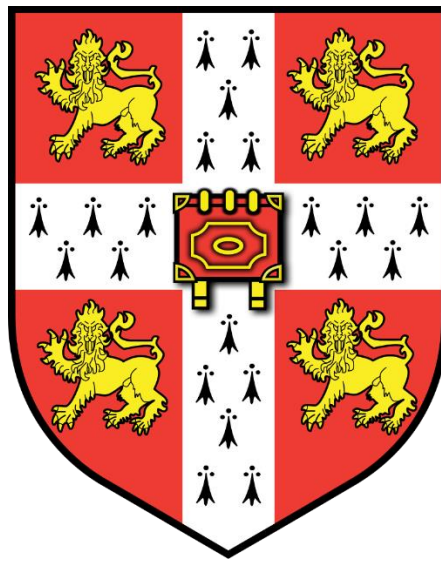


Metaphors for Listening in Johann Sebastian Bach's Germany

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This thesis is submitted to the University of Cambridge for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

July 2022

Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for a degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other university or similar institution except as declared in the preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or is being concurrently submitted, for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other university of similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. This thesis does not exceed the prescribed word limit set by the Degree Committee of the Faculty of Music.

Metaphors for Listening in Johann Sebastian Bach's Germany

Abstract

Bach studies has traditionally sought to decipher the theological meanings of Bach's music. The role of the analyst has left performers with little agency: their job, ostensibly, has been to recognise and make audible the theological meanings that Bach's musical notation encodes. Within this paradigm, listeners have potentially even less to contribute. They merely detect what has already been detected.

This project seeks to explore how Bach's music functioned beyond such modes of exegesis. I propose a historically oriented approach to Bach's sacred cantatas that understands musical listening and performance as ways in which faith was embodied and cultivated by believers. This thesis examines three metaphors that circulated in devotional writings of early modern Lutheran Germany to reconstruct and reimagine congregational listening experiences of a Bach cantata. I employ historical metaphor as a framework through which listeners felt music to work tangibly on and in their bodies during a cantata performance, as well as how they used music to fashion themselves into better Christians.

Each of the three chapters is dedicated to a metaphor prevalent in early modern Lutheran Germany. The first chapter looks at the metaphor of music as liquid. I establish flow as a concept central to how early modern Lutherans understood music to come from God, move between performers, reach a listener, and affect change in a listener's body. The second chapter is dedicated to the metaphor of farming. Lutherans were taught to cultivate their hearts as if farmland, and good listening was the process of bringing God's Word-seed to fruition. I explore congregational listening as something that shifted between different aspects of the metaphor: aural attention could constitute forms of agricultural labour, growth, and propagation. The third chapter explores the status of music as different kinds of wind. I show how Lutherans experienced church music as an aerated mixture which included the breeze of the Holy Spirit. Musical analyses in each chapter test out these modes of listening.

As a whole, this thesis calls for historical listening to be understood as something multiple, embodied, and imaginative. It seeks to understand listening as a much broader set of acts that stretch beyond the temporal limits and spatial context of a specific musical performance.

Mark Soong Xian Seow

Acknowledgements

I remember sitting in the stacks as an undergraduate in Girton College Library. Turning away from the essay I was supposed to be writing, I reached for a book to my right: Barack Obama's *Dreams From My Father*. I read its Preface. Upon preparing the book for its re-publication, Obama confesses to wincing over poorly chosen words and mangled sentences. He concludes: "I cannot honestly say, however, that the voice in this book is not mine". It is difficult for me to say quite the same.

The voice of this thesis has been shaped by so many. My supervisor, Bettina Varwig, has given so much of her expertise, energy, and time into guiding this project. She has been a kind, generous, and patient supervisor. If there is one other person in the world that truly "gets" this project, it is her. