between both Voigts. Zedler *et al*, *Universal Lexicon* , 50, 278. David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 317. Arthur Mendel, 'More for "The Bach Reader"', *The Musical Quarterly* (1950), 36/4, 496.

[244] '[A]ls hat man … für dienlich befunden, ihnen gegenwärtiges Gespräch, welches zwischen einem Organisten und Adjuvanten in einem *Collegio Musico* ist gewechselt worden, mitzutheilen ….' Voigt, *Gespräch von der Musik*, B2 recto.

its performance venue, but also suggests a new context for the reception of Bach's broader compositional aims.

In this chapter I argue that the music, Bach published as *Clavier-Übung* can usefully be rethought according to a principal aim of Leipzig's literary *Caffeïsten*, who sought to engage readers in a partly critical and partly contemplative process known as edifying pondering (*Nachsinnen*). Indeed, seen as part of the musical performance-culture at Zimmermann's coffee house, Bach's musical thought in the *Clavier-Übung* comes remarkably close to a 'useful and edifying' reflection on the subject of keyboard practice itself. This, as I argue in an analytical comparison between the Toccata in e minor that opens Bach's Partita Nr. 6 (BWV 830/1) and a Praeludium in d minor from Johann Kuhnau's second set of partitas, can offer a range of insights into how Bach's music may have been perceived as reflecting on Kuhnau's earlier series, which was also known as *Clavier-Übung*. As a result, one of the most decisive characteristics of Bach's music, its intense preoccupation with an underlying rhetorical idea or *inventio*, can be recognised as being closely related to one of the principal aims of Leipzig's literary *Caffeïsten*. Both not only aimed to engage audiences in a process of reflective and critical pondering (as edifying *Nachsinnen*), but also treated this mode of reception as a discursive means to deepen the level of sophistication in contemporary cultural practice.

Collegia musica and Germany's academy movement

Indeed, Zimmermann's coffee house offered Bach a unique setting to communicate his compositional ideas both to members of his Collegium musicum and attentive listeners. The cultural proximity of eighteenth-century *Caffeïsten* to the values contemporary academicians is particularly important in this respect. Yet, as the kinship has so far not been studied specifically in relation to Bach's historical environment in Leipzig, it is useful to establish some of the similarities that linked Leipzig's Collegia

musica to the city's learned, academic collegia first. In Bach's time, Leipzig prided itself of a considerable number of such private societies that usually were known as 'academies'. As the eminent chronicler Christoph Ernst Sicul noted in 1719, it was 'no news', if in a city of such culture, 'now this and then another society is initiated and becomes established'.[245] Recent research by Detlev Döring has uncovered, moreover, that unlike in France, Italy or other parts of Germany, meetings by Leipzig's learned minds were known as *Kollegien* rather than academies.[246] The terminological idiosyncracy is useful to gain greater clarity about some of the salient features that were shared between Collegia musica and learned *Kollegien* at the time. As Döring exlains,

> [t]he Collegia Sicul interprets as academies were private associations that were usually joined by young people -graduates, but often also students. …. Their primary purpose was to hold regular meetings, which were fixed according to certain statutes and during which published or original texts … were discussed. According to the motto of combining business (*utile*) with pleasure (*dulci*), it was customary in all those collegia to occasionally indulge in exuberant celebrations … compose topical poetry for events, usually in honour of individual members (to mark the award of doctoral degrees, weddings, appointments to a particular office etc.).[247]

Similar to academic *Kollegien*, the participation of Bach's Collegium musicum in 'exuberant celebrations' is, for example, clearly documented in the varied body of so-called honorary cantatas that, as part of festive events, celebrated either members of the ruling aristocracy, prominent citizens or local academics.[248] Furthermore, joining Bach's Collegium musicum appealed especially to local students, as the following, well-known, passage from one of Lorenz Mizler's periodicals reports: 'The members who participate in these musical concerts [i.e. Collegia musica] predominantly consist of those who

---

[245] '[Es ist im] cultivirten Leipzig nichts neues ... daß bald diese, bald eine andere Societät, auf die Bahne und zu Stande gebracht wird.' Christoph Ernst Sicul, *Leipziger Jahr-Geschichte*, transcribed in: Detlef Döring, 'Die Leipziger gelehrten Sozietäten in der 1. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und das Auftreten Johann Christoph Gottscheds', in: Erich Donnert and Günter Mühlpfordt (eds.), *Europa in der frühen Neuzeit: Festschrift für Günter Mühlpfordt* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1997), 17-8.
[246] Ibid., 17-8.
[247] Ibid., 17-8.
[248] For a complete list of the approximately 15 cantatas Bach composed for members of Saxony's ruling aristocracy during his time in Leipzig, see Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 362. For a concise summary of other festive cantatas, honouring academics and private individuals, see Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 849-70.

study here …'.[249] At the same time, musical events did not form part of official university teaching. There is, for example, no evidence to support George B. Stauffer's recent claim that Bach's Collegium musicum was a 'university seminar', at least not in an institutional sense.[250] Rather, Bach's Collegium resembled private *Kollegien* also in its status as an independent event, which was unrelated to official university teaching.

However, arguably the most significant feature of eighteenth-century Collegia musica was that, like gatherings by formally learned academicians, they provided occasions for discussing 'published or original texts'. In this respect, George B. Stauffer's recent research on Bach's repertoire for regular Collegium-musicum meetings offers a wealth of useful and meaningful evidence. Stauffer presents a comprehensive review of performance parts that can be safely linked to Collegium-musicum performances. If read in light of Döring's findings on local *Kollegien*, it clearly illustrates the importance of 'published' texts as part of the ensemble's weekly meetings. Bach's choice of repertoire, for example, shows a clear interest in ensemble compositions that had acquired widespread and often international dissemination. And although most pieces circulated not in print but as handwritten scores, their social currency and association with leading venues at court and in opera-houses still mark them as a clear equivalent to what would be termed 'published texts', for example, in literary circles. The manuscript parts studied by Stauffer strongly suggest performances at Bach's Collegia musica, for example, of an operatic Overture by Agostino Steffani (1654 - 1728), a Sinfonia by Franz Benda (1709 - 1786), cantatas and opera excerpts by Georg Friedrich Handel (including two arias from *Alcina*), as well as various concertos by J. S. Bach's sons and chamber music by German contemporaries (such as G. P. Telemann's

[249] For a different translation of this passage, see for example Smithers, 'Bach, Reiche', 32-3. Mizler von Kolof, *Musikalische Bibliothek*, 1, 63. See also table 2 of this thesis.
[250] Stauffer, 'Bach and the repertoire', 136.

so-called *Paris Quartets* for Flute, Violin, Bass and Continuo).[251] As is easily noted from the birthdates of composers, Bach not only took a keen interest in compositions by family members, but also selected pieces from a range of genres that included theatrical as well as chamber works.

Instead of merely occasioning performances, however, Bach's Collegia musica also offered opportunities to discuss musical repertoire. This was not only considered a novel feature by Bach's contemporaries, but also deemed crucial as a means to reflect on musical practice. Regrettably, the absence of official protocols or personal notes of Collegium-musicum meetings makes it impossible to even guess at specific topics Bach and his musicians may have discussed, or indeed determine what form the dialogues may have taken. Yet there can be no doubt that conversations centred frequently on questions of music criticism as well as performance-practical and technical matters. In 1993, Arnfried Edler highlighted the following passage on Collegia musica by the composer and critic Johann Mattheson, dating from 1717, which clearly documents the importance of subjects relating to compositional technique in such discussions:

> If a piece has been performed, everyone in the *Collegio Musico* takes the liberty to view either the conducting score (if one is available), or individual parts consecutively, to form an opinion and, if it is not articulated [publically], keep it in mind, which then challenges the diligence of composers thoroughly.[252]

A Collegium musicum in Bach's time was therefore not only an opportunity to experience musical repertoire in performance, but (ideally) also provided thought-provoking opportunities to consult musical parts and manuscripts to form and discuss critical opinions.

---

[251] For a complete listing see ibid., 151-52.

[252] 'Wenn ein Stück gemusicirt worden/ nimmt ein jeder im *Collegio Musico* die Freyheit/ entweder die *Partitur* (wenn eine da ist) oder die Stimmen nach einander durchzusehen/ und sein Theil darüber/ wo nicht zu sagen/ doch zu denken/ wodurch denn die Behutsamkeit der Componisten starck zu thun bekömt.' Arnfried Edler, 'Das Collegium musicum als Forum des Theorie-Praxis-Bezugs', in: Werner Braun, *et al.* (eds.), *Akademie und Musik: Erscheinungsweisen und Wirkungen des Akademiegedankens in Kultur- und Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1993), 119. For a facsimile of the original text, see Johann Mattheson, *Die drei Orchestre-Schriften* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2002), 2, 141.

Mattheson's account is in keeping with further sources that document the importance composers and performers ascribed to critical discussions about music at the time. Perhaps the best known among them was published in 1700 by Bach's predecessor at St. Thomas's Church, Johann Kuhnau, and relates specifically to Leipzig. In a novel, entitled *Der musikalische Quacksalber* (*The Musical Charlatan*), Kuhnau describes how the skills of an itinerant musician, who passes himself off as a travelling virtuoso, are put to the test by members of a local Collegium musicum.[253] However, Kuhnau's protagonist not only struggles to conceal his deficiencies as continuo player during meetings of the ensemble, but his sample compositions are, likewise, quickly exposed as deficient arrangements of existing works.[254] In keeping with Mattheson's views, Leipzig's Collegia musica consequently appear indeed to have safeguarded standards in musical practice even as early as around the turn of the eighteenth century.

Less familiar by comparison is Voigt's *Gespräch von der Musik*, which can offer a range of additional insights into how the combination of performance and conversation affected musical practice in eighteenth-century Collegia musica. As Voigt's fictitious organist points out, meetings exposed performers to unusual levels of scrutiny by fellow musicians as well as knowledgeable individuals in the audience. Whilst this acted as a positive incentive for ambitious members to perform at their best, it also deterred less accomplished practitioners:

> In my opinion the musical skilfulness which one possesses can be demonstrated much more effectively in a Collegio Musico, should one wish to be heard in public … : However, the good gentlemen [i.e. young musicians] aren't quite so keen here, which is because in such a place there are generally experts on music present, and they may fear that ignorance will become apparent and be held against them, whereas no one could tell it to their faces and confront them at church.[255]

---

[253] For a recent discussion of the novel, see Rose, *The Musician in Literature*, 125-30; 131-148. A facsimile reprint of the German original was published as Johann Kuhnau, James N. Hardin (ed.), *Ausgewählte Werke, Der musicalische Quacksalber* (Bern: P. Lang, 1992).

[254] Kuhnau, *Ausgewählte Werke, Der musicalische Quacksalber*, 23-135.

[255] 'Meinen Gedanken nach könnte auch einer seine Geschicklichkeit, die er in der Musik besitzet, und sich hören lassen wolte, viel besser in einem Collegio Musico an den Tag legen ... : Aber hier wollen die guten Herrn nicht dran, sintemahl allda meistens solche Kenner der Musik zugegen, möchten sie

Voigt's organist also notes that directors of Collegia musica enjoyed a further advantage by being able to choose their repertoire freely. Without the need to conform to ceremonial protocols or liturgical customs, he notes that this often lead to a greater breadth in performed repertoire and offered possibilities to improve the technical skills of individual ensemble members by selecting especially demanding pieces:

> At church it is not customary to perform material that is as difficult as in a Collegio Musiko [sic] …. As in a Collegio Musico … usually the most difficult pieces are performed, whereas at church priority is given to orderly convention ….[256]

Clearly, Collegia musica are credited with superior musical literacy and experience, but praise for these achievements also appears to be predicated on a correspondingly dismissive view of performance standards at church. It is impossible of course to determine what motivated this scepticism, but it is important to recall in this context that a similar contrast in performance levels could not have applied to musical life in Bach's Leipzig.[257] As recent research by Christoph Wolff on Bach's performance schedule for the Christmas and New Year's celebrations in 1733-34 has shown in great detail, Bach consciously relied on the most capable university students to augment the musical scope and variety of his sacred music.[258] Many among them, as for example Carl Gotthelf Gerlach (1704 - 1761) who intermittently directed Bach's ensemble during the 1730s, were among the most distinguished members of his Collegium musicum. Voigt's partisan praise for Collegia musica should therefore not be read as an indication of inferior quality of musical performances at Leipzig's main churches. However, its emphasis on expertise and exploration clearly underlines the importance of musical

befürchten, daß ihre Unwissenheit offenbar und ihnen vorgehalten würde, welches aber in den Kirchen niemand sogleich sagen, und ihnen vorrücken darff.' Voigt, *Gespräch von der Musik*, 100-01.

[256] 'In der Kirchen werden nicht allemahl solche schwere Sachen, wie bey einem *Collegio Musiko* [sic] aufgeführet .... Dann in einem Collegio Musico ... nimmt man gemeiniglich die schwersten Stücke, in der Kirche aber bleibet man gerne bey der Ordnung ....' Ibid., 101.

[257] For details see 'Table 8.2. Organization of Leipzig Church Music, 1723-50', in: Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 252.

[258] Ibid., 263.

knowledge and applied learning that corresponded closely to the ethos of Leipzig's various private *Kollegien*.

As a general historical phenomenon, this correspondence between Collegia musica and eighteenth-century academies has long been noted by scholars. Common ground between musical ensembles and learned circles was described, for example, by Iain Fenlon and Howard Mayer Brown in a recent lexicon article on academies. According to their findings, the term 'academy' was applied not only to formal associations devoted to various cultural and philosophical pursuits (such as Italy's venerated Accademia della Crusca, or the Accademia dei Lincei in Rome), but also denoted national bodies (such as the *Académie Française* that was solely devoted to matters concerning the French language). Furthermore, academies could be loosely organised societies that convened regularly or conducted formalised correspondence with fellow members on a chosen subject.[259] As Fenlon and Brown credibly conclude, the customs of most German Collegia musica neatly fitted this informal type of association and consequently constituted 'a kind of academy'.[260]

At Leipzig, a variety of such informal academies chose to convene at local coffee houses which, apart from Collegia musica, also comprised so-called newspaper collegia (*Avisen-Collegiis*), as the eighteenth-century economist Paul Jacob Marperger reports:

> Idle people can find a permissible pastime in reading newspapers [*Avisen*]; honest assemblies of good friends are occasioned by organised *Avisen-Collegiis*; the proprietors of coffee houses and inns are thus kept in business ….[261]

The intermingling of informal *Kollegien* at Leipzig's coffee houses presents a unique opportunity. The topical range of discussions in *Avisen-Collegiis* would, for example,

---

[259] Iain Fenlon and Howard Mayer Brown, 'Academy' in: Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001), 1, 43.

[260] Fenlon and Brown, 'Academy', 1, 44.

[261] 'Müßige Leute können sich durch das *Avis*en Lesen einen zugelassenen Zeitvertreib machen; ehrliche Zusammenkünffte guter Freunde werden aus angestellten *Avisen-Collegiis* veranlasset; die Caffé Schencken und Wirths-Häuser finden dadurch Nahrung ....' Paul Jacob Marperger, Anleitung *zum rechten Verstand und nutzbarer Lesung allerhand ... Zeitungen oder Avisen etc.* (Leipzig, ca. 1730), 24.

almost certainly have included printed periodicals, such as Philipp Balthasar Sinold's journal *The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*. As a result, the stated purposes and ways in which authors of such periodicals addressed their readers also allow insights into ways of thinking and modes of reception Bach's contemporaries would have associated with useful and edifying coffee-house pursuits. As this also included Bach's music, it is worth to reconstruct such edifying strategies in greater detail.

Reflective criticism in Leipzig's coffee-house journals

One of the key functions of print items in eighteenth-century coffee-houses was to stimulate discussions among visitors. In Bach's time, the custom was known as *raisoniren*, and its particular association with coffee-house visits is documented, for example, in the following advice by the economist and writer on eighteenth-century etiquette, Julius Bernhard von Rohr (1688 - 1742):

> One must never agree to gamble with foreign or unfamiliar people, or get involved with a private party or assembly, … but rather choose a secluded seat, or visit in the company of a friend, and either read a newspaper, have a cup of tea or coffee, or smoke a pipe of tobacco, whilst listening to the collective discussions [*raisoniren*] of others.[262]

Raisoniren focussed by no means exclusively on newsprint, however. Coffee-house debates were also based on periodicals that covered musical matters. In 1741, the 14th issue of a journal called *Der musicalische Patriot* (*The Musical Patriot*), for example, carried the following letter to its editor, which is presented here for the first time, and reports that although the local readership (at an unidentified location) appears to have been largely critical of the journal, it was nevertheless discussed regularly:

> Yet you should know in advance that, although there are several musicians staying here, not one of them for whom such things are being written, purchases your title. They say the authors are writing in a manner that is too learned. But there are other readers,

[262] 'Man muß sich mit fremden und unbekandten Leuten in kein Spiel einlassen/ oder in eine vertrauliche Gesellschafft und Zusammenkunft, ... sondern vor sich allein setzen, oder mit einem guten Freund zugleich hingehen, und entweder Zeitungen lesen, oder eine *Tasse Thé*, oder *Caffe* trincken, oder eine Pfeiffe Toback rauchen, und andere dabey *raisoni*ren hören'. Julius Bernhard von Rohr, Gotthardt Frühsorge (ed.), *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1990), 515.

> who, although they have not studied, believe themselves to possess natural reason in such quantity that they can't help but share it in coffee houses and taverns, subject other people to all kinds of theatre, performances and pedantically ridiculous debating, partly to the greatest delight of some, and partly to the greatest disgust of other listeners. However, they understand nothing of the content of your journal. Nonetheless, they still debate it.[263]

In spite of the palpable disdain for the (alleged) ignorance of local debaters, it is important to note that the author of the letter reports that *The Musical Patriot* generated sufficient interest to be discussed by coffee-house readers.

Indeed, few authors of coffee-house journals in Bach's time expected readers to fully understand their articles, especially if they were addressing specialist subjects or moral issues. The Leipzig-based critic and professor of poetry Johann Christoph Gottsched, for example, wrote the following about the reception of one of his most successful periodicals, *Der Biedermann*:

> I am delighted that my journal is known amongst various kinds of people, and is read specifically also in those societies where one primarily thinks about various entertainments. …. I apply myself quite seriously to discover these secrets over time, and will attempt, according to the example of a great teacher, become all things to everyone. Why should unwise judgements be any of my concern?[264]

Rather than expecting to be understood by a majority of readers, authors of commercial periodicals therefore hoped to get their points across at least occasionally. Yet this did not invalidate their efforts, as can be illustrated by the following remark by the theologian, teacher and author Johann Ephraim Scheibel from 1734:

> [I]f ever something useful and healing was done in moral ethics, it is surely happening in our time by those famous men, who write as *Spectatoris*, Mentors, The Patriot, The Female Tatlers, the *Biedermann* … and, for several years now, have given accounts of virtues and vices to their readers, which are so vivid that many who have offended

[263] 'Sie müssen aber zuvor wissen, daß sich hieselbst zwar einige Musici aufhalten, und dennoch schaffet sich keiner von denen, für welche sie doch geschrieben wird, ihre Blätter an. Sie sagen, die Verfasser schrieben gar zu gelehrt. Es finden sich aber andern Leser, die, ob sie gleich nicht studirt haben, gleichwol so vielen natürlichen Verstand zu besitzen vermeynen, daß sie selben in Coffeehäusern und Schenken ohnmöglich an sich halten können, sondern vielmehr mit allerhand Aufzügen, Aufführungen und subtilen lächerlichen disputiren theils zu größten Vergnügen einiger, theils zum größten Ekel anderer Zuhörer auslassen müssen. Diese verstehen aber nicht von dem, wovon Ihre Blätter handeln. Und dennoch *raisonni*ren sie darüber.' Henke, 'Das vierzehnte Stück', *Der musicalische Patriot* (1741), 111.

[264] 'Es ist mir sehr lieb, daß meine Blätter allerley Leuten in die Hände kommen, und sonderlich auch in solchen Gesellschaften, wo man an lauter Belustigungen dencket, gelesen werden. .... Ich bemühe mich recht ernstlich, diese Geheimniß mit der Zeit zu entdecken, und werde mich befleißigen, nach dem Exempel eines grossen Lehrers, allen allerley zu werden. Was gehen mich unverständige Urtheile an?' Johann Christoph Gottsched, 'Ein und zwanzigstes Blatt', *Der Biedermann* (1727), 21, 84.

> fellow citizens by their behaviour had their eyes opened. These honourable gentlemen should be regarded as no different from preachers. What they do in pulpits, those accomplish through moral weeklies. And who knows if someone may not, at least occasionally, have left the coffee house a changed man, after having been stirred deeply by the reading and even though he may have come in a vain and slovenly mind.[265]

Similar to Gottsched, Scheibel implies that only a small number of readers seriously contemplated the content of moral weeklies. Nonetheless, he still ranks their usefulness extremely highly and compares their social function to that of Christian sermons.

In addition, Scheibel's observations can further illuminate the rhetorical strategies of coffee-house periodicals. Similar to the custom of *raisoniren*, their content and articles, for example, aspired to the more formalised discourse in learned academies. Of particular relevance in this context is a Hamburg-based journal, entitled *The Patriot* which is specifically mentioned by Scheibel. The publication was specifically associated with a leading literary academy, the Patriotic Society (*patriotische Gesellschaft*). Its often famous members included, amongst others, two of Georg Philipp Telemann's occasional librettists, Barthold Hinrich Brockes (1680 - 1747) and Michael Richey (1678 - 1764). Partly as a result, the subscription-title published by the society attracted a readership that was considerably broader than learned individuals.[266] Nonetheless, individual issues usually reflected the topics and discussions of the society's weekly meetings, and many articles were based on revised speeches or other contributions that had first been presented to fellow members.[267] Eighteenth-century coffee houses were

---

[265] '[I]st jemahls in der Sitten-Lehre vieles nützliches und heilsames gethan worden, so geschieht es gewiß zu unsern Zeiten, von denjenigen berühmten Männern, die unter dem Nahmen eines Spectatoris, Mentors, Guardiens [sic], des Patrioten, der Tadlerinnen, des Biedermanns, Alten Deutschen oder auch einer Matrone, seit einigen Jahren, ihren Lesern die lebhafftesten Betrachtungen von Tugenden und Lastern mit einem solchen Eindruck angestellet, daß manchem die Augen aufgegangen, der durch eine üble Aufführung einen Mitbürgern ein Argerniß gegeben .... Diese redlichen Männer sind vor nichts anders als Prediger zu achten, was diese auff der Cantzel thun, ist von ihnen in ihren wöchentlichen Blättern geschehen, und wer weiß ob nicht hier und dar mancher vom Caffee-Hause, worauff er mit einem eitlen und liederlichen Gemüthe gekommen, durch Lesung derselben anders Sinne und auff das kräfftigste gerühret wieder herunter gegangen.' Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, *Die unerkannten Sünden der Poeten* (Leipzig, 1734; München, 1981), 1-2.
[266] Joachim Kirchner, *Das deutsche Zeitschriftenwesen, seine Geschichte und seine Probleme* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1958), 1, 56. Kirchner also gives a compelling account of the popular reception and numerous imitations of *The Patriot*. Ibid., 57-9.
[267] Ibid., 56.

consequently linked to the endeavours of literary academicians both in their convivial character and associated print-culture. They not only accommodated a diverse number of informal collegia that echoed more formal debates as collective *raisoniren*, but the activities and meetings of learned academies were also reflected in the print-journals that usually provided the basis of these discussions.

The threefold link between academies, periodicals and coffee houses also applied to Bach's surroundings in Leipzig. As Herbert Jaumann has convincingly shown, the discussions of Philipp Sinold's coffee companions in the *Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*, for example, were consciously modelled on an earlier journal by the academic, philosopher and jurist Christian Thomasius (1655 - 1728) that was popularly known as *Monatsgespräche* (*Monthly Conversations*).[268] Parallels to *The Intriguing Coffee House* are readily apparent. Although Thomasius focussed more exclusively on discussions of books and recent publications, he set an important example by articulating his views in the form of semi-dramatic dialogues, set in a fictitious academy called Society of the Leisurely (*Gesellschaft der Müßigen*).[269] *The Intriguing Coffee House*, by comparison, focussed primarily on social satire and current affairs, but remained committed to Thomasius's literary format of dialogic writing. Moreover, it transformed Thomasius's group of literary academicians into a collective of various coffee-house debaters. The transfer is of considerable significance. By modelling a 'Venetian' community of *Caffëisten* on Thomasius' Society of the Leisurely, Sinold also aligns their discussions with Thomasius' literary aims. As a result, Sinold's coffee companions not only reflect how coffee-house visitors may have conducted themselves around the turn of the eighteenth century, but also provide a specific link between the cultural sphere of Leipzig's coffee houses and the wider aims of some of Germany's most influential academicians.

---

[268] Herbert Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 2004), 1, 611.
[269] Christian Thomasius, *Freimütige, lustige und ernsthafte, jedoch vernunftmässige Gedanken oder Monatsgespräche über allerhand, fürnehmlich aber neue Bücher* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenëum, 1972).

Furthermore, Sinold's journal details a central aspect of this ethos in its title inscription. Similar to later moral weeklies, this includes a firm commitment to social satire, but the periodical also seeks to encourage readers to reflect further on its presented content, as is programmatically declared in the following:

> The intriguing coffee-house at Venice, in which the abuses and vain ways of this world, besides various noteworthy occurrences in public affairs and matters of ordinary life, are represented by various persons, in the course of several delightful gatherings, and are offered to all honourable and virtue-loving minds for the purpose of further pondering (*zum ferneren Nachsinnen*).[270]

Nachsinnen denoted a process of deep thinking and personal reflection in Bach's time, and Scheibel's later report of coffee-house readers whose affects are deeply stirred by periodicals clearly invokes a similar idea. Yet, once more, *Nachsinnen* was not exclusive to moral teaching, but also applied to musical matters. Hamburg's influential writer, theorist and composer Johann Mattheson, for example, invokes the idea of musical pondering as *Nachsinnen* in a brief discussion of Bach's so-called *Hudemann Canon* (BWV 1074) in his landmark treatise *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (*The Complete Capellmeister*).[271]

Bach's canon was particularly famous on account of its enigmatic notation. As a riddle canon, it merely specifies the voice which is to be played against itself. To complete the polyphony, musicians are therefore required to complete individual voice-parts by decoding a succession of clefs that indicate the order and register of canonic entries (example 11 below). Mattheson not only reports that he set the task of working out a full realisation to members of a 'Collegium melopoeticum' (i.e. a collegium for musical composition), but also characterises the thought-process of devising a musical solution as, firstly, being useful (to develop a secure knowledge of polyphonic voice-leading) and, secondly, contemplative (as an opportunity for musical pondering or

[270] 'Das Curieuse *Caffe-Hauß* Zu Venedig/ darinnen die Miß-Bräuche und Eitelkeiten der Welt/ nebst Einmischung verschiedener so wohl zum Staat/ als gemeinen Leben/ gehörige Merckwürdigkeiten/ vermittelst einiger ergötzlicher *Assemblé*en/ Von allerhand Personen/ Vorgestellet/ Allen honetten und tugendliebenden Gemühthern Aber zu ferneren Nachsinnen übergeben werden.' Sinold von Schuetz, *Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig*, frontispiece.
[271] Johann Mattheson, '§ 54.', *Capellmeister*, 413.

Nachsinnen). Despite a palpable scepticism towards canonic devices in compositional teaching generally, Mattheson notes the following:

> I have never spent more time and effort on such matters [the canon] than what I needed for writing out the above copy, and would also gladly have avoided the effort, were it not for my belief that reproducing the little piece may perhaps be of use to someone either for instruction or pondering (*Nachsinnen*).[272]

Similar to the literary content of *The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*, Mattheson therefore recommended Bach's *Hudemann Canon* for an identical purpose of 'further pondering', and also did so in the social context of a private collegium.



http://books.google.co.uk/
Example 11: J. S. Bach, 'Hudemann Canon', as reproduced in 'Der vollkommene Capellmeister'.

A similarly close link between *Nachsinnen*, musical thought and learned societies is documented in a treatise by Bach's contemporary Meinrad Spiess (1683 - 1761). Like Bach, Spiess was a member of the so-called Corresponding Society of Musical Sciences in Germany (*Correspondirende Societät der musikalischen Wissenschaft in Deutschland*), which was established by Lorenz Mizler in 1738. Spiess associates the process of *Nachsinnen* directly with musical composition. Yet he links it not only to the context of polyphonic exercises, but also uses the term as a synonym for finding suitable ideas for an original composition. Like Mattheson, Spiess classifies this thought process in rhetorical terms, as *inventio*:

> *Inventio*, invention, derived from *Invenire*, to invent, is nothing else among composers but musing and pondering (*nachsinnen*) how an existing text, or similarly a purely instrumental music, might be rendered according to its meaning or content, to give a pleasant and agreeable musical harmony or melody, in order to mightily move the souls

[272] 'Ich habe niemahls mehr Zeit und Mühe daran gewandt, als zu obiger blossen Abschrift gehöret, und hätte auch jene lieber gar ersparet, wenn ich nicht glaubte, es könne die Anführung des Stückleins noch vielleicht manchem zum Unterricht oder Nachsinnen dienen.' Ibid, 413.

> of listeners and draw them fully towards those passions, affects or humours the composers seeks to rouse or dampen.[273]

Musical *Nachsinnen* was consequently closely related to the edifying purpose of coffee-house collegia and related print-items. Johann Mattheson, for example, used the expression in the context of pedagogical exercises that structured his private seminars on music, and it also applied to more free-ranging creative thought, as Spiess suggests, in original composition.

Johann Heinrich Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* can provide further evidence of how closely the notion of pondering was tied to the cultural profile of coffee houses as venues of 'useful edification'. An article on meditation, for example, lists the verb *nachsinnen* as a synonym for *meditiren* (to meditate), which clearly illustrates its spiritual dimension:

> To meditate, means to think, contemplate, mull deep thoughts over, ponder [*nachsinnen*], reflect.[274]

Taken in this sense, *Nachsinnen* consequently resonated strongly with religious ideas on edification and its traditional practice in personal prayers and vigils. Literary historians have indeed described such correspondences as similarities between Christian edifying books and moral weeklies. In a recent study on eighteenth-century reading culture in German-speaking countries, Reinhard Wittmann, for example, notes the following:

> Using such programmatic titles as *Der Patriot* … and *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* and the reader-oriented strategies of the earlier edifying books, they [moral weeklies] now conveyed secular information from this world, in an effort to pass the time in an entertaining way.[275]

---

[273] 'Inventio, Erfindung, von *Invenire*, Erfinden, ist bey den *Componi*sten nichts anderes, als dichten und nachsinnen, wie der vorhabende Text nach dessen Besag, oder Innhalt: deßgleichen wie eine pure *Instrumental-Music* solcher gestalten wohl, leicht, und lieblich in eine an- und einnehmliche *Musicali*sche *Harmonie* oder *Melodie* möchte gebracht werden, damit die Gemüther der Zuhörern dadurch mächtig bewegt, zu jener *Passion*, *Affection*, oder Leidenschafft, welche der *Componi*st zu erregen, oder zu stillen sucht, gäntzlich möchten gezogen werden.' Meinrad Spiess, *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus* (Augspurg: J. J. Lotters seel. Erben, 1745), 133.
[274] 'Meditiren, heist überlegen, betrachten, in tiefen Gedanken stehen, nachsinnen, nachdenken.' Zedler *et al*, *Universal Lexicon*, 20, 136. Note also that *nachsinnen* is used as a verb here. The term also appears as a noun in eighteenth-century texts, where its first letter is capitalised (e.g. *das Nachsinnen* (n.)).
[275] Reinhard Wittmann, 'Was there a reading revolution at the end of the eighteenth century?', in: Guglielmo Cavallo, *et al.* (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999), 292.

Wittmann's observation certainly holds true for *The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*. Indeed, its declared purpose of *Nachsinnen* neatly fits into what Wittmann describes in general terms as 'reader-oriented strategies'.

Moreover, in its Christian, moral and cultural dimensions, *Nachsinnen* can also clarify how coffee-house culture sought to apply the general aim of 'useful edification' to cultural practice in general, and literary writing in particular. Of central importance in this regard is a cognitive quality of *Nachsinnen* that was not only understood as meditative pondering, but also denoted the critical exercise of rational judgement. Once more, this historical meaning can be traced in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, where *Nachsinnen* appears as a synonym for *Crisis* as well:

> *Crisis,* judgement, reason, the process of pondering (*Nachsinnen*), which is why one says, ['] this man has no *Crisis* ['], which means that he has no critical judgement in a particular matter.[276]

Literary coffee-house academicians appear to have had a particular fondness for this critical aspect of edifying thought, which frequently took the form of satirical writing. Not long after its publication, the text of *The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice*, for example, received a detailed critical response that provided an extensive commentary on the use of language in Sinold's first instalment of the journal. Its allegorical title, *Das ausgefegte Caffe-Hauß zu Venedig* (*The well-swept Coffee House at Venice*), clearly identifies the intention of the piece to purge its predecessor from perceived errors, and the author had chosen a corresponding pseudonym by addressing his readers as Johann Michael Teutschmund (J. M. German-mouth).[277]

Teutschmund's critical agenda was firmly focussed on the elimination of foreign terminology and loan words from German publications, which was a widely-shared goal among literary academicians at the time. Christian Thomasius had set an influential

---

[276] '*Crisis*, Beurtheilung, Verstand, Nachsinnen, dahero sagt man, der Mensch hat keine *Crisin* [sic], das ist, er kan von keiner Sache urtheilen.' Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 6, 1653.
[277] Johann Michael Teutschmund, *Das ausgefegte Caffee-Hauß zu Venedig* (Freystadt: Jacob Hammermeister, ca. 1698).

precedent in this respect, especially by deciding to publish the *Monthly Conversations* not in Latin but his mother tongue. In addition, the topic remained a popular mainstay of moral weeklies also during Bach's time at Leipzig. Johann Christoph Gottsched's periodical *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (*The Reasonable Female Tatlers*), for example, revisited the theme in an article that ridiculed the Francophone pretensions of a certain 'Herr von Rittersdorf' (Mr von Knightsville) in its 10th instalment. Rittersdorf's keen ambition is illustrated not only by his excessive reliance on French vocabulary, but also his coffee-house pursuits that include reading newspapers (in French) and political debating:

> Early in the morning at five o'clock he goes on the riding track with his whip …. His library consists of heaps of French novels and collections of assorted anecdotes and amusing curiosities. He owes his command of the language to a poor maid, who had been employed by his parents. …. It is easy to imagine, therefore, how far advanced it is. In spite of this, he has a strong dislike of all books that appear in his mother tongue …. At ten o'clock he visits the coffee house, reads French newspapers and talks plenty of politics. He fills the imperial throne in Moscow. He led Protestant armies right up to Krakow and defeated the Catholics. The peace-agreement at Cambray [sic] is said to have been brokered on his advice, and England was reluctantly obliged to return Gibraltar to the Spanish. At eleven o'clock he visits the fencing floor.[278]

Teutschmund attacks *The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice* along virtually identical lines. For example, a satirical expression that highlights the profit margins of Leipzig's coffee-traders by denouncing them as 'merchants of hot water' in French is condemned with particular ferocity. Rather than engaging with the subject matter itself, however, Teutschmund firmly focuses on questions of terminology:

> He can hardly wait until the third line before he throws a French cutting into the German oatmeal/ … The *Marchand*[s] *de l'Eau chaude*, he says. Ah! How pompous does

[278] 'Früh morgens um fünf Uhr geht er mit der Ruthe in der Hand auf die Reitbahn. .... Seine Bibliothek besteht aus lauter französischen Romanen und Sammlungen vermischter Historien und lustiger Einfälle. Seine Wissenschaft in dieser Sprache hat er einen armen Mädchen zu dancken, die seine Eltern im Hause gehabt .... Man kann also leicht dencken, wie weit er es darinne gebracht hat. Dem ohngedacht eckelt ihm vor allen Büchern, die in seiner Mutter-Sprache geschrieben werden ... weil es seiner Meinung nach nicht möglich ist, daß teutsche Zettel einiger Galanterie fähig sein sollten. .... Er ... begiebt sich um zehn Uhr auf das Caffee Haus, lieset die Französichen Zeitungen, und redet von lauter Staats-sachen. Er besetzet den Käyser Thron in Moscau. Er führde Protestantische Armeen bis nach Cracau und treibt die Catholischen zu paaren. Die Friedens-Handlungen zu Cambray soll auf seinen Winck zu Stande kommen, und Engelland muß denen Spaniern wieder willen Gibralter wiedergeben. Um 11 Uhr geht er auf den Fecht-Boden.' Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (Halle: Johann Adam Spörl, 1725), 78-9.

> that sound? .... Would it not be precise enough/ to say in German[,] the warm-water merchants/ or the sales-people of warm water and so forth [?] But it might not have been as dainty perhaps/ if he hadn't added the foggy steam that emanates from the French behind [*Podex*] and fills his evaporating brain.[279]

Clearly Teutschmund delighted in deploying colourful invective. However, his literary response to *The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice* also provides a clear illustration of how *Nachsinnen*, as an aspect of rational *crisis*, was applied by coffee-house academicians in the form of satirical writing. Nonetheless, the coarse humour that was customary in this particular context should not detract from the wider purpose of writers, such as Teutschmund, which was to reflect upon and change specific aspects of literay practice.

Bach's *Clavier-Übung* and the notion of critical *Nachsinnen*

Seen in light of this broader context, Bach can also be recognised as a uniquely eloquent respondent within the cultural sphere of published keyboard music. In fact, the partly contemplative and partly critical notion of *Nachsinnen* can provide a revealing paradigm to rethink the contemporary reception of specific examples from Bach's *Clavier-Übung* series that were published during his time as director of the Collegium musicum at Zimmermann's coffee house. This may seem surprising at first, as Bach's residency at *Katherinen-Straße* is usually associated primarily with ensemble repertoire. Nonetheless, extracts from Bach's *Clavier-Übung* are likely to have featured in coffee-house performances, for several reasons. In keeping with the custom of local book publishers, instalments of Bach's keyboard series were timed to coincide with local trade fairs. Precisely at this time, however, Bach was required to find music for two, instead of one, weekly performances at Zimmermann's. Performances of repertoire for solo-keyboard would have been particularly advantageous under these circumstances as,

[279] 'Kaum kan er sich biß zur dritten Linie gedulten/ daß er nicht einen Französischen Schneutzer in den Teutschen Haberbrey werffe/ .... Die *Marchand[s] de l'Eau chaude*, sagt er. Ach! wie pompoß kommet das heraus? Wäre es nicht richtig gnug/ auf Teutsch zu sagen. Die Warmen-Wasser-Krämer/ oder die Verkäuffer des warmen Wassers etc. Aber es wäre vielleicht so zierlich nicht gewesen/ wann nicht der aus dem Französischen Podex in das schwindende Hirn gestiegene Nebel-Dampf mit hineingeschneutzet worden.' Ibid., (w/o pag.) A1 [*verso*], A2.

firstly, they would have helped to keep the labour-intensive process of copying out multiple ensemble parts to a minimum and, secondly, they would have been useful to advertise the latest print publications at the same time. Furthermore, Collegium-musicum events are known to have included a large proportion of ensemble pieces with concerted keyboard parts (see table 2, chapter 1), which is likely to have created an attractive context for presenting new solo works. As Christoph Wolff explains,

> [t]he concert series likely included Bach's most recent solo-keyboard works together with sonatas and concertos featuring prominent harpsichord parts, usually played by the composer himself and sometimes by his sons and students.[280]

Audiences at Zimmermann's are therefore more than likely to have been familiar with Bach's keyboard writing, both as part of larger ensemble pieces and solo repertoire.

Similar to printed journals, moreover, the content of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* would also have invited reflective *Nachsinnen* independently of particular performance occasions. As is well known, contemporary audiences are certain to have related the first volume of the series (comprising BWV 825-30) to an earlier set of partitas for solo keyboard by Bach's predecessor as cantor at St. Thomas's, Johann Kuhnau. As Werner Neumann convincingly argues on the basis of contemporary notices in Leipzig's newspapers, the publication of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* was announced in 1731 as a group of seven keyboard dances that had only recently been completed by the addition of two newly-composed partitas.[281] Both, the emphasis on a group of seven suites and the title of the series would have been understood as a clear reference to Kuhnau's earlier keyboard works. Kuhnau's series had, for example, also been presented as two sets of seven partitas (published in 1689 and 1692 respectively) and, as Peter Williams argues, the title of *Clavier-Übung* was similarly distinctive. As a novel variant of the Italian notion

[280] Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 373.
[281] Werner Neumann, 'Einige neue Quellen zu Bachs Herausgabe eigener und zum Mitvertrieb fremder Werke', in: *Musa-mens-musici: im Gedenken an Walther Vetter* (Leipzig: VEB/Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969), 165-68.

of *Musica prattica* it possessed a particular association with Kuhnau, who had arguably coined the series title as a German equivalent.[282]

According to Neumann's existing research, Bach deliberately expanded on Kuhnau's *Clavier-Übung* by increasing the range of key areas his music touched upon.[283] Yet, viewing Bach's music as an edifying *Nachsinnen* on Kuhnau's earlier work offers a useful opportunity to deepen this insight further by a range of additional observations. The correspondence between *Nachsinnen* as a critical coffee-house pursuit and Meinrad Spiess's explanation of musical *inventio* as a process of compositional pondering is particularly illuminating in this respect. Although Bach rarely elaborated on his personal ideas and compositional aims, his views on *inventiones* and their importance for his musical thought more generally are clearly documented. Indeed, a handwritten paragraph that introduces a small set of pieces known (in English) as *Inventions and Sinfonias* (BWV 772 - 801) clearly shows that, like Spiess, Bach also identified the rhetorical term with a process of creative, and arguably also critical reflection on musical ideas.

As has long been recognised by scholars, Bach understood his *Inventions and Sinfonias* as a practical manual, or 'instruction' (*Anleitung*). It not only aimed at enabling students to master the included pieces on the keyboard in performance, but also sought to trigger a more far-reaching thought-process on their underlying ideas. A handwritten preface outlined this aim as follows:

> Honest Instruction wherein the lovers of the clavier, and especially those eager to learn, are shown a clear way not only (1) to learn to play clearly in two voices, but also, after further progress … to arrive at good inventions, … develop the same well … and at the same time acquire a strong foretaste of composition.[284]

[282] Peter May Williams, *Bach: The Goldberg Variations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 14. See also Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 375.
[283] Neumann, 'Einige neue Quellen', 166.
[284] Translation adapted from David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 97-8.

As Laurence Dreyfus argues in a groundbreaking reading of Bach's well-known explanations, the *Anleitung* seeks to explain a distinctive way of musical thinking. Yet rather than focussing primarily on stylistic design and genre-characteristics, its main concern was the development of the harmonic and melodic implications of an underlying *inventio*.[285] Moreover, pondering the implications of compositional *inventiones* stimulates further ideas and, as a result, was intended to set in motion a train of thoughts that can lead to the discovery of further ideas. At the same time, it can also illuminate the inner workings of Bach's existing music:

> [B]ach's 'Straightforward Instruction' … implies that a successful invention must be more than a static, well-crafted object, but instead like a mechanism that triggers further elaborative thought from which a whole piece of music is shaped. This is why Bach alludes to invention as 'a foretaste of composition': by crafting a workable idea, one unlocks the door to a complete musical work.[286]

However, it has gone unnoticed so far that Bach's musical thinking and reflections on compositional *inventiones* can be linked with remarkable ease to the idea of critical pondering advocated by Leipizg's literary coffee-house academicians. Similar to literary authors of coffee-house journals, who intended to edify their readers by reflecting on literary inventions, Bach too hoped to initiate a 'further pondering' by means of his musical *inventiones*. As a result, audiences would have been readily familiar with this aim, which suggests a powerful alignment between the reception of Bach's music (within the social format of Collegium-musicum events that invited critical reflection on repertoire), the qualities of Bach's music, and the wider cultural aims of Leipzig's *Caffëisten*.

Applied to Bach's *Clavier-Übung*, its musical inventions can therefore not only be read as a response to general features of Johann Kuhnau's earlier keyboard series, such as key areas, but combined with Dreyfus's detailed analysis of Bach's characteristic patterns of Bachian *inventio*, the notion of critical *Nachsinnen* can also point towards

[285] Dreyfus, *Patterns of Invention*, 1.
[286] Ibid., 1.

more detailed findings about how Bach may have been perceived to respond to Kuhnau by contemporary audiences, perhaps during Collegium-musicum events, or as the result of more personal and score-based study. To be sure, owing to a lack of evidence about which pieces from Bach's *Clavier-Übung* may have been performed on specific occasions, it is no longer possible to reconstruct which aspects of Bach's response to Kuhnau would have seemed particularly noteworthy for his contemporaries. However, approached from a more general, genre-related angle, observations on different treatments of musical *inventiones* by both composers can still yield fresh insights into their respective compositions. Bach's audiences may indeed have perceived their particular differences as meaningful departures, which, in keeping with the eighteenth-century notion of edifying *Nachsinnen*, can perhaps also recover aspects of historical meaning, albeit as part of a predominantly speculative reception history.

Bach's opening movement in Partita Nr. 6 (BWV 830/1) offers a fruitful example in this respect. As part of Bach's first volume of the *Clavier-Übung*, the piece is entitled Toccata, but a closer analysis of its underlying *inventio* reveals an astonishing array of permutational devices that, in many respects, also resembles a fugal ricercare for keyboard. It is particularly illuminating, therefore, to contrast the piece with a prelude from Johann Kuhnau's *Clavier-Übung* that articulates similar, but also less ambiguous genre-characteristics. Kuhnau's Praeludium in d minor from the second volume of his *Clavier-Übung* offers a suitable counterpart, firstly as it is also written in a minor key and, secondly, as its permutational voice-leading procedures can, likewise, be usefully compared to the genre of a ricercare for keyboard (a study score is attached as figure 2 at the end of the chapter).

Kuhnau's Praeludium conforms to genre-characteristics of the ricercare with remarkable clarity. As John Caldwell points out in a concise lexicon entry, they were

associated both with improvisatory and strict types of voice-leading and, as a result, often applied to a

> piece of preludial character for lute or keyboard instrument (as in the expression 'ricercare le corde', 'to try out the strings'), giving it a meaning comparable to that of 'tastar', 'tañer', 'tiento' etc. ([as in] Toccata and Tiento).[287]

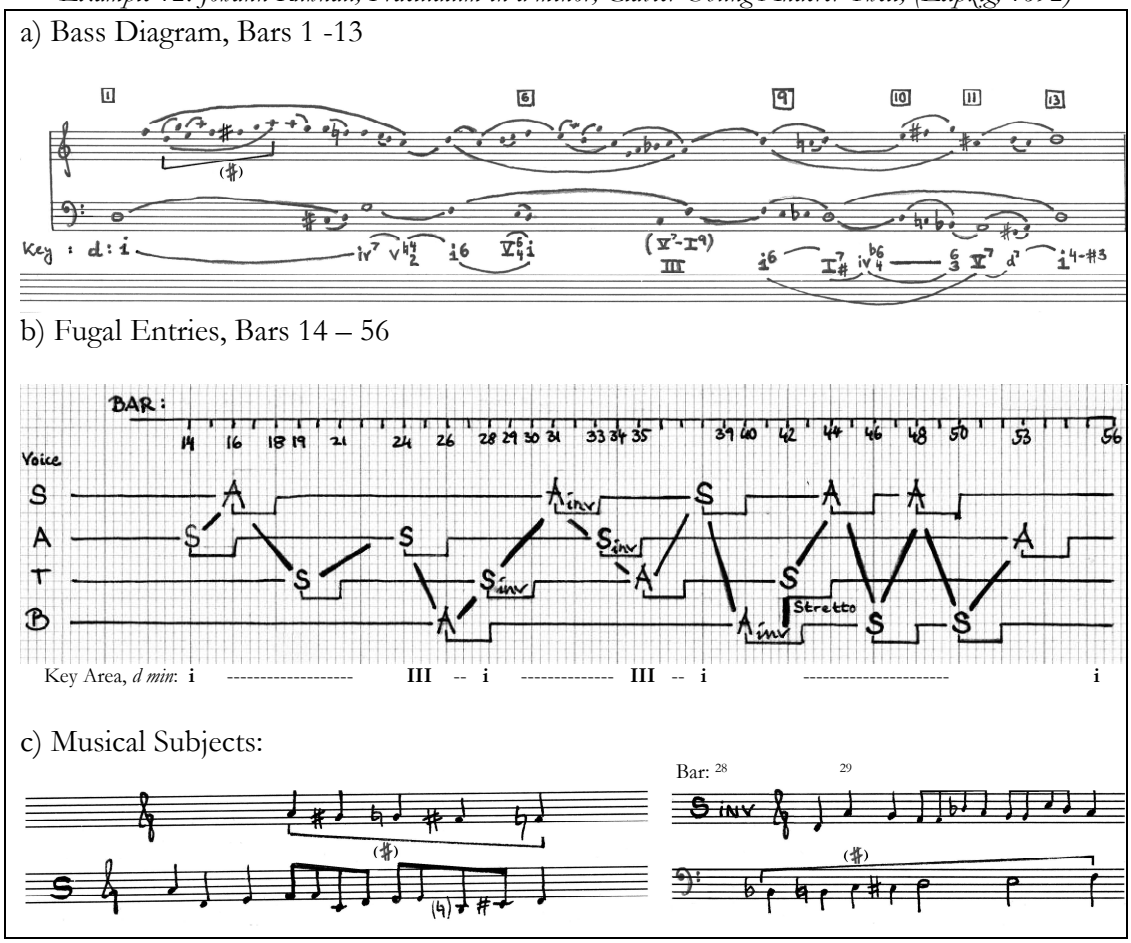
However, canonic devices and strict counterpoint were considered similarly distinctive, which often led to a characteristic contrast of different textures. As Caldwell continues to explain,

> [t]he commonest type subsequently was the imitative ricercare, similar in scope to the fantasia and fugue. Some uses appear to combine two different meanings of the word ….[288]

Kuhnau's Praeludium indeed appears to combine both elements. As example 12 a) illustrates in a bass diagram, the piece begins with a preludial section in free counterpoint. The opening is not only highly modulatory in harmonic character, but indeed appears to be 'trying out the strings' in the sense of 'ricercare le corde', to eventually arrive at a subject that can then be 'tried out', or researched further, within a framework of stricter contrapuntal procedures.

[287] John Caldwell, 'Ricercare' in: Sadie (ed.), *New Grove*, 21, 325.
[288] Ibid., 325.

Example 12: Johann Kuhnau, Praeludium in d minor, Clavier-Übung Anderer Theil, (Leipzig, 1692)



In keeping with this expectation, the remainder of the piece can be accounted for in its entirety by tracing the various permutations of a principal subject (marked 'S' in example 12 c)), its intervallic inversion ('S inv') and a harmonising chromatic scale figure that effectively functions as a second subject. As illustrated in the graph of example 12 b), entries of the subjects pass through all voice-registers in keeping with fugal procedure, and also increase in frequency in the second half of the piece, creating a sense of cumulative contrapuntal intensification as a result.

Given the neatness of Kuhnau's permutational voice entries, the Praeludium also seems to recall the following account of a ricercare fugue by the eminent theorist Michael Praetorius (1571 - 1621). As Praetorius explains in his treatise *Syntagma Musicum*:

> Fugues … are nothing more than … repeated echoes of the same theme on different degrees, succeeding each other through the use of rests …. By the Italians they are called *Ricercari*, for *ricercare* means to investigate, to look for, seek out ….[289]

As a result, Kuhnau's Praeludium might usefully be described as an amalgamation of free fantasia elements and fugal procedure. It begins by defining a fugal subject as the result of a section that first 'searches' for a suitable theme (by probing various strings and sounds), and then proceeds to 'research' its contrapuntal properties further in a series of permutational inversions and contrapuntal devices (including for example, melodic mirroring as in 'S $_{inv}$').

Bach, by comparison, applies these elements in a considerably more wide-ranging and less clear-cut manner in the e-minor Toccata from Partita Nr 6 (BWV 830/1). The piece begins with a series of broken-chord figures that, on account of their proximity to the so-called *style brisé* of eighteenth-century French keyboard writing, also invoke improvisatory idioms and textures of seventeenth-century lutenists. However, in stark contrast to such allusions to spontaneous extemporisation, Bach in fact presents a highly structured alternation between a tonally closed ritornello (example 13 (see below), bar 1, left-hand side of first section ('1. slow')) and a range of interpolated episodic material. On closer reflection, they can be recognised as returning with conspicuous consistency, not only to articulate cadential resting points that define subsections (e.g. bars 1-2, 24-5, 89-90), but they also give harmonic definition to Bach's interpolated episodic material. They articulate modulatory half-closes in the relative major (e.g. bar 14), for example, and prepare brief excursions into the harmonic domain of the subdominant minor (e.g. bar 19).[290]

---

[289] Michael Praetorius, Jeffery T. Kite-Powell (ed.), *Syntagma musicum III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 38-9.

[290] Bar numbers are given in keeping with the following edition: Richard Douglas Jones (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Erster Teil der Klavierübung* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1978), V/I. A corresponding study score is attached as figure 3.

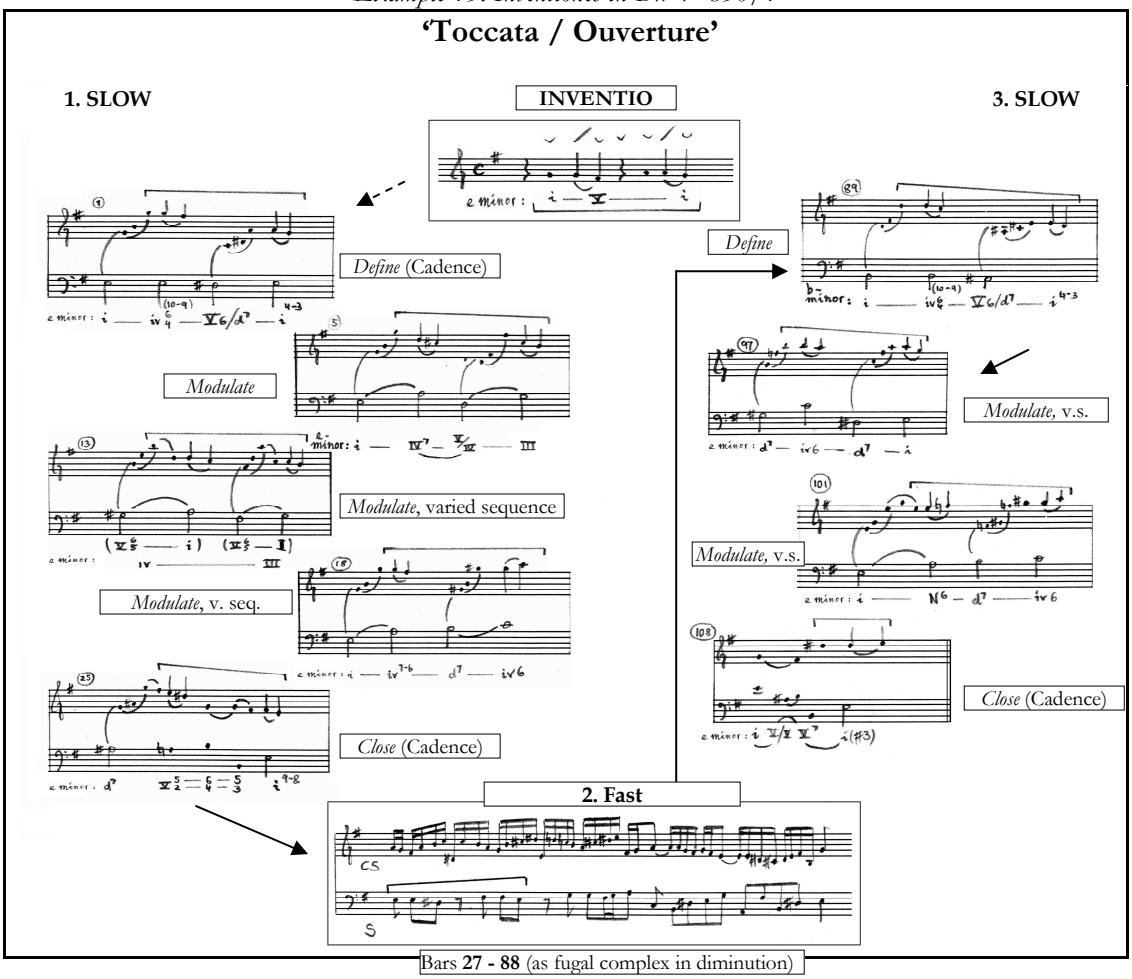
Moreover, in its tonally closed form, the Toccata ritornello frames a central fugal section that is of particular significance for the movement as a whole. In fact, it is not only of interest for the textural variety it lends to the piece on account of its contrapuntal voice leading, but the construction of the fugal subject itself can also provide essential insights into the underlying musical idea, or *inventio*, that is likely to have structured Bach's own compositional *Nachsinnen*. Texture may perhaps even be considered secondary in this respect, particularly in view of one of the central findings by Laurence Dreyfus on ritornello procedures in Bach's concerted music. As Dreyfus argues, unlike earlier examples of ritornello writing, as for example in the influential instrumental concertos by Antonio Vivaldi, Bach's ritornellos resemble 'in important ways his … work on fugue'.[291] The similarity arises primarily from Bach's characteristic procedures to vary musical recurrences of ritornello-sections that include, for example, modal inflection, melodic permutations, and segmentation, and can indeed be usefully likened to voice-leading devices as a result.

Seen this way, the greatest significance of the fugal section in the Toccata arguably results from the intervallic elements it shares with the ritornello sections. If both are viewed jointly, they also point to the underlying idea that appears to have preoccupied Bach's musical imagination as different aspects of his musical invention at different points within the piece. Unlike in Kuhnau's Praeludium, therefore, Bach's turn to contrapuntal texture aims less, perhaps, at demonstrating the qualities of a subject that is presented as the seeming result of an improvisatory introduction. Instead, in a more fluid and multi-directional order of musical thought, both the fugal subject and ritornello elements seem to illuminate and complement one another throughout the entire piece.

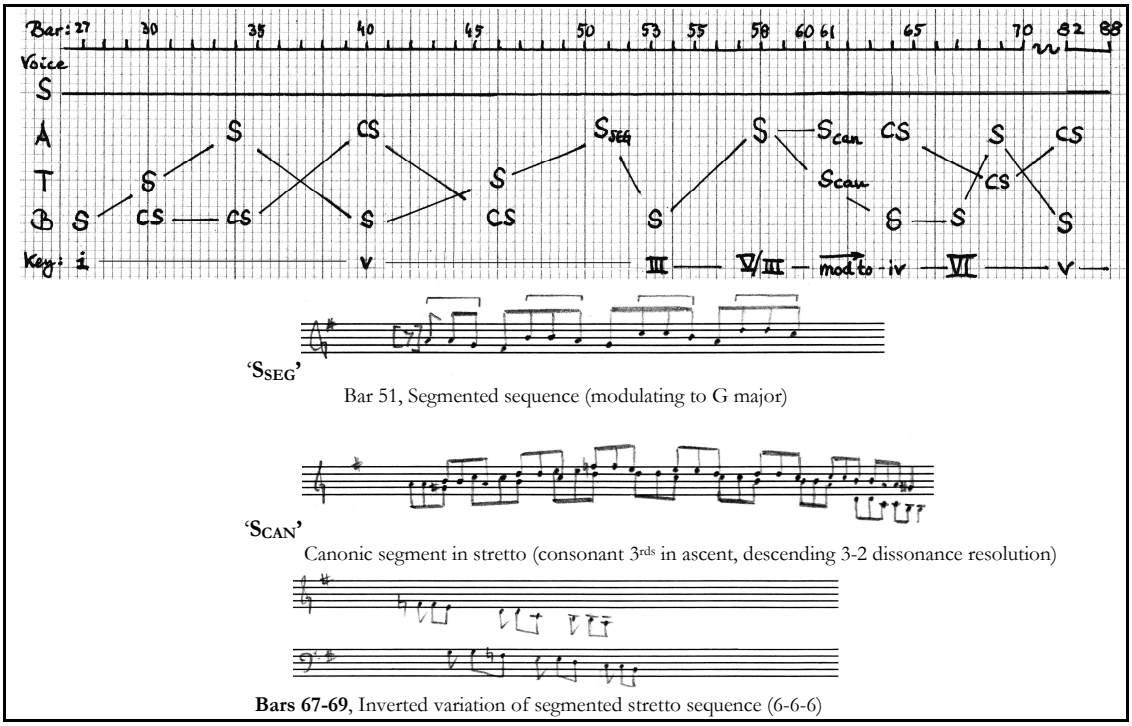
[291] Dreyfus, *Patterns of Invention*, 61.

At the same time, Bach's Toccata ritornello closely resembles the principal subject in the subsequent fugal section. Motivic similarities are clearly noticeable in its motivic as well as intervallic qualities. The arpeggiated upbeat of the Toccata ritornello, for example, is clearly recognisable in the dominant six-note motive, although the latter exceeds it considerably in length (see example 13 under the heading '2. Fast'). Nonetheless, Bach's contrapuntal treatment of the subject soon returns its musical components to shorter motivic units that resemble the arpeggiated sighing-figure of the opening bars more closely, owing to a segmentaition of the full theme. Particularly striking instances of this procedure, for example, include the canonic sequences that begin in bar 51, and the *stretto* entries in bars 60-64 (example 14). Bach therefore seems to be preoccupied by an idea which is neither fully represented in the ritornello bars, nor in the contrapuntal fugue subject, but rather falls somewhere in between. It is tempting to speculate, therefore, that it is indeed the six-note motive (present in both the opening and fugal middle section) which stimulated Bach's compositional *Nachsinnen* as an *inventio*, as it appears to simultaneously structure and transcend all musical components of the piece (see example 13 below ('Inventio')).

Example 13: Inventiones in BWV 830/1



Example 14: Fugal entries, segmentations and permutations, bars 27 - 88



'S_{SEG}'

Bar 51, Segmented sequence (modulating to G major)

'S_{CAN}'

Canonic segment in stretto (consonant 3rds in ascent, descending 3-2 dissonance resolution)

Bars 67-69, Inverted variation of segmented stretto sequence (6-6-6)

As a result, the Toccata's tripartite structure emerges as a highly systematic exploration of this central thought, which investigates different aspects of its musical qualities at different points. Whereas the ritornello in the outer sections appears to reflect primarily on the intervallic qualities of the *inventio* from a harmonic vantage point, the fugal middle-section focuses on specific contrapuntal properties. Indeed, Bach's six-note invention is just as effective in its presentation as a tonally closed ritornello as it is as part of more complex, contrapuntal textures. Bach, for example, harmonises the first semitone step as a move to the dominant, and thus interprets it as a leading note that implies an imminent return to the tonic (see example 13 a), 'Inventio'). As such, it readily defines a tonally-closed harmonic unit that, similar to a Vivaldian ritornello, can then be adapted to a variety of tonal contexts and scale steps.

At the same time, the ambitus of the figure spans a minor third, which was well-known as a convenient intervallic distance for canonic entries, and also appears to have prompted Bach to cast his *inventio* in the guise of a fugal complex in the middle section. (Bach explores similar contrapuntal territory, for example, in the A major Fugue from the *Well-Tempered Clavier*, Book I (BWV 864).[292]) Viewed jointly, the design of the Toccata can consequently be recognised as being considerably more complex than a mere alternation between contrasting structural sections. Bach rather appears to present a highly structured reflection on an *inventio* that forms the basis of a concerto ritornello (to explore its harmonic implications), which is then investigated and researched further by a demonstration of its contrapuntal potential. Seen this way, all sections of the piece appear to be similarly focussed on a consistent exploration of an overarching idea.

Moreover, Bach's systematic *Nachsinnen* invests his Toccata with a uniquely rich array of different genre characteristics. Similar to Kuhnau's Praeludium, it alludes to improvisatory, as well as contrapuntal traditions of ricercare movements. Yet its

[292] Yearsley, *Meanings of Counterpoint*, 46.

tripartite structure and the rhythmic relationships between the Toccata ritornello and fugal subject also result in a shortening of note values in the piece's central section. As a result, the composition outlines a characteristic succession of sections that, at its centre, doubles the musical pace as part of a large-scale diminution scheme (slow-fast-slow). Bach's audiences may well have recognised this pattern as a salient feature also of orchestral overtures. Indeed, fast middle sections with contrapuntal texture appear, for example, in all first movements of Bach's Orchestral Suites (BWV 1066/1, BWV 1067/1, BWV 1068/1, BWV 1069/1). Bach's Toccata consequently freely combines an astonishing number of distinct genre-characteristics. In addition to invoking improvisatory lute texture and the French *style brisé*, it also features elements of preludial fantasias, fugal ricercares, keyboard toccatas as well as concerted overtures.

Most members of Bach's Collegium musicum would have been familiar with all of these genres, both from practical experience and listening to contemporary (and historical) repertoire. Keyboardists among them may perhaps also have recalled Johann Kuhnau's *Clavier-Übung* and its Praeludium in d minor, as an earlier example of a piece that combined free voice-leading with a permutational sequence of contrapuntal entries. And although there is no specific evidence to suggest that Bach's Toccata in e-minor was given a historical performance at Zimmermann's coffee-house, it is nevertheless likely that pieces from Bach's *Clavier-Übung* prompted critical debates and personal *Nachsinnen*, for example on different kinds of keyboard overtures, ricercares and indeed Bach's distinctive departures from previous precedents in these musical genres.

Seen this way, Bach's *Clavier-Übung* project can be recognised as a remarkably consistent aspect of Leipzig's coffee-house culture. Owing to the depth of Bach's underlying thought and *inventiones*, its music not only articulated a response to established precedents and existing model compositions (as for example Johann Kuhnau's *Clavier-Übung*), but the performance context at Zimmermann's coffee house

would also have invested this characteristic with particular prominence. In keeping with a critical tradition in the literay practice of Bach's contemporary *Caffëisten* in Leipzig, examples from Bach's *Clavier-Übung* are also likely to have been perceived by contemporary audiences as part of a wider endeavour by Bach to respond, challenge and change the quality of musical keyboard practice. This not only appears to liken Bach's e-minor Toccata to, for example, Johann Teutschmund's literary criticism in some respects (save perhaps its satirical means), but also integrates Bach's well-known tendency to respond to contemporary musical practice with unexpected amalgamations of established techniques into his immediate historical surroundings at Zimmermann's coffee house.

Zimmermann's audiences (as well as owners of printed music-volumes of the *Clavier-Übung*) are indeed likely to have been aware of Bach's desire to expand the tonal range of his published keyboard music, as Neumann's reading of contemporary newspaper announcements of the *Clavier-Übung* suggest. The tonal scope of Bach's musical practice was a widely-noted criterion to describe its uniquely ambitious quality in the first half of the eighteenth century. The following assessment of Bach's pupil Johann Ludwig Krebs by an eighteenth-century organist called Linke, which was reprinted in Johann Voigt's *Conversation on Music*, can usefully illustrate this. The passage not only draws attention to the musical training Krebs had received from Bach by identifying him as a 'Bachian creature', but also describes his organ playing as musically superior on account of its wide range of key areas, comprising all known interval qualities (or *Genera*) of diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic modulations:

> Some time ago I had the privilege to listen and talk to Monsr Krebs …. I must confess that what this man does before others is something particular important, and he is a Bachian creature, and his offerings [*Rendresse*] consist in complex and rapid realisations

> that pass through all three *Genera* of our tuned [*disponirt*] claviers, or tempered organs.[293]

Bach's *Clavier-Übung* is therefore likely to have been perceived as similarly sophisticated, and perhaps also critical of previous musical publications on account of its comprehensive succession of well-tempered tonal *genera*.

Finally, the comparative component of Bach's musical *Nachsinnen* is also documented explicitly in the widely-known remark on Bach's compositional habits by a fellow resident at Leipzig, Theodor Leberecht Pitschel. As Pitschel famously observed in a letter to a friend,

> the able man [Bach]… usually has to play something from the page that is inferior to his own ideas. And yet his superior ideas are the consequence of those inferior ones.[294]

As a result, Bach's *Clavier-Übung* emerges as a remarkably consistent addition both to Leipzig's vibrant print-culture and its closely associated sphere of coffee houses. Just as moral weeklies and musical periodicals are known to have been read and debated by local *Caffëisten*, it is also likely that excerpts of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* were performed at Collegium-musicum events. In keeping with the notion of edifying *Nachsinnen*, this would consequently not only have offered Zimmermann's customers an opportunity to experience Bach's latest keyboard music, but also provided a social setting in which musical coffee-house academicians could ponder how Bach's groundbreaking ideas and inventions responded to previous, or perhaps even 'inferior ones'.

---

[293] 'Vor einiger Zeit habe [ich] die Ehre gehabt, Monseur [sic] Krebsen ... zu sprechen und zu hören. Ich muß gestehen, daß es etwas wichtiges sey, was dieser Mensch, als ein Organiste, vor andern thut, und ist er eine Bachische Creatur, und bestehet die Rendresse in schweren und geschwinden Ausübungen durch alle 3 Genera unsers disponirten Claviers, oder temperirten Orgel-Wercks.' Voigt, *Gespräch von der Musik*, 103.

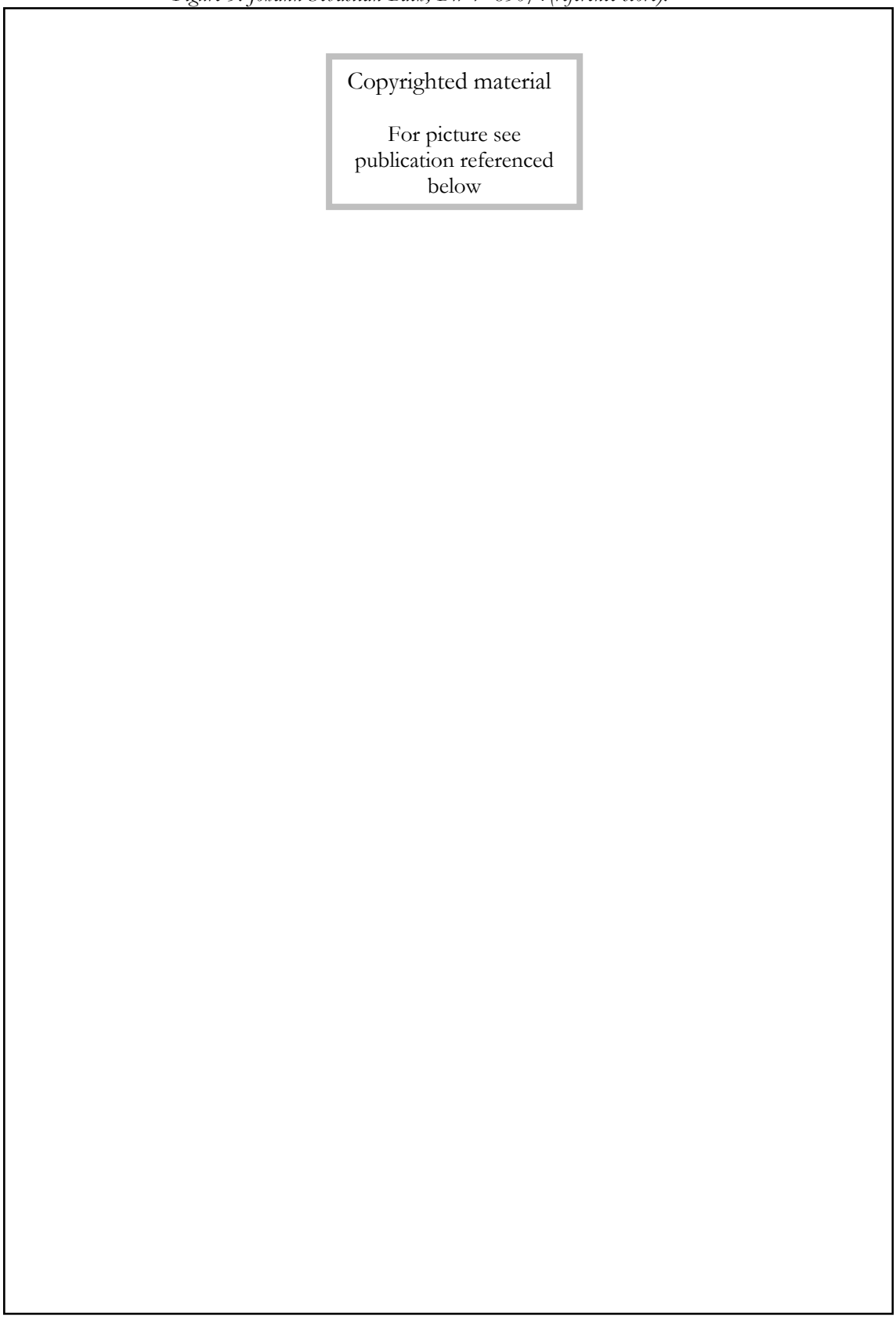
[294] David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 333-4. For the German original, see Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Kassel; London; Leipizg: Bärenreiter; Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969), 397.

Figure 2: Johann Kuhnau, Praeludium in d minor (reference score)[295]



[295] Johann Kuhnau, Karl Päsler and Hans Joachim Moser (eds.), *Johann Kuhnaus Klavierwerke* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958), xxxvi, 94-5.

Figure 3: Johann Sebastian Bach, BWV 830/1(reference score).[296]



[296] Richard Douglas Jones, 'Erster Teil der Klavierübung', in: R. Jones (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1978), V/1, 86-93.

5) Reflections on Keyboard Practice in the *Goldberg Variations* (BWV 988)

Few of Bach's compositions are associated with more evocative images than the *Aria with Diverse Variations* (BWV 988). The set is perhaps better known as 'Goldberg Variations' on account of an anecdote in Johann Nikolaus Forkel's first biography of Bach, according to which the music was commissioned by the Dresden diplomat Hermann Carl von Keyserlingk to alleviate his insomnia. The story not only conjures up notions of social prestige and cultural sophistication, owing to Keyserlingks' distinguished social standing, but also associates the Variations with a performance context of nocturnal seclusion and semi-solitary contemplation. As Forkel reports, Keyserlingk had the *Aria with Divers Variations* performed routinely by the Bach-student Johann Gottlieb Goldberg, to soothe his troubled mind in sleepless nights at his house, whilst listening in from an adjacent chamber.[297] According to modern scholars, the accuracy of this atmospheric scenario is doubtful, both on account of a missing dedication to Keyserlingk and the youthful age of Johann Goldberg, who was merely 14 at the time.[298] But Forkel's account, nevertheless, suggests perhaps that Bach's variation cycle has a long history of being perceived as edifying music.

As I have argued in chapter 2, musical edification was widely understood as a means to comfort troubled minds among Bach's contemporaries, which is clearly the central concern also of Forkel's Goldberg anecdote. Seen this way, it is entirely fitting that the story came to be associated so closely with Bach's music. Members of Bach's circle, for example, may well have disseminated it to illustrate the musical quality of the variation cycle in keeping with the principal hallmark of the most sophisticated kind of

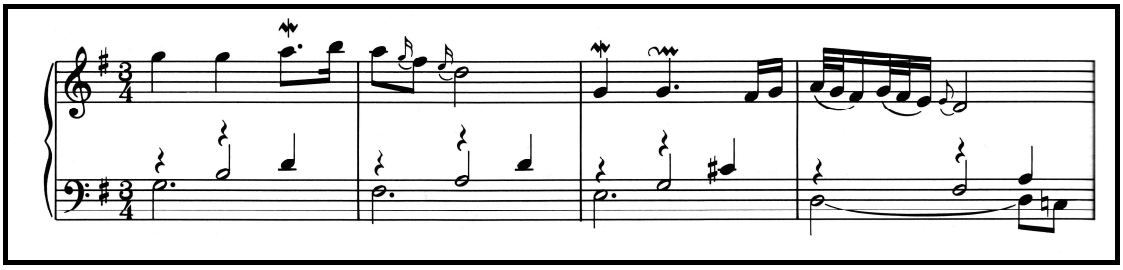
[297] Forkel, *Bachs Leben*, 51.
[298] Peter May Williams, *Bach: The Goldberg Variations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 5. Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 377.

musical practice. Indeed, reading the *Goldberg Variations* against the socio-cultural background of musical edification can reveal a range of historical meanings the set would have acquired also as part of the musical culture of eighteenth-century coffee houses. In this chapter I argue that, although a performance of the *Aria with Diverse Variations* at Zimmermann's is not certain, its wide dissemination as an engraved score nevertheless integrated the music into the wider print-culture that is known to have been followed closely by Leipzig's *Caffëisten*. Similar to previous volumes of Bach's *Clavier-Übung*, and indeed Bach's e-minor Toccata (BWV 830/1), the set can therefore usefully be understood partly as a critical *Nachsinnen* on contemporary publications by other composers and partly as a more wide-ranging, contempletative reflection on keyboard pedagogy. The musical variations indeed invite also meditative reflections on a range of allegorical voices whose symbolic meanings relate both to the art of accomplished and more basic kinds of keyboard-practice. Taken together, both critical and contemplative dimensions can reveal new aspects of the *Goldberg Variations* that, as I argue in the following, formed part of a broader, allegorical and arguably also emblematic discourse on the subject of edifying *Clavier-Übung*.

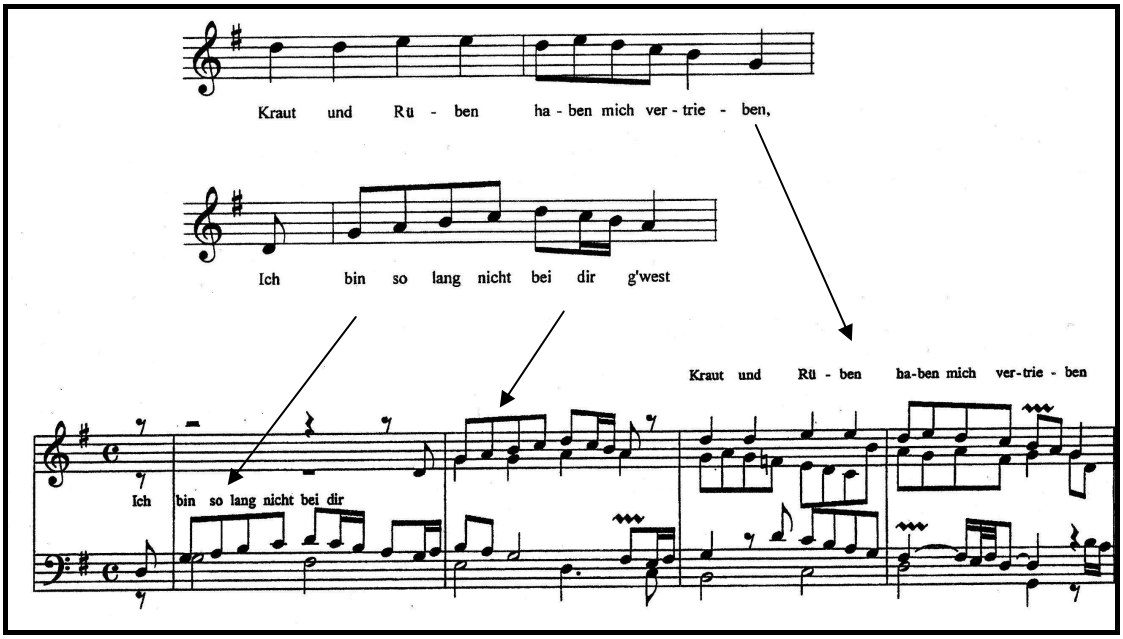
Serious and humorous affects in the *Goldberg Variations*

Of particular significance in this respect is the final variation, which is numbered *Variatio 30* and entitled Quodlibet. Scholars and musicians have long been puzzled by this enigmatic movement, not only on account of its prominent position as the last variation before the concluding return of the opening aria, but also the prominent inclusion of two folk-song melodies as contrapuntal subjects in the musical texture (examples 15, 16). Owing to a transcribed testimony by the Bach student Johann C. Kittel, the quotations have been equally as long been identified as relating to a pair of songs known as *Kraut und Rüben* ('Cabbage and Beets') and *Ich bin so lang nicht bei Dir g'west*,

ruck her ('I haven't been with you for so long, move hither').[299] Both texts refer to various adversities resulting from rural deprivation (such as dislocation and scarcity of food and employment) and, as they also adopt a rather crude and satirical tone, it is not surprising that their style and topical connotations have long startled Bach scholars and musical commentators alike.



Example 15: Aria (BWV 988)



Example 16: Folk-song quotations in BWV 988/30

According to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, for example, Bach's folk-tunes were but a poor match for the virtuosic and contrapuntal brilliance of the previous movements. In a discussion of the *Goldberg Variations* in his Bach biography from 1802, he noted with thinly-veiled disappointment that the Quodlibet was 'far from being here the best part'.[300] The nineteenth-century writer E.T.A Hoffmann was similarly intrigued by Bach's

[299] Ludwig Erk and Franz Magnus Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1893), 2, 787-78.
[300] Forkel, *Life of John Sebastian Bach*, reprinted in: David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 464.

contrapuntal use of folk-song melodies. But to his literary mind, the quoted tunes in the Quodlibet, in fact, signalled a particularly intense contrapuntal culmination, which he likened to a quasi-metaphysical signature by Bach himself in a topical ghost story. In an essay, which first appeared in Leipzig's influential music-periodical *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* (*General Musical Newspaper*), Hoffmann relates how one of his best-known literary musical characters, the alienated Kapellmeister Johann Kreisler, is asked to perform Bach's Variations at a musical *soirée*. Yet it is at the point Kreisler reaches *Variatio 30* that he becomes so engrossed with Bach's counterpoint that he believes to witness an apparition of the composer himself:

> I would now be happy to stop, but this Variation Thirty, the theme urges me irresistibly onwards. The notes come to life and flutter and dance around me; electric sparks flow through my finger-tips into the keys; the spirit generating them overtakes my thoughts. The whole room is filled by a thick fog, in which the candles burn more and more dimly; now a nose appears, now a pair of eyes, but then they immediately disappear again. So it is that I continue sitting alone with my Sebastian Bach …![301]

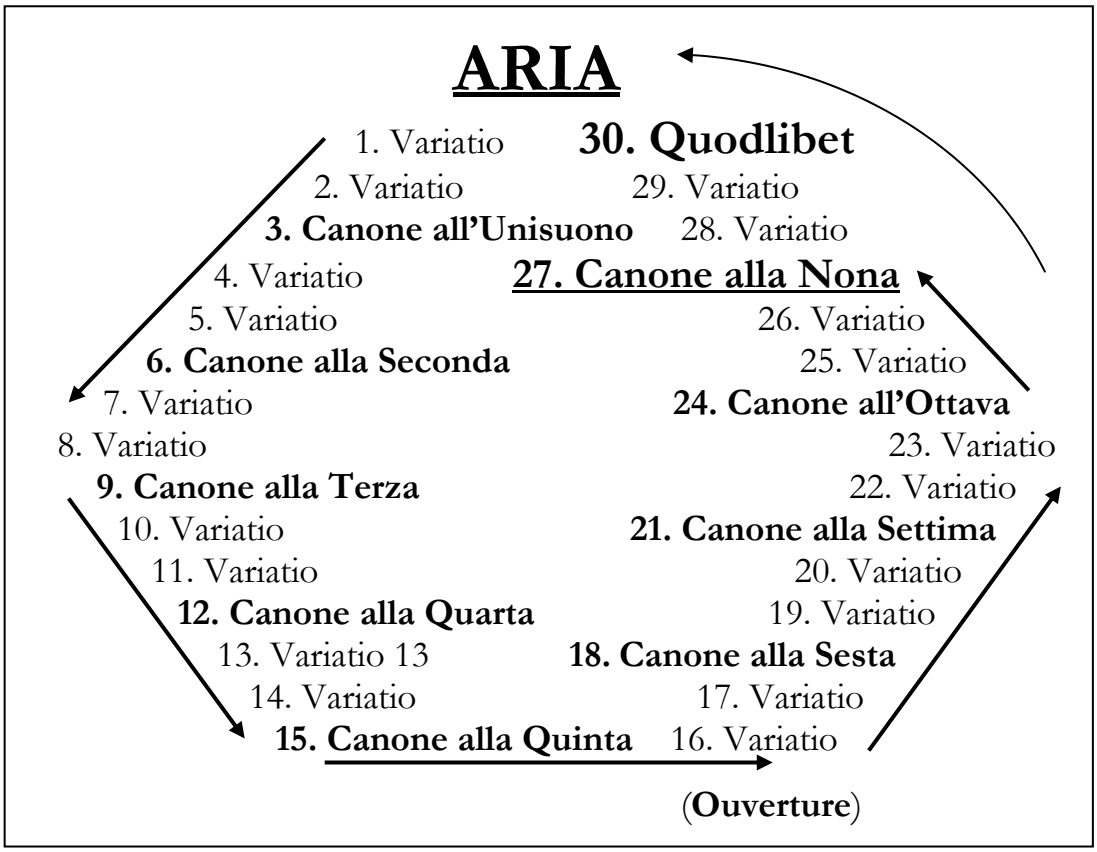
The musical timing of Kreisler's apparition is significant. As Bach's ghost becomes visible as the contrapuntal voice-parts of the Quodlibet begin to enter, it is tempting to speculate that Hoffmann's idea for the story may have been prompted by one of the topical folk-song references in the movement. The first among them, for example, implies the words 'I haven't been with you for so long', which may well have struck Hoffmann as an opportunity to translate the reference into his own, literary idiom, and illustrate the line with a supernatural appearance (and greeting perhaps) by Bach's contrapuntal spirit.[302]

David Yearsley, by comparison, adopts a more analytical approach to the movement. Like Forkel, he focuses more on the stylistic than the contrapuntal aspects of Bach's texture, and describes the Quodlibet primarily in terms of an irreverent breach of

[301] David Charlton and Martyn Clarke (eds.), *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 85.
[302] A similar conclusion is implied by Charlton and Clarke, who annotate Hoffmann's expression 'this theme' by merely identifying it as the title of 'Ich bin so lang nicht bei dir g'west'. Ibid., footnote 134.

musical etiquette. More specifically, Yearsley notes that, 'the humour, of course, comes from having the ingenious elaboration of lowly melodies stand in for the refined and exacting canons that have come before'.[303] As a result, the Quodlibet functions as a denied culmination, or as Yearsley puts it a carefully planned and 'sublime anti-climax'.[304]

Bach's contemporaries may well have noted a juxtaposition of style-levels at this point. However, there is little reason to assume that the Quodlibet withholds a contrapuntal culmination. This may seem surprising, especially if the music is viewed mainly from a textural (or indeed canonic) vantage point. As example 17 illustrates (see below), Bach's entire variation cycle is based on a progressive scheme of canonic movements that is seemingly disrupted by the Quodlibet at *Variatio 30*.



Example 17: Succession of movements in BWV 988
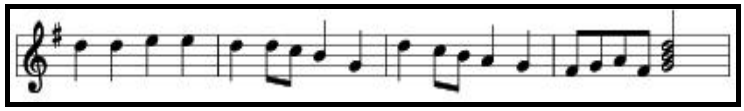
[303] Yearsley, *Meanings of Counterpoint*, 121.
[304] Ibid., 121.

As is easily spotted, Bach interpolated the overall succession of 30 variations with a 'second cycle' of canonic movements (marked accordingly in the autograph) that alternate with variations characterised by less strict voice-leading. Whilst the canonic movements continue to be based on the ground bass of the opening aria, they gradually increase the intervallic ambitus of canonic entries. Moreover, as the Quodlibet appears to be replacing an expected canon at the tenth, it can indeed be seen as disrupting a large-scale structural scheme.
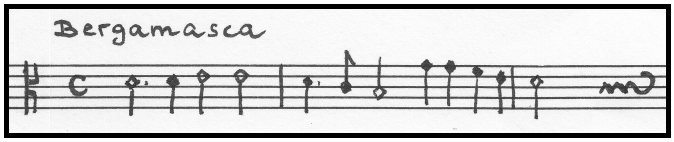
However, seen from the vantage point of eighteenth-century genre-conventions and compositional practice, the Quodlibet is, in fact, consistent with Bach's contrapuntal cycle. Recent research by Maria Rika Maniates, Peter Branscombe and Richard Freedman, for example, has linked Bach's movement to the tradition of 'cantus firmus quodlibets' which, as Maniates *et al* convincingly argue, 'represented in Renaissance thought the ultimate in contrapuntal mastery'.[305] A closer look at the melodic fragments in Bach's keyboard Quodlibet indeed points towards a keen awareness of such variation techniques and their melodic repertoires by Bach. As Hans-Joachim Schulze has established, the song *Kraut und Rüben* was not only known as a German folk song, but also a variant of the so-called Bergamasca tune.[306] Its melody, which has been traced by Richard Hudson in a range of improvisatory genres (including instrumental variations and contrapuntal fantasias from the sixteenth and seventeenth century), is also likely to have been based on a folk song or folk dance, as its name suggests a connection with the district of Bergamo in northern Italy.[307] Bach is certain to have known the tune (example 18) as he owned a handwritten copy of a keyboard movement from Girolamo

[305] Maria Rika Maniates, *et al*., 'Quodlibet', in: Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians* (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), 20, 688.
[306] Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Melodiezitate und Mehrtextigkeit in der Bauernkantatae und in den Goldbergvariationen', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1976), 66.
[307] Richard Hudson, 'Bergamasca', Sadie (ed.), *New Grove*, 3, 328-9.

Frescobaldi's *Fiori musicali* of 1635 that uses the melody as part of a keyboard Toccata and identifies it as *Bergamasca* in the score (example 19).[308]



Example 18: Bergamasca according to Hudson et al



Example 19: Bergamasca according to G. Frescobaldi (1635)

By superimposing the melody on a given ground, Bach would therefore not only have demonstrated his supreme skill as contrapuntist in keeping with the tradition of cantus firmus quodlibets, but is also likely to have chosen a melody that musical connoisseurs would readily have associated with variation movements, such as Frescobaldi's Bergamasca in the *Fiori musicali*.

In addition, if Forkel's anecdote of Count Keyserling is read less as an indication of a historical performance location, and more as an illustration of the cultural status of the *Goldberg Variations*, the Quodlibet can also be rethought from the vantage point of Leipzig's coffee-house culture and the notion of edifying contemplation. Although it is no longer possible to ascertain whether Bach still directed the Collegium musicum officially when the set was published in 1741, new keyboard compositions on the scale of the *Goldberg Variations* would, almost certainly, have been noticed by Leipzig's musical coffee-house academicians. On studying or hearing the Quodlibet, well-read minds among them are indeed likely to have recognised Bach's juxtaposition of high and low styles. However, as a rhetorical device, such reversals of tone, diction and styles would also have seemed familiar. Indeed, the combination of serious and humorous thought

[308] Schulze, 'Melodiezitate und Mehrtextigkeit in der Bauernkantatae und in den Goldbergvariationen', 66. For a facsimile edition of Frescobaldi's keyboard Toccata, see Girolamo Frescobaldi, Philippe Lescat (ed.), *Fiori musicali: 1635* (Courlay: J. M. Fuzeau, 1994), folio D5 ^{recto}, 89.

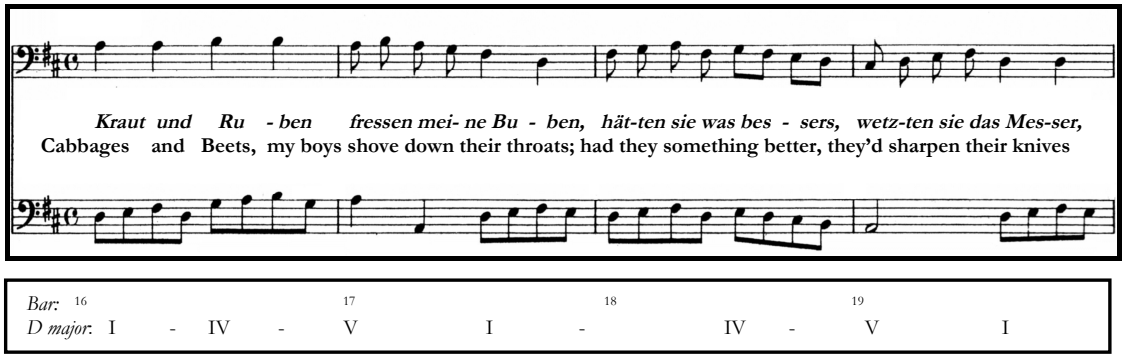
was a widely-practised strategy in literary journals, particularly in publications inspired by Christian Thomasius' influential *Monthly Conversations*.

As its full title famously declared, Thomasius' sought to elucidate his literary topics in a series of, 'Frank, funny and serious but rational thoughts or monthly conversations on all kinds of, but especially new books'.[309] Its related variant of *schertz- und ernsthafft* would have been particularly familiar to Bach's musical followers, for example, from the title of published collections of poetry by Bach's longstanding librettist Christian Henrici. Similar to Thomasian genre conventions, they regularly reproduced cantata texts as part of anthologies, entitled *Picander's Serious-Jesting* [ernst-schertzhafft] *and Satirical Poems*.[310] An identical juxtaposition of profound and light-hearted elements in the *Goldberg Variations* is therefore more than likely to have been recognised as a familiar strategy.

Furthermore, Leipzig's *Caffëisten* may also have spotted a satirical dimension in Bach's folk-song quotations. The culinary reference to 'Cabbages and Beets', for example, finds a precedent in a vocal Quodlibet by the ordained priest, organist and school master Johann Valentin Rathgeber (1682 - 1750).[311] Published in 1737, Valentin's piece predates Bach's Quodlibet by merely four years and was included in a printed music collection, described as *Tafelkonfect* (*Table-Confectionary*) in the title, which contains 15 vocal Quodlibets arranged for up to four singers (sometimes including an *obligato* violin part) and figured bass for continuo.[312] Unlike Bach however, Valentin arranges the song and its re-texted Bergamasca tune as a solo voice, supported merely by continuo and the harmonic framework of a basic cadential progression (example 20).

---

[309] Christian Thomasius, *Freimütige, lustige und ernsthafte, jedoch vernunftmässige Gedanken oder Monatsgespräche über allerhand, fürnehmlich aber neue Bücher* (Frankfurt am Main: Athenëum, 1972), titlepage (w/o pag.).
[310] Christian Friedrich Henrici, *Picanders ernst-schertzhaffte und satyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig: Boetio, 1727).
[311] Schulze, 'Melodiezitate und Mehrtextigkeit in der Bauernkantatae und in den Goldbergvariationen', 66; also Rolf Dammann, *Johann Sebastian Bachs "Goldberg-Variationen"* (Mainz, London: Schott, 1986), 236.
[312] For a critical edition, see Valentin Rathgeber, Johann Caspar Seyfert and Hans Joachim Moser (eds.), *Ohrenvergnügendes und gemüthergötzendes Tafelconfect: (Augsburg, 1733/37/46)* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1942).



Example 20: Valentin Rathgeber, Tafel-Confect (1737), Quodlibeticum 7, 'Salvete hospites'.

As is easily recognised, Rathgeber's harmonisation requires no figures in the score that indicate interval steps other than thirds and fifths (which were customarily omitted). All harmonies are consequently basic triads of major chords in root position. For listeners or members of Bach's Collegium musicum, who may well have known Rathgeber's collection of *Quodlibetices*, the contrast between Bach's and Rathgeber's reference to *Kraut und Rüben* could hardly have been any more pronounced: whereas Bach incorporated the melody into a complex web of imitative counterpoint, in keeping perhaps with polyphonic settings of the Bergamasca, Rathgeber's texture shows no apparent interest in contrapuntal devices.

To be sure, there is no firm evidence that links the contemporary reception of Bach's *Goldberg Variations* to Rathgeber's *Quodibetices*. Yet, as has already been touched upon in the previous chapter, Bach was well known for developing his musical ideas in response to compositions by other composers and, as the famous observation by Theodor Pitschel on Bach's keyboard improvisations also suggests, such references were often perceived as critical juxtapositions by his contemporaries.[313] Given that Collegia musica frequently combined musical performances with debate and discussion, it is not inconceivable therefore that Bach's keyboard Quodlibet may also have invited comparisons to compositions belonging to the same genre, such as Rathgeber's at Zimmermann's coffee house.

[313] See chapter 4 and David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 333-34.

But also independently of this social setting, Bach's folk-tune quotations in *Varatio 30* possess a strong symbolical dimension that appear to emphasise both the didactic purpose of Bach's *Aria with Diverse Variations* as *Clavier-Übung*, and the contrapuntal integration of voices in the texture of *Variatio 30*. Both are related, of course, as can usefully be illustrated if the first line of the song *Kraut und Rüben* is considered also as a full sentence, which reads *Cabbage and Beets Have Chased Me Away*. In eighteenth-century as well as modern German, the expression *Kraut und Rüben* not only denotes common vegetables, but also functions as a metaphor for lack of organisation and amateurish confusion. As such, it usually has a pejorative subtext, and figurative beets are invoked, for example, by Johann Voigt's organist in the *Conversation on Music*, who describes disorganised chaos in church-music as follows:

> Thus you may conclude ... that, when they [newly-converted Corinthian Christians] hold a service, one of them talks, the other sings, and everything goes together like cabbages and beets.[314]

Kittel's identification of the Bergamasca as a song called *Kraut und Rüben* may therefore well be telling, especially in view of the reputation of Bach's *Clavier-Übung* that, as I have argued at the beginning of chapter 4, was widely known as a benchmark of excellence among professional keyboard players. Read in its entirety, the sentence *Cabbage and Beets Have Chased Me Away* indeed seems to provide a surprisingly fitting motto to highlight Bach's tight contrapuntal integration of voices in *Variatio 30*. Associating one of its melodies with an image of escaping a dependence on insufficiently nourishing food, or (in a figurative sense) a state of disorganised confusion, creates not only a humerous, but also programmatic contrast to highlight the musical arrival at a point of particular contrapuntal ingenuity.

Seen this way, Bach's Quodlibet provides a uniquely sophisticated conclusion to the variation cycle. Whereas the first folk-song quotation appears to refer to the

[314] 'So schliesse daraus ..., ... daß, wenn sie ihren Gottes-Dienst halten, der eine redet, der andere singet , und gehet alles unter einander wie Kraut und Rüben.' Voigt, *Gespräch von der Musik*, 76.

imminent return of the opening aria, by articulating an anticipated greeting of a long lost friend ('I haven't been with you [i.e. the tune of the first aria] for so long'), the text of the second melody (*Kraut und Rüben*) appears to be more retrospective in character, almost as if to comment on a past journey of contrapuntal developments. Moreover, it may also signify a successful departure from confusion and tentative beginnings. But the high degree of contrapuntal integration may also have carried connotations of a successful integration of conflicting musical affects. Contemporary audiences would indeed have good reason to associate Bach's assured harmonisation of disparate voices as part of a unified texture with a corresponding ordering of disorganised and chaotic humours. After all, Bach's variation cycle not only follows through a remarkably consistent contrapuntal design that indeed appears to culminate in the Quodlibet, but Johann Forkel's anecdote about Count Keyserlingk's insomnia also associates the succession of pieces with a similar context.

As a result, the combination of pedagogical and affective symbolism in the Variations would have corresponded closely to the aims and character of Leipzig's coffee-house culture in the first half of the eighteenth century. Firstly, Bach's keyboard Quodlibet seems to consciously invite a reflection on musical texture and genre characterstics, and may well have prompted critical discussions on this topic as a result. Secondly, in its varied application of style levels, the variation cycle as a whole would have been in keeping with the literary tradition of satirical and *ernst-schertzhaffte* publications. Even though the *Goldberg Variations* are traditionally associated with performances at Dresden, it is equally important to note therefore to what extent Collegium-musicum events at Leipzig would have suited Bach's variation cycle as a performance context. Its complex intricacies would indeed have provided an exceptionally rich subject for musical *Caffëisten* to study, contemplate and ponder as part of their useful and edifying discussions.

Emblematic variations of keyboard practice

A considerable aspect of this musical contemplation is likely to have focussed on allegorical meanings and visual associations. Indeed, members of Collegia musica, as well as coffee-house customers, were well-accustomed to interpreting a range of signs and symbols in both printed and performed music. The contents of a libretto, entitled *Cantata von der Music in einem Collegio Musico* (*Cantata about Music in a Collegium Musicum*) by the Hamburg-based poet Christian Friedrich Hunold can usefully illustrate this.[315] In addition to the specific information it contains about musical programming (similar to the closely related, but later text of 1722, *An ein Collegium Musicum* (*To a Collegium Musicum*) which has already been touched upon in chapters 1 and 2), the text mentions an image of heavenly bliss towards the conclusion of performance. The comparison is considerably more significant than a conventional poetic metaphor. Seemingly similar to Count Keyserlingk, Hunold's protagonist not only experiences a calming of affects, but also describes the resulting state of mind as granting his mind contemplative insight into 'a beautiful picture':

> Dull clouds have passed over
> Worries, anger and desire.
> The weather inside of me is quite clear.
> Thus, to the noblest state of mind,
> In which contentment blossoms as a virtue,
> Is granted a beautiful picture through music.[316]

Hunold's account relies heavily on the tropes and vocabulary of Protestant edifying books. A paragraph from August Pfeiffer's well-known collection of meditative texts, entitled *Anti-Melancholicus* (a copy of which was also in Bach's personal possession), can indeed shed further light on the wider significance of this comparison between edifying music and pictorial 'beauty'. It is, in fact, a clear reference to the eternal contemplation of

[315] Hunold, *Menantes Academische Neben-Stunden*, 69-72.
[316] 'Die trüben Wolcken sind vergangen/ Von Grillen/ Unmuth und Verlangen. Das Wetter ist in mir recht aufgeklährt./ So wird dem edelsten Gemüth/ In dem Zufriedenheit als eine Tugend blüht/ Durch die *Music* ein schönes Bild gewährt.' Ibid., 71-2.

God's presence (or picture) by redeemed souls in the afterlife. As Pfeiffer explains, '[i]n heaven the essence [*extract*] and derivation of all joy will be the blissful viewing and enjoyment of God, from whom we will fetch, like from an inexhaustible well of beauty, … all pleasure and enjoyment'.[317] Applied to Hunold's paraphrase, the effects of edifying music are therefore likened to the eternal, blissful viewing of God as an eternal (and exclusive) source of beauty.

Hunold's description of a calming of affects and passing of 'desire' is closely related to this idea. It can, likewise, be traced in Pfeiffer's account of heavenly contemplation:

> It is possible here in this world for a gentle music … to elicit such charm and delight us that we forget to eat and drink over it: How could then the blissful viewing and intense contemplation of the most praiseworthy Trinity, … the miraculously gentle music of the holy Seraphim … not sustain us in such enjoyment and desire that we … give as little thought to food and drink as the angels?[318]

Edifying music in the eighteenth century was consequently envisaged as both a likeness and a foretaste of the eternal music of the Seraphim, which was an essential aspect of God's 'wellspring' of life-sustaining beauty. Nonetheless, owing to the ontological separation between this divine music (which is located exclusively in the realm of eternity) and its edifying counterpart (that belongs to the worldly sphere of time and space), the image it conveys to the mind is no unmediated vision of the holy Trinity. Instead, it is an allegorical representation of some of its qualities that form part of a contemplative mental image or 'picture'.

Contemplating edifying music in performance was consequently inseparable from an associative interpretation of worldly signs that, in turn, conveyed a foretaste of the

---

[317] 'Der *extract* und Auszug aller Freude [im Himmel] wird seyn das selige Anschauen und Geniessen Gottes/ aus welchem als aus einem unerschöpften Brunnen aller Schönheit/ Freude und Herrligkeit/ ... alle Wollust und Vergnügen schöpfen werden.' August Pfeiffer, *Antimelancholicus, oder Melancholey-Vertreiber* (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditsch, 1684), 641-42.

[318] '[E]s kan ja hie auff dieser Welt eine liebliche *Music*, ... eine solche Anmuth erwecken und uns entzücken/ daß wir Essen und Trincken vergessen: Wie solte denn das seligste Anschauen und innigliche Betrachten der hochgelobten Dreyeinigkeit/ .... die wunderliebliche *Music* der H. Seraphinen; nicht bey solchem Vergnügen und *Appetit* erhalten/ daß wir/ zumahl ohne Hunger und Durst/ so wenig als die Engel ans Essen und Trincken gedencken werden?' Ibid., 643.

eternal viewing of God's presence in the afterlife. As such, the imaginary vision remains restricted to a speculative insight, a comparative 'as if', and is sign-like. Its allegorical character is expressed with particular clarity in the following verse from Hunold's ode, *About the Viola da Gamba*, which appeared in the same volume of poetry (and has also already been briefly touched upon in chapter 2). It first alludes to the familiar mechanism that was believed to connect the ear and the human heart (in keeping with an acoustic understanding of humoral resonance), and then explains the contemplation of allegorical signs in music as resulting in a picture, which is rendered as 'virtue' instead of 'beauty':

> Your bowing that goes strong and soft then once again/
> Is thus an alternation which delights.
> Your tender tone that enters through the ear/ will soon command and rule the heart ….
> In short, all this is fashioned in the style of virtue/ that pleases mightily, yet calmly.
> Your gentle sound makes no-one wild/ Effectively, you are a picture of virtue.[319]

Instead of conveying an immediate vision of edifying virtue to the mind, therefore, the sound of edifying music, as exemplified by Hunold's viol, once more provides a contemplative model. Yet as a true likeness (in the sense of *Abbild* perhaps), it shares some of its qualities, such as the overall balance that governs contrasting sound-levels. Arguably on account of this similarity, the edifying sign can also act as an illuminating example, model and picture (as *Vorbild*), that enables listeners to achieve a partial imitation of related states of virtuous equilibrium and stability.

Hunold's account is of far-reaching significance. It not only illustrates the Christian basis for many of the ideas associated with musical and secularised coffee-house edification, but also points towards the importance of emblematic thought and allegorical signs for edifying music in general, and Bach's keyboard Quodlibet of the *Goldberg Variations* in particular. Indeed, the reference to *Kraut und Rüben*, which is melodically implied, but requires further contextualisation to become intelligible, has

[319] 'Dein Strich/ der starck und wieder zart/ Ist so ein Wechsel der entzücket. Dein zarter Thon dringt durch das Ohr/ Das Herz in den Besitz zu kriegen/.... Kurtz alles hat der Tugend-Art/ Die herrlich/ aber still erquicket./Dein sanffter Thon macht keinen Menschen wild./Der Würckung nach bist du der Tugend-Bild.' Hunold, *Menantes Academische Neben-Stunden*, 139-40.

already yielded a clear example of symbolic signification in the music. But a greater awareness of associative meaning in eighteenth-century cultural practice can also reveal an array of further signs and symbols in the movement that places Bach's music in conspicuous proximity to eighteenth-century ideas on emblematic representation. It is useful, therefore, to briefly recall some of the principal concepts that guided the use of allegory within this broader context.

One of the most authoritative accounts of emblematic thought can be found in the writings of a seventeenth-century academician, who, to fellow members of his literary academy, the so-called Fruitbearing Society (*Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*), was known as 'the playful one' (*Der Spielende*). As a literary author, he is perhaps better known as Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607 - 1658), who published an extensive collection of conversational dialogues as *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (*Conversational Games of Women*).[320] Similar to the later, eighteenth-century coffee-house journals, including those by Philipp Balthasar Sinold, its protagonists are a group of individuals (three men and three women) who convene regularly in their leisure time to practise and discuss various cultural pursuits. In the 11th volume of the series, the learned collective embarks on an extensive discussion on *Sinnbildkunst* (art of emblems). It contains the following description of what constitutes and characterises an emblem:

> But depictions and texts of this kind are called emblems, as they are composed of pictures and a few words, which contain the rationale, opinion and reasoning of its inventor: which point towards more than what is depicted and written and thus fittingly give occasion for further pondering.[321]

As the extract explains, emblems combine a pictorial representation, which was also known as the 'body', with a brief caption that accompanies it as a motto, or 'soul', of the emblem. Nonetheless, the semantic content does not merely explain the meaning of the

[320] Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, Irmgard Böttcher (ed.), *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1968).
[321] 'Es warden aber solche Gemähl und Schriften Sinnbilder genannt/ weil selbe von Bildern und wenig Worten/ darinn der Sinn/ Meinung und Verstand deß Erfinders begriffen zusammengesetzet: welche dann mehr weisen/ als gemahlet oder geschrieben ist/ in dem selbe zu ferneren Nachdencken füglich Anlaß geben.' Ibid., 1, 73.

graphic representations, but is meant to trigger a process of 'further pondering' that, in turn, yields an insight which is bigger than the sum of individual signs in the emblem. As the art historian Ronald Paulson explains,

> [i]n the emblem the meaning emerges only through an interplay of a title, a motto, and a visual image…. [It is] not merely illustrating a device (motto) …; it may use one or more of these *topoi* as its raw material, both visual and verbal, in order to produce a total image … that is independent, problematical, to be deciphered.[322]

Harsdörffer uses such a 'problematical' and open-ended emblem, for example, to portray and characterise his own series of dialogues. The example is particularly important, not least as its motto is closely related to the aim of 'useful edification' that was espoused by eighteenth-century *Caffëisten*. (Philipp Balthasar Sinold is, in fact, likely to have modelled his periodicals partly on Harsdörffer's *Gesprächspiele*, as his father, Johann Helwig Sinold (gen. Schütz) (1623 - 1677) was a member of the Fruitbearing Society.[323]) Harsdörffer inscribes his emblem with the motto 'Es nützet und behagt auff manche Art' ('Tis useful and delights in various ways'). Even a brief glance at the 'body' (or picture) of the emblem reveals that this does not amount to a neat summary to convey a fixed meaning, but rather adds a further, language-based sign to an already considerable array of allegorical symbols (example 21).

The pictorial body of the emblem consists of a detailed tableau, which presents a variety of allegorical references, for example to Harsdörffer himself. The central palm tree was a widely-known symbol of the Fruitbearing Society, and the ornamental flowerbed on the right-hand side of the picture also spells out Harsdörffer's society name ('Spielende'). The motto of the emblem, likewise, alludes to Harsdörffer, mainly by

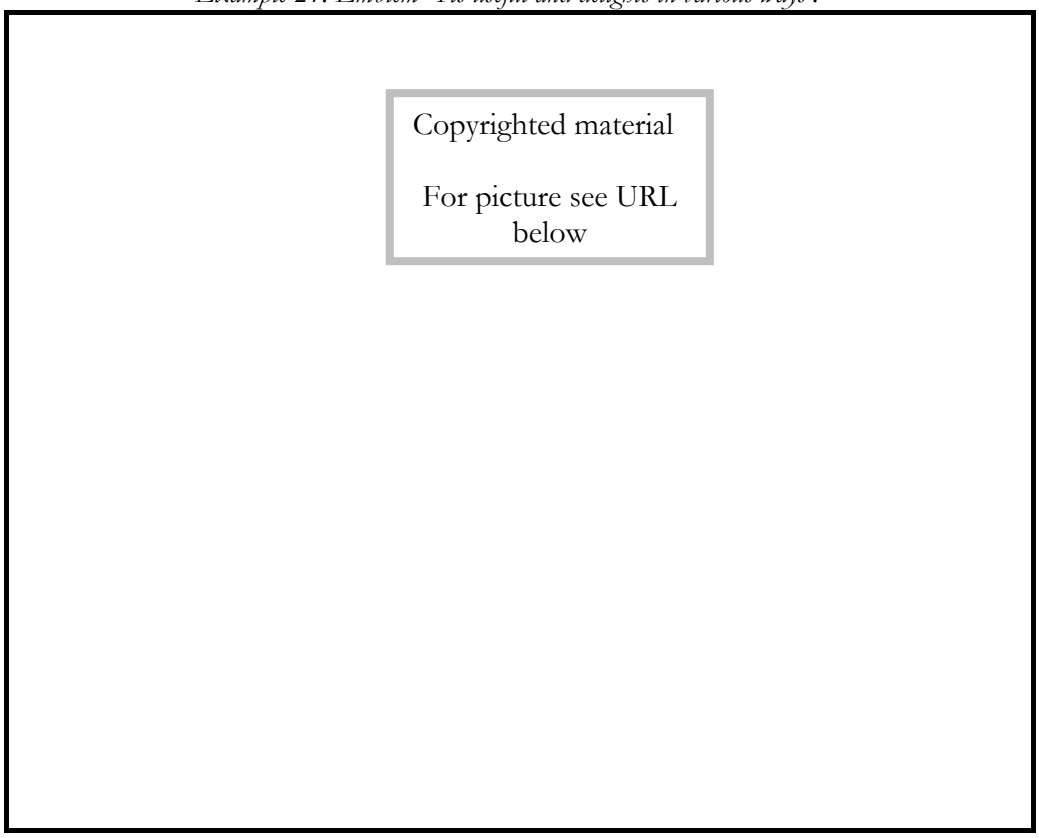
---

[322] Ronald Paulson, *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975), 14.

[323] There is no truth, however, in Herbert Jaumann's claim that Philipp Balthasar Sinold was a member of the Fruitbearing Society. Contrary to Jaumann's assertion in a lexicon article, no member was appointed to the academy under the *nom de plume* Ludwig Ernst von Faramond. Johann Helwig von Sinold, on the contrary, who was Philipp Sinold's father, was inducted to the academy in 1668 and given the society name 'The Marked One' (*Der Gezeichnete*). (No society record exists for his son.) Jaumann's article is published in Jaumann, *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur der Frühen Neuzeit*, 612. For membership details of Johann Helwig Sinold, see Andreas Herz, *et al.*, Martin Bircher (ed.), *Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft unter Herzog August von Sachsen-Weissenfels* (Tübingen: In Kommission M. Niemeyer, 1997), Reihe I, 382.

recalling the Latin pairing of *utile et dolce* (as 'Nützet und behagt') which was also a widely-recognised reference to the socio-cultural sphere of academicians at the time.

Example 21: Emblem 'Tis useful and delights in various ways'.[324]



Erklärung.

Nutzlich behagend' ausbildende Schrift/
Bist du bedachtsam hiehero gestifft?
Die nehrende Kertze der Sonnen erfreut:
Der fröliche Rebensaft frommet dem Magen/
die lieblichen Blümelein pflegen zu tragen
viel niedliche Labung/ die Kranken gedeit!
Die Sonne die Sinne so Rähtselweis deut/
die frölichen Geister/ der Reben behagen/
die mancherley Blumen/ ergetzlichen Fragen
verblümen die Schwelle/ darauf sie gestreut.
Dieses dreyschichtig zusammengeschifft/
Leser/ dein Nutz und Belusten betrifft.

Explanation.

Useful-delighting pictorial text,
Have you been carefully designed in this place?
The nourishing candle of the sun delights:
The joyful juice of wine soothes the stomach
The lovely flowers tend to bring refreshment,
healing for the sick!
Thus interpret the sun and the senses like a riddle
The cheerful spirits enjoy the wine
The plentiful flowers pose enjoyable questions
Conceal the threshold on which they were strewn
This has been composed in three layers
Reader, it concerns your use and delight.

What is more, a poem on the opposite page provides further, rhymed clues about coded meanings. As the verses explain, their addition results in an emblem consisting of a total of three layers, all of which are intended to be read and contemplated as distinct,

[324] Harsdörffer, *Gesprächspiele*, 1, 10-1. Picture source: Herzog August Bibliogthek (Wolffenbüttel), <http://www.hab.de>, accessed 14/12/2011.

but interrelated components. For example, the poem concludes by referring the reader back to the motto. Similar to the characterisation of coffee-house dialogues as useful and edifying by Monsr Philibert in the anonymous dialogues of the *Caffe- und The-Logia*, Harsdörffer's verses also explain that the effort required to contemplate the array of signs and meanings of the emblem is worthwhile, as it will be of use and delight ('Reader, it concerns your use and delight'). Most importantly, however, neither the motto nor the explanatory poem seeks to account for the meaning of the emblem in its entirety. Instead, the reader is invited to alternate between text and picture, interpret allegories in keeping with familiar and unfamiliar constellations, and thus engage in an open-ended meditation, or edifying *Nachsinnen*.

Self-referential emblematic depictions like Harsdörffer's were indeed installed at eighteenth-century coffee-houses. Saxony's *State-Calendar* of 1729, which chronicled the most noteworthy events of the year, for example records an emblematic decoration at the 'famous coffee house of Mr Zimmermann' at Dresden (who was perhaps related to Bach's host at Leipzig, Gottfried Zimmermann). Its components consisted of the following display that combined a literary motto with a group of three-dimensional figures:

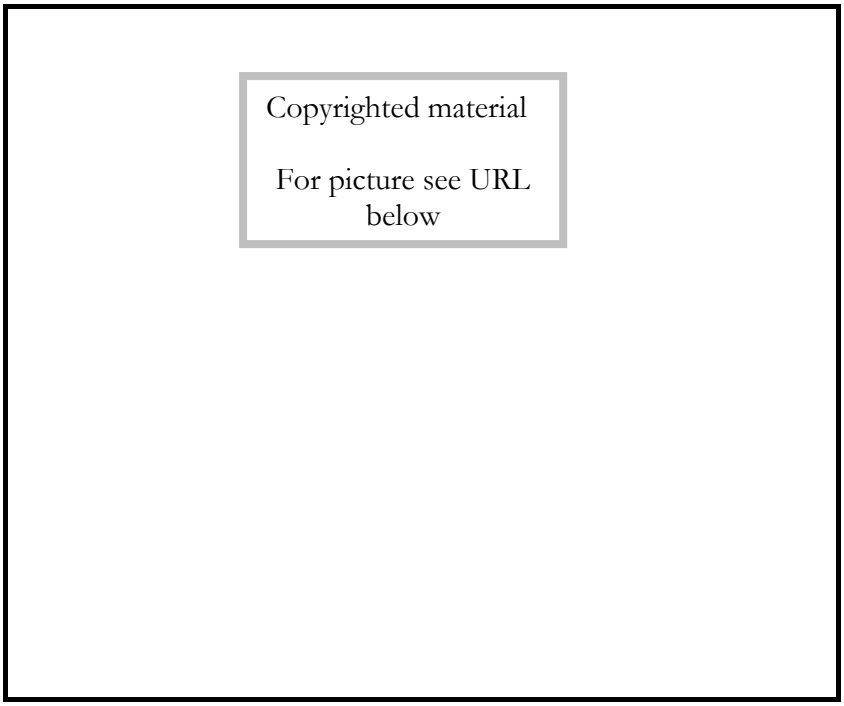
> In the famous coffee house of Mr Zimmermann one could see a range of partly serious and partly amusing displays, as in the bay-window of the house sat an old Turkish man at a coffee table, who enjoyed a pipe of tobacco in a very relaxed manner, and at another table there sat a woman who, likewise, poured herself a cup of tea; placed above were the words from *Virgilio*: *Deus nobis haec otia fecit* [God has granted us this leisure]. In the upper part of the window were displayed on the right-hand side the Prussian, on the left-hand side the Saxon-Polish crest.[325]

[325] 'In dem berühmten *Caffee*-Hause des Hn. Zimmermanns/ konte man allerhand theils ernsthaffte/ theils lustige Vorstellungen anschauen und lesen/ denn in dem Erker saß an einem Caffee-Tische ein alter Türcke, welcher bey seinem Caffee-Trincken eine Pfeife Toback gantz gelassen rauchte/ an dem andern Tischgen saß ein Frauenzimmer/ welche mit der Hand sich gleichsam eine Schaale *Thee* einschenckte, oben drüber stunden die Worte aus dem *Virgilio*: *Deus nobis hæc otia fecit*. In dem oberen Flügel des Fensters wurden zur Rechten das Preusische, zur linken das Pohlnis. und Chur-Sächsische Wappen vorgestellet.' [Corp. Author] Saxony, *Königl. Poln. und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* (Dresden: Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern, 2001), folio 23 ^{recto}, CD 1, 'Bücher, 1729', Pdf. 8.

The description is significant for several reasons. It not only illustrates that emblems could function as a spatial concept as well as printed designs, to result in a quasi-theatrical scene. But it also documents that emblems were closely associated with coffee houses as a cultural practice that could be experienced within the physical space of a coffee house.

Moreover, the historical coffee-house emblem at Dresden points towards what is arguably the most decisive quality of emblematic meaning, which is its context-dependent variability. As the report from the *State-Calendar* records, the motto of Zimmermann's coffee house was a quote from an ancient poem by *Virgilio*, 'Deus nobis haec otia fecit' (God has granted us this pleasure) (The phrase was borrowed from the sixth verse of the first poem in Virgil's collection of so-called *Eclogues*.[326]) Yet as a later use of the same quotation in an English emblem book of 1732 suggests, even identical words could assume substantially different meanings in the context of emblematic depictions. Instead of pairing Virgil's caption with a coffee-house scene, the English emblem writer placed the motto *Deus nobis haec otia fecit* underneath a depiction of a church sermon (example 22).[327]

[326] The *Eclogues* were also known as *Bucolics*, a collection of hexameters on the subject of pastoral (and virtuous) life. Philip R. Hardie, *Virgil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 5-25. For a modern, bilingual edition see Virgil and David Ferry, *The Eclogues of Virgil: A Translation* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999).
[327] R. B., *Choice Emblems, Divine and Moral, Antient and Modern* (London, 1732), 150-51.



Example 22: Emblem 'For God vouchsafed us this grace'.[328]

Thus, whereas the Latin for 'leisure', or 'idle musing' (*otium*) represents the enjoyment of tobacco and tea at a coffee house in Zimmermann's display of 1729, the English emblem writer applies the same word to illustrate the edifying contents of a church sermon. Emblematic meaning could consequently differ markedly from the semantic meaning of its word-based content. Whilst it relied on a cultural background of shared reference points (such as ancient poetry), it constantly varied what they represented by creating novel and unexpected contexts.

A remarkably similar range of strategies, based on re-contextualisation and allegorical constellations, can be observed in Bach's keyboard Quodlibet from the *Goldberg Variations*. Indeed, in its musical context as part of a *Clavier-Übung* 'consisting of an Aria with Diverse Variations' as the full title states, it is perhaps even similarly self-referential as both Harsdörffer's emblem 'Tis useful and delights in various ways', and

[328] Picture source: 'The English Emblem Book Project, Penn State University Libraries', <http://emblem.libraries.psu.edu> accessed 14/12/2011.

Zimmermann's coffee-house emblem 'Deus nobis haec otia fecit'.[329] Instead of juxtaposing inscribed mottoes on the page with visual images, however, Bach's music appears to combine a range of acoustic and musical signs instead. Still, the resulting array of multiple symbolic layers also invites further pondering and *Nachsinnen* that is guided, for example, by topical mottoes.

Bach's folk-song quotations resemble literary mottoes remarkably closely indeed. What is more, for eighteenth-century keyboardists in particular, they would also have carried a wealth of pedagogical connotations. Folk songs and popular melodies formed a mainstay of many keyboard collections that were also frequently known as *Clavier-Übung*. However, unlike Bach's Quodlibet, they were usually presented as basic harmonisations and thorough-bass realisations, particularly in more popular publications. The pedagogical function of such collections provides a significant cultural background for contextualising Bach's complex use of folk tunes in the *Goldberg Variations* indeed, especially if their appearance is viewed as an allegorical allusion to more basic kinds of keyboard practice. It is uniquely revealing, therefore, to relate Bach's *Goldberg Variations* at least in broad contours to what was arguably the most popular *Clavier-Übung* around the time of its publication, *Sperontes singende Muse an der Pleiße* (*Sperontes Singing Muse on [the River] Pleisse*).

The collection presented a range of harmonised folk tunes, keyboard-dances and vocal pieces that had been adapted and arranged by the Leipzig poet Johann Sigismund Scholze (1705 - 1750). As a lavishly illustrated score aimed at a broad market, its first volume had appeared in 1736 and owing to continuing commercial demand, the series was quickly followed up by several sequels (in 1742, 1743 and 1745

[329] The full title of BWV 988 on the engraved frontispiece of the first edition reads as follows: 'Keyboard Practice of an Aria with Diverse Variations, for the Harpsichord with 2 Manuals. Composed for Music Lovers, to Refresh their Spirits by Johann Sebastian Bach, Royal Polish and Electoral Saxon Composer, Capellemeister and Directore Chori Musici in Leipzig.' David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 214-15.

respectively).[330] As the series-title of these collections also documents, Scholze's publication was explicitly announced as *Clavier-Übung* for 'popular keyboard practice', containing

> two times fifty Odes, the latest, best musical pieces, and corresponding melodies for popular keyboard practice and refreshment of the spirit, including also an appendix of J. C. Günther's poems.[331]

Traditionally, the cultural relationship between Bach's series of *Clavier-Übung* and the Sperontes collection has been described in strictly antagonistic terms. Based on the observation that the *Aria with Divers Variations* is generally considered the first among Bach's speculative late works, Frederick Neumann, for example, argued in 1985:

> These late works were … archconservative … Even the Goldberg Variations, … contain nine canons amidst a variety of other Baroque forms. And, as if to make up for the playful nature of a few of the variations, Bach entered in his personal copy of the work fourteen puzzle canons ….[332]

Robert Marshall even commented specifically on the relationship between Bach's Variations and Sperontes' Odes. Noting that both publications shared the same engraver (Balthasar Schmid) in Nuremberg, he wrote:

> The Goldberg Variations obviously have almost nothing in common with the modish trifles aimed at the growing market of middle-class amateur players which [Balthasar] Schmid's previous publications had addressed.[333]

To be sure, both authors can hardly be faulted for emphasising the vast gulf that separates Bach's unrivalled contrapuntal virtuosity from the decidedly more humble fare of Sperontes' figured-bass tunes. Yet, if the variation cycle is read specifically from a pedagogical point of view, a less antagonistic position becomes conceivable. Rather than articulating a principled opposition to, for example, either *galant* homophony or

---

[330] Horst Irrgang, 'Nachwort', Sperontes and Johann Christian Günther, *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1964), (w/o pag.).
[331] 'Sperontes singende Muse an der Pleiße, mit hundert Oden auf die neuesten, besten und bekanntesten Musicalischen Stücke mit denen dazu gehörigen Melodien, zu beliebter Clavier-Ubung und Gemüths-Ergötzung nebst einem Anhange aus J. C. Günthers Gedichten.' For a facsimile reprint, see Sperontes *et al.*, *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (Wiesbaden, Graz: Breitkopf & Härtel; Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958).
[332] Frederick Neumann, 'Bach: Progressive or Conservative and the Authorship of the Goldberg Aria', *The Musical Quarterly* (1985), 71/3, 283.
[333] Robert L. Marshall, 'Bach the progressive: observations on his later works', Ibid., (1976), 62, 346.

basso continuo textures, Bach appears to adopt a more fluid stance that not only accommodates these practices within his own *Clavier-Übung*, but also assigns them seemingly meaningful positions within the cycle.

Indeed, if the cardinal movements of the set are read not only for their musical content, but also as allegorical signs that associate them with different kinds of keyboard practice, a remarkably consistent picture emerges. The opening aria, with its comparative textural simplicity and dance-like character, for example, may well be understood as representing a musical beginning in polyphonically humble origins, perhaps. Particularly in its very first bars, the light texture merely adds almost tentative and basic broken-chord harmonies to the bass-line pattern, which emphasises its contours particularly clearly (example 15, see above). But the simplicity of Bach's aria also corresponded directly to the didactic significance of sung arias in the first stages of keyboard teaching in Bach's time.

The practice was clearly recorded in a rarely-noted satirical drama, entitled *The Hum-Drum Habits of Academia* (*Der akademische Schlendrian*) by Bach's longstanding librettist Christian Friedrich Henrici. As part of a scene set in a private garden, a group of women discuss various personal matters over coffee and, as the conversation unfolds, a young character called Carolingen proudly details the progress she has recently made on the clavier in the following:

> From nine to ten o'clock I learn how to play the clavier and today I have learned a proper aria, this is how it begins: 'Grant me just one mouthful, beloved child of angels. Be kissed tenderly by me, no one shall ever know what good friends we are.' If Mr *Jolie* [a friend and admirer] had sung it to me, I could hardly have refused him a little kiss. It is a brand new aria; my instructor wants to enter it in my song book ….[334]

[334] 'Von 9. biß 10. lerne ich das Clavier spielen, und heute habe eine rechte Arie gelernet, sie fängt sich so an: Gib mir nur ein einzig Mäulgen,/Allerliebstes Engels-Kind./ Laß dich zärtlich von mir küssen,/Niemand soll es wieder wissen,/ Daß wir gute Freunde sind. Wenn mir das Mr. Jolie fürgesungen, so hätte ich ihm ein Küßgen unmöglich können abschlagen. Es ist eine ganz neue Arie; Mein Lehrmeister will sie mir in mein Lieder-Buch einschreiben ....' Christian Friedrich Henrici, *Picanders Teutsche Schau-Spiele, bestehend in dem Academischen Schlendrian, Ertzt-Säuffer, und der Weiber-Probe* (Berlin, 1726), 36.

The account clearly documents the central importance of treble-based aria singing to assist a basic command of figured-bass harmonisations. Indeed, Henrici's text identifies these earliest stages of keyboard practice as two distinct learning activities that proceed from memorising a vocal tune ('today I have learned a proper aria, this is how it begins') to notation ('my instructor wants to enter it in my song book').

Bach's own teaching practice was, likewise, based on initial figured-bass exercises and can usefully illustrate the course of further progress once that notation had been introduced. As Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach recalled in his correspondence with Johannes Forkel,

> pupils had to begin their studies by learning pure four-part thorough bass. [F]irst he [Bach] added the basses to [melodies] himself, and they had to invent the alto and tenor. Then he taught them to devise the basses themselves.[335]

Measured on the scale of these pedagogical steps, Bach's Quodlibet represents an imposing opposite-end in the teaching of musical skills and keyboard practice. Rather than devising new bass lines to fit the tunes of the dances *Kraut und Rüben* and *Ich bin so lang nicht bei Dir g'west*, Bach demonstrates the procedure in reverse, and sets both tunes to a ground which had, in fact, been written for an unrelated melody. Seen this way, Bach's feat not only provides a spectacular contrapuntal culmination indeed, but also appears to recall earlier beginnings, in keeping with an emblematic reflection, perhaps, on the meaning of keyboard practice itself.

Read as a musical sign that hails the arrival at the contrapuntal mastery of a cantus firmus quodlibet, the Quodlibet can perhaps also signal the closing of a pedagogical process: by reminding keyboardists of their own humble beginnings, such as the performance of figured-bass tunes as those contained in Sperontes's *Clavier-Übung*, the towering heights of contrapuntal sophistication in the Quodlibet also appears to signify the closing of a large-scale pedagogical cycle. Bach may even have

[335] David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 399.

referenced earlier volumes of *Clavier-Übung* within the Goldberg set. *Variatio 16*, which begins a symmetrical second part within the variations, for example, is identified as an Overture (example 17), which may well have struck symbolically-minded coffee-house academicians as a reference to the second part of the *Clavier-Übung*, which contained the *Italian Concerto*, and *French Overture* (BWV 971, 831).

Recognising the Quodlibet as a consistent contrapuntal culmination within the *Goldberg Variations* therefore opens a range of possibilities for rethinking its musical meanings. If its folk-song quotations are understood as musical allegories that refer to more than specific tunes, the movement appears to recall a long journey that guided players from disorganised beginnings and an early diet of *Kraut und Rüben* to the contrapuntal delights of a harmonically integrated cantus firmus quodlibet. Seen this way, Bach's *Nachsinnen* on the ground bass of the Goldberg aria can perhaps also be understood as an emblematic coffee-house reflection that, in a rich and permutational constellation of musical signs, explains and demonstrates Bach's personal notion of an edifying and useful *Clavier-Übung*.

6) Emblems of Power and Obedience in Festive Performances by Bach's Collegium Musicum

Scholarly collegia and artistic societies shared an important characteristic in Bach's time. In keeping with traditional teachings on rhetoric and oratory, both focussed on the discovery and presentation of new ideas that were described either as *inventiones* in Latin, or *Einfälle* in German. An article on coffee houses in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* notes, for example, that meetings by the dissident theologian Henry Dodwell (1641 - 1711) offered its participants the opportunity to encounter useful as well as questionable ('paradoxical') ideas:

> Thus the famous and learned Henr. Dodwell has, for many of us Germans, established a collegium in such places [coffee houses] in a similar manner, and given them opportunities for [discovering] many, partly good and partly paradoxical ideas [*Einfälle*]' at an English coffee house.[336]

An essay on eighteenth-century etiquette by Julius Bernhard von Rohr, by comparison, invokes the same terminology in the context of costumes, parades and ball-room dancing:

> With Masquerades, one either develops a certain *Invention*, … as for example at … a parade of Gods, or everyone is granted the freedom to ... dress as one can best invent or realise it according to their financial means.[337]

Coffee houses and their large diversity of edifying pursuits consequently offered an ideal environment to combine ideas and *inventiones* from a variety of artisitic fields, which can shed significant new light on Bach's festive cantata-performances at Zimmermann's coffee house. As I argue in this chapter, based on new documentary evidence, Bach's

[336] 'So hat der berühmte und gelehrte Henr. Dodwell in England manchen von unseren Teutschen gleichsam ein *Collegium* in solchen [Caffe-Häusern] eröffnet, und ihnen zu vielen theils guten, theils paradoxen Einfällen Gelegenheit gegeben.' Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 5, 112.
[337] 'Bey den *Masquerad*en wird entweder eine gewisse *Invention* durchgeführet, … , als wie ... bey einem Götter-Aufzuge oder es wird einen iedweden die Freyheit erstattet, sich ... zu kleiden, wie es einer am besten *inventi*ren oder nach seinem Beutel ausführen kan.' Julius Bernhard von Rohr, Monika Schlechte (ed.), *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der großen Herren* (Weinheim: VCH, Acta Humaniora, 1990), 785.

music was routinely combined with the *inventions* of, for example, emblematic displays and allegorical regalia. Indeed, a vivid reconstruction of Bach's honorary cantata that commemorated the coronation of August III in 1734 (BWV 205a) becomes conceivable, if its characters are re-considered in light of a hitherto unknown report that details a range of emblems and installations that were displayed at Zimmermann's coffee house during the performance. As the document suggests, Bach's music did not merely embellish, but formed an integral part of the symbolic display. A further example of an emblematic *dramma per musica* can be found in the cantata *Hercules at the Crossroads* (BWV 213). As its libretto likewise refers to a range of emblematic images that were part of its performance environment at Zimmermann's coffee garden both pieces can usefully be understood as musical examples of eighteenth-century emblematic theatre (*theatrum emblematicum*). Seen this way, the allegorical characters of Bach's cantatas can be integrated into a wider coffee-house dialogue that drew on a range of rhetorical voices and *inventiones*. Rather than being restricted to printed or spoken language, its means of signification relied on a variety of artistic traditions that included drama, music and emblematic iconography. Indeed, as I seek to show in the following, festive performances by Bach's Collegium musicum routinely relied on combinations of superimposed signs and symbols that acquired most of their historical meaning both from specific performance occasions, and the diversity of artistic pursuits that overlapped within the cultural space of Zimmermann's coffee house.

Coffee-house politics in Restoration England and Bach's Leipzig

Nonetheless, musical performances in honour of state-officials at an eighteenth-century coffee house possessed a distinct potential for political controversy. Anglo-Saxon coffee houses in particular were almost synonymous with subversive thought and revolutionary ideologies in Bach's time. As Zedler's reference to Henry Dodwell's

theological collegium indicates, moreover, subjects of the German Emperor were feared to be just as susceptible to developing 'paradoxical' ideas as English-speaking coffee men. The reasons for this were profound, as the very existence of coffee houses in the eighteenth century depended to a large extent on a sequence of events that had deeply shaken Britain's political institutions in the seventeenth century. To reconstruct the cultural meanings of Bach's performances that honoured aristocratic dignitaries at Zimmermann's coffee house, it is vital therefore to determine the significance of these historical events also for Leipzig's coffee houses. A range of print materials from the eighteenth century can usefully clarify this. But in order to integrate their contents (and concerns) into a context that is immediately relevant to Bach, it is useful to briefly recall a series of uniquely dramatic developments that had engulfed coffee houses in seventeenth-century Britain first.

Since around 1630, England's political climate had been increasingly consumed by a conflict between its cardinal seats of power. King and Parliament were divided on a number of tax-related and religious issues, and a potent mix of accumulated grievances eventually erupted into a series of uprisings and civil war before the mid-century.[338] However, armed clashes between the militias of so-called roundheads (who were fighting for a republican state), and 'cavaliers' (who defended royal interests) not only disrupted the smooth functioning of political institutions; they escalated into outright political revolution when the reigning monarch, Charles I, was removed from power in 1649, put to trial and executed.

Coffee houses in the British capital were directly affected by these events. Although the conflict between republicans and royalists could hardly be blamed on coffee-drinking debating circles in London, the political instability meant that their activities were, nevertheless, perceived as an acute political threat. As meeting places of

[338] For a more detailed summary of historical events, see, for example, Peter Gay and R. K. Webb, *Modern Europe to 1815* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), 262-82.

countless societies and outlets of often illegal print-materials, not even a republican government could afford to ignore such vocal sources of political commentary. Debates about appropriate forms of government had indeed spread considerably beyond appointed circles of ministers and politicians. Shortly before the English monarchy was restored under Charles II in 1660, the royal advisor William Cavendish summed up the danger of a politically literate populace as follows in a letter to the King:

> [T]here is an other Error that doth over heate your people Extreamly And doth your Majestie much hurte, which is that Every man is now becomed a state man.[339]

The King acted decisively on the advice. In 1675, Charles II issued a proclamation against all coffee houses in the capital, stating that they represented a 'great resort of Idle and disaffected persons' that 'spread scandalous reports concerning the conduct of His Majesty and his Ministers'.[340]

The efficacy of the government's campaign, however, was limited. A swiftly declared ban on all trade with tea and coffee proved impossible to enforce, and even legislation that prohibited the 'Spreading of False News' and the introduction of licensing to control the dissemination of 'libels, papers, scandalous &c. and unlicensed books' failed to achieve tangible outcomes.[341] Merely four years after the Royal Proclamation, a pamphlet entitled 'An Appeal from the Country to the City' was circulated within London that called openly for a change of government and a new monarch.[342] Two

---

[339] William Cavendish Newcastle, 'Errors off state & their remedies' in: William Cavendish Newcastle and Thomas P. Slaughter (ed.), *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984), 56. According to Thomas P. Slaughter, the letter dates from either 'late 1658 or early 1659.' Ibid., xi.

[340] 'A Proclamation for the Suppression of Coffee-Houses' (London: John Bill ad Christopher Barker, 1675), quoted in: Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), 86; also Bryant Lillywhite, *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1963), 18.

[341] 'A proclamation to Restrain the Spreading of False News, and Licentious Talking of Matters of State and Government' (London: John Bill and Christopher Barker, 1674); Great Britain. Public Record Office., *et al.*, *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, Of the Reign of Charles II* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, & Roberts, 1860), 17, 497. Quoted in Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 88; 98.

[342] Charles Blount, *Appeal from the Country to the City, for the preservation of his Majesty's Person, Liberty and the Protestant Religion*. For a detailed accont of the political aims of this pamphlet supporting 'the claims to the throne of the "Protestant Duke" [Duke James Scot Monmouth]', see J. G. Muddiman, *The King's Journalist, 1659-1689: Studies in the Reign of Charles II* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1923), 215-219.

factors worked to the advantage of London's defiant coffee-men. Firstly, the size of their business interests was sufficiently large to ensure that the government did not seriously consider abolishing coffee houses altogether, for fear of losing a lucrative source of tax revenues. When the government partly revoked the 1675 proclamation, and opted for granting conditional trading-licenses instead, concerns over the financial impact of a trading-ban on public finances influenced the political decision-making decisively.[343] Secondly, London's coffee-traders skilfully exploited the loose association between their commercial trade and its concomitant print-culture. It was uniquely difficult, for example, to hold coffee-house owners legally responsible for anonymous pamphlets, customers read on their premises. The prosecution of individual readers was similarly problematic and rarely led to successful convictions. England's political authorities had to gradually accept, therefore, that although coffee houses represented a political nuisance, their revolutionary potential could at best be minimised.

Moreover, a continued display of failing measures to censor coffee-house activities risked strengthening the government's opponents by granting them repeated moral victories. Every time pamphlets continued to circulate among Westminster's debating societies in spite of measures to the contrary, English coffee-men were strengthened by demonstrating resilience and political defiance. Yet even under a more relaxed policy of toleration, coffee houses continued to be associated with political irreverence and an intellectual independence that frequently challenged, and often also outwitted royal authorities.

In addition, the perception of coffee houses as seats of political non-conformity became increasingly international during the first half of the eighteenth century. Coffee houses increased rapidly in number in almost every major city in continental Europe during this period, which also meant that a larger number of governments soon faced

[343] For a detailed account of the legal proceedings, see Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 94-100. Events are also summarised in Muddiman, 'note 1', *The King's Journalist*, 173.

difficulties, similar to those British authorities had experienced during the seventeenth century: whereas the economic basis of serving coffee and tea was mostly unproblematic, the central features of coffee-house culture, public assembly and satirical pamphleteering, was anything but. It continued to grant political activists a prominent social platform, and fears about political unrest had become associated so closely with coffee that, in 1735, a member of the Royal Collegium for Medicine and Surgery in Berlin, Dr. Caspar Neumann, warned of the social ills associated with coffee houses even in the context of a lecture on the physical properties of coffee. Whilst officially elucidating 'four dietetic subjects', Neumann included the following excursion into Turkish politics, for example:

> But that coffee drinking as well as coffee houses may have caused a considerable amount of disorder and evil in Turkey alone, may be deduced from the fact that the government was obliged at various points to issue a number of sanctions, and also that much has been written and otherwise debated on the subject in Turkey, for and against, numerous times ….[344]

In France, officials were similarly alarmed and particularly exercised about the large numbers of 'strangers' that attended unregulated assemblies at coffee houses. As early as 1685, the politician Jean-Baptiste Colbert sent the following enquiry to the local lieutenant of the police, Gabriel de La Reynie:

> The King has been informed that in several locations in Paris, where one goes to take coffee, assemblies are likely to form that comprise all sorts of people, particularly strangers. Which is why his Majesty has ordered me to write to you, … in order to ask if you couldn't think of anything to impede their influx.[345]

Venetian authorities even barred coffee-house owners from seating their customers during the Carnival season, as the eighteenth-century travel writer Johann Georg Keyßler reports in one of his letters from Italy:

---

[344] 'Daß aber sowohl vom Café-Trincken als Caffé-Häusern in Türckey alleine auch manche Desordre und böses mag entstanden seyn, ist daraus zu schlüsseln, weil das Gouvernement in verschiedenen Zeiten gar offters ist obiligiret worden, deßhalb allerhand Verbothe zu publiciren und auch sonsten in Türckey darüber viel pro & contra manchmal ist verhandelt und geschrieben worden ....' Caspar Neumann, *Lectiones publicæ ... vom Thee, Caffee, Bier und Wein* (Leipzig: Gottlob Benjamin Fromman, 1735), 175.

[345] 'Le Roy a esté informé que dans plusieurs endroits de Paris, où l'on donne à boire du caffé, il se fait des assmblées de toutes sortes de gens, et particulièrement d'estrangers. Sur quoy sa Majesté m'ordonne de vous escrire ... de vous demander si vous ne croiriez pas qu'il fust à propos de les en empescher à l'avenir.' Letter by Marquis de Seignelay to Gabriel de La Reynie, dated 27. 12. 1685. *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France* (1892), May-June, 79, quoted in: Alfred Franklin and Eugène Plon, *Le café, le thé & le chocolat* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourriet et cie., 1893), 219.

> In the Piazzas round St. *Mark*'s Square, are several Coffee-Houses, chiefly frequented by Foreigners. Formerly the Company might sit down, and converse together at their Ease; but that Custom has been prohibited, and no Benches or Chairs allowed, a Discovery having been made, that the Son of *Balognos*, the imperial Envoy, had taken the Opportunity of a Carnival to discourse with several of the *Venetian* Nobility in *Masque*s.[346]

Given this large number of almost identical concerns from a variety of Western-European states, coffee houses clearly continued to be perceived as a threat to public order and political stability well into Bach's time.

However, Leipzig's political climate was considerably less febrile by comparison. Authorities had not only ensured that all printed publications were approved by a local authority for censorship, the so-called Book Commission (*Bücherkommission*), but the content of coffee-house journals, as for example *The Intriguing Coffee House at Venice* by Philipp Balthasar Sinold von Schütz, was also unfailingly loyal to the political and military campaigns of the Royal Court at Dresden. Sinold's satirical ire in particular was firmly aimed at the French. A useful example to illustrate this comes in the form of a satirical libretto for an operetta that was written as an allegory on the political, diplomatic and military wrangling that surrounded the establishment of the Saxon-Polish Commonwealth in 1697. The piece features in the first issue of the journal, and both its political circumstances and Sinold's satirical verse provide a useful context for Bach's participation in the celebrations that honoured August III when, he too, was crowned Polish king like his father August the Strong.

Writing in response to the coronation of August II in 1698, Sinold's journal presented the following coffee-house scene, in which the proprietor of the *Intriguing Coffee House* presents the operetta text to two of his customers, *Sitibundus* (a German) and *Menteur* (a Frenchman) as the latest correspondence from Milan:

> Whilst *Sitibundus* detailed his forthright thoughts on the Polish trick that had been played on the French, the coffee-publican rushed into the chamber full of excitement and said:

[346] Johann Georg Keyssler, *Travels through Germany Hungary, Bohemia, Switzerland, Italy, and Lorrain* (London: J. Scott, 1758), 4, 156.

> Gentlemen, I have received here something in the post from Milan with which you may conveniently pass the time for another half-hour …. Whereupon they took it from him eagerly and found the following: The long-since decided Elevation of the Prince of Conti to the Throne of Poland, which lasts no longer than twenty minutes. In a delightful but nevertheless unruly operetta presented on the newly unveiled stage of Parnassus.[347]

The satirical reference to Prince Conti and his short 'elevation' paraphrased a series of complex political events that surrounded the selection of a crown prince as king elect by Poland's national 'diet' in 1697 (which was a body of appointed delegates). Similar to the imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire, Poland's monarchy was based on an electoral system. Prospective rulers had to first win the vote of the diet (that customarily elected foreign noblemen) and were then crowned by a senior member of the clergy in a separate ceremony.[348] Similar to events in 1734, the selection by the diet of August the Strong in 1697 was disputed. The French Prince of Conti, François Louis de Bourbon (1664 - 1709) also claimed to have been given a mandate. The Saxon army, however, succeeded in stopping the French Prince from entering Poland to be crowned, which secured victory and the Polish throne for August II.[349]

Sinold's title of a 'Long-since decided Elevation of the Prince of Conti to the Throne of Poland, which lasts no longer than Twenty Minutes' consequently presents a rather innocuous paraphrase of the complex diplomatic and military power-struggle that surrounded a disputed election and an aggressively defended coronation. What is more, it must also have sent a clear political signal about the journal in which it was reproduced at the time. Unlike London's seventeenth-century pamphleteers and satirists, Sinold's

---

[347] 'Indem Sitibundus sein freymüthige Gedancken über die Pohlnische Nase/ welche den Frantzosen angedrehet worden/ eröffnete/ ... so kam der Caffé-Wirth voller Freuden in die Stube hinein gelauffen/ und sagte: Messieurs, hier habe ich etwas mit der Post aus Mayland bekommen/ womit sie die Zeit noch eine halbe Stunde annehmlich zubringen können ... : Hierauf nahmen sie es begierig von ihm an/ und funden folgendes: Die längst beschlossene aber nicht länger als 20. Minuten währende Erhöhung Des Printzens von Conti Auf den Pohlnischen Thron. In einer egetzlichen wiewohl unordentlichen Operetta Vorgestellet Auf dem neu-eröffneten Schau-Platz des Parnasses.' Sinold von Schuetz, *Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig*, 163.
[348] For a detailed account by an eighteenth-century author, see Gaspard de Tende, *An Account of Poland* (London, 1698), 137-42.
[349] Ibid., 295.

coffee-house periodical was firmly supporting the ruling monarch and the Polish-Saxon Court at Dresden.

Emblems of power in Bach's honorary cantata BWV 205a

The literary and musical tenor of Bach's compositions for members of Saxony's ruling nobility is, likewise, unfailingly loyal. This could of course hardly have been any different. A large part of Bach's so-called honorary cantatas (*Huldigungskantaten*) were performed in the presence of aristocratic dignitaries, and Bach also used these occasions to enhance his own professional standing. As Alfred Dürr plausibly argues in view of the increased number of honorary cantatas Bach composed following his appointment as director of the Collegium musicum, *Huldigungskantaten* formed a central part in his protracted endeavours to be appointed Royal Court Composer to the Polish-Saxon King at Dresden, a title which he was granted by August III in 1736.[350]

However, Bach's festive performances also present a unique opportunity for historians. Important occasions in the lives of aristocratic families and major political leaders were routinely celebrated by city-wide festivities, which could call for complex firework displays, ceremonial parades, and even the construction of temporary structures, such as makeshift terraces, triumphal arches and statues. Given the extent and social importance of such ceremonies, they were routinely recorded and described in publications, as for example Saxony's *State-Calendar* (also known as *Königlich Polnisch und Churfürstlich Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* in full), local chronicles and sometimes commercial booklets that sought to recreate events in printed prose. Bach scholars have long recognised the unique potential of these records, and many of the circumstances that surrounded the performance of the cantata 'Preise Dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen' ('Praise Your Good Fortune, Blessed Saxony'), BWV 215, for example, are known in

[350] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 824.

great detail as the result of an entry in Leipzig's local chronicle, known as *Riemers Chronik*.[351] Its account of an official visit to Leipzig by August III in October 1734 details the ceremonial build-up to the 'most humble evening serenade with trumpets and drums' which was preceded by a procession with 600 participants carrying wax torches, and culminated in the presentation of a musical score to the Royal Party after the music had ended.

Of arguably greater importance, by comparison, is a festival booklet by an anonymous author, entitled *Das den 5. October 1734 Illuminirte Leipzig* (*The on 5 October Illuminated [City of] Leipzig*), which has not yet been considered by scholars. It can shed much-needed new light both on the significance of Zimmermann's coffee house as a profoundly theatrical music venue, and assist a detailed reconstruction of the historical performance of Bach's cantata, 'Blast Lermen [sic] Ihr Feinde' ('Sound Noises, Ye Foes'), BWV 205a, which celebrated the coronation of August III as Polish King at Krakow on 17 January 1734 in Leipzig. (The cantata is hereafter referred to as *Coronation Cantata*). However, Werner Neumann disputes the performance of the piece on this date, and as the contents of the anonymous festival booklet contains new evidence that relates the cantata specifically to an 'illumination' at Zimmermann's coffee house on 17 January, it is necessary to briefly revisit Neumann's argument.

Neumann's objections to a January performance rest mainly on the observation that the title page of libretto booklets that had been prepared for a performance of the *Coronation Cantata* show an incomplete date. Instead of detailing both a specific calendar-day and month of the year, they merely refer to an event in January 1734.[352] Further, Neumann emphasises that *Riemers Chronik* does not record which piece of music was

[351] The relevant passage is routinely cited by scholars. For a recent example that includes both an English translation of Riemer's text and a German transcript, see ibid., 835. A facsimile of the title page that contains a dedication to the King is reproduced in David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 165.
[352] Werner Neumann, 'Festmusiken für das kurfürstlich-sächsische Haus II ', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Kritischer Bericht* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961), Serie I/37, 13.

performed by Bach's Collegium musicum to mark the coronation ceremony in Krakow on 17 January 1734. Specific information is restriced to the mention of a stately performance with trumpets and timpani. Pointing to the circumstances surrounding the nomination of Saxony's ruling Elector as king-elect by the Polish diet on 5 October 1733, Neumann claims furthermore that the Dresden Court withheld permission for official celebrations in Saxony before 30 January 1734. According to Neumann, court officials were 'likely' to have advised against all official festivities that preceeded a later national holiday on 19 February:

> Thus the Dresden *Residenz* waited with baited breath for good tidings from Krakow that, on 30. 1., finally arrived. Apparently official permission to hold celebratory ceremonies was only granted in February.[353]

The claim is puzzling, as Saxony's *State-Calendar*, in fact, neither mentions a letter dated 30 January 1734, nor reports a prolonged period of political uncertainty at the Dresden Court.[354] Instead, it merely records that, '[i]n Saxony there was great joy over this coronation event, and the Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg held official celebrations'.[355]

University celebrations are indeed confirmed for 19 February 1734 by historical sources, and Bach's Collegium musicum is also known to have staged a major performance at Zimmermann's coffee house on that date, which is announced as part of the 'august coronation holiday of his Royal-Polish Majesty and Electoral Highness in Saxony'.[356] (Johann Gottlieb Görner's Collegium musicum is, likewise, known to have performed a '*Dramma per Musica* On the August Coronation-Holiday of … Augusti III', which provides further evidence of an official holiday that was marked with musical

[353] 'So wartete die Dresdner Residenz nach Aussage des 'Hof- und Staatskalenders" bangen Herzens auf günstige Nachricht aus Krakau, die endlich am 30. 1. eintraf. Offenbar ist erst im Februar die Erlaubnis zum Abhalten von Jubelfeiern ... erteilt worden.' Ibid., 13.
[354] The relevant sections in the *State-Calendar* for the year of 1734 were published in 1735. For reports relating to the coronation ceremony see: Saxony, *Staats-Calender*, folio K3 ^{recto} - M3 ^{verso}, CD 1, PDF 42-51.
[355] 'In Sachsen war über diesen Crönungs-Actum ein grosse Freude, und hielten die Universitäten, Leipzig und Wittenberg, *solenne Actus*.' Saxony, *Staats-Calender*, folio L3 ^{recto}, CD 1, PDF 46.
[356] Neumann, 'Neue Ausgabe', 12.

performances in February 1734.[357]) However, there is no evidence to suggest that Bach performed the *Coronation Cantata* on 19 February. Most crucially, perhaps, no libretto booklets were either re-ordered or reprinted for a February date by the local publishing house Breitkopf and Härtel (which usually handled Bach's orders for Collegium-musicum performances). Likewise, no booklet-copies that are dated 19 February 1734 survive. Owing to the different month of the year, it is also extremely unlikely that copies dispatched in January would have been reused. This is in stark contrast to 17 January 1734, where business-records list a payment for a print-run of 100 copies, and text-booklets are extant.

Moreover, the commemorative booklet *Das den 5. October 1734 Illuminirte Leipzig* contains specific evidence about events at Zimmermann's coffee house on 17 January 1734 that firmly point towards a performance of the *Coronation Cantata*. As Neumann correctly states, *Riemers Chronik* recorded that Bach's Collegium musicum performed a major composition on that day with trumpets and timpani:

> On the 17th of this month, one saw on the august coronation-day of his Royal Highness of Poland and Electoral Prince of Saxony at Zimmermann's coffee house in *Katharinen-Straße* on the corner of *Böttger Gäßgen* a resplendent Illumination, during the Collegium musicum which was held there with the sounding of trumpets and timpani.[358]

However, it has gone unnoticed so far that Riemer primarily reports that an 'illumination' took place at the coffee house, which coincided with a Collegium musicum featuring trumpet and timpani ('bey dem daselbst gehaltenen Collegio Musico [sah man]… eine herrlich Illumination'.[359]). In keeping with this order of priorities the anonymous author of the festival booklet from 1734 also mentions the event, and as the displayed decoration was repeated 'with further small additions' on 5 October 1734, the scribe

[357] Ibid., 13.
[358] 'Den 17. huj. ersahe man an den Zimmermannischen Coffée Hause in der Katharinen-Straße an der Ecke des Böttger Gäßgen an dem Hohen Crönungs Tage Sr. Königl. Majestät in Pohlen und Churfürstl. Durchl. zu Sachßen bey dem daselbst gehaltenen Collegio Musico, so unter Trompeten und Paucken Schall gehalten wurde, eine herrlich Illumination.' Salomon Riemer, quoted in: Neumann, '"Collegium Musicum"', 15.
[359] Neumann, 'Neue Ausgabe', 12.

provides the following information about what was seen at Zimmermann's coffee house on 17 January 1734:

> At Zimmermann's coffee house there was a repeat, with further small additions to the illumination that had already been displayed at the same place on the august coronation day of his Royal Majesty on 17 January of this year, and which showed on the first floor in the bay-window: his Royal Highness in life size clothed in the crimson robe, on his head the crown and in the hand holding the sceptre, and above the same one saw inscribed the words: *Heres virtutis patrio diademate cinctus*. [The heir of virtue is adorned by the fatherly crown].[360]

In addition to mentioning a life-size statue of the King that was placed in the first floor bay-window of the house, the description continues to detail four smaller emblems that were displayed in the remaining windows on the same floor. They featured, for example, Fama (the goddess of rumours and news) clutching a locket with a picture of the King, a Royal crest showing a wreath with sceptre and sword, a lion crowned by the corresponding star sign, and in the forth window of the first floor, an emblem displaying the skyline of Krakow underneath two suns.[361]

The contents of the booklet therefore explicitly document that the illumination at Zimmermann's coffee house on 17 January 1734 was themed on events at Krakow. As a musical performance with trumpets and timpani is, likewise, confirmed, there is no reason to assume that Bach would have replaced the performance of the *Coronation Cantata* with a piece of instrumental music, as Neumann claims, owing to fears that the coronation might have run into difficulties. In fact, a performance of a coronation cantata with a corresponding emblematic display is precisely in keeping with (rather than contradicted by) the contents of the *State-Calendar*. As the chronicle reports, the date of the coronation at Krakow was officially declared in December of the previous year.[362]

---

[360] 'In dem Zimmermannischen Coffee-Hause ward die schon am 17. Januar. dieses Jahres, als an dem hohen Crönungs-Tage Ihro Königl. Majestät allhier praesentirte *Illumination* nochmals, jedoch in etwas vermehret, vorgestellet, und da zeigten sich in des ersten Stockwercks ersten Ercker: Se. Königl. Maj. In Lebens-Größe mit dem Purpur-Mantel angethan; auf dem Haupte die Crone, und in der Hand das Scepter habend, und sahe man über derselben die Worte stehen: *Heres virtutis patrio diademate cinctus*.'
Anon., *Das den 5. October 1734 Illuminirte Leipzig* (Leipzig, ca. 1734), 10.
[361] Ibid., 10.
[362] Saxony, *Staats-Calender*, folio K3 ^{verso}, PDF 43.

Secured by a substantial army presence, the Polish King-elect and Saxon Crown-Prince had reached Krakow already on 11 January without encountering military resistance from rival forces. Moreover, political uncertainties primarily concerned future events, such as possible reactions to the coronation by a Polish rival, Stanislaus Lesczinski, who had already laid claim to a competing electoral mandate by the Diet in September 1733.

Indeed, even Neumann admits the possibility of a 'private performance' at Zimmermann's on 17 January 1734.[363] Yet there is no evidence to support Neumann's claim that Bach performed an instrumental piece with trumpets and timpani on this date. Firstly, a performance with instruments that customarily represented divine and royal power in Bach's time would be inconsistent with a small-scale or 'private' event. More importantly still, it is highly implausible that Bach would have replaced the performance of a completed cantata that both related to the principal feature of Zimmermann's festive decorations, and was fully prepared for a performance, including the printing of libretto booklets.

Moreover, re-reading Bach's *Coronation Cantata* as part of a wider illuminated event can yield significant new insights into the cultural importance the cantata would have acquired during a performance at Zimmermann's richly decorated coffee house on 17 January 1734. The installation of an effigy at the centre of the façade is of particular importance in this respect, as it must have provided a formidable theatrical backdrop indeed. It effectively transformed the front window of the house into a royal balcony from which a symbolic monarch seemed to greet his populace (example 23 c)). Transforming architectural façades into such theatrical and emblematic tableaux was a typical custom of eighteenth-century illuminations. As the anonymous author of the illumination report from 1734 explains, for example, buildings were not only decorated with ornamental lights during these celebrations, but also a variety of elaborate emblems:

[363] Neumann, 'Neue Ausgabe', 13.

> As on the most recent 5th [day of] October … the city of Leipzig enjoyed the great fortune in that the highly-esteemed Royal Majesty graced the same with his incalculable presence; such joy was felt as a result amongst not only his ever-obedient burghers and subjects but also foreigners, so that in order to prove their most reverential devotion, in almost every house that is inhabited and has windows, even in the most remote corners, fires of jubilation were lit. …. There was, furthermore, in distinguished houses no lack in painting and emblems, of which there was the following to behold: ….[364]

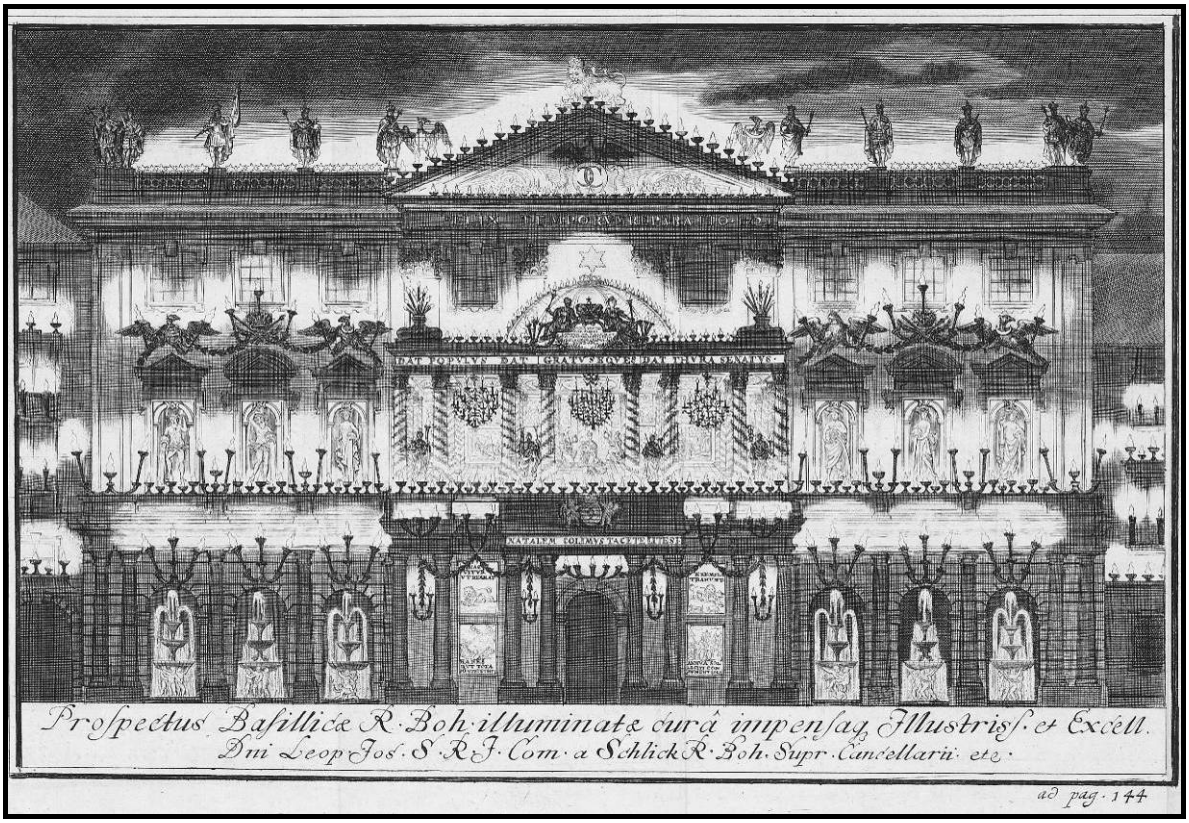
An illustrated example that comes particularly close to Zimmermann's display was included in a book by Carl Gustav Heræus that was entitled *Inscriptiones et symbola varii argumenti* (*Inscriptions and Symbols on Various Subject Matters*) and recorded a variety of emblematic illuminations.[365]

In a section on scenic displays, it features a reproduction of an illumination at a stately residence (described as *Basilica Romana*) that commemorated the birth of a son to the German Emperor Charles VI, Archduke Leopold Johann, on 13 April 1716.[366] Similar to Zimmermann's display, its centre is an effigy that depicts the newborn with his imperial mother (see example 23 b) below). Further in keeping with Zimmermann's illumination, other parts of the building partake in the display, and the blind windows in Heræus's *Basilica* for example show a row of river gods, symbolising the geographical reach of the Holy Roman Empire ('Bohemieæ, Moraviæ, Silesiæque fluvii').[367] As the building was also inscribed with mottoes and Latin captions, it was effectively transformed into a three-dimensional emblem to illuminate the subject of a noble birth, both at a particular location and in the minds of viewers.

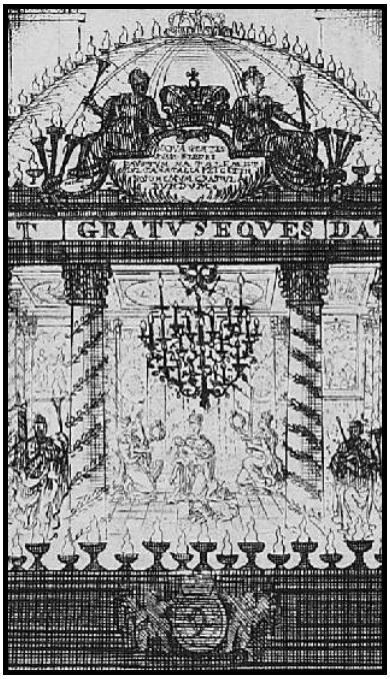
---

[364] 'Nachdem am 5ten October jüngsthin, ... der Stadt Leipzig das besondere Glück angediehe, daß allerhöchgedachte Ihro Kön. Majestät mit ihrer unschätzbaren Gegenwart dieselbe begnadigten; so wurde an gedachtem Orte, nicht allein bey Dero allergehorsamsten Bürgern und Unterthanen, sondern auch denen Fremden, so ihre Wohnung gegenwärtig daselbst haben, durchgehends eine solche Freude darüber verspüret, daß sie, zu Bezeugung ihrer aller-unterthänigsten *Devotion*, fast durchgehends in allen Häusern, welche bewohnet waren und Fenster hatten, auch so gar in denen allerentlegensten Wincklen, Freuden-Feuer anzündeten. .... Es mangelte aber auch ... in unterschiedenen Häusern ... nicht an Mahlerey und Sinnbildern, wovon zu sehen waren.' Anon., *Illuminirtes Leipzig* , 3-4.
[365] Carl Gustav Heraeus, *Inscriptiones et symbola varii argumenti* (Noribergæ, 1721).
[366] Ibid., 142.
[367] Ibid., 142.

Example 23: Eighteenth-century illuminations



a) 'Prospectus Basillicæ R. Boh. Illuminate': Illuminated 'Roman' façade from 1721 with Royal effigies at the centre.[368]



b) Effigy of newborn Archduke Leopold Johann

Copyrighted material

For picture see URL under example 5

c) Zimmermann's coffee house

[368] Ibid., folio 'p. 144'. Reproduced with permission by the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

Moreover, Leipzig had a well-established tradition of cantata performances that incorporated illuminated effigies. Similar to the entry in *Riemers Chronik* about Zimmermann's illumination in 1734, a Leipzig chronicle by Christoph Ernst Sicul noted the following emblematic display in honour of August the Strong in 1727:

> On 3 August 1727 the name day and feast of the order of his Royal Highness [August II] was celebrated here by the commander von Fitzner with an illumination and a firework that was produced by lieutenant Geyer.[369]

The illumination is not only described as a 'life-size statue of Hercules according to its customary attributes; in his right hand he held aloft the symbol of the Order of the White Eagle suspended by a blue ribbon, with his left arm leaning upon his club',[370] but the account also includes a transcribed libretto which documents that the displays formed an integral part of the musical performance. Sicul's report notes, for example, that '[a]t the beginning of the illumination the following text was performed', and annotates the concluding chorus with a cue to indicate when fireworks were being launched: 'Thus fire, take to the skies (e) (Here the fireworks began with rockets)'.[371] The firework display and honorary statue consequently were symbolic *inventiones* that partly functioned as independent artefacts, but fully belonged to the musical narrative at the same time. Illuminated and symbolic features consequently formed central aspects of the *dramma per musica* whilst remaining intelligible also as emblematic devices in their own right.

In keeping with this intertextual conception, the opening chorus, sung by a 'choir of muses', also addresses the statue directly:

> Ode, Choir of the muses.

---

[369] 'Den 3 Aug. 1727 wurde alhier Sr. Königl. Majest. hohes Nahmens- und Ordens-Fest von dem Herrn Obristen von Fitzner mit einer Illumination und einem von dem Herrn *Lieutenant* Geyer verfertigten Feuer Wercke *celebri*ret.' Christoph Ernst Sicul, 'Vierte Abtheilung, Merckwürdige Solennitäten', in: *Annalium Lipsiensium, sectio 31* (Leipzig, 1730), 480.

[370] 'Es stellete aber die Illumination vor, den Hercules in Lebens-Grösse, nach seinem ordentlichen Kennzeichen; In der rechten Hand hielt er ausgestreckt, das an einem blauen Bande hengende Ordens-Zeichen des weissen Adlers, mit dem lincken Arme lag er auf seiner Keule.' Ibid., 480; 482.

[371] 'Bey dem Anfange der *Illumination* wurde folgender Text *musici*ret.' Ibid., 480. 'So steige Feuer, in die Lüffte (e) (Hier wurde der Anfang zum Feuer-Wercke mit Raquetten gemacht.)' Sicul, 'Vierte Abtheilung, Merckwürdige Solennitäten', 482.

> We are overcome by reverential awe/ At this picture of a hero/ Whose name is it that glistens here? / August, for whom we worried/ As his pain also pained us,/ Tis he who stands so enduringly unchanged?[372]

The described 'picture' was therefore not only imagined, but also physically present. As part of a rich counterpoint of allegorical symbols, including the traditional attributes of Hercules, a Latin inscription on the plinth of the statue, the insignia of the Royal Order of the White Eagle, and simultaneous fireworks, music provided a further layer of *inventiones* and signs that partook in a profoundly emblematic event.

An identical dialogue between emblematic display and an array of allegorical voices characterises the libretto of Bach's *Coronation Cantata*. It is indeed richly revealing to re-read its content specifically in view of the emblematic performance-tradition of illuminated performances, such as the anonymous cantata from 1727 recorded in Sicul's *Annalium*. Envisaged as part of a festive event on 17 January 1734 and performed in front of a crowned effigy of August III, the arias and verses articulate a supremely coherent representation of events, as a deeply symbolic declaration of loyalty to the King and re-enactment of the coronation ceremony. The opening chorus, for example, clearly refers to the ongoing power-struggle for the Polish Crown at the time. With voices provided by the allegorical characters of Bravery, Justice, Grace and Wisdom (Pallas Athena), the statue seems to deliver a bold and defiantly bellicose assertion to defend the newly acquired power and responsibilities in the face of ongoing adversity:

> Sound noises, ye foes! Reinforce the power,
> My heroic courage stays unmoved.
> Hurl lightning, thunder and explosions,
> Shatter the walls and burn the woods.
> In your lust for revenge, devastate grounds and fields.
> And fight until horse and rider are slain.[373]

---

[372] 'Bey dem Anfange der *Illumination* wurde folgender Text *musici*ret. ... Ode, Chor der Musen./ Uns kömmt ein Ehrfurcht-voller Schauer,/ Bey diesem Helden-Bildnis an,/ Weß ist der Nahme, der hier schimmert?/ August, um den wir uns bekümmert,/Als uns sein Schmerz so weh gethan,/ Steht in so unverrückter Dauer?' Sicul, 'Vierte Abtheilung, Merckwürdige Solennitäten', 480.

[373] 'Blast Lermen, ihr Feinde! verstärcket die Macht,/ Mein Helden-Muth bleibt unbewegt./ Blitzt, donnert und kracht,/ Zerschmettert die Mauren, verbrennet die Wälder./ Verwüstet aus Rachgier die Aecker und Felder./ Und kämpft bis Roß und Mann erlegt.' Neumann, 'Neue Ausgabe', 7.

Bach's music consequently appears to speak allegorically on behalf of the absent monarch, whose presence is symbolised by a three-dimensional 'picture', including the physical presences of performing singers that deliver his declamation musically.

Indeed, the dramatic stage-presence of allegorical voice-parts in Bach's music can be specified in even greater detail if the *Coronation Cantata* is not only read against the background of the anonymous honorary cantata that celebrated the name day of August the Strong, but is also seen as part of a wider theatrical performance tradition, which was described by Albrecht Schöne as *theatrum emblematicum*.[374] The term describes a distinct type of theatrical representation that integrated the allegorical symbols, signs and mottoes of widely-known emblems into processions, parades and staged performances. Emblematic symbols consequently not only appeared in numerous scripts and librettos as a vocabulary of symbolic images, but also dominated performance-sets and costumes.

As Schöne demonstrates convincingly by contextualising emblematic references in plays by influential seventeenth-century writers, such as Andreas Gryphius (1616 - 1664) and Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein (1635 - 1683), allegorical characters frequently referred to either displayed or imagined emblematic icons on stage and also presented symbolic insignia as part of their roles.[375] Spoken parts, for example in Lohenstein's drama *Ibrahim Bassa*, directly invoke allegorical symbols that were known to contemporary audiences from paintings and emblem books. Most importantly, Schöne argues that literary references to, for instance, Amor's arrow or burning candles, not only indicated topical allusions to passionate love and devotion, but also entailed the use of corresponding stage-objects. Unlike later dramatic scripts, however, authors did not necessarily prescribe the use of such insignia specifically in their texts. They rather implied them by using exclamations, such as 'behold' or 'see', which were then

[374] Albrecht Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (München: Beck, 1964), 214.
[375] '[I]n vielen Fällen gibt der Dramatext selbst zu erkennen, daß am Bühnenspiel auch Emblematische Insignia beteiligt waren.' Ibid., 214.

customarily accompanied in performances with specific gestures, or the presentation of emblematic objects to the audience.[376]

Bach's librettists would have been readily familiar with Lohenstein's dramas, as most of them were guided by similar allegorical and emblematic writing-techniques. Indeed, the anonymous libretto of Bach's Coronation Cantata contains numerous exclamations and gestures that refer specifically to the regalia of the emblematic effigy at Zimmermann's coffee house. According to the anonymous festival booklet of 5 October 1734, the statue showed the King 1) draped in a crimson-coloured cloak, 2) wearing a crown and 3) brandishing a sceptre.[377] All three insignia feature prominently in dramatic recitatives or arias of musical characters, and can be envisaged as theatrical actions or physical gestures with remarkable ease. In her first recitative, Bravery for example exclaims: 'And now I place the crown on the noble head of this most dignified of German heroes'.[378] Justice then apparently comments on the news by exclaiming: 'And How? Has my August/ Since he came to Poland/ Aquired thus crown and sceptre?', before Grace exclaims: 'Come! Let us kiss the scepter'.[379]

Viewed as *theatrum emblematicum*, therefore, the combination of music and illumination at Zimmermann's coffee house resulted in far more than just a performance in honour of Saxony's ruler. It amounted to an emblematic enactment of the coronation ceremony at Krakow on the same day in Leipzig. It is conceivable, therefore, that on 17 January 1734 some of Bach's musicians actually lowered an allegorical coffee-house crown on the head of the displayed effigy at the beginning of the performance, and singers also gestured as if they desired to kiss the regalia of a life-size statue.

---

376 Ibid., 215.
377 Anon., *Illuminirtes Leipzig*, 10.
378 'Jetzt setz ich auch dem Würdigsten der Teutschen Helden /Die Crone auf sein Fürstlich Haupt'. Neumann, 'Neue Ausgabe', 8.
379 'Und wie? Hat mein August,/ Da er nach Pohlen kommen,/ So Kron, als Scepter angenommen? ... Gnade ... Kommt! Laßt uns den Scepter küssen ....' Ibid., 8-9.

Literary sources from Bach's time confirm similar combinations of partly political and partly musical performances. The eighteenth-century writer on etiquette, Julius Bernhard von Rohr, for example, subsumes this performance tradition under the genre of serenatas or 'evening music':

> Composers tend to invent all sort of serenatas, musical pastorellas and sing-ballets, assisted by poetry, music and mathematics, to mark in different ways the august birthdays of noble men, weddings, christenings, honorary ceremonies, coronations and other festivities. Serenatas are certain evening performances, where torch-lights are presented and carried by human and instrumental voices. They either are elementary [*simpler*] or synthetic, [as well as] historical and allegorical. The elementary ones merely consist of music, but the historical ones present a complete legend [*Historie*], which befits the festive occasion. Its characters are dressed in a particular way, and pagan deities and all sorts of machines are used during performances.[380]

Applied to Bach's *Coronation Cantata*, Rohr's account provides further evidence that singers also functioned as characters in illuminated and symbolic 'pictures' that, in turn, were understood as staged emblems. It is likely therefore that they also carried allegorical attributes to identify them in their specific roles as, for example, Pallas Athena, Justice, Bravery and Grace. Since the seventeenth century, authors (including members of the Fruitbearing Society) repeatedly published lexicons and guide-books to assist designers and artists in devising topical displays and their allegorical inventions, and inform interested readers about the symbolic meanings of objects, animals and mythological characters.[381] Rohr's remarks therefore also indicate that dramatic characterisation in Bach's *drammi per musica* relied to a great extent on a diverse and perhaps even rhapsodic layering of signs and symbols. Yet the combination of literary invention, musical invention, and iconological symbols is unlikely to have aimed at a prototypical

---

[380] 'Die Componisten pflegen auf mancherlei verschiedene Weise an Hoch-Fürstlichen Geburths-Tagen, Beylagern, Kindtauffen, Huldigungen, Crönungen und andern Festivitäten allerhand *Serena*den, *musicali*sche Pastorellen und Sing-*Balette*, durch Hülffe der *Poesie*, *Music* und *Mathematic* zu erfinden. Die *Serena*den sind gewisse Abend-Musicken, die bey Fackeln durch Menschen-Stimmen und *Instrumenta* überbracht und vorgestellt werden. Sie sind entweder simpler oder zusammen gesetzt, historisch und allegorisch. Die *simplen* bestehen in der blossen Music, die historischen aber stellen zugleich eine gantze Historie vor, die sich zu einer ieden *Solennenit*ät schickt. Die Personen sind auf eine besondere Weise gekleidet, es werden heydnische Götter und allerhand *Machinen* mit dabey aufgeführt.' Rohr, Schlechte (ed.), *Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der großen Herren*, 785.

[381] Particularly useful reference works include, for example, Benjamin Hederich, *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum* (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditschens seel. Sohn, 1724), and Joachim von Sandrart, *Iconologia deorum, oder Abbildung der Götter, welche von den Alten verehret worden* (Nürnberg, 1680).

Gesamtkunstwerk as a synthetically integrated and object-like artwork. Rather, it presented a tableau of topical signs and symbols, containing a veritable kaleidoscope of associative meanings that speak to the mind as a highly intertextual constellation of different voices.

Recognising this allegorical complexity can provide a specific alternative to traditional readings of Bach's honorary cantatas that have long been dismissed for their 'ephemeral' and 'functional' character. Alfred Dürr, for example, had a decidedly unfavourable view of cantatas that appear to present but a bare minimum of dramatic plot-development and individualised motivic characterisation that is then further varied according to an unfolding action. Indeed, music conforming to Rohr's 'serenata type' is bound to score rather poorly if it is judged according to these parameters, as Dürr clearly attempts in the following paragraph for example:

> Bach's Cöthen congratulatory cantatas chiefly belong to the 'serenata' type. At the time this was understood as a species of mini-opera with modest dramatic action, in which scenic representation was possible but not a *sine qua non*. It mostly consisted of nothing but dialogue between allegorical characters, gods or shepherds, who praise the excellence of the prince and unite at the end in general good wishes.[382]

If one recognises, however, that an important part of dramatic meaning in Bach's honorary cantatas derived from extra-musical elements, including specific events and emblematic symbols, seemingly uneventful dialogues of allegorical characters come to life in rather unexpected ways. Bach's *Coronation Cantata*, for example, appears to derive most of its dramatic tension from the implied presence of the newly-crowned King, who is caught up in the midst of a complex political and military operation in a distant city. Most of its listeners at the time, particularly at an international trade centre such as Leipzig had good reason to fear a possible war, or break-up of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As such, its drama is located perhaps less in an abstract reflection on the subject of royalty *per se*, and more in the allegorical representation of an uncertain reality.

[382] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 21.

Coffee houses provided an ideal environment for this type of allegorical 'realism', especially owing to their close proximity to literary culture and news reporting. Older visitors at Zimmermann's coffee house, for example, may well have recalled Philipp Balthasar Sinold's fictitious libretto for an 'unruly' operetta that had also commented in allegorical form on events that surrounded the election of August the Strong as Polish King in 1697.[383] As has already been noted, Bach's musical production appears to resemble Sinold's earlier allegory in some respects, most notably perhaps in its laudatory manner of glossing over a range of rather more complex issues. But the musical history of Bach's *Coronation Cantata* contains an intriguing twist that may still imply that some of its audience-members may perhaps even have understood the music as a subtle coffee-house criticism of the newly-crowned Saxon Elector.

As is well known, Bach's music for the *Coronation Cantata* has not survived in its original performance parts. However, it can be partly reconstructed based on parts of the libretto that were entered into the score of an earlier piece, which is the cantata *Aeolus Pacified* (*Der zufriedengestellte Aeolus*), BWV 205. Related to its parody, BWV 205a, the circumstances of the composition of *Aeolus Pacified* gain a particular relevance on account of its dedicatee, who was the Leipzig University lecturer Dr August Friedrich Müller. Müller, as has gone unnoticed so far, is listed as 'D. August Friedrich Müller' in Leipzig's address calendar of 1732 as a resident in *Katharinen-Straße* at 'master-builder Oertel's House'.[384] The same address-calendar also lists him as teaching at the University, and describes the business-address of Gottfried Zimmermann's coffee house in identical words, as 'master-builder Oertel's House'.[385] As a result, a remarkable coincidence emerges, as Bach must have known that, when he re-wrote *Aeolus Pacified* to honour August III in January 1734, at least one person on the premises at Leipzig's *Katharinen-*

[383] Sinold von Schuetz, *Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig*, 163-99.
[384] Anon., *Das jetzt lebende und jetzt florirende Leipzig*, 26, 41.
[385] Ibid., 124.

Straße would realise that the musical inventions presented for coronation-day in 1734 were, in fact, not entirely new. As most movements of the music were similar compared to when they were first heard in Müller's honour, the powerful 'Vivat August' that concludes the piece to hail the Polish King with trumpets and timpani in 1734, for example, must have sounded strangely familiar at least to its former dedicatee. Yet, by withholding original invention and returning to old-familiar themes instead, Bach perhaps even created an unwitting analogy to political events in Poland. After all, at least to seasoned *Caffëisten*, they may also have seemed like a varied repeat of familiar strategies.

Emblems of obedience in *Hercules at the Crossroads* (BWV 213)

Similar to Zimmermann's inner-city coffee rooms, his nearby coffee garden could also provide an emblematic performance space. Few of Bach's compositions can illustrate this more clearly than the cantata *Hercules at the Crossroads* (BWV 213). Like the *Coronation Cantata*, the piece also honours an aristocratic dedicatee and is known to have been written specifically in view of its intended performance location. As a local newspaper announced on 4 September 1733,

> [t]he *Bachian* Collegium Musicum will humbly celebrate the august birthday of his Excellency, the Electoral Prince of Saxony tomorrow –as of 5 September– with a formal musical performance (*solenne Musick*) in Zimmermann's garden, in front of the Grimma Gate, from four to six o'clock in the afternoon.[386]

A printed libretto by Christian Friedrich Henrici, moreover, refers to the same date and occasion, and as its words match those in Bach's musical score, there is no difficulty in identifying Zimmermann's coffee garden securely as the original performance venue of the piece.[387] Indeed, references to images of cultivated nature and landscaped grounds abound in Henrici's libretto. It invokes 'blossoming seedlings of virtue', for example, depicts the protagonist in search of guidance by slender twigs, and features an aria that refers to a pastoral 'echo of these parts'. However, by far the greatest part of scholarly literature on the cantata, which I discuss in the following paragraphs, has focussed on a perceived divide between secular and sacred performances of Bach's music. As the opening chorus and several other movements of *Hercules at the Crossroads* were rewritten by Bach for a liturgical performance on New Year's Day (as the fourth part of the *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248, IV), the seeming spiritual divide between two alternative versions tempted Bach-enthusiasts and academics alike to embark on a protracted

386 'Das Bachische Collegium Musicum wird Morgen als den 5. Sept. a.c. im Zimmermannischen Garten vor dem Grimmischen Thore den hohen Geburts-Tag des Durchl. Chur-Prinzen von Sachsen mit einer solennen Musick von Nachmittag 4. bis 6. Uhr unterthänigst celebriren.' *Leipziger Zeitungen* (4. 9. 1733), quoted in Werner Neumann, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1960), 62.
387 Christian Friedrich Henrici, *Picanders Ernst-Schertzhaffte und Satyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig: Friedrich M. Friesen, 1737), 22-6.

debate, comparing the relative merits of Bach's original and adapted version of the music.[388] However, a comprehensive reconstruction of the cultural setting that framed the cantata's first performance at Zimmermann's coffee garden can yield a less polarised perspective. Based on contemporary religious, secular and political iconography, I argue in this second part of the chapter that *Hercules at the Crossroads* articulates a rich emblematic tableau that, like the *Coronation Cantata*, derived much of its historical meaning from the performance setting and socio-political circumstances of Bach's and Henrici's original production. It is useful therefore revisit some of the existing literature on the piece, as this will illuminate parts of the creative genesis of Bach's music, and highlight aspects of its religious symbolism, especially in the aria 'Treues Echo' ('Faithful Echo'), BWV 213/5.

More than any other movement, the aria has dominated scholarly comparisons between *Hercules at the Crossroads* and Bach's fourth part of the *Christmas Oratorio*. Philipp Spitta, for example, famously argued that only an integration of the aria into a liturgical context prevented its echo devices from lowering the musical tone to the level of empty pleasantry. Based on extensive literary research, he related Bach's echo repeats in the music to religious poetry from the seventeenth century. In keeping with this symbolism, he proposed to read the echo dialogue of the lead vocal as representing the voice of Christ, and suggested the movement represented a depiction of Christian prayer. However, as this meaning was specifically associated with a sacred performance-environment, Spitta argued that Bach's redacted echo aria surpassed the original music considerably in artistic depth.[389]

Albert Schweitzer by comparison was more sceptical about the success of Bach's adaptation. Although he shared a predominantly theological outlook with Spitta, his

[388] For a detailed summary of Bach's adapted movements, see Friedrich Smend, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Kirchen-Kantaten. Erläutert von Friedrich Smend* (Berlin: Christlicher Zeitschriftenverlag, 1966), 13.
[389] Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach, his work and influence on the music of Germany, 1685-1750*, 587-88.

critical discussion was guided more by attempts to establish how closely the semantic content of sung verses corresponded to their musical setting. Seen this way, even Spitta's wider contextualisation could do little to convince Schweitzer of the artistic merit of the *Echo Aria* as liturgical music.[390] Unlike his influential predecessor, he felt the aria was unconvincing on account of inappropriate word-painting: as only the secular aria refers explicitly to an acoustic echo in its text, Schweitzer declared that 'even the hearer who does not exactly know how the adaptations have been made will feel that the words and music do not agree. This makes full artistic enjoyment impossible'.[391]

British Bach scholars, by comparison, followed Spitta's reasoning more closely. Towards the end of the 1920s, Charles Sanford Terry even went as far as to question the creative chronology of the two cantatas. In spite of a clearly documented order of first performances, which places *Hercules at the Crossroads* several months ahead of the *Christmas Oratorio*, Terry argued that performance dates did not necessarily reflect relative orders of composition. In a widely-publicised Bach biography from 1928 and a series of three articles, he consequently suggested that Bach had, in fact, completed the *Christmas Oratorio* first, and then borrowed several movements for a 'pre-emptive' performance of adapted material from *Hercules at the Crossroads*.[392] Terry believed to have found a previous example of this proceeding in the *St. Matthew Passion*. According to Terry, it was also completed several months before its first performance, and then adapted for an earlier performance in a secular context. Bach indeed travelled to Cöthen to perform the so-called *Funeral Ode* (BWV 244a) at the burial of his former patron Prince Leopold on 24 March 1729, and some of its music was also adapted from the *St. Matthew Passion* to fit

[390] Albert Schweitzer and Charles Marie Widor, *J. S. Bach*, transl. by Ernest Newman (Leipzig; London: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 282.
[391] Ibid., 282.
[392] Charles Sanford Terry, *Bach: A Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1928), 217; C. Sanford Terry, 'The 'Christmas Oratorio': Original or Borrowed? I', *The Musical Times* (1930), 71/1052 887-889; C. Sanford Terry, 'The 'Christmas Oratorio': Original or Borrowed? II (Continued)', *The Musical Times* (1930), 71/1053, 982-986; C. Sanford Terry, 'The 'Christmas Oratorio': Original or Borrowed? III (Continued)', *The Musical Times* (1930), 71/1054, 1073-76.

the occasion.[393] However, whereas Detlev Gojowy suggested as early as 1965 that Bach may have composed both pieces concomitantly, Joshua Rifkin extended the argument even further, based on a detailed comparison of the libretto of the *Funeral Ode* with the *St Matthew Passion*, and it is now widely accepted that the Passion was not only composed but also first performed in 1727.[394] It follows therefore that there is, in fact, no basis for assuming that the *Christmas Oratorio* predated *Hercules at the Crossroads*, and that the order of known performances is indeed in keeping with the relative chronology of both works.

More recently, Spitta's original research on Christian symbolism has received fresh impulses, for example, in theological readings of the *Christmas Oratorio* by Ludwig Prautzsch and Renate Steiger.[395] Yet an arguably more intriguing, literary contextualisation of the *Echo Aria* was recently proposed by Ernst Koch.[396] Similar to Spitta, Koch also understands the adapted movement as a dialogical metaphor for Christian prayer.[397] He details two distinct Christian adaptations of echo dialogues, the first of which was articulated by the seventeenth-century theologian Johann Conrad Dannhauer. In a Christian catechism from 1659, Dannhauer described God as a 'Master of Sound' (*Schallmeister*), but unlike in Bach's and Picander's arias, allocates the voice of the responding echo to the believer. [398] Secondly, Koch relates the musical dialogue of the

393 Terry, 'The 'Christmas Oratorio': Original or Borrowed? I', 887.
394 Detlev Gojowy, 'Zur Frage der Köthener Trauermusik und der Matthäuspassion', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1965), 51, 86-134. Joshua Rifkin, 'The chronology of Bach's Saint Matthew Passion', *Musical Quarterly* (1975), 61/3, 360-387. Wolff, *Learned Musician*, 295; 299-300.
For a detailed summary of the debate see Alfred Dürr, 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Matthäus-Passion', in: Ulrich Prinz (ed.), *Johann Sebastian Bach: Matthäus-Passion, BWV 244, Vorträge der Sommerakademie J. S. Bach 1985* (Stuttgart; Kassel; London: Internationale Bachakademie; Bärenreiter, 1990), 76-93. For a recent critique of Rifkin's redating see Hans Grüß, 'Eine neue Hypothese zur Entstehung der Matthäus-Passion und weitere quellenkundliche Anmerkungen zu den Trauermusiken BWV 198 und BWV 244a', in: Ulrich Leisinger (ed.), *Bach in Leipzig--Bach und Leipzig: Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2000* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2002), 59-68.
395 Ludwig Prautzsch, 'Die Echo-Arie und andere symbolische und volkstümliche Züge im Weihnachts-Oratorium', *Musik und Kirche* (1968), 38, 221-29. Renate Steiger, 'Die Einheit des Weihnachstoratoriums von J. S. Bach', *Musik und Kirche* (1981), 51, 273-80. Renate Steiger, 'Die Einheit des Weihnachstoratoriums von J. S. Bach', *Musik und Kirche* (1982), 52, 9-15
396. Ernst Koch, 'Tröstendes Echo. Zur theologischen Deutung der Echo-Arie im IV. Teil des Weihnachts-Oratoriums von Johann Sebastian Bach', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1989), 75, 203-12.
397 Koch, 'Tröstendes Echo', 203-12.
398 Johann Conrad Dannhauer, *Catechismus Milch/Oder Erklärung deß Christlichen Catechismi Sibender Theil* (Straßburg, 1659), 270-277; cited in: Koch Koch, 'Tröstendes Echo', 206.

Echo Aria to an earlier series of echo poems by the seventeenth-century author Johann Hecht. Hecht's booklet, which is entitled *Help by Jesus, as Desired by the Pious soul … and Achieved by Virtue of a Celestial Echo*, is based on the assumption that the Lutheran Reformation had fulfilled an ancient prophecy that Christian faith would eventually replace all false oracles (including Roman Catholic ones) with the true voice of Christ.[399] The poems therefore also cast their poetic echo devices as the voice of Jesus, as according to Hecht, 'echo is divine oracle, God's response to the questions … of the troubled believer'.[400]

It is indeed conceivable Hecht's echo poems provided a generic model for Bach's and Picander's *Echo Aria* in the *Christmas Oratorio*. However, Koch ventures one step further still in his concluding paragraph and suggests that the musical parody-procedure itself may have possessed a symbolic significance: just as Hecht describes a historical transformation of false oracles into the voice of Christ, Koch suggests that the order of Bach's parody, which replaced a secular echo with the voice of Christ, may have symbolised an identical succession.[401] To be sure, Koch qualifies this scenario with a scholarly question mark and is careful not to present the analogy as a definite hypothesis. Yet he nevertheless ascribes a symbolic dimension to the musical succession of secular composition and sacred adaptation, which clearly implies that the latter is closer to religious truth than the former. This is problematic, not only as it ascribes cultural value according to relative proximity to a seemingly self-evident, spiritual truth, but is also unsupported by evidence. After all, given the paucity of sources relating to Bach's personal understanding of his role in music history, viewing his creative thought as a symbol of Christian salvation-history entails venturing rather deeply into the domain of esoteric speculation and faith-based teleology.

---

[399] Johann Hecht Johann Hecht, *Der Andächtigen Seelen An Sonn- Fest- und Bußtagen verlangte/ auch durch ein himmlisches ECHO erlangte Jesus-Hülffe* (Leipzig, 1684), cited in: Koch, 'Tröstendes Echo', 207.
[400] Koch, 'Tröstendes Echo', 207.
[401] Ibid., 211.

At the same time it is vital to note that the symbolism of musical and acoustic echoes in Bach's time drew on a diverse cultural background that was only partly based on Christian ideas. As is of course well known, the name of Echo can be traced to Ovid's famous collection of fables and myths *Metamorphoses*, which also includes the story of the beautiful youth Narcissus. According to Ovid, his tragic fate was an all-consuming love of his own reflection on a still plane of water.[402] The nymph Echo, however, was also in love with him and, as Narcissus eventually perished from an all-consuming desire for his own likeness, Echo's feelings remained unrequited. Overwhelmed by her loss, the nymph then turned to stone according to legend, and is said to have been reduced to repeating all words that were uttered in her vicinity.

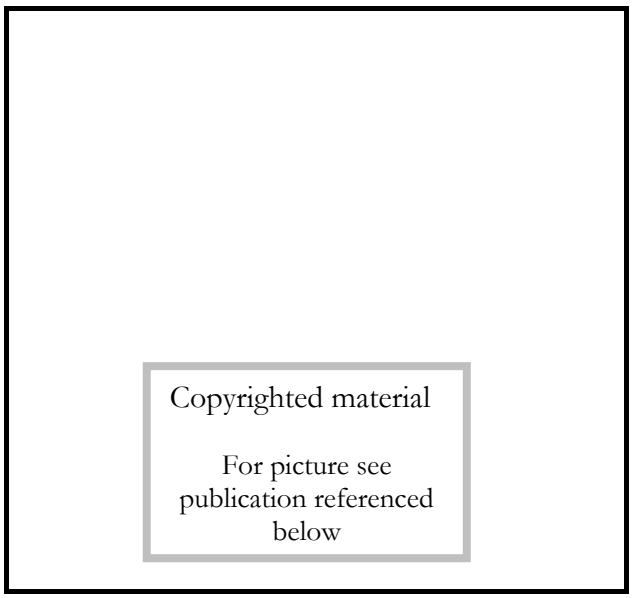
European folklore varies a range of closely-related ideas that recast Echo's voice as the presences of various supernatural characters. The Icelandic word for echo, *dvergmâl*, for example, has etymological roots in Norse vocabulary and its original meaning was 'language of dwarves'.[403] The term is rendered by some authors in Latin as *sermo nanorum*, and the nineteenth-century literary historian Jacob Grimm even linked the expression to a specific mythological source, the Nordic tale *Herrauđssaga*. The legend describes mountain-echoes as a reply by dwarves, or 'little people'.[404]Alternatively, echoes could be ascribed to Elfish voices, and German mythology knows of a legendary 'woodman' (*Holzmann*) who was believed to be shouting from the midst of deep forests, especially in response to children's voices.

Similar to Nordic languages, the modern German word for *Hall* (sound) also has roots in words, such as *gal*, or *hal*, which referred to echoes in Middle German.[405] The

[402] One of the most influential accounts of the story is arguably contained in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. For a modern edition, see for example Ovid and D. E. Hill, *Metamorphoses I-IV*, Classical texts (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1985), 107-11.
[403] Eugen Fehrle, 'Echo', in: Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, *et al.* (eds.), *Handwörterbücher zur deutschen Volkskunde. Abt. 1, Aberglaube* (Berlin; Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1927), 2, 536.
[404] Jacob Grimm and Elard Hugo Meyer, *Deutsche Mythologie* (Berlin: Herrwitz & Gossmann, 1875), 374.
[405] Ibid., 128.

closely related composite *Wiederhall* was used for example by the German author Tobias Nislen to render the word 'echo' in German in a vernacular edition of Athanasius Kircher's *Phonurgia*.[406] Kircher's treatise is of particular significance for the contemporary reception of musical echoes in Bach's time, and outlines a characteristic mixture of mythological and scientific ideas. It is referenced, for example, by the travel writer Johann Keyßler, who recommends it to a friend in a letter from Milan. It remarks on the curious acoustic properties of a nearby rural villa, where an echo could be heard in the courtyard. The frontispiece of the treatise clearly displays both the folkloristic origin and empirical analyses that characterised Kircher's approach.[407] It illustrates Kircher's attempt to account for acoustic reverberation by likening it to the reflection of light. Similar to deflected light-beams in a mirror, a plinth is shown to redirect the sound of a trumpet signal perceived by a reclining figure in the foreground (example 24). However, in addition to the angular line that seeks to account for the phenomenon scientifically, the picture alludes to a further sound-source. Similar to the 'little people', believed to inhabit cavernous mountains according to Nordic tales, a second trumpeter can be seen standing on top of a steep rock. Although the bell of his instrument is clearly directed towards the learned observer, the two figures are merely linked by an implied visual axis. The scene consequently depicts two different levels of reality: whereas the signal from the rider identifies a 'real' sound, the little trumpeter appears to represent a figurative voice, akin to a legendary creature belonging to an elusive realm of myth and legendary tales.

[406] Athanasius Kircher, *A. Kircheri ... Neue Hall- und Thon-Kunst, oder mechanische Gehaim-Verbindung der Kunst und Natur durch Stimme und Hall-Wissenschaft gestifftet. ... In unsere Teutsche Mutter-Sprach übersetzet von Agatho-Carione [i.e. T. Nislen]* (Nördlingen, 1684).
[407] Keyßler and Schütze, *Neueste Reisen*, 1, 292.



Example 24: Angles of reflected sound according to Athanasius Kircher

.

In keeping with such allegorical remnants in scientific thought, Kircher also portrayed his research as an arduous pursuit of a mythical, but also strangely real character. The first section of his book, entitled *Thon-Kunst … den Echo … -Hall belangend* (which translates in full as *The Art of Sound or Science concerning the Echo or Contra and Counter-sound*) details how the ancient nymph not only continued to evade him, but even set out to deliberately tease and vex her invistigator:

> [B]ut whenever I give chase, she escapes me/ if I am in pursuit/ she pursues me; if I speak to her kindly/ she mocks and ridicules me; if I speak strongly and forcefully to her/ she doubles and increases my voice and word/ is also impossible to shake off; and proves to be unwilling to give a full reply; at times she is even rambling/ and uses, instead of one, closer to ten words.[408]

In the end, however, a trap is laid by cold, rational calculation. Kircher proposed numerous geometrical schemes, which determined precise angles at which sound could be reflected. Complex pathways of travelling sound were sketched out, and as Kircher's translated treatise was aimed specifically at acoustic engineers unable to read the Latin

[408] 'Thon-Kunst oder Wissenschafft/ den *Echo* oder Wider- und Gegen-Hall belangend. ... [A]ber in dem ich ihr nachjage; fliehet sie mich/ fliehe ich/ so verfolget sie mich; rede ich sie lieblich an/ voppet und verlachet sie mich; rede ich starck und um Kräfften mit ihr/ so verdoppelt und vermehret sie meine Stimme und Wort/ last sich auch nicht abtreiben; und stellet sich als unwillig völlige Antwort zu geben; manchmal ist ist sie gar wasch-hafftig/ und giebet für ein Wort wohl zehen.' Kircher, *Neue Hall- und Thon-Kunst*, 1.

original, its various designs formed the blueprint for countless quasi-magical indoor constructions by eighteenth-century engineers, as for example whispering galleries that carried softly spoken words across the carefully calculated arches of vaulted ceilings.[409]

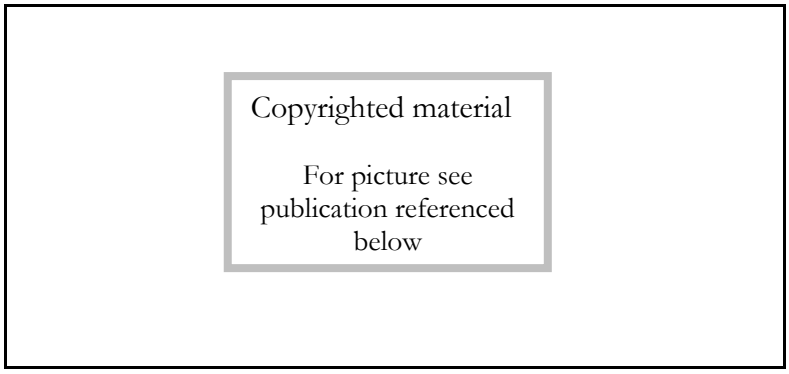
In addition, it provided a dependable basis for a range of echo devices that formed a central feature of garden culture in Bach's time. Their effect of capturing phenomena that seemed curiously unreal exerted a particular fascination on wealthy patrons. They were quick to develop an often highly competitive passion for furnishing their grounds with, for example, mysterious echo-grottoes that were not only said to house the voice of Ovid's lovelorn nymph, but also included more expansive designs, such as echo lakes with artificial islands for musical performances.[410] Even the Pope equipped the grounds of one of his residences on Monte Cavallo (also known as Mons Quirinalis) with a seemingly magical acoustic device that not only produced musical sounds, but also mimicked birdsong and various instruments, as the travel writer John Northall noted with palpable amazement in the following:

> [A] laurel grove leads … into the lower garden, where are very curious waterworks, one of which plays an organ, another imitates the notes of a cuckoo, and some the sound of trumpets and kettle-drums.[411]

And whilst it is unlikely that any of Leipzig's gardens possessed acoustic devices of comparable complexity, the papal garden on Mons Quirinalis nevertheless shared an important feature with the original performance setting of the *Echo Aria*. As Northall further reports, the Pope had also recently added a coffee house to his garden:

> The Pope has lately built two most elegant apartments, … and has furnished them after the English taste, … his holiness has given it the name of "The Coffee-house".[412]

[409] 'Herrn P. Kircheris Vorrede an den Leser' in: Ibid., (w/o pag.).
[410] Walter Salmen, *Gartenmusik: Musik, Tanz, Konversation im Freien* (Hildesheim; New York: Olms, 2006), 116-17.
[411] John Northall, *Travels through Italy* (London, 1766), 161.
[412] Ibid., 161.



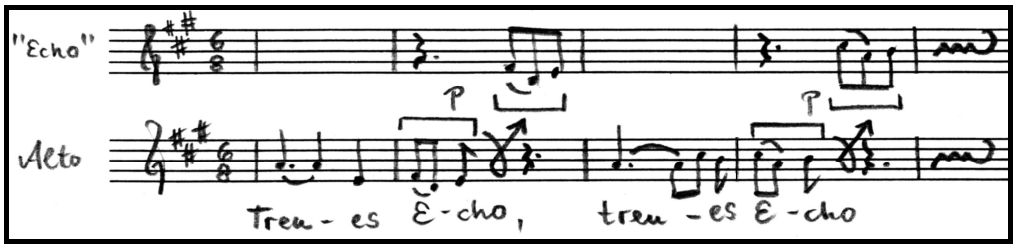
Example 25: G. Angeloni, 'Caffé-Haus' on the papal grounds at Mons Quirinalis (1741)[413]

To be sure, the construction of the pavilion postdates the first performance of Bach's *Echo Aria* in 1733 by several years. But as Northall's report also indicates, it reflected an already well-established fashion that recognised coffee houses as central features of landscaped gardens with often supremely sophisticated acoustic properties.[414] Well-read members of Bach's audiences in Leipzig would therefore readily have recognised echo effects as customary parts of cultured garden-environments and associated them with a corresponding mixture of myth and technological ingenuity.

Given this broader background, it is particularly revealing that Bach's and Henrici's *Echo Aria* invokes a 'faithful echo of these parts' when Hercules enters (*Treues Echo dieser Orten*), although the libretto omits to specify which dramatic location 'these' parts actually represent (example 26). As the piece was specifically written for an outdoor performance by Bach's Collegium musicum, it is likely therefore that Hercules refers to the partly magical and partly engineered surroundings of eighteenth-century garden culture. Similarly significant is the moral quality that is ascribed to acoustic echoes as a 'faithful' phenomenon. The characterisation clearly relates to the firmly established association of echo-phenomena with divine voices, and its emblematic dimension can be usefully illustrated by the contents of an edifying book of 1726, entitled *Emblematischer Zeit-Vertreiber* (*Emblematic Pastime Pursuit*). One of its entries, which all consist of a

[413] 'Fig. 9', Olivier Michel, *Vivre et peindre à Rome au XVIIIe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996), XXIV.
[414] David R. Coffin, *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 192.

combination of biblical verses, free prose and emblems, is entitled 'Obedience'. It begins with the following explanation: 'True Christians are like echo that does not tarry, but as soon as it receives the voice, promptly responds with a counter-reply'.[415] A similar entry on 'echo' in the same book provides a further example in the Latin motto *Et respondere paratus*. It is translated as follows: 'The moment that the voice is sounded [*erschallt*], one hears the reply'.[416] Bach's musical voice of Hercules, whose echo mirrors his vocal line, consequently also invokes this symbolic tradition. As a musical *pictura*, contemporary audiences are more than likely to have associated the depicted scene to the moral topics of faithfulness and obedience.



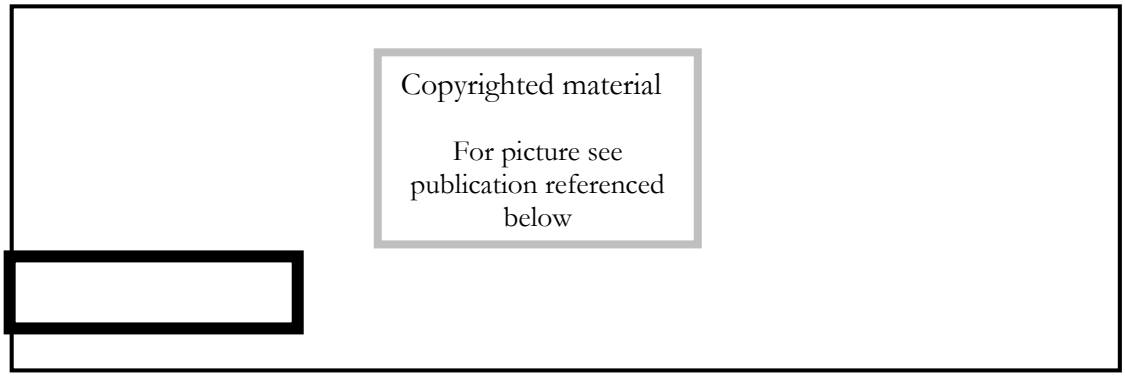
Example 26: J. S. Bach; instrumental echo motive (BWV 213/5)

In addition, echoes possessed a clear significance as emblems of political obedience. Once more, a useful example can be found in the anonymous cantata that was performed at Leipzig in honour of August the Strong in 1727 (discussed in the first part of this chapter). As part of the cantata's final *Vivat*, the 'Choir of Muses' collectively exclaim, 'Long live August without fail' and, as the chronicler adds, 'at this point a salute was fired'. The singers then call out, 'Respond, o valley, woods and ravine'.[417] The vocal imperative clearly refers to an emblematic echo reply, as all of the mentioned geographical regions were known locations of natural echoes. Addressed to an audience that was partaking in an illumination in honour of the King, moreover, the expected call

[415] 'Wahre Christen sind gleich dem Echo, welches nicht zaudert, sondern sobald es die Stimme empfängt, gleich die Gegen-Antwort hören lässet.' Caspar Christian Gubitz, *Emblematischer Zeit-Vertreiber* (Schleusingen, 1726), 42.
[416] 'III[,] Das Echo[,] Wenn nur die die Stimm erschallt, Hört man die Antwort bald.' Ibid, 42.
[417] 'Es lebe Augustus lebe sonder Fall! (f) (Hier wurde eine Salve gegeben) Antwortet drauf Thal, Wald und Klüffte. Sicul, 'Vierte Abtheilung, Merckwürdige Solennitäten', 483.

for an echo response referred less to a geographical landscape, however, and more to a political imperative. Drawing on a religiously underpinned notion of personal allegiance, the 1727 outdoor performance was firmly steeped in emblematic enactments of political faithfulness and civil obedience.

Bach's and Henrici's *Echo Aria* in *Hercules at the Crossroads* is based on a closely related symbolism. However, instead of encouraging a political populace to declare their loyalty to the monarch in an illuminated *Vivat*, it depicts obedience to virtue as a moral quality of its dedicatee, Prince Friedrich Christian (1722 - 1763). The allegorical dimension arises mainly from Henrici's choice of topic for the libretto and Bach's historical performance of the cantata in 1733 with the Collegium musicum. Although it has long been known that 5 September 1733 was the birthday of Saxony's Crown Prince, it has been overlooked so far that Saxony's *State-Calendar* lists this day, which fell on a Saturday in 1733, as a holiday (*Galla*), which was dedicated to Hercules (example 27).[418]



Example 27: Feast days and holidays on 5 Sept. 1733

Taken by itself, this would already imply an allegorical relationship between the role of Hercules in the cantata and Prince Friedrich Christian. But the libretto even identifies the scenes and movements of the cantata explicitly as an emblematic picture of the fate and qualities of its dedicatee. Shortly before the conclusion of the piece, the messenger of the gods, Mercury, makes a brief appearance to declare the following:

[418] Saxony, *Staats-Calender*, folio C2 [verso], 9; PDF 13.

> See, you gods, this is a picture [*Bild*]
> Of the Saxon Crown Prince Frederick's Youth!
> ….
> So many steps, so much virtue!
> See how the land is filled with joy.[419]

As the explanation confirms, Hercules's faithfulness to virtue was presented less as a succession of dramatic events, therefore, and more as a staged emblem representing the virtuous character of Saxony's future ruler.

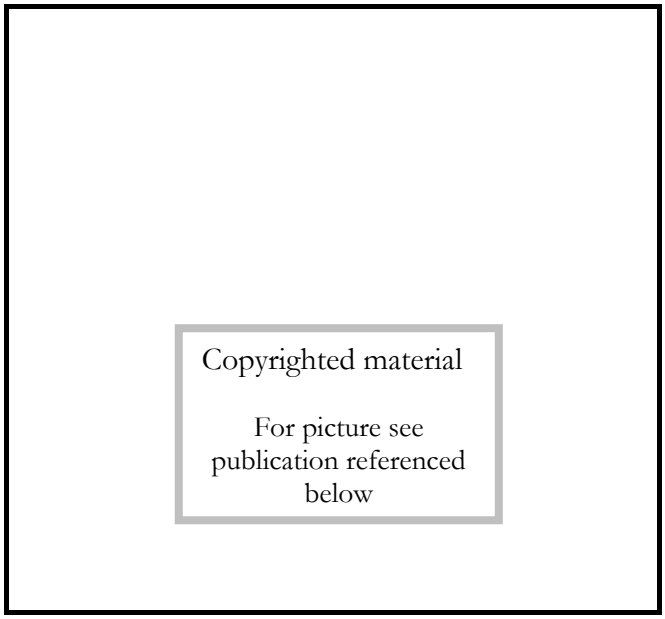
In view of the specific dramatic techniques associated with staged emblems in Bach's time, Mercury's explanatory recitative acquires a far-reaching significance. It, for example, identifies Mercury as an 'emblematic speaker', who provided an equivalent in emblematic plays to explanatory poems and mottoes in printed emblem books.[420] Moreover, it can reveal the *Echo Aria* as a highly context-specific addition to a performance that, as a representation of the moral strength of Saxony's Crown Prince, was otherwise structured almost exclusively by a succession of emblematic images centred on iconographic images related to the figure of Hercules. Indeed, most of Henrici's movements (with the notable exception of the *Echo Aria*) rely heavily on images and pictures that were drawn, for example, from an illuminated book by Johann Comenius, popularly known as *Orbis Pictus*.[421]

In Bach's time, the iconography of the *Orbis Pictus* was still widely known owing to the traditional importance of the publication as a pedagogical text book.[422] Moreover, a double-page devoted to the topic of *Ethica*, or *Sittenlehre*, features an emblematic woodcut of Hercules (example 28). Its caption is directly relevant to Hercules's first recitative in BWV 213, and clearly invokes an identical image. Comenius explained his emblem on *Ethica* as follows:

---

[419] Translation adapted from Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 823.
[420] For the role of emblematic speakers in German street theatre between 1400 - 1700, see Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama*, 211-12.
[421] Ayers Bagley, *et al.*, *The Telling Image: Explorations in the Emblem* (New York: AMS Press, 1996), 70.
[422] Ayers Bagley, 'Hercules in Emblem Books and Schools' in: ibid., 69-72.

> Throughout this life, we are constantly at the crossroads, similar to the Y of Pythagoras, the left branch of which is wide, the right is narrow. The former belongs to Vice, the latter to Virtue .... Imitate the model of Hercules, abandon [the path] to the left, hate Vice.[423]



Example 28: Johann Amos Comenius 'CIX., Ethica/ Die Sittenlehre' (Noribergæ, 1740)

Picander's libretto by comparison paraphrases the *pictura* of the Pythagorean Y as a tree with 'slender branches':

> And where? Where is the right path
> … ?
> You slender branches, could you not
> Offer counsel or means?[424]

Once more, the emblematic image is addressed directly by an allegorical character ('You slender branches'), which is likely to indicate that Bach's singer in the role of Hercules also pointed to an emblem, or an allegorical *insignium* at this point, quite possibly an actual tree in Zimmermann's coffee garden.

[423] 'Dieses Leben ist ein Scheideweg/ gleich Pythagoras Y; dem Buchstaben des Py, dessen linker Fußsteig breit, der rechte äng ist. Jener ist des Lasters/ dieser der Tugend. ... Ahme nach dem Hercules/ Verlaß den zur Linken/ hasse das Laster.' Johann Amos Comenius, *Orbis sensualium pictus* (Osnabrück: O. Zeller, 1964), 222.
[424] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 821.



Example 29: Aegidius Albertinus 'In Bivium Herculis'.[425]

What is more, Comenius' 'Y of Pythagoras' was routinely depicted as a tree, as can be seen, for example, in an engraving by Aegidius Albertinus from the mid-seventeenth century (example 29). Albertinus's emblem can provide an astonishingly precise visual map for the succession of movements in the cantata. This even includes Hercules's dialogue with echo, even though the emblem contains no direct pictorial reference to its symbolism. It is worth, therefore, to explore the symbolic relationship between Albertinus's emblem and the individual movements in *Hercules at the Crossroad* in greater detail. Before echo makes her presence felt in the fifth movement of the cantata, Bach's and Henrici's Hercules is first engaged in a musical dialogue by the character of Pleasure. This is soon followed by the entry of her dramatic opponent, Virtue, in a

[425] Ægidius Albertinus, *Emblemata Hieropolitica* (Munich: Coloniæ, 1647), 68. Reproduced with permission by The British Library.

shared recitative (movement 4). (For a schematic overview of movements, see table 5 below). Both characters also are the principal protagonists in Albertinus's emblem. As is easily recognised, the 'slender branch' of the central tree frames the figure of a young woman on the left-hand side, and consequently identifies her as Virtue. In keeping with her traditional association with ardour and sacrifice, she is also positioned in the middle of a circle of thorns. Yet her posture, furthermore, suggests that she is addressing a figure on the opposite side that, in view of the attributes of petals and leaves and her proximity to the 'broad' side of the Y-shaped tree trunk, is readily identified as Vice, or Pleasure.
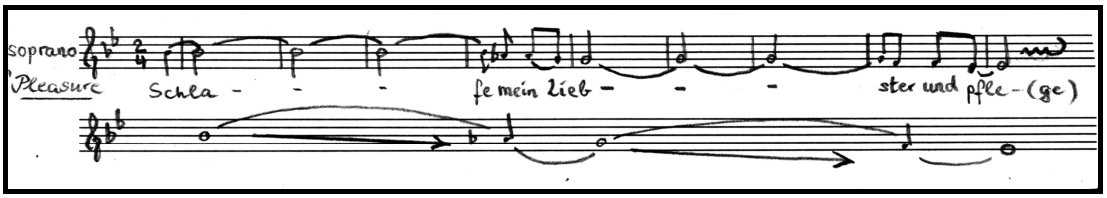
The figure of Hercules, by comparison, is seen to be reclining below both figures with closed eyes, seemingly contemplating their presences and respective arguments. Henrici's order of movements is remarkably consistent with this pictorial composition. On entering the stage, Pleasure for example addresses Hercules with an aria entitled 'Schlafe, mein Liebster, und pflege der Ruh' ('Sleep, my dearest, and take your ease'), BWV 213/3. This clearly evokes an identical image, whilst also referring to a figurative slumber of virtue, perhaps, or the vice of sloth (*Müßiggang*). Further in keeping with emblematic topics, Hercules is then addressed by Virtue in movement 4, which completes both the group of characters in the cantata, and sets up a debating scenario similar to that in Albertinus's emblem.

As the art-historian Erwin Panofsky has established, the idea that Hercules contemplates a debate between Pleasure and Virtue can be traced to ancient mythology and accounts of the Hercules story by the author Xenophon. Like Albertinus's emblem, Xenophon transfers the all-important 'Choice of Hercules' from a physical crossroads to an internal space of psychological dialogue:

> [According to Xenophon] Hercules … has sought refuge, troubled by doubts … at a solitary location where he sits and thinks …. Here, two 'big' ..., women appear. One is

> well dressed, of noble built, robed in white .... The other by comparison ... voluptuous and soft. In two orations and counter-orations they seek to win the youth over.[426]

Bach's setting of the invitation by Pleasure for Hercules to 'sleep' refers to an identical scenario. Indeed, the music dramatises her entry exactly in keeping with the beginning of a dream sequence, introduced by an expansive hypnotic gesture (example 30). On entering, the soprano voice of Pleasure intones a prolonged pedal-point that not only invokes the stillness of sleep (or even death perhaps), but also gradually descends downwards (by a fifth) in incremental scale-steps, which further heightens the symbolism.



Example 30: 'Schlafe, mein Liebster', "hypnotic" pitch descent (BWV 213/3)

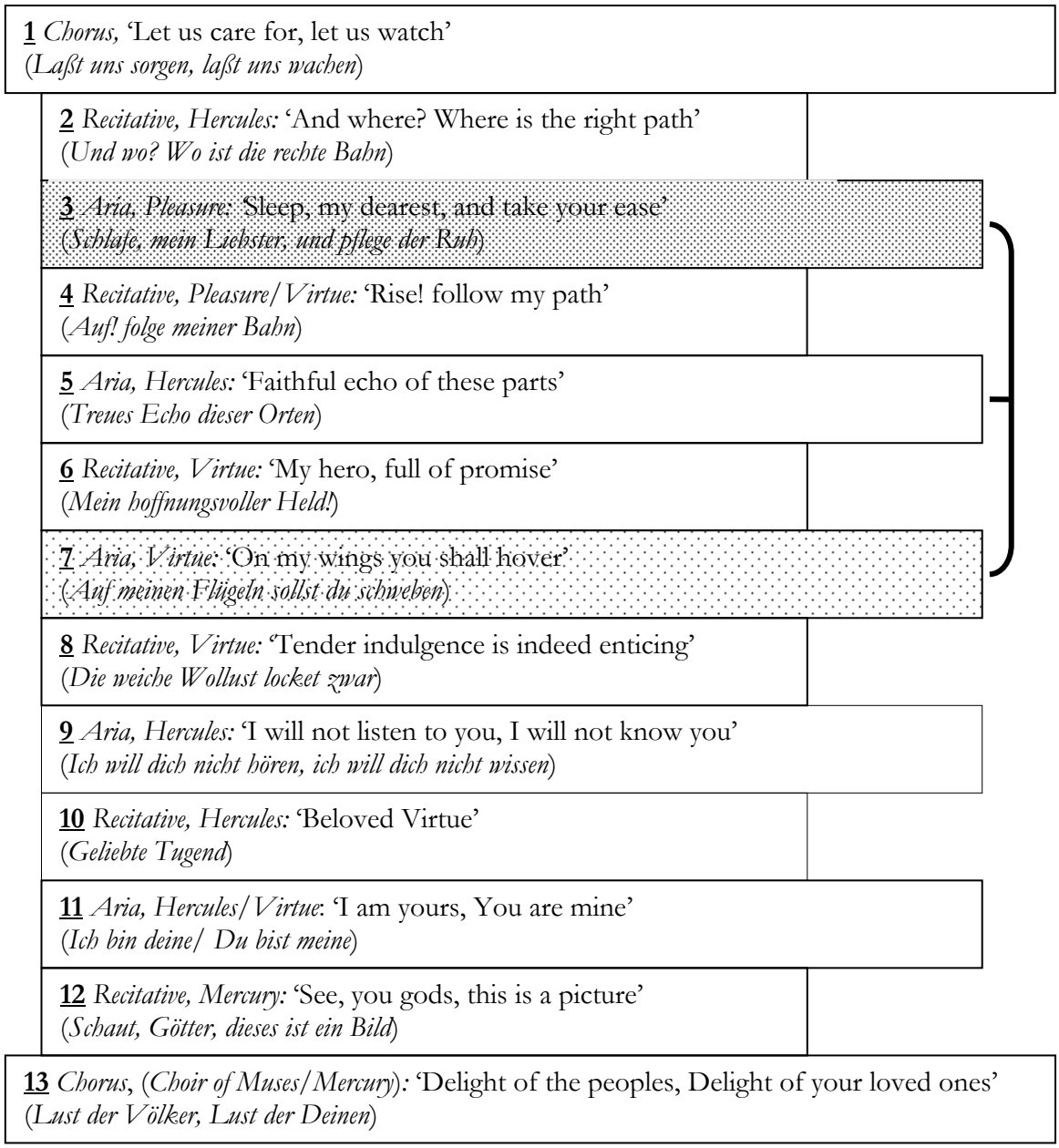
It is tempting, therefore, to liken the musical entrance of Pleasure to an imagined viewing of Albertinus' emblem. Similar to the wandering eye movements of a spectator that first rest on the uneven branches of the depicted tree perhaps, attention now appears to shift to Hercules's resting pose and dream-like vision in the background.

The *Echo Aria* introduces an unfamiliar element to this narrative, but remains firmly consistent with the emblematic gestures implied by the libretto. Virtue, for example, bids Hercules to 'Rise' (movement 4) which suggests a change of dramatic image, whilst developing the symbolic narrative further. Moreover, the *Echo Aria* is also compatible with Xenophon's account of the Hercules story, according to which Hercules retreated to a solitary place to contemplate a prophetic vision. The dramatisation of the scene at an echo spot is therefore in close keeping with the topic of contemplative seclusion, and perhaps even suggests a structural palindrome.

---

[426] Erwin Panofsky, *Hercules am Scheidewege: und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig; Berlin: Teubner, 1930), 42-3.

Table 5: Overview of movements in 'Hercules at the Crossroads' (BWV 213)[427]



Placed 'between' Pleasure's and Virtue's principal arias (movements 3 and 7, with the *Echo Aria* at a symmetrical centre as movement 5) its structural position seems to share certain aspects with the pictorial function of Albertinus's tree trunk in the emblem, which also delineates the respective domains of Pleasure and Virtue in Hercules's mind.

[427] Translations adapted from Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 820-22.

But the *Echo Aria* also returns Bach's and Henrici's 'secular' Hercules to the domain of Christian allegory. Similar to the circle of thorns in the emblem that allude to crucifiction scenes and depictions of Jesus on the cross (example 29), the location of the garden-echo, likewise, seems reminiscent of Christ's prayers in the garden of Gethsemane. Like the temporary retreat of Jesus into a secluded space on the eve of Good Friday, the *Echo Aria* precedes Hercules's choice to follow Virtue (which ensues in movements 10 – 11 by likening both characters to a wedded couple: 'I am Yours, You are mine'). Seen this way, the *Echo Aria* gains renewed significance as part of a numinous prophecy. But, as a movement within an honorary cantata celebrating Prince Christian Friedrich, it also functions as a representation of his perceived personal and political virtue. It is indeed vital to recognise this regal dimension, as it firmly integrates the spiritual symbolism of the *Echo Aria* into the political context of an emblematic drama that seeks to celebrate a future ruler by praising his strength of character.

As a result, the religious symbolism of the *Echo Aria* remains, perhaps surprisingly, equally as powerful in the 'secular' original as in its later, liturgical adaptation. Yet rather than signifying the act of prayer to a Christian congregation in an abstract or explanatory sense, the echo voice in *Hercules at the Crossroads* serves to illustrate the personal faith of a future ruler. As such, Hercules's dialogue with echo is also consistent with the aim of edifying its civic spectators. Instead of suggesting the unsettling prospect of a stately ruler following the path of temptation, the *dramma per musica* rather depicts the unfailing commitment by a designated head of state to implement God's will and fulfil his destiny according to divine providence.

Indeed, a distinctly prophetic component already characterises Hercules's first gesture, in which he asks a tree, presumably shaped in the form of a Pythagorean Y, for guidance. In keeping with Hercules's later responsiveness to divine counsel in the *Echo Aria*, he is depicted as actively seeking the path of virtue immediately from the beginning.

Once more, the political and honorary character of the cantata is decisive. To Bach and Henrici it may well have seemed imperative to minimise any indication of uncertainty in the Crown Prince's moral steadfastness. After all, any depiction of a doubting or severely tempted Hercules could easily have been construed as an insult to the Royal Family. By the same token, the magnitude of praise bestowed upon the dedicatee increases if the depicted events leave audiences in no doubt that Virtue will be chosen and Pleasure renounced.

Reading Bach and Henrici's cantata as a music-dramatic tableau consequently reveals a significant layer of political meaning in *Hercules at the Crossroads*. Nonetheless, its topics and means of representation are rooted just as firmly in Christian iconography, which in many ways are also consistent with Philipp Spitta's reading of echo voices as a spiritual force for good. At the same time, the original *Echo Aria* is less concerned with liturgical practice or depictions of values, such as obedience and steadfastness for members of Christian congregations, but rather presents a series of emblematic images that, in their entirety, signify the moral (and political) character of Prince Friedrich Christian. Seen this way, *Hercules at the Crossroads* even appears to hinge on a paradox, as it employs an emblem that usually signifies virtue as a general concept, to illustrate its manifestation in a historical person (i.e. a specific instance). Yet owing to the political rank of the honoured dedicatee the contradiction is perhaps not as acute, as in Bach's time, members of ruling families were perhaps sufficiently detached from ordinary individuals, to also represent quasi-universal role models. Nonetheless, both as a depiction of a future ruler and instructive *exemplum*, the protagonist of the cantata *Hercules at the Crossroads* is certain to have been viewed by contemporary audiences as part of a deeply emblematic and profoundly edifying *dramma per musica*.

7) Competing Pictures of Virtue in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* (BWV 201)

On 22 July 1713 the English poet and essayist Joseph Addison announced the installation of a remarkable letter box at a London coffee house. As he explained to readers of *The Guardian*, it not only functioned as a practical installation for the submission of articles and letters to the editor, but in keeping with its design in the shape of a lion it was also an emblem of knowledge and action:

> I think my self obliged to acquaint the Publick, that the Lion's Head, of which I advertised them about a Fortnight ago, is now erected at Button's Coffee-house in *Russel street*, *Convent-Garden*, where it opens its Mouth at all Hours for the Reception of such Intelligence as shall be thrown into it. It … was designed … in Imitation of the Antique *Ægyption* Lion…. The Features are strong and well furrow'd. The Whiskers are admired by all that have seen them. It is planted on the Western Side of the Coffee house, holding its Paws under the Chin upon a Box, which contains every thing that he swallows. He is indeed a proper Emblem of *Knowledge* and *Action*, being all Head and Paws.[428]

Addison's letterbox could hardly have been placed within a more appropriate cultural space. Similar to the emblematic lion, eighteenth-century coffee houses were associated with an identical combination of intellectual exploration ('Knowledge') and practice-based learning ('Action'). In London this even included scientific experimentation, where the 'respectable chemist, Dr. Morris' established an "'elaboratory" at Robert's Coffee House in the Great Piazza, Covent' to test a range of crucibles in 1757, as the historian W. H. G. Armytage has established.[429] Coffee houses in Bach's Leipzig were described in closely related terms. As has already been touched upon in chapter 3, the barrister and author Theodor Quistorp (1722 - 1776), for example, described the city's coffee houses as true 'schools of the beautiful sciences' on completing his studies at Leipzig University

[428] John Calhoun Stephens (ed.), *The Guardian* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1982), 387.
[429] W. H. G. Armytage, 'Coffee-houses and Science', *The British Medical Journal* (1960), No. 5193/2, 213.

in 1743.[430] Quistorp used the expression to highlight the opportunities coffee houses provided to practise and study a variety of applied arts. Although Quistorp's principal focus were pursuits he considered to be branches of applied mathematics (such as billiards and card games) poetry, literature and satirical writings were arguably just as significant at the time as coffee-house arts.[431] Indeed, in this chapter I argue that Bach's cantata *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* (BWV 201) provides a compelling focus to illuminate the sphere of Leipzig's coffee-house *literati*. Its mythological characters, for example, articulate a highly context-specific stance in an intense debate on the literary means and limits of moral satire that occupied Leipzig's leading literary minds during the 1720s. What is more, the cantata also emphasises the importance of satirical writings as an aspect of contemporary coffee-house edification that, whilst comprising criticism and mockery, nevertheless aims at lifting the spirits of readers, spectators and listeners alike.

Seen this way, the aims of edifying music and literary satire appear to be fused in a rich tableau that reveals not only a wealth of highly context-specific meanings in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*, but can also deepen existing insights into how the piece positioned Bach's musical practice within the broader context of his cultural surroundings. The richly symbolic means that form the cultural backbone of the *dramma per musica*, for example, no longer enjoyed the unequivocal support of Leipzig's up-and-coming cultural critics and theorists at the beginning of the 1730s. Figurative meanings and emblematic representation were viewed with increasing suspicion, in particular by followers of Leipzig's influential theorist and writer Johann Christoph Gottsched. *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* can therefore also shed new light on the contemporary reception of Bach's personal creative aims and his uniquely enduring means of musical signification. Whereas musical riddles, hidden meanings and creative *Nachsinnen* continued to find widespread acceptance among Bach's contemporaries in the 1730s,

[430] Quistorp, 'Uebungsreden', 518.
[431] Ibid., 10.

they also ran counter to the more literal approach to cultural and dramatic signification advocated by Gottschedian critics.

Phoebus and the art of style-historical polyphony

Traditionally, however, scholars have focussed more on questions of contrasting musical styles in the cantata to account for its historical importance. At the same time the performance context of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* has long featured prominently in scholarly research on the cantata, as Philipp Spitta suggested as early as 1873 that the piece had been premiered in 1731 by Bach's 'music club' (or *Musikverein*).[432] Alfred Dürr strengthened this connection further when he revised the cantata's likely date of composition to either 1728 or 1729 and speculated, moreover, that the *dramma per musica* may have been written specifically for an inaugural concert by Bach after becoming director of the Collegium musicum.[433] Establishing a meaningful link between the cantata's literary content and this earlier timeframe proved difficult, however. Pioneering research by the nineteenth-century scholar Siegfried W. Dehn had linked Henrici's libretto primarily to a dispute between Bach's former pupil, Johann Friedrich Doles, and the rector of a Freiberg Latin school, Johann Gottlieb Biedermann, which postdated the beginning of Bach's Collegium-musicum directorship considerably.[434] In an article, entitled 'Bach as Polemicist', Dehn argued in 1856 that *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* was written specifically as a satirical riposte to Biedermann who had published a pedagogical manifesto (*Rektoratsprogramm*) in 1749. Its recommendations were controversial, as the text ascribed declining standards in student conduct to their participation in musical performances.[435] However, as one of the editors of the first

[432] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2, 473.
[433] Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 912.
[434] Siegfried Wilhelm Dehn, 'Johann Sebastian Bach als Polemiker', *Westermann's illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte* (1856), 'Oktober'.
[435] For a detailed account of the so-called 'Biedermann affair', see Helmut Banning, *Johann Friedrich Doles. Leben und Werke.* (Leipzig, 1939), 25-49.

complete edition of Bach's works, Wilhelm Rust, established not long after Dehn's article, the Biedermann dispute and the first publication of the cantata's libretto were separated by a significant time gap. As Dehn established for the first time in 1862, the original publication of the text could be reliably determined, as it was included in a poetic anthology of 1732 by Bach's librettist, Christian Friedrich Henrici.[436] Most nineteenth-century authors adopted this earlier dating, but the chronological distance it revealed to the controversy surrounding Biedermann's *Rektoratsprogramm* also meant that a new target of the cantata's satirical content had to be found.

The search proved difficult. Carl Bitter, for example, proposed to fill the gap with an unknown event (*Vorgang*). In addition, more protracted historical developments gained an increasing importance, in particular the seemingly related criticisms of Bach's music by Johann Adolph Scheibe:

> Without a doubt, a particular event must have occasioned this work. Perhaps even then, a trend emerged in Music which sought to declaim the melody … in such a shallow way that it engaged the reigning artistic status quo and the polyphonic nature of the Bachian orientation in particular in opposition …. Did not Adolph Scheibe the 'musical *Kritikus*' who has already been mentioned several times later describe Bach's compositions as turgid and confused …?[437]

Bitter's hypothetical precedent for later events marked an influential departure from previous readings of the cantata. Whereas an early respondent to Siegfried Dehn's 1856 article, Ernst Otto Lindner, still recognised that also Scheibe's criticism (published in 1737) postdated the publication of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* as a libretto by five years, Bitter bridged the intervening years by referring to a style-historical trend that, as

[436] Wilhelm Rust, 'Vorwort' in: Johann Sebastian Bach, Wilhelm Rust (ed.), *Joh. Seb. Bach's Kammermusik für Gesang. Erster Band* (Leipzig: Bach-Gesellschaft, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1862), VIII.

[437] 'Ohne Zweifel hat irgend ein bestimmter Vorgang den Anlaß zu diesem Tonwerk gegeben. Vielleicht, daß in der Musik schon damals eine Richtung bemerkbar hervertrat, welche die Melodie als solche in verflachter Weise .... geltend zu machen suchte, daß diese gegen den herrschenden Stand der Kunst und gegen die polyphone Natur der Bachschen Richtung insbesondere in Widerspruch trat.... Bezeichnete nicht A. Scheibe, der mehrfach genannte "musikalische Kritikus" späterhin Bachs Compositionen als schwülstig und verworren ...?' Bitter, *J. S. Bach*, 2, 203.

was widely accepted at the time, would eventually culminate in the demise of a musical era around 1750.[438]

The intellectual background of this historiographical framework was summarised, for example, by Bach's pioneering biographer Carl Ludwig Hilgenfeldt in the following:

> [T]he modern philosophy, emanating from France had, thus far, only made limited progress in Germany. Yet it had been sufficient to undermine the former religiosity and church culture.[439]

The contours of Hilgenfeldt's narrative are clearly recognisable in Bitter's account of what he perceived to be the dramatic essence of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*. Like Hilgenfeldt, Bitter also believed that Bach's religious convictions invested his contrapuntal textures with a unique and specifically faith-based quality.

Bitter's style-historical positioning of the cantata proved influential. Even in the absence of any specific evidence, it effectively turned music-historical style-periods into the 'real' protagonist of the piece. The new consensus was articulated with particular clarity by Philipp Spitta. Like Bitter, Spitta also places textural 'styles' at the centre of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*. What is more, he considered their artistic differences to be of such importance as to even upstage the dramatic characters of the piece. As Spitta argues, Bach deliberately avoided depicting Phoebus and Pan in keeping with dramatic characteristics, such as plucked sonorities to evoke Phoebus-Apollo's iconic lyre, or the sound of flutes to represent Pan. Instead, full attention was given to the stylistic contrast of their competing arias:

> If Bach had merely intended to present Phoebus and Pan as musical contrasts, he would have followed the original legend more closely, according to which the contestants competed on the lyre (lute) and the flute. … The fact that Bach decided against this … implies that he did not primarily aim at portraying Apollo and Pan, but meant to depict

[438] Ernst Otto Lindner, 'Biedermann und Bach', in *Zur Tonkunst. Abhandlungen* (Berlin: I. Guttentag, 1864), 93.
[439] '[D]ie moderne, aus Frankreich herübergedrungene Filosofie [hatte] zwar erst wenig Fortschritte in Deutschland gemacht, aber doch bereits genug, um die früher Religiosität, die ehemalige Kirchlichkeit ... zu unterhöhlen ....', Hilgenfeldt, *Bach's Leben, Wirken und Werke*, 'Vorrede', III.

> the contrast between the artful, strict and serious, and the entertaining, merely pleasing style.[440]

Moreover, Spitta's emphasis on stylistic conviction was not only in keeping with style-historical periods, but also corresponded closely to perceived characteristics of national musical styles. Read in light of writings by Spitta's contemporary Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773 - 1850), for example, evaluating musical styles as 'artful, strict and serious' related Phoebus's music directly to a specifically 'German' quality. In a book-length study of 1834, entitled *Geschichte der …heutigen Musik* (*History of…. Our Present-Day Music*), Kiesewetter had argued, for example, that as Bach's preludes and fugues were 'either worked in strict counterpoint, or in the serious (more learned) style', they also advanced knowledge of 'higher counterpoint' that subsequently enabled German composers to assume the role as historical 'law givers' for musicians from other Western-European nations.[441] Seen this way, *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* now represented something other than a singing contest between two mythological opponents; it had tacitly been turned into a musical defence of the 'serious' and 'higher' counterpoint of so-called German music.

Notwithstanding the irony that Bach's winning 'serious' style was, in fact, on the verge of losing its musical supremacy according to Hilgenfeldt's and Kiesewetter's historiography, Spitta's style-historical reading of the cantata remained firmly at the heart also of modern post-war scholarship. Like Spitta, Alfred Dürr for example evaluated the cantata primarily in terms of Bach's 'deadly serious' style-historical conviction, and events that had yet come to pass in 1729. Writing at the beginning of the 1970s Dürr notes the following, for example:

---

[440] 'Wäre es nur darauf angekommen, Phöbus und Pan als musikalische Gegensätze hinzustellen, so hätte dieses nach Maßgabe der Sage durch Vorträge auf der Leyer (Laute) und der Flöte geschehen müssen .... Daß Bach dieses nicht getan hat, ... lehrt[,] daß es ihm in der Hauptsache nicht sowohl auf eine Charakterisierung Apollos und Pans ankam, als nur auf den Gegensatz zwischen dem kunstvollen, gebundenen, ernsten und dem leichten, blos gefälligen Stil.' Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 2, 475-76.
[441] Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, *Geschichte der europaeisch-abendlaendischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel, 1846), 90-1.

> [I]t is true to say that attacks of the kind ridiculed here were indeed made against Bach. In the *Criticus musicus* [sic] of 1737, for example, Johann Adolph Scheibe writes of him: 'This great man would be the admiration of whole nations if he …. did not deprive his pieces of naturalness … and obscure their beauty through too much art.' On a broader front, people were shaken by an attack on music and musicians in 1749.[442]
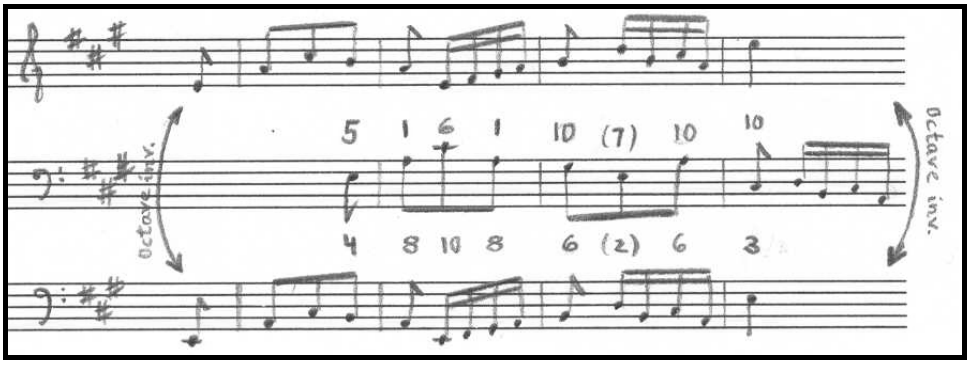
Even sceptical listeners in Bach's time, however, had few reasons to object to an excess of contrapuntal artifice in the music of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*. Whilst Phoebus's contest aria 'Mit Verlangen' ('With longing', BWV 201/5), for example, clearly adopts a high stylistic register, its tone of voice adequately reflects the qualities of the character who was, after all, known as Apollo the sun god, and widely regarded as a patron of the arts and ancient knowledge. Moreover, the musical texture of his aria is neither programmatically complex in its voice-leading, nor features exceptional contrapuntal devices, such as strict canonic imitation, intervallic mirroring, and complex diminution schemes. Instead, Phoebus presents a *da capo* aria that, as the German musicologist Gerd Rienäcker recently observed, even resembles its competing counterpart by Pan, amongst other features, in its periodic phrasing and ritornello formations:

> Phoebus and Pan … by no means oppose each other by adopting either the *stile antico* and *stile moderno*, …: The *stilo moderno* is applied throughout, with an emphasis on a soloistic upper voice (*Oberstimmenzentrierung*) in Phoebus and Pan's cases with periodic four-bar phrases (*periodische Quadratur*).[443]

Moreover, from a textural vantage point it is even the opening of Pan's aria, 'Zu Tanze zu Sprunge' ('For dancing, for leaping'), BWV 201/7, that is more fugue-like in character. As the bass line closely follows the intervallic and rhythmic design of the treble voice, also Pan's invitation to dance and merriment is underpinned by imitative voice-leading that, contrapuntally speaking, would even invert flawlessly at the octave (example 31).

---

[442] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 912.
[443] Gerd Rienäcker, 'Nachdenken über sinnvolles Musizieren? - Marginalien zu J. S. Bachs "Der Streit zwischen Phoebus und Pan"', in Martin Geck and Klaus Hofmann (eds.), *Bach und die Stile: Bericht über das 2. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1998* (Dortmund: Klangfarben, 1999), 163.



Example 31: Contrapuntal properties of opening ritornello in Pan's aria (BWV 201/7)

It is unlikely therefore that Bach intended to present a historical contrast between, for example, canonic writing-techniques and fundamental-bass harmonisations. Indeed, Phoebus neither engages his musical opponent with a fugal aria, nor is Pan's textural range restricted to a satirical tune, harmonised perhaps with a mockingly sparse texture.

However, in contrast to this absence of recognisable style-historical qualities, both the opening chorus and Phoebus's winning aria contain clear references to the humoral impact of edifying music. Once more, echo-repeats and melancholic affects illustrate its characteristic purpose to lift spirits and console the minds of listeners. Unlike Echo's association with divine prophecy in *Hercules at the Crossroads*, however, her musical appearance in the opening chorus, 'Geschwinde, Ihr wirbelnden Winde' ('Quick, you whirling winds') serves to illustrate the potential power of this effect. Similar to Hunold's comparison of balanced humours with clear skies in the cantata *On Music in a Collegio Musico* (as discussed in chapter 5), Henrici establishes a closely related symbolism in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*. The collective of singers, for example, calls on the winds to retreat into 'their' cave ('Into your cave together, all at once!'), presumably in response to an implied call by Aeolus, who according to Greek mythology was said to guard the four winds of the ancient world in a cave near the Aegean Sea.[444]

[444] 'Auf einmal, zusammen zur Höhle hinein'. Translation adapted from Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 908.

As an allegorical figure, moreover, Aeolus had a specific humoral significance. As a lexicon of 1724 entitled *Thorough Lexicon Mythologicum* explains, he also symbolised the affective state of a balanced temperament:

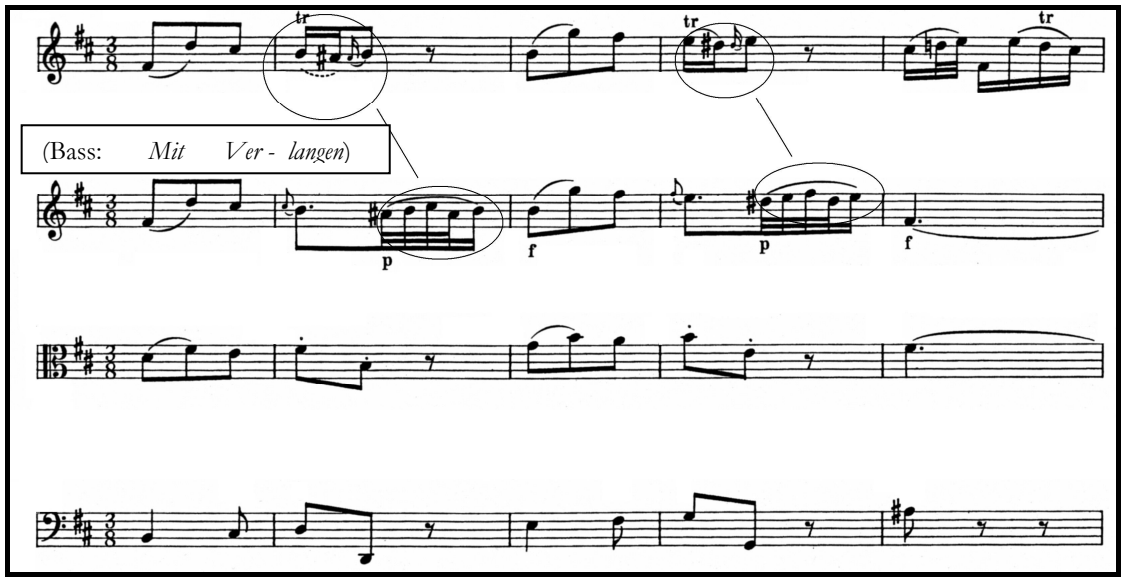
> He was god of the winds a) when he locked them up in a big cave in Thrace, and from whence he unleashed either one or more of them when he deemed it necessary…. …. Others see him as a wise man that moderates his affects and knows how to control his rage in particular, to communicate it in such a way as to conceal it, and finally master it, especially by holding it back, to prevent it from becoming too strong.[445]

The opening chorus in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* is clearly imbued with both dimensions of this imagery. In keeping with Aeolus's mythological power, the singers for example call on turbulent winds to retreat into a space that contains them ('Quick,/ You whirling winds,/ Into your lair together all at once!'). In addition, this is not only necessary to ensure quiet surroundings for musical performances ('So that the to-and-fro sound/ May be pleasing ….'), but also to render the edifying call and response of musical voices uplifting even to the most melancholic of mournful minds, which is illustrated by a reference to Ovid's inconsolable nymph: 'So that [they]/ May be pleasing even to Echo'.[446]

Phoebus's aria is similarly imbued with images relating to allegorical gusts of wind, heartbreak and yearning. Crucially, the longing expressed by Phoebus in his contest aria 'Mit Verlangen' ('With Longing') refers to a young boy of legendary beauty, Hyacinthus, who is said to have been killed by Zephyr, the West Wind from jealousy. As Hederich's *Lexicon* also explains, not only (Phoebus-) Apollo, but also Zephyr, was filled with deep (and homoerotic) longing for his youthful beauty. As a consequence, Hyacinthus is said to have been killed during leisurely exercise with a disc in the presence of Apollo, when Zephyr, as a blast of air, diverted its path to deal a mortal blow to the

[445] 'Er war der Gott der Winde a), als [er] die in einer grossen Höle in *Thraci*en eingesperret hatte, und von der [er] denn und wenn einen oder auch mehrere heraus ließ, nachdem er es für nöthig befand.... Einige verstehen unter ihm einen weisen Mann, der seine *Affecten*, insonderheit aber seinen Zorn, wohl zu *moderi*ren und mithin denselben bald mercken zu lassen, bald wieder zu verheelen, fürnehmlich aber einzuhalten wisse, daß er nicht zu starck werde, und endlich ihn selbst bemeistere.' Hederich, *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum*, 95, 97.
[446] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 908.

head of Hyacinthus.[447] As in the opening chorus, the resulting melancholy is, likewise, represented allegorically as a musical echo response (example 32). Phoebus's aria consequently not only alludes to a tragedy that was caused by a violent temper, but is also integrated into a musical frame that, as the opening chorus explains, seeks to calm raging humours and alleviate mournful sadness. Seen this way, the dramatic significance of Bach's musical texture in the movement results less from a style-historical commitment to strict voice-leading, and more from a complex combination of allegorical images that relate to eighteenth-century notions of edifying music.



Example 32: Structural Voices in 'Mit Verlangen' (BWV 201/5)

Spitta's assertion that Bach's musical goals led him to disregard the mythological characters of the libretto consequently emerges as an intriguing combination of critical insight and historiographical misreading. Whereas the musical diction of Phoebus's winning aria is securely identified as adopting a correspondingly high stylistic register, there is no reason to assume that this particular quality would have struck contemporary listeners as unwarranted. Moreover, it is just as likely that Bach sensed an opportunity to inscribe individual roles with his personal vision for sophisticated musical practice, especially as part of a performance at an eighteenth-century coffee house.

[447] Hederich, *Lexicon*, 1051.

Competing satirists in Bach's Leipzig

The Contest between Phoebus and Pan would indeed have derived a powerful variety of meanings from its historical performance-context at Zimmermann's coffee house. Audiences of Bach's Collegium musicum, however, would not only have associated coffee-house visits with performances of edifying music, but also with opportunies to catch up on the latest developments within Leipzig's literary community. Particularly in the second half of the 1720s this would frequently have involved news on controversies and disputes surrounding Bach's longstanding librettist, Christian Friedrich Henrici. It is significant therefore that Alfred Dürr's dating of the surviving part copies of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*, which suggests a performance around 1729, also associates the cantata with two major events in the sphere of Leipzig's *Caffëisten* at this time. The end of the decade, firstly, brought a preliminary conclusion to a widely-discussed literary feud between Henrici and Johann Christoph Gottsched and, secondly, marked the beginning of Bach's directorship of the Collegium musicum. For contextual readings of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* it is of considerable interest, therefore, that, if one accepts the hypothesis that Bach performed the piece to mark the beginning of musical events under his direction, the timeframe of this historical performance can even be tentatively associated with a specific date in the spring of 1729.

The principal source in this respect is, as has of course long been known, a letter by Bach to his former student Christoph Gottlob Wecker. Yet, if its content and wording is linked specifically to performance-schedules and further calendarial detail, the document can convey considerably more precise information about the beginning of Bach's official involvement with the ensemble (and perhaps also the first performance of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*) than has so far been realised. In order to link the cantata also to literary coffee-house events, it is useful therefore to briefly revisit this important source.

As is well established, Bach wrote the following to Wecker on 20 March 1729:

> The latest is that the Dear God has now provided for the honourable Mr Schott, and granted him a Cantor's office at Gotha; which is why he will wish us farewell in the coming week, as I am willing to take over his Collegium.[448]

In 1729, 20 March fell on a Sunday, which is relevant as Bach describes Schott's imminent departure as an event of the 'coming week' (*kommende Woche*).[449] Unlike modern customs, Sundays were considered the first, rather than the last day of the week in Bach's time, which yields two possible dates in the week beginning on Sunday 27 March, in keeping with the performance-schedule of Schott's Collegium musicum that either convened on Wednesdays or Fridays: Wednesday 30 March and Friday 1 April 1729. As Wednesdays were the customary day for outdoor performances during the summer season, and Fridays occasioned regular meetings in winter, Wednesday 30 March is unlikely to be of particular significance. As the astrological tables of Saxony's *State-Calendar* reliably inform, the date of Bach's letter to Wecker also was the first day of spring, which places Schott's likely departure from Leipzig firmly outside the summer season. This makes it most likely that Bach directed the Collegium musicum for the first time on Friday 1 April 1729 as its new director.

Precisely at the same time, however, Leipzig's coffee houses would have been teeming with *Caffëisten*, eager to learn the latest about a partly legal and partly literary confrontation between Christian Friedrich Henrici and Leipzig's literary critic and leading academic Johann Christoph Gottsched. A performance of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* to mark the beginning of Bach's Collegium-musicum directorship (or around the same time) would consequently have been perceived in the immediate context of a highly acrimonious conflict. Arno Forchert recently proposed to understand the literary feud

[448] 'Das neueste ist, daß der liebe Gott auch nunmehro vor den ehrlichen H. Schotten gesorget, u. Ihme das Gothaische Cantorat bescheret hat; derowegen Er kommende Woche valediciren, da ich sein Collegium zu übernehmen willens.' Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (eds.), *Bach-Dokumente* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1963), 1, 57.
[449] Saxony, *Staats-Calender*, folio A3 ^{verso}, CD 1, PDF. 8.

accordingly, as a 'second' contest in the cantata.[450] Forchert's argument warrants more detailed attention, particularly as the literary animosity between Gottsched and Henrici is still relatively unknown in Bach scholarship. Yet, unlike Forchert's highly personalised reading that understands dramatic characters as coded allegories of specific individuals, Henrici's libretto can also be usefully approached from the broader vantage point of edifying coffee-house satire. As I argue in the following, this not only closely aligns the piece with Bach's musical aims, but is also more in keeping with contemporary literary conventions.

According to Forchert, the character with the greatest contextual significane in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* is Pan's chosen advocate Midas. Based on several keywords in his vocal part, Forchert argues that contemporary audiences would have easily identified him as an allegorical depiction of Gottsched. According to Forchert, contemporary audiences would, for example, have recognised the dramatic cue that introduces Pan's aria as an implied quotation from Gottsched's landmark publication *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst* (*Treatise on a Critical Art of Poetry*). Immediately before Pan's performance, Midas asks the singer to 'lay [his] throat in well-tuned folds', which is contextualised by Forchert as follows:

> Just as he [Gottsched] advises in his *Critische Dichtkunst*, that one should 'lay one's head into proper folds' (*den Kopf in rechte Falten rücken*) before writing, Pan is asked to 'lay his throat into well-tuned folds' (*in wohlgestimmte Falten rücken*) before singing ….[451]

Gottsched's *Dichtkunst* indeed seems to offer a welcome explanation for Henrici's somewhat obscure turn of phrase, which is especially striking to modern ears. For an eighteenth-century audience however, the image of 'proper folds' would have been less unusual and, in fact, familiar from a variety of contexts.

Rather than referring exclusively to, for example, a frowning facial expression as a figurative comparison, the expression would have been widely recognised as a reference

[450] Forchert, *Bach und seine Zeit*, 149-159.
[451] Ibid., 154.

to commonly accepted standards and good practice. As Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* explains, the word *Falte* or *False* could either refer, in a literal sense, to physical creases, but also denote a standardised measure, as in the expression *einz-und ausfalzen*. Taken in the latter sense, it for example described the alignment of folios by book binders according to the mechanical indentation of a central crease.[452] Seen in this wider context, Gottsched's advice that 'the head must be laid into proper folds' to avoid 'ignorance, error and prejudice' seems indeed to refer to this craft-related dimension of the term. However, this also compromises the specifity of the term as a contextual reference, and makes it unlikely that audiences recognised it as unmistakably Gottschedian.

What is more, the publication-history of Gottsched's *Dichtkunst* presents further difficulties for Forchert's reading of Midas's advice to Pan. As literary research by Joachim and Brigitte Birke has safely established, the first printed volume of the treatise went on sale in the autumn of 1729 to coincide with Leipzig's autumn fair at Michaelmas.[453] As Forchert correctly notes, Gottsched presented some of his key ideas on style and poetry before that date, in a 'literary collegium' at Leipzig University in 1728. However, as Forchert argues on the basis of specific verbal cues belonging to Gottsched's printed text, it is particularly revealing to consider how Gottsched himself described the significance of this seminar to the eventual contents of the *Dichtkunst*:

> In the following year meanwhile [1728] it so happened that several good friends approached me with a request to hold a collegium on poetry for them. This was when I took the opportunity to develop a first draft for a Critical Art of Poetry, to integrate my existing thoughts … on poetry into a systematic context.[454]

The passage raises several difficulties for identifying specific phrases from Gottsched's treatise as implied quotations in Henrici's libretto. It implies, for example, that Gottsched

[452] Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 9, 198.
[453] Johann Christoph Gottsched, Joachim Birke and Brigitte Birke (eds.), *Ausgewählte Werke* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968), VI/4, 20.
[454] 'Indessen fand sich das nechste Jahr [1728] eine Anzahl guter Freunde, die mich ersuchten, ihnen ein Poetisches Collegium zu lesen. Hier ergriff ich nun die Gelegenheit, mir den ersten Entwurf zu einer Critischen Dicht-Kunst zu machen, und die bisherigen Gedanken ... von der Poesie, in senen systematischen Zusammenhang zu bringen.' Johann Christoph Gottsched, 'An den Leser' reprinted in: Ibid., VI/2, 399.

lectured on the basis of a finished manuscript that was practically identical with the text of the published book. Moreover, to learn about the most memorable expressions, Henrici would have had to acquire privileged access either to a full transcript of Gottsched's lecture, or a draft version of the forthcoming book. Moreover, even if Henrici had been in possession of this highly specific information, he still could not have been certain which phrases would be included in the printed treatise and, therefore, not been able to decide which passages a musical audience would recognise as typically Gottschedian. After all, even Gottsched speaks of the collegium not as a lecture on the finished book, but as an occasion to develop and clarify his ideas.

Similar difficulties afflict Forchert's second example from Henrici's text which he relates specifically to the *Dichtkunst*. Following the presentation of Phoebus's and Pan's competing arias in the cantata, Midas brazenly declares Pan the winner of the contest, but is forced to defend his position against wide-spread opposition (for a diagram of movements and the musical allegiances of individual characters, see table 6). In his defence, Midas states that Pan's tune had 'struck [his] ear so pleasantly' ('Es fiel mir ja/Also in mein Gehöre').[455] Forchert relates the phrase to the following passage in Gottsched's *Dichtkunst*:

> An orderly Cantata must begin and close with an aria, in order to strike the ear in a good manner at the beginning (*mit einer guten Art ins Gehör fallen*), and also make a strong impression at the end.[456]

However, Gottsched does in fact not address a critical issue on either musical or literary style in this passage. He rather uses the expression 'to strike the ear' to emphasise that opening and closing movements need to stand out with particular clarity in a performance as rhetorical gestures, and should be arias instead of recitatives. It is unlikely, therefore, that either participants of Gottsched's *Collegio Poetico* or even a reader

[455] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 911.
[456] 'Eine Cantate muß sich ordentlicher Weise mit einer Arie anheben und schließen; damit sie theils im Anfange mit einer guten Art ins Gehör falle, theils auch zuletzt noch einen guten Eindruck mache.' Gottsched, *Dichtkunst*, 363. Forchert, *Bach und seine Zeit*, 154.

of the treatise would have identified the passage as being of decisive or iconic significance. Moreover, even Bach's and Henrici's *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* opens and closes with clearly memorable movements that include trumpets and timpani, and consequently 'strike the ear' also in a Gottschedian sense.

On balance, Forchert's attempt to read *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* as a coded re-enactment of a second, literary contest between Gottsched and Henrici is only a partial success, therefore. Yet most difficulties arise from Forchert's likely (but unacknowledged) reliance on literary research dating from the nineteenth century. Like Forchert, the historian Gustav Waniek, for example, mentioned Henrici's libretto in a footnote of a book chapter that details specific events of the literary dispute between Christian Henrici and Johann Christoph Gottsched. According to Waniek, 'hidden references [by Henrici regarding Gottsched] also characterise *Picander's Ernst-schertzhaffte und satyrische Gedichte*, Lpz. 1732, page 503'.[457] As the critical report of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* by Werner Neumann reliably informs, pages 501-06 of Henrici's anthology of 1732 contain the libretto of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*.[458] Unlike Forchert, however, Waniek does not detail specifically how the mentioned text relates either to a literary issue, or historical personalities. Yet, in the context of Waniek's original research, which merely refers to *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* in passing, the identification of a loosely-defined connection is perhaps less problematic, although it would have been of considerable interest to know, of course, what Waniek's remark alluded to.

Forchert's difficulty to close the gap more convincingly illustrates some of the obstacles that arise from this lack of more tangible detail. But his ideas are still remarkably successful in highlighting the general importance of the historical rivalry

[457] 'Versteckte Bezüge sind auch übergegangen in "Picanders Ernst-Scherzhafte und satyrische Gedichte", Lpz. 1732[,] S. 503.' Gustav Waniek, *Gottsched und die deutsche Literatur seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1897), 70.
[458] 'Kritischer Bericht', Neumann, 'Hochzeitskantaten, Weltliche Kantaten', in: Serie I, 40, 134. A facsimile reprint is included on pages 222-25. See also Henrici, *Ernst-Schertzhaffte Gedichte* (1732), 501-06. (Paginations in later editions, such as the reprints from 1737 and 1748 may vary.)

between Gottsched and Henrici. It undoubtedly represents a significant contemporary background for *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*. But to develop an alternative perspective on how literary tensions might be reflected in the cantata, it is perhaps more useful to rethink the *dramma per musica* as a less personalised allegory. It is more likely, for example, that Henrici included references to some of Gottsched's moral writings in the periodical *Die Vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (*The Female Tatlers*) than the *Dichtkunst*. To investigate this possibility more closely, it is necessary to briefly recall some of the key developments in the historical dispute between Gottsched and Henrici in the second half of the 1720s.

As an author of social satire, Henrici was caught up in a particularly intense controversy in the first three to four months of 1729. As recent documentary research by Rüdiger Otto suggests, a complaint to Leipzig's relevant authorities by Johann Christoph Gottsched had led to legal proceedings against Henrici in January, which required him to account for the publication of an anonymous and erotically-charged satire that had been printed without clearance by the local censor.[459] The booklet, entitled *Dialogue in the Realm of the Dead between Contouche und Andrienne*, details the reminiscences of two pieces of female clothing in a wardrobe. It not only describes the moral conduct of their former wearers, but also includes unambiguous accounts of sexual encounters.[460] Local authorities took a dim view of the extent of Henrici's graphic detail at the time, and also deemed his metaphors to go beyond what was considered acceptable as literary illustration. The judicial court consequently found Henrici in breach of regulations concerning censorship and the dissemination of print-materials, and legal proceedings concluded with Henrici losing against Gottsched by official decree on 30 March 1729. In

[459] Rüdiger Otto, 'Ein Leipziger Dichterstreit: Die Auseinandersetzung Gottscheds mit Christian Friedrich Henrici', in: Manfred Rudersdorf (ed.), *Johann Christoph Gottsched in seiner Zeit* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 153.
[460] Christian Friedrich Henrici, *Gespräch im Reich der Todten zwischen der Contouche und Andrienne. Erste und letzte Unterredung.* (Leipzig: Boetius, 1729).

addition, Henrici was ordered to pay a fine of five *Reichstaler* and required him to compensate Gottsched for any costs he may have incurred as the result of proceedings.

However, for Henrici's and Gottsched's literary followers, the case arguably mattered less for its legal findings and more for the allegorical responses it engendered in the form of coded print-items and pamphlets. Individual developments had been publicised widely as part of a protracted dispute on the subject of moral satire and its permissible literary devices. As such, they had undoubtedly also been discussed in the city's coffee houses. Gottsched, for example, used one of his own moral weeklies, a title called *Der Biedermann* (*Mr Frugality*) as a platform to highlight Henrici's populist and indeed palpably voyeuristic approach to satirical writing. An issue of *Der Biedermann* from 6 December 1728 reprinted a letter by a Mr Janitor (*Herr Zuchtmeister*), who was greatly enraged that Henrici's 'arouses lust in sexually eager youths' in his writings and thus 'poisons the innocence of minors and strengthens the desires of gluttons even more'.[461] As a result, Mr Janitor concluded that Henrici had forfeited any credible claim to publishing either instructive or edifying satire. Assuming a performance of Bach's and Henrici's cantata *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* on 1 April 1729 consequently also places the piece at the centre of an increasingly acrimonious debate on the appropriate means of moral criticism. However, the cantata appears to engage its Gottschedian opponents perhaps surprisingly constructively, and can usefully be read as presenting a rival approach to moral criticism.

Henrici's god of satire and the vice of Midas

Midas remains of central significance also in this more general contextualisation. Yet, unlike in Forchert's reading, his importance rather arises from being at the receiving

[461] '[D]adurch die lüsterne Jugend zur Wollust gereitzet, die Unschuld der Minderjährigen vergifftet, und die Geilheit der Üppigen noch mehr und mehr bestärcket wird.' Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Der Biedermann* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1728), 2, 129; cited in: Otto, 'Dichterstreit', 106-07.

end of a moral judgement. At the conclusion of the piece, Midas is banished and ridiculed by Momus, who appears also in Henrici's libretto as the god of satire. It is indeed the part of Momus that provides the most useful allegorical cover for Henrici to respond to Gottsched. However, Momus's verdict is pronounced in conspicuously Gottschedian terms. It is particularly striking how closely his first aria corresponds to a statement on moral satire in an earlier issue of Gottsched's periodical *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (*The Reasonable Tatlers*).[462] An instalment, dated Friday 10 May 1726, had outlined its purpose and means in the following:

> Common people do not possess a sufficiently penetrating faculty of reason to apprehend a truth, which does not strike their senses. A rational satire therefore endeavours to present vices as inviting ridicule and laughter…[463]

Henrici's Momus, by comparison, also reveals Midas as lacking 'a sufficiently penetrating faculty of reason' and ridicules him accordingly. Specific details on how Momus reaches this verdict can be found in his first aria 'Patron, das macht der Wind' ('Sir, it's all hot air'). Indeed, its verses clearly illustrate that, like Gottsched, Henrici too links the vice of boastfulness to deficient judgement, caused by a supremacy of sensory impressions over reason. (Boasting was known as *Windmacherey* in eighteenth-century German and appears in shortened form as *Wind* here). The reversal of priorities between reason and the senses leads to a string of inverted perceptions, which are further detailed as, for example, a belief that personal fortune depends on chance rather than moral merit ([taking] 'Fortune itself as blind'), mistaking foolishness for wisdom ('Taking fools for wise men'), and that one perceives as truth whatever one's visual sense observes on the surface of reality: 'Sir, all this is caused by the wind/ …. When one holds to be true/ Whatever meets the

[462] All issues remained in literary circulation for most of the eighteenth-century. They were reprinted several times in bound volumes. An example is: Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (Hamburg: König, 1748).
[463] 'Der Verstand des grossen Haufens ist nicht durchdringend genug, eine Wahrheit einzusehen, die nicht in die Sinne fällt .. Eine vernünfftige Satyre läßt sich angelegen seyn, die Laster als auslachenswürdig vorzustellen ....' Gottsched, 'XIX. Stück, Freytags, den 10. May 1726', in *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (Halle: Verlegts Johann Adam Spörl, 1725-26), 145. For further details on *Windmacherey,* see Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 57, 739.

eye'.[464] (See also table 6 below for the relative positioning of the piece within the cantata as a whole.) Henrici's Momus is consequently just as committed to a rationalist take on morality as Gottsched's *Female Tatlers*.

Yet his views also reflected a wider popular consensus on the moral status of the senses that was articulated with particular clarity, for example, in an entry on *Sinne* in Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*. As Zedler's anonymous contributor explains,

> [s]ensations must be accepted according to how they strike us according to the qualities of objects …. But these impressions must not be admixed with the judgements which follow. [465]

Proper order and clarity of thought is consequently ascribed to a rational ordering (or judging) of sensory impressions that must not interfere (or be admixed with) this process. Midas, however, is shown to disregard this crucial order of priorities.

Corresponding precisely to Momus's characterisation of confused boasters (*Windmacher*) in the aria 'Sir, it's all hot air', Midas's preference for Pan's music is immediately questioned by Momus as a sign of a deranged mind ('What, Midas, are you mad?') and a corresponding query by a further minor character of the piece, Mercury,: 'Who has deranged your reason?' (*Wer hat dir den Verstand verrückt?*).[466] (Movement 12, see table 6.) Both statements clearly ascribe Midas's opininon to profound confusion and favouring sensory impressions over the voice of reason. In keeping with this outlook, Midas also seeks to justify his preference for Pan's music by stating how much his tune seemed to agree with his sense of hearing: 'It, well, just seemed to strike my ear this way' ('Es fiel mir ja/ Also in mein Gehöre').[467]

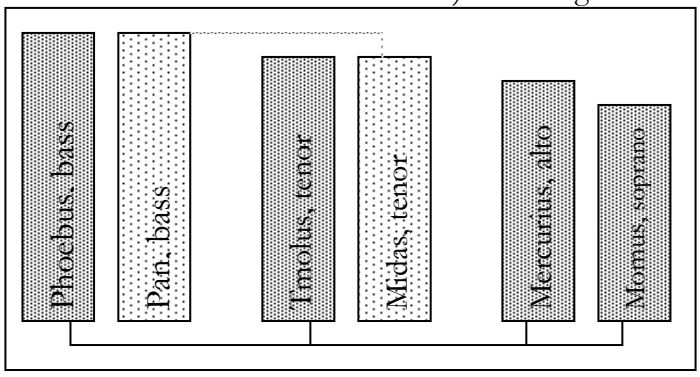
---

[464] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 909.
[465] Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 37, 1692.
[466] Translation adapted from Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 911.
[467] Translation adapted from ibid., 911.

Table 6: Movements in 'The Contest between Phoebus and Pan' (BWV 201)[468]

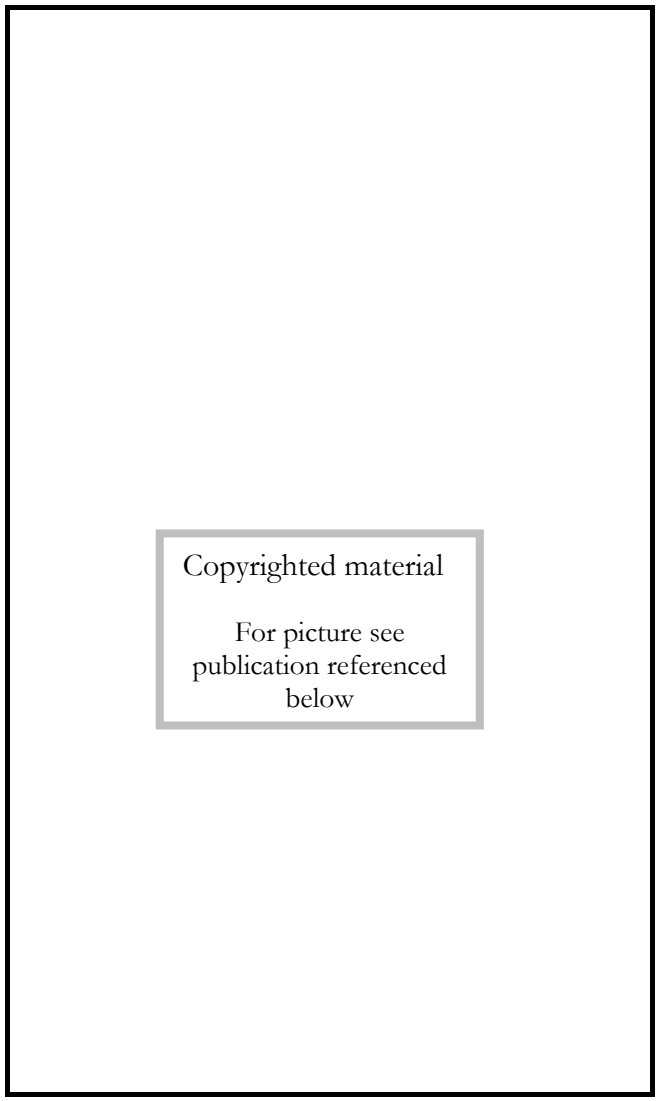
1. Chorus, *Tutti*, 'Quick, You whirling winds'
   Geschwinde, Ihr wirbelnden Winde
2. Rec., *Phoebus*, *Pan, Momus*
3. Aria, *Momus*, 'Sir, it's all hot air!'
   Patron, das macht der Wind
4. Rec., *Mercury*
5. **Aria, *Phoebus*, 'With longing'**
   Mit Verlangen
6. Rec., *Momus*
7. **Aria, *Pan*, 'For dancing, for leaping'**
   Zu Tanze, zu Sprunge
8. Rec., *Mercury*, *Tmolus*
9. Aria, *Tmolus*, 'Phoebus, your melody'
   Phoebus, deine Melodei
10. Rec., *Pan*
11. Aria, *Midas*, 'Pan is master'
    Pan ist Meister
12. Rec., *Momus, Mercury, Tmolus, Phoebus, Pan, Midas*
13. Aria, *Mercury*, 'Inflated hot air'
    Aufgeblasne Hitze
14. Rec., *Momus*
15. Chorus, *Tutti*, 'Refresh the heart'
    Labt das Herz

a) Voice registers and musical party formations



[468] Translations adapted from Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 908-12.

Further in keeping with satirical practice in Gottsched's *Female Tatlers*, Henrici's Momus then proceeds to ridicule the vice of Midas in the subsequent aria, 'Aufgeblasne Hitze' ('Inflated hot air'). It describes how Midas receives a fool's cap from Mercurius and is subsequently expelled from the city ('Good Midas, go hither now'). The disgraced character is sarcastically encouraged to console himself by joining like-minded companions who, like him, revel in 'folly and unreason', 'judge at random' and consequently 'belong to your [Midas's] fraternity'.[469] Seen in light of this ending it is, once more, particularly revealing to compare Henrici's figure of Momus to an emblematic depiction of Reason on the frontispiece of the *Female Tatlers* (example 33).



Example 33: Frontispiece of J. C. Gottsched's 'Die Vernünftigen Tadlerinnen'

[469] Ibid., 912.

The first bound volume of all issues that were published in 1725 was introduced by an engraved frontispiece, which not only reveals an iconographic association between the future-companions of Midas and lustful Satyrs (who are beckoning from a wood in the background), but also illustrates the competitive relationship between Henrici's god Momus in the cantata, and Gottsched's chief authority in the *Female Tatlers* that is identified by a poem that accompanies the emblematic *pictura* as 'critical Reason' (*prüfende Vernunft*).[470] Like the rational principles of Momus, the figure of Reason in Gottsched's frontispiece remains unmoved by the agitated turbulence of sensory impressions, for example (represented by a dog that is identified as a depiction of wild fury (*Raserey*) and a cat, symbolising deceptive flattery). Further, Gottsched's goddess of Reason also removes two face-masks from a man and a woman standing next to her, which renders their true faces visible, and represents a similar articulation of moral judgement as Momus's unmasking of Midas's inverted priorities.

Yet perhaps the most compelling resemblance between Reason in Gottsched's *Female Tatlers* and Henrici's Momus in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* arises from the motto that is placed below the composition. In close correspondence to Momus's first aria, 'Patron, das macht der Wind' it cites a passage by Friedrich von Canitz (1654 - 1699), which cautions readers as follows: 'Woe betide those who are foolish and yet pretend to be wise!'.[471] Henrici's and Bach's satirical verdict on Midas in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* can therefore, indeed, be recognised as part of an intensely competitive literary environment. Yet, rather than ridiculing opponents in the manner of a so-called *Pasquinade* (that exposed the vices of historical persons in allegorical disguise), Henrici appears to compete with his rival by establishing an alternative vision of moral

[470] Johann Christoph Gottsched, 'Erklärung des Kupfers', *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (Halle: Johann Adam Spörl, 1725), (w/o pag.).
[471] 'Weh dem der töricht ist und dennoch klug will heißen', Freiherr Friedrich Rudolf Ludwig von Canitz quoted in: Gottsched, *Tadlerinnen*, frontispiece (w/o pag.).

satire in the allegorical guise of Momus. As a result, the deity clearly relates to Gottsched's figure of Reason on the frontispiece of the *Female Tatlers* as a literary rival.

Viewed in light of this emblematic symbolism, Momus also emerges as the true judge in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*. However, rather than judging Pan's music, he is in fact shown to judge Midas, which reveals a considerable wealth of further dramatic meanings in the cantata. Firstly, it suggests that Henrici might have thought of Momus as a personal alter ego, perhaps. But more importantly, it points towards a similar use of ancient myths in the cantata as those Henrici employed in *Hercules at the Crossroads* to represent the personal virtue of Crown Prince Friedrich Christian. Both cantatas appear less concerned with staging plots of ancient myths as dramatised action, but rather reassemble their array of allegorical characters (and associated emblematic images) to articulate a highly symbolic commentary on a present occasion or event. As I have argued in chapter 6, Hercules for example did not so much choose a path, or reach an agonised decision in the cantata *Hercules at the Crossroads*, but the *dramma per musica* presents a series of allegorical scenes and images instead, to stage a 'picture' of the moral character of its political dedicatee. A similar technique can be observed in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*. In close correspondence to the absence of a real-time decision by Hercules in favour of virtue in *Hercules at the Crossroads*, the cantata also merely alludes to the singing contest between Phoebus and Pan. At no point in the libretto, for example, is Phoebus declared the winner. Rather, his advocate Tmolus observes that Phoebus's music will be intelligible to all connoisseurs of true art and artistic endeavour.[472] Victory is therefore a foregone conclusion, when Tmolus states the following in his verdict on Phoebus's aria in the aria 'Phoebus, your melody': 'But whoever comprehends the art/ By which your sound astonishes us/ Is taken out of himself by it'.[473] Once more, it is

[472] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 910.
[473] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 910.

associative symbolism instead of staged action that identifies the music of Phoebus-Apollo as superior, and which reveals his representatives to have 'won' the contest.

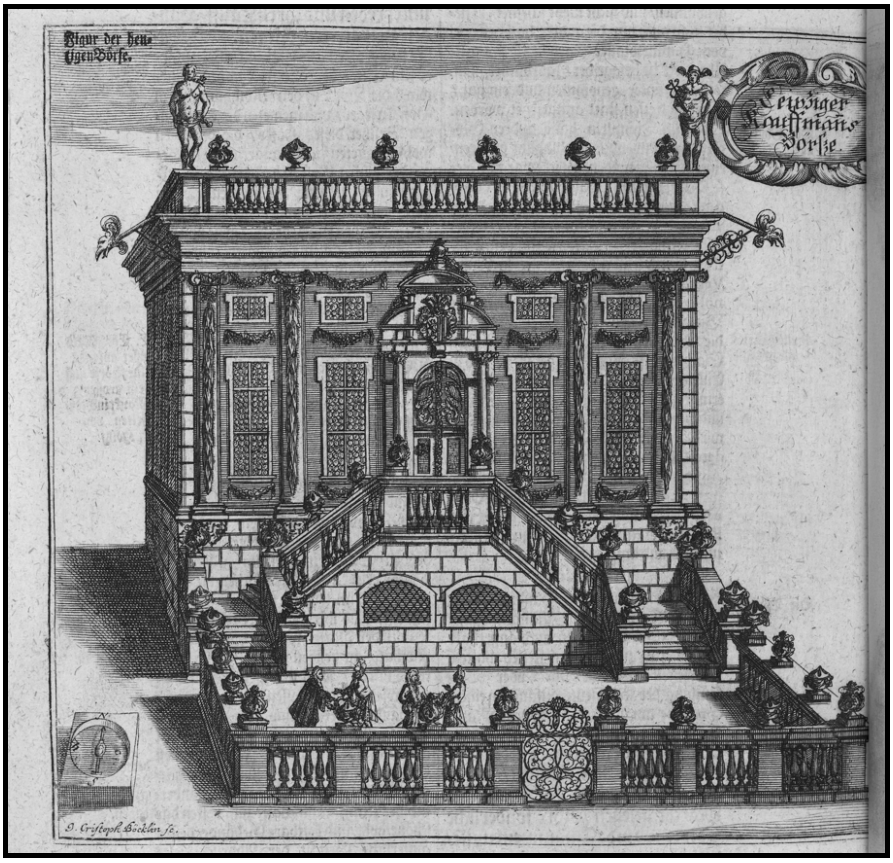
The use of ancient mythology as a repertoire of familiar stories, signs and symbols that can be freely re-arranged to create unexpected levels of new meanings also invests differences between, for example, Ovid's account of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* and Henrici's libretto with a particular importance. According to Ovid, for example, the contest was adjudicated by Tmolus who appears as a mountain-shaped god and is described as 'hard and steep and high to climb'.[474] In addition to acting as judge, Tmolus consequently also identifies the physical location of the contest as Mount Tmolus. Henrici, however, relegated Tmolus to the less important role of a competing advocate, which can shed new light also on a further minor role in the *dramma per musica*, Mercury.

Traditionally seen as the messenger of ancient gods, he possessed a particular significance for Leipzig's merchants and citizens. As a *Handlexicon* of 1760 by Johann Christoph Gottsched (whose title identified it as *Pocket Lexicon … of the Beautiful Sciences and Liberal Arts*) explains, *Merkurius* was 'god of eloquence and trading'.[475] This both associates him closely with Leipzig's writers and coffee-house *literati*, and illustrates his traditional role as a secular patron-god of Leipzig's trade fairs and the city itself. The second dimension of this symbolic significance was explained, for example, by the local historian Johann Vogel in 1714, who described one of the most famous depictions of Mercury on the rooftop of Leipzig's stock exchange (example 34). As in *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan*, he is positioned next to Phoebus-Apollo, and a poem that accompanies an engraving of the building explains their symbolic meaning in the following verses:

> If art and science made Leipzig great
> Its tradesmen raised it almost even more;

[474] Ovid and D. E. Hill, *Metamorphoses IX-XII* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999), 195.
[475] Gottsched, *Handlexicon ... der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste*, 1086.

That's why Mercurius in his winged garb
Stands on high next to Apollo with his harp.[476]



Example 34: Rooftop statues of Apollo and Mercury at the Leipzig stock exchange (1714)
Reproduced with permission by The British Library

The inclusion of Mercury in the *dramma per musica* consequently seems to suggest that, instead of situating musical events on Mount Tmolus, Henrici transferred them symbolically to Leipzig.

This also invests Midas's legendary greed with a particular, local relevance. Indeed, support for Pan is partly ascribed to a financial motive in the cantata. Before Midas is sent into exile to join his fellow satyrs, Pan asks him for example why he hadn't treated the contest with greater care: 'Ah! why did you approach this contest with such casual lightness?' ('Ei! warum hast du diesen Streit Auf leichte Schultern übernommen?') Instead of responding, however, Midas replies with a further question addressed to

[476] 'Hat Kunst und Wissenschaft hier Leipzig groß gemacht/ So hat es fast noch mehr die Kauffmannschafft erhoben;/ Drum steht Mercurius mit seiner Flügel-Tracht/ Und nicht Apollo nur mit seiner Harfen/ oben...' Vogel, *Leipzigisches Geschicht-Buch oder Annales*, 155.

himself: 'How badly do I fare as a result of this commission?' ('Wie ist mir die Kommission so schlecht bekommen?')[477] True to his ancient reputation, Midas consequently seems to imply that he was paid for supporting to Pan. Expelling a representative of destructive desire for worldly riches from the city of trade and commerce would, of course, have possessed a special significance in the performance context of Zimmermann's coffee house. It would not only have added a further example to the long list of vices, Henrici's Momus intends to unmask with his wit, but may also have signalled to Zimmermann's wealthy clientele that the aims of moral satire concern the integrity of financial affairs and their business-dealings as well. After all, traders and merchants must have been particularly aware of the dangers resulting from fraudulent accounting, which Momus does not neglect to mention in his introductory characterisation of a *Windmacher* as someone who 'boasts, but has no money'.[478]

Nonetheless, before its dramatic close the cantata returns to the topic of the opening chorus once more, and its aim to soothe troubled spirits and raging temperaments. In keeping with the character and rhetorical impact of Apollo's musical art on its listeners, the ultimate purpose of the presented performance is reaffirmed as the pursuit of inner contentment and balanced harmony: 'Refresh the heart, you lovely strings,/ Let art and charm strike up!'.[479] Yet, jesting satire and biting wit still have their parts to play within this bigger picture. Similar to Henrici's quasi-emblematic allusion to his presence in the guise of Momus, the middle verse of the closing chorus, likewise, refers to satirical mockery and even a competitive element in its applied practice: 'Let them [Apollonian strings] outdo you, let them mock you'.[480] The closing chorus of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* therefore not only shares the topic of lifted spirits and sated desires with the opening movement; it also appears to identify music and dramatic

[477] Translations adapted from Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 911.
[478] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 911.
[479] Ibid., 911.
[480] Ibid., 911.

satire as legitimate Apollonian arts that are united in their purpose of intellectual and humoral edification.

Seen this way, *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* presents an astonishingly dense emblematic tableau that represents the variety of means by which Bach and Henrici sought to edify their literary and musical coffee-house audiences. Both Bach's musical and Henrici's literary inventions could, in fact, venture deeply into the realms of competitive mockery and satirical humour, as I have argued, for example, in chapters 4 and 5, with different examples from Bach's series of published *Clavier-Übungen*, and which has surfaced in even more controversial form also as part of Henrici's public persona. Nonetheless, by integrating serene and acerbic *inventiones* into an overarching domain of Apollonian insight and humoral repose, the closing chorus of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* also appears to align the combination of satirical and serene elements in the cantata with the varied aspects of useful coffee-house edification.

As such, the traditional view of *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* as a programmatic declaration of Bach's personal musical convictions may yet prove more enduring than the style-historical categories that originally underpinned it. Similarly, even Siegfried Dehn's identification of 'Bach as Polemicist' in the *dramma per musica* retains some of its contours if *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* is read against the wider literary background of Leipzig's coffee-house culture. At the same time, it is of course important to bear in mind that there is no hard evidence that links the first performance of the cantata firmly to the beginning of Bach's time as director of the Collegium musicum. Yet given the privileged status of coffee-houses as cultural venues generally, as I have argued in chapter 2, most of the symbolism relating to Apollonian and edifying musical practice would have remained similarly powerful also in a performance on a different date.

Lastly, even Alfred Dürr's speculative connection between the cantata *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* and Johann Adolph Scheibe's later criticism of Bach in 1737 can

be usefully rethought if Scheibe's remarks are approached from a music-dramatic vantage point. As is of course well known, Scheibe summarised his objections to what he perceived as excessively complex textures and misapplied style-levels in Bach's music by comparing him to the seventeenth-century writer and dramatist Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein (1635 - 1683): 'In short, he is in music what Mr. von Lohenstein was in poetry'.[481] Yet, as the cultural historian Albrecht Schöne points out, Lohenstein's dramas and writings more generally fell into increasing disrepute for their reliance on emblematic images and metaphors that permitted more than one reading, partly in response to Gottsched's call on poets to avoid ambiguity in so-called 'flowery' expression (*verblümte Redensart*), by which he referred to figurative speech. In the context of discussion of a later *Dichtkunst* published in 1740 by the Swiss critic Johann Jacob Breitinger (1701 - 1776), Schöne observes the following:

> [H]ere Breitinger's critique of Baroque tragedy was inflamed, which adopts in some respects Gottsched's views …, but treats emblematic images even in greater detail and decidedly more critical still. Now, the Lohensteinian style [*Lohensteinische Schreibart*] truly was the ideal example for this kind of criticism.[482]

Gottsched's *Dichtkunst* indeed recommends, also for the graphic design of emblematic *picturae*, to restrict the number of allegorical symbols and signs as much as possible to avoid metaphorical ambiguity:

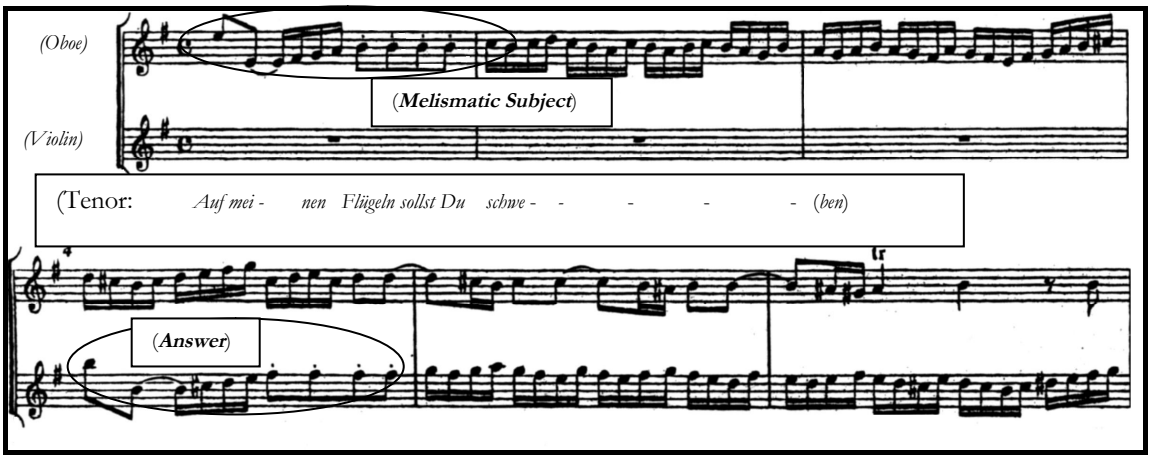
> Hence the emblem must, … neither in its picture nor its words, contain anything superfluous. If I, for example, were to paint up high, next to Phoenix, a sun which ignites his nest, such a thing would be entirely superfluous.[483]

Yet, Bach's setting of emblematic images in Henrici's libretti could often add further symbolic subtexts and musical images, as for example in the aria 'Auf meinen Flügeln

---

[481] David, *et al*., *NBR* , 338; Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus* (New York, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), 62.
[482] '[H]ier entzündete sich die Breitingerische Kritik am barocken Trauerspiel, die in mancher Hinsicht Gottscheds Urteile aufnimmt ..., die Verwendung der emblematischen Bilder aber weit eingehender und entschieden kritischer bedenkt. Für diese Kritik bot nun wirklich die lohensteinische Schreibart das lohnendste Objekt.' Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama*, 120.
[483] 'Hernach muß … ein Sinnbild weder in der Figur, noch in den Worten etwas überflüßiges haben. Als wenn ich oben bey dem Phönix noch die Sonne malen wollte, die das Nest desselben anzündete, so wäre es ganz überflüßig.' Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig: B. C. Breitkopf, 1751), 804.

sollst du schweben' ('On my wings you shall hover') from *Hercules at the Crossroads* (BWV 213/7). The movement is sung by Virtue as a musical reply to Pleasure's so-called *Slumber Song*, and, in keeping with the emblematic association of eagles with royalty and crowned monarchs, Henrici's text also refers to the flight of an eagle that rises to the stars ('On my pinion you climb/ to the stars like an eagle').[484] Bach's music, however, not only evokes an image of musical flight by an expansive and hovering vocal melisma, but also integrates it into a distinctly fugal opening ritornello (example 35). As a result, the flight of the eagle is, in almost exact correspondence to Gottsched's complaint over a 'superfluous' sun next to the nest of Phoenix, combined with a considerable number of ambiguous mottoes and images. Virtue's aria for example alludes to eagles as an emblem of royalty, to which Bach's music adds the additional images of fugal flights of fancy, or perhaps even an implied emblematic motto, such as 'Tempus fugit' (Time flies). As a result, Hercules's rise to the stars on the wings of virtue is signified by a veritable cornucopia of superimposed figurative meanings.



Example 35: Fugal opening ritornello, 'On my wings you shall hover' (BWV 213/7)

An even more enigmatic example from *The Contest between Phoebus and Pan* has already been touched upon, and can be found in Bach's use of echo-replies in Phoebus's aria, 'Mit Verlangen' (BWV 201/5). Yet, notwithstanding the rich possibilities its symbolic

[484] Dürr, *The Cantatas*, 822.

layers offer for edifying *Nachsinnen*, its open-ended meanings would clearly have irked Gottschedian critics, and struck them as exceptionally *verblümt* or 'in the style of Lohenstein'.

The literary camps that argued over the correct means of moral satire in the 1720s may therefore well have been decisive in shaping Scheibe's subsequent views on Bach. Within Leipzig's local surroundings, moreover, their cultural divisions and competing critical attitudes may perhaps also have divided along the intellectual divide that separated academic *Kollegien* from their less formal counterparts in coffee houses (including Bach's Collegium musicum). Whereas Gottsched lectured and moved within the academically learned spheres of Leipzig's University, and its so-called *Rotes Collegium*, Bach, Henrici and their followers practised their competing edifying pursuits on the commercial premises of Gottfried Zimmermann's coffee house.

Conclusion

Rethinking Bach's performances at Zimmermann's coffee house as 'useful and edifying' coffee-house events offers a variety of new angles to rethink Bach as a historical musician. Of particular significance in this respect is the wealth of meanings that resulted from a close correspondence between Bach's musical thought and the aims of the cultural environment that framed specific performance occasions. As I have argued in chapter 1, the traditional portrayal of Leipzig's inner-city coffee houses as a noisy, and unworthy cultural sphere was shaped by a range of values and critical categories that demonstrably postdate Bach's time. As a consequence, they need to be recognised as an anachronistic indicator of the conditions, Bach would actually have encountered during his residency at Zimmermann's. Indeed, numerous coffee-house pursuits in Bach's time required an environment that was conducive to mental focus and concentration. The popular card game *l'Hombre*, for example, not only required its participants to be

attentive, but was also played in front of an audience. A French treatise, whose title translates as *The Latest, Universal Academy of Games or innocent Pastimes* explains the social customs surrounding the game as follows: '[T]o play it well, silence & tranquillity are required. … Many people derive equal enjoyment from watching the game as well as playing it'.[485] Given the popularity of *l'Hombre* also in Leipzig's coffee houses, it is unlikely therefore that Bach had to contend with noisy and largely inattentive crowds during performances.

Moreover, coffee-house games also featured prominently in Theodor Quistorp's rhetorical argument that coffee houses were 'true schools of the beautiful sciences' in Bach's time.[486] Quistorp not only praises them for the edifying effect of various games, by observing that 'each game requires attention, thinking, pondering [*Nachsinnen*] and judgement', but also points out that coffee-house knowledge differs in kind from academic book-learning:

> To start with, I must express my surprise at however a rational friend of the beautiful sciences could chance upon the idea that these would be preached in the lecture halls of academic teachers, or indeed might be learned from books.[487]

Nonetheless, although Quistorp strongly emphasises the multitude of benefits that may be derived from learning through observation and practical experience at Leipzig's coffee houses, academic collegia continued to enjoy a superior social prestige. Local address books, for example, listed meeting-times of local Collegia musica, in keeping with Quistorp's rhetorical *Beweis*, in close proximity to societies and collegia devoted to 'popular and delightful sciences' (*beliebte und ergötzliche Wissenschaften*).[488] They include, for example, meetings chaired by the Royal-Polish and Electoral-Saxon mathematician and

---

[485] '[P]our le bien jouër, il faut du silence & de la tranquilité. …. [P]lusieur personnes prennent autant de plaisir à le voir jouër, qu' à jouër.' Anon., *La plus nouvelle academie universelle des jeux ou divertissements innocens* (Amsterdam: J. Cóvens & C. Mortier, 1728), 1, 54.
[486] 'Die Caffeehäuser, m[eine] H[erren] die Caffeehäuser sind die wahren Schulen der schönen Wissenschaften!' Quistorp, 'Uebungsreden', 521.
[487] 'Gleich anfangs muß ich mich wundern, wie doch immer ein vernünftiger Liebhaber der schönen Wissenschaften auf die Einbildung gerathen könne, daß dieselben in den Hörsälen der akademischen Lehrer geprediget würden: oder aus ihren Büchern zu erlernen wären.' Ibid., 523.
[488] Anon., *Das Anno 1713 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: Christian F. Rumpff, 1713), 30.

Calendariographicus Ulricus Junius (presumably at his home), and similar assemblies by practical engineers (*Mechanici*).

Quistorp's emphasis on coffee houses as schools of the beautiful sciences consequently provides a far-reaching context also for Bach's musical outlook and intellectual stance as musician and titular Royal *Capellmeister*. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's famous characterisation of his father as 'no lover of dry, mathematical stuff', for example, acquires a new, socio-cultural dimension if it is integrated specifically into these eighteenth-century characterisations of coffee-house collegia.[489] Indeed, Bach's personal emphasis on practical competence and applied knowledge is an exact match for the cultural priorities Bach's contemporaries associated with coffee-house learning during his time as director of the Collegium musicum at Zimmermann's.

Less clear, by comparison, is whether the famous characterisation of Bach as a 'Newton of music' by his students Johann Friedrich Agricola and Christian Friedrich Schubart is similarly compatible with the cultural character of Leipzig's coffee-houses.[490] Quistorp's speech, for example, exclusively associates them with pursuits that would later be subsumed under aesthetics and so-called *Geisteswissenschaften* (Humanities) in the nineteenth century. Unlike London coffee-houses, there are also no reports of scientific experiments that were conducted by Leipzig's coffee-men. However, Schubart in particular, strongly emphasises Newton's importance as a revolutionary thinker (or philosopher), and Agricola likewise refers to Newton primarily as an example to emphasise the unrivalled competence of Bach in his field that may well elude lesser minds. On a metaphorical level the comparison may consequently still have rung true also in Bach's time, especially to his supporters, such as Lorenz Mizler or the Eisenach Capellmeister Johann Christoph Voigt, who (as I have discussed in chapter 4) was

[489] David, *et al.*, *NBR*, 398.
[490] Ibid., 358, 370.

particularly keen to link Bach with unprecedented historical achievements in the field of keyboard music.[491]

Integrating Bach's musical activities into the cultural sphere of Leipzig's coffee houses consequently yields an intriguingly rich and perhaps unexpectedly complex historical picture. On the one hand, Bach's performances belonged to a social domain that was firmly committed to a fresh approach to learning - a type of knowledge that increasingly challenged the supremacy of traditional abstraction and scholastic dogma. Seen from this angle, Bach's music can be placed firmly alongside the intellectual endeavours of, for example, Johann Mattheson and his often relentless opposition to theories and compositional practice he suspected to be rooted in hermetic teachings. On the other hand, the complexity of Bach's music and its *inventiones* closely associates his artistic thought with a meandering process of inspired pondering, or *Nachsinnen*, which created a perhaps even inadvertent friction with proponents of literal clarity and foes of 'flowery' signification, as the enlightened thinker Johann Christoph Gottsched and his followers.

A corresponding tension is captured in the cultural motto of eighteenth-century coffee houses and their collective commitment to 'useful edification'. Applied to Bach's music, it therefore not only offers a versatile paradigm that is specifically grounded in the historical space of eighteenth-century Leipzig, but can also provide a new perspective on how Bach's musical thought engaged with and often also challenged a whole range of seemingly contrarian ideas. The versatility of Bach's compositional *inventiones* for example, invited both critical and contemplative modes of listening in keeping with the hybrid nature of edifying pondering, or *Nachsinnen*. As such, Bach's

[491] Voigt, *Gespräch von der Musik*, folio B2 ^{recto}. Christoph Wolff, in his Bach biography *Bach: The Learned Musician*, largely follows Agricola and Schubert. Yet the implied characterisation of Bach as a man moving among, for example, 'Professorial colleagues and university students' (as suggested in a subheading) is not borne out by the historical difference between appointed professors, their private *Kollegien* and coffee-houses circles and their associated societies and collegia. Wolff, *Bach: The Learned Musician*, 319.

keyboard music acquires a wealth of meanings, both by virtue of being thoroughly practice-centred and delighting its listeners with depth of thought and even occasional glimpses of satirical humour.

Similarly, Bach's honorary cantatas routinely relied on a rich layering of musical and dramatic symbolism that drew on a combination of sacred and secular iconography to commemorate occasions of political significance. Finally, also the contrasting pursuits of 'art' and 'science' can be recognised as distinct, but related aspects not only in the Western-European academy movement generally, but also within the social and cultural spaces of Leipzig's coffee houses. Like their model culture, they shared a similar emphasis on applied knowledge and pioneering exploration with a particular emphasis on intellectual and artistic domains. Read against the backdrop of this rich socio-cultural scenario, Bach consequently emerges as a true *Caffëist* indeed, whose music aimed in equal measure to be 'useful' in its emphasis on applied *praxis*, as well as being deeply 'edifying' in its unmatched charm and absorbing complexity.

Appendix

I) Exterior and interior design of 'Schellhafer's House' in *Katharinen-Straße*

The following is a transcript of a handwritten administrative record, which details the contents of a planning application that was granted by Leipzig's City Council in 1716 for the building that accommodated Zimmermann's coffee house after 1721. The original document is currently held at the Stadtarchiv Leipzig as 'Tit[elakte] XXIV C (F[eudalismus]) zu 1 a Baubesichtigungsprotokolle Bd. 3'.

1. German-language transcript

'Auf dero an uns ergangene Anordnung haben wir das was H. Johann Schelhaffer in seinem Hauße so alhier in der Catharin Straße einerseits an der Ecke des Böttger-Gäßleins anderseits aber an Tit. Herrn Baumeister Hohmanns Hauße liegend sich befindet, bauen zu laßen gesonnen ist, in Augenschein genomen, wobey dann von Seiten gedachten Hn. Baumeisters deßen *Consulent* Herr Cio.[?] Johann Gottfried Winkler nebst dem Zimer Meister Johann George Rühlen zu gegen gewesen. Allda von H. Schelhaffern und seinem Zimer Meister Joh. Christian Schmidten wie auch deßen Mauermeister Christian Döringen der Bau folgender Maßen an und vorgegeben worden: Nehml. es soll das Vordere oder Eckgebäude, welches fornher an der Gaße 18. Ellen 19 Zoll breit und 27. Ellen 21. Zoll tief in Ballken ist, in vier steinernen Geschoßen bestehend und in dem andern Geschoße gegen die Catharinstraße zu einem Austritt-Erker, an dem Böttger Gäßl. auf einen bis am Först [i.e. First?] gleich ausgehenden Brandgiebel, nicht weniger an Herrn Baumeister Hohmanns Seite mit jenem eine gemeinschafftliche Mauer, im Dach aber seinen besonderen Brand-Giebel hat, bis auf das untere Geschoß das duchaus gewölbt ist, abgetragen, solcherweis auf der an Hohmannischer Seiten nur erwehnte Brand-Giebel bis auf die gemeinschafftliche Mauer hinweg genomen werden; Da hingegen H. Schellhaffer auf das untere Geschoß drey neue Geschoße, und zuvor dieselben ebenfalls ganz steinern mit einem an Hohmannischen Häußer neu auszuführenden steinern Brand-Giebel, welchen Er auf die an das von obgemelter gemeinschafftl. Mauer ihme zu komende Antheil zu setzen vorgegeben, erbauen, auf in das hierauf komende Ziegel-Dach, welches gegen das Böttger Gäßlein einen Mallmen überkomet, drey Erker mit Stuben und 1. Küche, machen will, und soll das erste neue Geschoß nebst dem andern darauf folgenden 7 ½ Elle, das Dritte 7 Ellen und die Erker-Geschoße im Dache 5. Ellen hoch, und in iegliches Geschoß Drey Stuben samt einem VorSaale angeleget, alles aber in den Hauptmauern ganz steinern ausgeführet werden, und was die Dach-Erker betrifft, soll daran einer fornher gegen die Catherstraße, der andere an die Seite des Böttger-Gäßleins und der dritte in den Hoff gehend gemacht, ieglicher mit einer Stube und der lezte zugleich mit einer Küche versehen werden.
Überdiß ist auch angezeiget worden, in ein iedes dieser drey neuen Geschoße in die Stube welche *immediate* neben das Hohmannische Hauß komen wird, an die gemeinschafftliche Mauer ein Camin anzulegen und dazu eine besondere Feuer mauer auszuführen, Ingleichen ist H. Schellhafer willens, in dem Mittel des Haußes gegen die Catharinstraße einen Höltzern Austritt-Erker vor alle drey Geschoße, und selbigen *inclusive* des Seulwerks 5 ¼ Elle breit und 1 ½ Elle tieff zu machen: Weshalb alles dann daferne E.–E. Hochw. Rath es verstattet, H. Schellhaffer darauf von

Zimermeister Johann Christian Schmidten und dem Mauer Meister Christian Döringen gebührend verfertigen und verwahren laßen will. Wenn dann die Gelegenheit dis Ortes von der Beschaffenheit ist, daß nicht alleine ein zulänglicher Raum hierzu vorhanden, sondern auch der Bau so angegeben werden, daß wir weder einige Gefährlichkeit noch sonsten etwas das denen benachbarten zum Nachtheile gereichen könte, befunden; als stellen wir die Verstattung *denenselben* anheim, und haben es unsern Pflichten nach hiermit gehorsamstvollen Berichten, inVerbleibung iederzeit

Sigl. Leipzig den 23. May 1716 ./.'

2. Annotated English translation

'In response to the received order, we have conducted an inspection of what Mr. Schelhafer [sic] intends to build at his house, located here in *Catherin Straße*, on the corner of *Böttger-Gäßlein* to one side, bordering on the house of the certified master-builder Hohmann on the other [[492].] [D]uring [the inspection] were present [:] on behalf of the above mentioned Mr master-builder, his legal representative Mr. Cio. [?] Johann Gottfried Winkler [[493]], next to master-carpenter Johann George Rühl [[494]]. On the occasion, instruction for the building works was given as follows by [:] Mr Schellhaffer, his master-carpenter Joh. Christian Schmidt [[495]] as well as the master of stonework, Christian Döring [[496].] Namely, the frontal, or end-of-terrace building, which is [:] 18 ells and 19 inches wide on its street-facing aspect, and 27 ells 21 inches deep in beams, [it] consists of four storeys built from stone and has [:] towards *Catharinstraße* a protruding bay, towards the *Böttger Gäßl.* a fireproof gable-wall, which levels with the ridge of the roof. [It] has, not least, a shared wall with Mr master-builder Hohmann's [house], but its own gable-wall none the less [.] [The house] is to be taken down, except for the basement, the entirety of which is built over a vaulted cellar, in such a manner that the gable-wall on Hohmann's side is demolished, but no further than the shared wall; however, as Mr. Schellhafer intends to construct three new storeys on top of the ground floor, he has [:] agreed to build a new gable-wall made of stone, to be erected on the afore-mentioned shared wall on his side [;] intends to furnish the roof gable, which straddles a massive granite stone towards the *Böttger Gäßlein*, with three bays for living rooms and one kitchen; and he shall [:] make the first, as well as the next one of the newly-built floors, 7 ½ ells high, the third 7 ells and the bays of the roof 5 ells high; construct on each floor three rooms, complete with one hallway, but execute all structural walls entirely in stone, and, as to the roof-bays [:] one of them shall face *Catherstraße*, the other *Böttger-Gäßlein* and the third overlook the courtyard, each of them [shall have] one room and the last mentioned [bay be] equipped with a kitchen as well.
It has, furthermore, been pointed out that [:] on each of the newly constructed floors, the rooms, which are immediately adjacent to Hohmann's House shall have a fireplace, which will require the construction of an additional fire-wall; Similarly, Mr Schellhafer

[492] Johann Schellhafer was a local wine merchant, who later sold the house to Theodor Oertel.
[493] J. G. Winckler's status as a lawyer is confirmed by an entry in Leipzig's address books. His residence is given in 1714 as 'Stuhlmacher's House' in 'Burgstrasse'. Anon., *Das Anno 1714 florirende Leipzig*, 19.
[494] J. G. Rühl is confirmed as a senior carpenter by an entry under '*Zimermeister*' in: K. Keißler, *Das lebende Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1715), (w/o pag.).
[495] Ibid., (w/o pag.).
[496] For an account of the importance of Christian Döring for eighteenth-century architecture in Leipzig, see: Pevsner, *Leipziger Barock*, 76.

intends [:] to build a wooden bay in the middle of the house, facing *Katharinen-Straße* in all three storeys; and [:] to make it 5 ¼ ells wide and 1 ½ ells deep, including the support beams: Provided His Majesty's Most Honourable Council will grant permission, all of this shall be obediently completed and left with master-carpenter Johann Christian Schmidt and the master of stonework, Christian Döring. If the location is of such a nature as to allow for sufficient space, and the construction is conducted in such a manner as to neither pose a danger, nor cause anything, which may cause a disadvantage for any of the neighbours, we therefore leave it to the same-such [Council] to grant permission, and have imprinted it with our seal, according to our duty and obedient reports, with permanent legal validity.

Leipzig, 23 May 1716.'

II) Table of converted dimensions contained in the planning report.

Heights of individual storeys:

'1. Stock, 7 ½ Elle'	4, 39 m
'2. Stock, 7 ½ Elle'	4, 39 m
'3. Stock, 7 Ellen'	4, 1 m
'Erker-Geschoße im Dache, 5. Ellen'	2, 93 m

Lengths of outer walls:

Facing *Katharinen-Straße*:	'18 Ellen, 19 Zoll breit'	(10, 53 m + 46, 33 cm)	10, 99 m
Facing *Böttger-Gäßgen*:	'27 Ellen, 21 Zoll tief'	(15, 08 m + 51, 21 cm)	15, 6 m

Dimensions of central bay with window:

'5 ¼ Elle breit'	3, 07 m
'1 ½ Elle tieff'	0, 88 m

Conversions into modern metric measures are based on the following estimate:

> According to the eighteenth-century author Richard Hayes, '[a]n hundred Ells of *Leipsick* makes … 64 Yards' in London.[497] Assuming 0.914 modern meters for 1 London Yard this yields an approximate conversion factor of 0.585 m per Leipzig *Elle*. Figures given above are also based on the information by Zedler that 24 *Zoll* equalled 1 *Elle* in Bach's time.[498]
>
> The graph in table 1 applies the measures listed above to a grid, in which 1 m stretches across three 2 mm fields to match the dimensions of the ground floor plan of the neighbouring address, as it is reproduced in Pevsner.[499]

[497] Richard Hayes, *The Negociator's Magazine, or, The most authentick account ... of the monies, weights, and measures, ... of the European Exchanges* (London, 1739), 322.
[498] 'Längen-Maß', Zedler *et al.*, *Universal Lexicon*, 16, 194-95.
[499] Pevsner, *Leipziger Barock*, 73.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Albertinus, Ægidius; *Emblemata Hieropolitica* (Munich: Coloniæ, 1647).
Anon.; *Das Anno 1713 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: Christian F. Rumpff, 1713).
---------- *Das Anno 1714 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: C. F. Rumpff, 1714).
---------- *Das jetzt florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: C. F. Rumpff, 1717).
---------- *Das Anno 1720 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1720).
---------- *Das Anno 1721 florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: Theodor Boetius, 1721).
---------- *Das jetzt lebende und jetzt florirende Leipzig* (Leipzig: Theodor Boetius, 1732).
---------- *Das den 5. October 1734 Illuminirte Leipzig* (Leipzig, ca. 1734).
---------- *Die neu-eröfnete lustige Schaubühne menschlicher Gewohn- und Thorheiten* ([Hamburg]: [T. v. Wiering], ca. 1690).
---------- *La plus nouvelle academie universelle des jeux ou divertissements innocens* (Amsterdam: J. Cóvens & C. Mortier, 1728).
Comenius, Johann Amos; *Orbis sensualium pictus* (Noribergæ: M. Endter, 1658).
Corvinus, Gottlieb Siegmund; *Nutzbares, galantes und curiöses Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1715).
Dannhauer, Johann Conrad; *Catechismus Milch/Oder Erklärung deß Christlichen Catechismi Sibender Theil* (Straßburg, 1659).
Forkel, Johann Nikolaus; *Ueber J. S. Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig: Hoffmeister und Kühnel, 1802).
---------- Stephenson, "Banker" and Kollmann, A. F. C. (transl.); *Life of John Sebastian Bach*; (London: T. Boosey and Co., 1820).
Gottsched, Johann Christoph; *Die vernünftigen Tadlerinnen* (Halle: Johann Adam Spörl, 1725).
---------- *Der Biedermann* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1728).
---------- *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* (Leipzig: B. C. Breitkopf, 1730).
---------- *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst* (Leipzig: B. C. Breitkopf, 1751).
---------- *Handlexicon ... der schönen Wissenschaften und freyen Künste* (Leipzig, 1760).
Hayes, Richard; *The Negociator's Magazine, or, The most authentick account ... of the monies, weights, and measures, ... of the European Exchanges* (London, 1739).
Franz, Johann Georg Friedrich; *Das nach der Moral beschriebene Galante Leipzig* ([Leipzig]: Eleutheropolis, 1769).
Gerber, Ernst Ludwig; *Neues Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1966).
Gubitz, Caspar Christian; *Emblematischer Zeit-Vertreiber* (Schleusingen, 1726).
Gottschald, Johann Jacob; *Allerhand Lieder-Remarquen ... Sechstes Stück* (Leipzig: Johann Christian Martini, 1748).
Hecht, Johann; *Der Andächtigen Seelen An Sonn- Fest- und Bußtagen verlangte/ auch durch ein himmlisches ECHO erlangte Jesus-Hülffe...* (Leipzig, 1684).
Hederich, Benjamin; *Gründliches Lexicon Mythologicum* (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditschens seel. Sohn, 1724).
Henke; J. J., *Der musicalische Patriot* (1741).
Henrici, Christian Friedrich; *Picanders ernst-schertzhaffte und satyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig: Boetio, 1727).
---------- *Gespräch im Reich der Todten zwischen der Contouche und Andrienne. Erste und letzte Unterredung.* (Leipzig: Boetius, 1729).

---------- *Picanders Teutsche Schau-Spiele, bestehend in dem Academischen Schlendrian, Ertzt-Säuffer, und der Weiber-Probe* (Berlin, 1726).
---------- *Picanders Ernst-Schertzhaffte und Satyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig, 1732).
---------- *Picanders Ernst-Schertzhaffte und Satyrische Gedichte* (Leipzig: Friedrich M. Friesen, 1737).
Heraeus, Carl Gustav; *Inscriptiones et symbola varii argumenti* (Noribergæ, 1721).
Hunold, Christian Friedrich; *Menantes Academische Neben-Stunden. Allerhand neue Gedichte etc.* (Halle und Leipzig: Johann Friedrich Zeitler, 1713).
[Iccander], Johann Christian Crell; *Das ... fast auf dem ... höchsten Gipffel der Vollkommenheit prangende Dreßden* (Leipzig, 1719).
---------- *In gantz Europa berühmte, galante und sehens-würdige königliche Leipzig in Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1725).
Keißler, K.; *Das lebende Leipzig* (Leipzig, 1715).
Keyßler, Johann Georg and Schütze, Gottfried; *Johann Georg Keysslers ... Neueste Reisen durch Deutschland, Böhmen [&c.]* (Hannover, 1751).
Keyssler, Johann Georg; *Travels through Germany Hungary, Bohemia, Switzerland, Italy, and Lorrain* (London: J. Scott, 1758).
Kircher, Athanasius; *A. Kircheri ... Neue Hall- und Thon-Kunst, oder mechanische Gehaim-Verbindung der Kunst und Natur durch Stimme und Hall-Wissenschaft gestifftet. ... In unsere Teutsche Mutter-Sprach übersetzet von Agatho-Carione [i.e. T. Nilsen]* (Nördlingen, 1684).
Krüger, Johann Gottlob; *J. G. Krüger's Gedancken vom Caffee, Thee, und Toback* (Halle, 1743).
Kuhnau, Johann; *Der musicalische Quacksalber* (Dresden: Joh. C. Miethen und Joh. C. Zimmermann, 1700).
Lehmann, Peter Ambros; *Die vornehmsten Europäischen Reisen* (Hamburg: J. C. Kißner's seel. Erben 1736).
Leipzig, [corp. author], 'Baubesichtigung, 23. May 1716', *Bauberichte 1715-1727*, Stadtarchiv, Tit. XXIV C (F) zu 1 a Baubesichtigungsprotokolle Bd. 3, 58-60.
Mattheson, Johann; *Der musicalische Patriot* (Hamburg, 1728).
---------- *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739).
---------- *Critica Musica* (Hamburg, 1722-25).
---------- *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740).
Neumann, Caspar; *Lectiones publicæ ... vom Thee, Caffee, Bier und Wein* (Leipzig: Gottlob Benjamin Fromman, 1735).
Neumeister, Erdmann and Menantes; Hunold, Christian (ed.); *Die allerneueste Art, zur reinen und galanten Poesie zu gelangen* (Hamburg, 1722).
Niedt, Friederich Erhardt; *Musicalische Handleitung* (Hamburg, 1700).
Nienborg, Hans August and Müller, Ernst (ed.); *Nienborgischer Atlas* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1997).
Northall, John; *Travels through Italy* (London, 1766).
Ovidius Naso; Hill, D. E. (ed); *Metamorphoses IX-XII* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999).
Pufendorf, Samuel Freiherr von; *Of the law of nature and nations ... Done into English by Basil Kennet* (London, 1729).
Quistorp, Theodor Johann; 'Abschiedsrede ... worinnen erwiesen wird: Daß die Caffeehäuser die wahren Schulen der schönen Wissenschaften sind', in: Löschenkohl, Johann C. (ed.); *Sammlung einiger Uebungsreden* (Leipzig: Christoph Breitkopf, 1743), 518-552.
R. B.; *Choice Emblems, Divine and Moral, Antient and Modern* (London, 1732).
Richardson, George; *Iconology; or a Collection of Emblematical Figures* (London: G. Scott, 1779).

Rohr, Julius Bernhard von; *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der Privat-Personen* (Berlin: Joh. Andreas Rüdiger, 1728).
Rohr, Julius Bernhard von; *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der großen Herren* (Berlin: Joh. Andreas Rüdiger, 1729).
Sandrart, Joachim von; *Iconologia deorum, oder Abbildung der Götter, welche von den Alten verehret worden* (Nürnberg, 1680).
Saxony, [Corp. Author]; *Königl. Poln. und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hof- und Staats-Calender* (Dresden: Sächsisches Staatsministerium des Innern, 2001).
Scheibe, Johann Adolph; *Critischer Musikus* (Leipzig, 1745).
Scheibel, Gottfried Ephraim; *Die unerkannten Sünden der Poeten* (Leipzig, 1734).
Sinold von Schuetz, Philipp Balthasar; *Das curieuse Caffe-Hauss zu Venedig, darinnen die Miss-Bräuche und Eitelkeiten der Welt ... vorgestellet ... werden* (Freyburg: J. G. Wahrmund, 1698).
---------- *Das verderbliche Caffee-Hauß: ... in ... drey ... Gesprächen vorgebildet von Pasquino* ([Leipzig]: [Groschuff], 1703).
---------- *Das Neue und Curieuse Caffee-Hauss* (Brunnenstadt: L. Schöpffwasser, 1707).
---------- *Das neue und curiöse Caffé-Hauß* (Leipzig: Teophilo Georgi, 1708).
Semnotophilus; 'Sendschreiben, worine die Coffee-Häuser nach der Policey betrachtet werden', in: Zincke, Georg Heinrich (ed.); *Leipziger Sammlungen von Wirthschafftlichen- Policey Cammer- und Finantz- Sachen* (Leipzig: Carl Ludwig Jacobi, 1744), 385-422.
Sicul, Christoph Ernst; *Annalium Lipsiensium, sectio 31* (Leipzig, 1730).
Spiess, Meinrad; *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus* (Augspurg: J. J. Lotters seel. Erben, 1745).
Stoppe, Daniel; *Der Parnaß im Sättler, oder scherz-und ernsthaffte Gedichte* (Frankfurt and Leipzig: Gottlieb Siegert, 1735).
Teutschmund, Johann Michael; *Das ausgefegte Caffee-Hauß zu Venedig* (Freystadt: Jacob Hammermeister, ca. 1698).
Tende, Gaspard de; *An Account of Poland* (London, 1698).
Valetta, Ludovico; *De phalangio apulo opusculum* (Neapoli, 1706).
Vogel, Johann Jacob; *Leipzigisches Geschicht-Buch oder Annales* (Leipzig, 1714).
Voigt, Johann C.; *Gespräch von der Musik* (Erfurt: D. Jungnicol, 1742).
Walther, Johann Gottfried; *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Wolffgang Deer, 1732).
Wetzel, Johann Caspar; *Johann Caspar Wetzel's Hymnopœographia, oder historische Lebens-Beschreibung der berühmtesten Lieder-Dichter* (Herrnstadt [Nuremberg], 1719).
Wolff, Christian; *Vernünftige Gedanken von dem gesellschaftlichen Leben der Menschen* (Halle, 1721).
Zachariä, Friedrich W.; *Der Renommiste. Ein komisches Heldengedichte* (Leipzig: Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, 1744).
Zedler, Johann Heinrich *et al.*; *Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschafften und Künste* (Halle and Leipzig, 1732).

Secondary Literature and Facsimile Editions

Addison, Joseph; Stephens, Calhoun, John (ed.); *The Guardian* (Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1982).
Adorno, Theodor W.; *Ohne Leitbild. Parva Aesthetica* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1967).
Albrecht, Peter; 'Coffee-drinking as a symbol of social change in continental Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* (1988), 18, 91-103.

Anderson, William Scovil (ed.); *Ovid's Metamorphoses. Books 6-10* (Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1972).
Armytage, W. H. G.; 'Coffee-houses and Science', *The British Medical Journal* (1960), No. 5193/2, 213.
Bagley, Ayers *et al.*; *The Telling Image: Explorations in the Emblem* (New York: AMS Press, 1996).
Balet, Leo; *Die Verbürgerlichung der deutschen Kunst, Literatur und Musik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leyden, 1938).
Bangerter-Schmid, Eva-Maria; *Erbauliche illustrierte Flugblätter aus den Jahren 1570 - 1670* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1986).
Banning, Helmut; *Johann Friedrich Doles. Leben und Werke.* (Leipzig, 1939).
Bitter, Carl Hermann; *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Berlin: Ferdinand Schneider, 1865).
Bölhoff, Reiner; *Johann Christian Günther, 1695-1975: kommentierte Bibliographie, Schriftenverzeichnis, Rezeptions- und Forschungsgeschichte* (Köln; Wien: Böhlau, 1980).
Buelow, George J.; 'Mattheson and the invention of the *Affektenlehre*', in: Buelow, George J. (ed.); *New Mattheson Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 393-407.
Chafe, Eric Thomas; *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991).
Clement, Albert; *Der dritte Teil der Clavierübung von Johann Sebastian Bach: Musik, Text, Theologie* (Middelburg: AlmaRes, 1999).
Coffin, David R.; *Gardens and Gardening in Papal Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
Daboo, Jerri; *Ritual, Rapture and Remorse: A Study of Tarantism and Pizzica in Salento* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010), 100-52.
Dadelsen, Georg von; *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958).
Dahlhaus, Carl; 'Is history on the decline?', in: *Foundations of Music History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 3-18.
Dähnert, Ulrich; *Der Orgel- und Instrumentbauer Zacharias Hildebrandt: sein Verhältnis zu Gottfried Silbermann und Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Institut für Denkmalpflege, 1962).
Dammann, Rolf; *Johann Sebastian Bachs "Goldberg-Variationen"* (Mainz, London: Schott, 1986).
David, Hans T. *et al.*; *The New Bach Reader* (New York; London: W. W. Norton, 1998).
Dehn, Siegfried Wilhelm; 'Johann Sebastian Bach als Polemiker', *Westermann's illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte* (1856), 'Oktober'.
Döring, Detlef; 'Die Leipziger gelehrten Sozietäten in der 1. Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts und das Auftreten Johann Christoph Gottscheds', in: Donnert, Erich and Mühlpfordt, Günter (eds.); *Europa in der frühen Neuzeit: Festschrift für Günter Mühlpfordt* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1997), 17-42.
---------- 'Der junge Leibniz und die Gelehrtengesellschaften', in: Nowak, Kurt and Poser, Hans (eds.); *Wissenschaft und Weltgestaltung: internationales Symposium zum 350. Geburtstag von Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz vom 9. bis 11. April 1996 in Leipzig* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1999), 69-92.
Downie, J. A.; 'The Myth of the Bourgeois Public Sphere', in: Calhoun, Craig (ed.); *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass; London: MIT Press, 1992), 58-79.
Dreyfus, Laurence; *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996).

Dünnhaupt, Gerhard; *Personalbibliographien zu den Drucken des Barock* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1990), 6.
Dürr, Alfred; 'Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1957).
---------- 'Zum Wandel des Bach-Bildes. Zu Friedrich Blumes Mainzer Vortrag.', *Musik und Kirche* (1962), 4, 145-56.
---------- 'Die Entstehungsgeschichte der Matthäus-Passion', in: Prinz, Ulrich (ed.); *Johann Sebastian Bach: Matthäus-Passion, BWV 244, Vorträge der Sommerakademie J. S. Bach 1985* (Stuttgart; Kassel; London: Internationale Bachakademie; Bärenreiter, 1990), 76-93.
---------- Jones, Richard Douglas (transl.) *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
Dwars, Jens-F.; *Das zu Unrecht vergessene Leben & Werk des ... Christian Friedrich Hunold alias Menantes* (Bucha bei Jena: Quartus, 2005).
Edler, Arnfried; 'Das Collegium musicum als Forum des Theorie-Praxis-Bezugs', in: Braun, Werner *et al.* (eds.); *Akademie und Musik: Erscheinungsweisen und Wirkungen des Akademiegedankens in Kultur- und Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Werner Braun zum 65. Geburtstag* (Saarbrücken: Saarbrücker Druckerei und Verlag, 1993), 107-22.
Emery, Walter and Wesley, S.; 'The English Translator of Forkel', *Music & Letters* (1947), 28/3, 301-02.
Erk, Ludwig and Böhme, Franz Magnus; *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1893).
Ellis, Markman; *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004).
Fehrle, Eugen; 'Echo', in: Bächtold-Stäubli, Hanns *et al.* (eds.); *Handwörterbücher zur deutschen Volkskunde. Abt. 1, Aberglaube* (Berlin; Leipzig: W. de Gruyter, 1927), 536.
Feldman, Martha; *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in eighteenth-century Italy* (Chicago, Ill.; London: University of Chicago Press, 2007).
Fellinger, Imogen; 'Mattheson als Begründer der ersten Musikzeitschrift (Critica musica)', in: Buelow, George J. *et al.* (eds.); *New Mattheson Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 179-97.
Flossmann, Heinrich Paul; *Picander. Christian Friedrich Henrici* (Liebertwolkwitz: F. Zeugner, 1899).
Forchert, Arno; *Johann Sebastian Bach und seine Zeit* (Laaber: Laaber, 2000).
Franklin, Alfred and Plon, Eugène; *Le café, le thé & le chocolat* (Paris: E. Plon, 1893).
Freystätter, Wilhelm and Gregoir, Eduard; *Die musikalischen Zeitschriften seit ihrer Entstehung bis zur Gegenwart* (Amsterdam: Frits A.M. Knuf, 1963).
Gay, Peter and Webb, R. K.; *Modern Europe to 1815* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973).
Geck, Martin; *Bach: Leben und Werk* (Reinbek: Rowohlt, 2000).
Geck, Martin and Hofmann, Klaus (eds.); *Bach und die Stile: Bericht über das 2. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1998* (Dortmund: Klangfarben, 1999).
Geertz, Clifford; *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983).
Glöckner, Andreas; *Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Leipzig: Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten Johann Sebastian Bach, 1990).
---------- 'Zur Vorgeschichte des "Bachischen" Collegium musicum', in: Geck, Martin (ed.); *Bachs Orchesterwerke: Bericht über das 1. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1996* (Witten: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1997), 293-303.

Gojowy, Detlev; 'Zur Frage der Köthener Trauermusik und der Matthäuspassion', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1965), 51, 86-134.
Goodman, Katherine R.; 'From Salon to *Kaffeekranz*', in: Baron, Carol (ed.); *Bach's Changing World: Voices in the Community* (Rochester, N.Y., Woodbridge: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 190-218.
Gottsched, Johann Christoph; Birke, Brigitte and Joachim (eds.); *Ausgewählte Werke* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968), VI/2.
Gouk, Penelope M.; 'Music in Francis Bacon's natural philosophy', in: Fattori, Marta (ed.); *Francis Bacon: Terminologia e fortuna nel XVII secolo. Seminario internazionale, Roma, 11-13 marzo 1984* (Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1984), 139-54.
---------- *Music, Science and Natural Magic in Seventeenth-Century England* (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1999).
Grimm, Jacob and Meyer, Elard Hugo; *Deutsche Mythologie* (Berlin: Herrwitz & Gossmann, 1875).
Grüß, Hans; 'Eine neue Hypothese zur Entstehung der Matthäus-Passion und weitere quellenkundliche Anmerkungen zu den Trauermusiken BWV 198 und BWV 244a', in: Leisinger, Ulrich (ed.); *Bach in Leipzig--Bach und Leipzig: Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2000* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 2002), 59-68.
Habermas, Jürgen; *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft* (Neuwied, Berlin: Luchterhand, 1962).
Habermas, Jürgen; *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society* (Cambridge: Polity, 1989).
Hanslick, Eduard; *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (Leipzig, 1858).
Hardie, Philip R.; *Virgil* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).
Harsdörffer, Georg Philipp; Böttcher, Irmgard (ed.); *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele* (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1968).
Hase, Hermann von; 'Breitkopfsche Textdrucke zu Leipziger Musikaufführungen zu Bachs Zeiten', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1913), 69-127.
Haufe, Eberhard; 'Daniel Stoppe als Textdichter Telemanns', in: Fleischhauer, Günter and Siegmund-Schultze, Walther (eds.); *Telemann und seine Dichter: Konferenzbericht der 6. Magdeburger Telemann-Festtage vom 9. bis 12. Juni 1977* (Magdeburg: Kulturbund der DDR, 1978), 75-86.
Heise, Ulla; 'Zum arabischen Coffee Baum', *Leipziger Blatter* (1983), 3, 34-5.
---------- *Coffee and Coffee-Houses* (West Chester, Penn.: Schiffer Publ., 1987).
---------- *Kaffee und Kaffeehaus: eine Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig: Edition Leipzig, 1987).
---------- *Coffeana: Lob und Tadel von Kaffee und Kaffeehaus in Gedichten aus vier Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1988).
Herz, Andreas; *et al.*; Bircher, Martin (ed.); *Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft unter Herzog August von Sachsen-Weissenfels* (Tübingen: In Kommission M. Niemeyer, 1997).
Hilgenfeldt, Carl Ludwig; *Johann Sebastian Bach's Leben, Wirken und Werke* (Leipzig: F. Hofmeister, 1850).
Hinrichsen, Hans-Joachim; 'Universalität und Zersplitterung. Wege der Bachforschung 1945-2005', in: Heinemann, Michael and Hinrichsen, Hans-Joachim (eds.), *Johann Sebastian Bach und die Gegenwart* (Köln: Verlag Dohr, 2007), 117-57.
Hoffmann, E.T.A., Charlton, David and Clarke, Martyn (eds.); *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: Kreisleriana, The Poet and the Composer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
Huyssen, Andreas; *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986).
Jahn, Otto; *W. A. Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1856-59).

Jaumann, Herbert; *Handbuch Gelehrtenkultur der Frühen Neuzeit* (Berlin; New York: W. de Gruyter, 2004), 1.
Jones, Richard Douglas; 'Erster Teil der Klavierübung', in: Jones, R. (ed.); *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1978), V/1.
Kestenberg, Leo; *Musikerziehung und Musikpflege* (Leipzig, 1921).
Kevorkian, Tanya; *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society, and Music in Leipzig,1650-1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007).
Kiesewetter, Raphael Georg; *Geschichte der europaeisch-abendlaendischen oder unsrer heutigen Musik* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel, 1846).
Kirchner, Joachim; *Das deutsche Zeitschriftenwesen, seine Geschichte und seine Probleme* (Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1958).
---------- '"Der Leipziger Patriot"', *Publizistik* (1962), 3, 164-67.
Koch, Ernst; 'Tröstendes Echo. Zur theologischen Deutung der Echo-Arie im IV. Teil des Weihnachts-Oratoriums von Johann Sebastian Bach', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1989), 75, 203-12.
Kuhnau, Johann; Hardin, James N. (ed.); *Ausgewählte Werke* (Bern: P. Lang, 1992).
Leaver, Robin A.; *Luther's liturgical Music: Principles and Implications* (Grand Rapids, Mich.; Cambridge: W.B. Eerdmans, 2007).
Lillywhite, Bryant; *London Coffee Houses: A Reference Book of Coffee Houses of the Seventeenth, Eighteenth, and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1963).
Lindner, Ernst Otto Timotheus; *Zur Tonkunst. Abhandlungen* (Berlin: I. Guttentag, 1864).
Mann, Alfred; *The Study of Fugue* (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1986).
Marshall, Robert L.; 'Bach the progressive: observations on his later works', *The Musical Quarterly* (1976), 62/3, 313-57.
Martens, Wolfgang; 'Zur Einführung: Das Bild Leipzigs bei Zeitgenossen', in: Martens Wolfgang (ed.); *Zentren der Aufklärung III: Leipzig. Aufklärung und Bürgerlichkeit* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider, 1990), 13-22.
Mattheson, Johann; Bartel, Dietrich (ed.); *Die drei Orchestre-Schriften* (Laaber: Laaber Verlag, 2002).
Mendel, Arthur; 'More for "The Bach Reader"', *The Musical Quarterly* (1950), 36/4, 485-510.
Menzen, Jakobus; 'Aufbau eines einführenden sechstündigen Lehrganges', in: Wiese, Leopold von (ed.); *Soziologie des Volksbildungswesens* (München & Leipzig, 1921), 411-32.
Meyer, Reinhart; *Die Hamburger Oper: eine Sammlung von Texten der Hamburger Oper aus der Zeit 1678-1730* (München: Kraus Reprint, 1980).
Michel, Olivier; *Vivre et peindre à Rome au XVIIIe siècle* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1996).
Mizler von Kolof, Lorenz Christoph; *Neu eröffnete musikalische Bibliothek* (Hilversum: E. Knuf, 1966).
Muddiman, J. G.; *The King's Journalist, 1659-1689: Studies in the Reign of Charles II* (London: John Lane The Bodley Head, 1923).
Müller, Johann Christian; Löffler, Katrin and Sobirai, Nadine (eds.); *Meines Lebens Vorfälle und Nebenumstände, Teil 1: Kindheit und Studienjahre (1720-1746)* (Leipzig: Lehmstedt, 2007).
Nef, Karl; *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1921), 14.
Neumann, Frederick; 'Bach: Progressive or Conservative and the Authorship of the Goldberg Aria', *The Musical Quarterly* (1985), 71/3, 281-94.
Neumann, Werner; 'Das "Bachische Collegium Musicum"', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1960), 5-27.

---------- 'Festmusiken für das kurfürstlich-sächsische Haus II ', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Kritischer Bericht* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961), I/37.
---------- *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1960), I/38.
---------- 'Einige neue Quellen zu Bachs Herausgabe eigener und zum Mitvertrieb fremder Werke', in: *Musa-mens-musici: im Gedenken an Walther Vetter* (Leipzig: VEB/Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969), 165-68.
---------- 'Hochzeitskantaten, Weltliche Kantaten', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke. Kritischer Bericht* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1970), 40.
Neumann, Werner and Schulze, Hans-Joachim (eds.); *Bach-Dokumente* (Kassel; London: Bärenreiter, 1963).
Neumann, Werner and Schulze, Hans-Joachim (eds.); *Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Kassel; London; Leipizg: Bärenreiter; Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1969).
Niedt, Friederich Erhardt; Taylor, Irmgard C. (ed.); Poulin, Pamela L. (transl.); *The Musical Guide*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).
Otto, Rüdiger; 'Ein Leipziger Dichterstreit: Die Auseinandersetzung Gottscheds mit Christian Friedrich Henrici', in: Rudersdorf, Manfred (ed.), *Johann Christoph Gottsched in seiner Zeit* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007), 92-154.
Panofsky, Erwin; *Hercules am Scheidewege: und andere antike Bildstoffe in der neueren Kunst* (Leipzig; Berlin: Teubner, 1930).
Parry, C. Hubert H.; *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Story of the Development of a Great Personality* (New York; London: Putnam (Knickerbocker Press), 1909).
Paulson, Ronald; *Emblem and Expression: Meaning in English Art of the Eighteenth Century* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1975).
Pevsner, Nikolaus; *Leipziger Barock: die Baukunst der Barockzeit in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Seemann, 1990).
Pfeiffer, August; *Antimelancholicus, oder Melancholey-Vertreiber* (Leipzig: J. F. Gleditsch, 1684).
Pincus, Steve; '"Coffee Politicians Does Create": Coffeehouses and Restoration Political Culture', *The Journal of Modern History* (1995), 67/4, 807-34.
Pistorius, Martin; *H. A. von Ziegler und Kliphausen: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Jena: University of Jena, 1928).
Praetorius, Michael; Kite-Powell, Jeffery T. (ed.); *Syntagma musicum III* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
Prautzsch, Ludwig; 'Die Echo-Arie und andere symbolische und volkstümliche Züge im Weihnachts-Oratorium', *Musik und Kirche* (1968), 38, 221-29.
Rampe, Siegbert and Sackmann, Dominik; *Bachs Orchestermusik: Entstehung, Klangwelt, Interpretation* (Kassel, London: Bärenreiter, 2000).
Rifkin, Joshua; 'The chronology of Bach's Saint Matthew Passion', *Musical Quarterly* (1975), 61/3, 360-87.
Rose, Stephen; *The Musician in Literature in the Age of Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
Rudersdorf, Manfred; *Johann Christoph Gottsched in seiner Zeit.* (Berlin: Walter De Gruyter, 2007).
Ryle, Gilbert; *Collected Papers* (London: Hutchinson, 1971).
Sadie, Stanley (ed.); *The New Grove Dictionary of Music & Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 2001).
Salmen, Walter; *Das Konzert: eine Kulturgeschichte* (München: Beck, 1988).

---------- *Gartenmusik: Musik, Tanz, Konversation im Freien* (Hildesheim; New York: Olms, 2006).
---------- *Zu Tisch bei Johann Sebastian Bach* (Hildesheim, Zürich, New York: Georg Olms, 2009).
Sandberger, Wolfgang; *Das Bach-Bild Philipp Spittas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Bach Rezeption im 19. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1997).
Schering, Arnold; *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Musikleben Leipzigs im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: F. Kistner & C. Siegel, 1941), 3.
Schivelbusch, Wolfgang; *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants*, transl. by David Jacobson (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992).
Schöne, Albrecht; *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock* (München: Beck, 1964).
Schullian, Dorothy M. and Schoen, Max (eds.); *Music and Medicine* (New York: Henry Schuman, 1948).
Schulze, Hans-Joachim; 'Frühe Schriftzeugnisse der beiden jüngsten Bach-Söhne', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1964).
---------- 'Melodiezitate und Mehrtextigkeit in der Bauernkantatae und in den Goldbergvariationen', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1976), 58-72.
---------- '"Das Stück im Goldpapier": zu Bachs Generalbasslehre', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1978), 19-42.
---------- 'Ey! How sweet the coffee tastes: Johann Sebastian Bach's Coffee Cantata in its time', *Bach: The Journal of the Riemenschneider Institute* (2001), 32/2, 2-34.
---------- 'Johann Friedrich Schweinitz, "A Disciple of the famous Herr Bach in Leipzig"', in: Butler, Gregory *et al.* (eds.); *About Bach* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 81-8.
Schweitzer, Albert and Widor, Charles Marie; *J.S. Bach*, transl. by Ernest Newman (Leipzig; London: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911).
Slaughter, Thomas P.; *Ideology and Politics on the Eve of Restoration: Newcastle's advice to Charles II* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1984).
Smend, Friedrich; *Johann Sebastian Bach: Kirchen-Kantaten. Erläutert von Friedrich Smend* (Berlin: Christlicher Zeitschriftenverlag, 1966).
Smithers, Don L.; 'Gottfried Reiches Ansehen und sein Einfluß auf die Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1987), 113-50.
---------- 'Bach, Reiche and the Leipzig Collegia Musica', *Historic Brass Society Journal* (1990), 2, 1-51.
Spitta, Philipp; *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1873).
---------- Bell, Clara and Fuller-Maitland, J. A. (transl.), *Johann Sebastian Bach, his work and influence on the music of Germany,1685-1750* (London, New York: Novello Ewer and Co., 1884).
Stauffer, George B.; 'Music for "Cavaliers et Dames": Bach and the repertoire of his Collegium Musicum', in: Butler, Gregory *et al.* (eds.); *About Bach* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 135-56.
Steiger, Renate; 'Die Einheit des Weihnachstoratoriums von J. S. Bach', *Musik und Kirche* (1981), 51, 273-80.
---------- 'Die Einheit des Weihnachstoratoriums von J. S. Bach', *Musik und Kirche* (1982), 52, 9-15.
Stiller, Günther *et al.*; *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig* (St. Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1984).
Stingl, Hannelore; *Der 'Kaffeebaum' in Leipzig* (Leipzig: Lehmstedt, 2003).
Swack, Jeanne; 'Anti-Semitism at the opera: the portrayal of Jews in the "Singspiels" of Reinhard Keiser', *The Musical Quarterly* (2000), 84/3, 389-416.

Talbot, Michael; 'Die italienische weltliche Kantate', in: Christoph Wolff and Ton Koopman (eds.), *Johann Sebastian Bachs weltliche Kantaten* (Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler/Bärenreiter, 1997), 2, 33-48.
Terry, C. Sanford; 'The 'Christmas Oratorio': Original or Borrowed? I', *The Musical Times* (1930), 71/1052, 887-89.
---------- 'The 'Christmas Oratorio': Original or Borrowed? II (Continued)', *The Musical Times* (1930), 71/1053, 982-86.
---------- 'The 'Christmas Oratorio': Original or Borrowed? III (Continued)', *The Musical Times* (1930), 71/1054, 1073-76.
Terry, Charles Sanford; *Bach: A biography* (London: Oxford University Press, H. Milford, 1928).
Thienemann, Georg August W.; *Leben und Wirken des unvergleichlichen Thiermalers und Kupferstechers Johann Elias Ridinger* (Leipzig, 1856).
Thomasius, Christian; *Freimütige, lustige und ernsthafte, jedoch vernunftmässige Gedanken oder Monatsgespräche über allerhand, fürnehmlich aber neue Bücher*, Athenëum reprints (Frankfurt am Main: Athenëum, 1972).
Tiggemann, Hildegard; 'Unbekannte Textdrucke zu drei Gelegenheitskantaten J. S. Bachs aus dem Jahre 1729', *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1994), 7-23.
Tomlinson, Gary; 'The web of culture: a context for musicology', *19th-Century Music* (1984), 7/3, 350-62.
Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic*: *Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago, London: University of Chicago Press, 1993).
Vergilius Maro; Ferry, David (ed.); *The Eclogues of Virgil: A Translation* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1999).
Waniek, Gustav; *Gottsched und die deutsche Literatur seiner Zeit* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1897).
Weber, William; 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?', *Early Music* (1997), 25/4, 678-691.
Weller, Emil; *Die falschen und fingierten Druckorte: Repertorium der ... deutschen, lateinischen und französischen Schriften* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1864).
Williams, Peter May; *Bach: The Goldberg Variations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
Wittmann, Reinhard; 'Was there a reading revolution at the end of the eighteenth century?', in: Guglielmo Cavallo *et al.* (eds.), *A History of Reading in the West* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1999), 284-312.
Wolff, Christoph; *The New Grove Bach family* (London: Macmillan, 1983).
---------- 'Bach's Leipzig chamber music', *Early Music* (1985), 13/2, 165-75.
---------- *Bach: Essays on his life and music* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1991).
---------- 'Die Orchesterwerke J. S. Bachs: Grundsätzliche Erwägungen zu Repertoire, Überlieferung und Chronologie', in: Geck, Martin (ed.); *Bachs Orchesterwerke: Bericht über das 1. Dortmunder Bach-Symposion 1996* (Witten: Klangfarben Musikverlag, 1997), 17-30.
---------- *Johann Sebastian Bachs weltliche Kantaten* (Stuttgart: J.B.Metzler/Bärenreiter, 1997).
---------- *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).
---------- *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).
---------- 'Images of Bach in the Perspective of Basic Research and Interpretative Scholarship', *The Journal of Musicology* (2005), 22/4, 503-20.

Yearsley, David; 'Alchemy and counterpoint in an age of reason', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (1998), 51/2, 201-43.
---------- *Bach and the Meanings of Counterpoint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
Zimmer, Hans; *Just Friedrich Wilhelm Zachariä und sein Renommist: Ein Beitrag zur Litteratur- und Kulturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Rossberg, 1892).

Musical Scores

Bach, Johann Sebastian; Neumann, Werner (ed.); *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1961), I/37.
---------- *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1960), I/38.
---------- *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1970), I/40.
Bach, Johann Sebastian; Jones, Richard Douglas (ed.); *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke* (Kassel, Basel, Tours, London, New York: Bärenreiter, 1978), V/1.
Bach, Johann Sebastian; Rust, Willhelm (ed.); *Joh. Seb. Bach's Kammermusik für Gesang. Erster Band*, (Leipzig: Bach-Gesellschaft, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1862).
Frescobaldi, Girolamo; Lescat, Philippe (ed.); *Fiori musicali: 1635* (Courlay: J. M. Fuzeau, 1994).
Kuhnau, Johann; Päsler, Karl and Moser, Hans Joachim (eds.); *Johann Kuhnaus Klavierwerke* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958), xxxvi.
Rathgeber, Valentin; Seyfert, Johann Caspar and Moser, Hans Joachim (eds.); *Ohrenvergnügendes und gemüthergötzendes Tafelconfect: Augsburg, 1733/37/46* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1942).
Sperontes and Günther, Johann Christian; *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1964).
Sperontes *et al.*; *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (Wiesbaden, Graz: Breitkopf & Härtel; Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958).

Websites

ARTstor Digital Library,
<http://www.artstor.org/index.shtml>
Bach Digital,
<http://www.bachdigital.de/content/below/index.xml>
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, 'VD17, Das Verzeichnis der im deutschen Sprachraum erschienenen Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts', <http://www.vd17.de>
Glasgow University Emblem Website,
<http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/index.php>
Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig,
<http://www.stadtgeschichtliches-museum-leipzig.de>
The English Emblem Book Project, Penn State University,
<http://www.emblem.libraries.psu.edu>
Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt, 'Digital Library', Drucke des 17. Jahrhunderts (Sammlung Ponickau), <http://www.digitale.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/pon>
Virtuelles Kupferstichkabinett, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum (Braunschweig), Herzog August Bibliogthek (Wolffenbüttel), <http://www.hab.de>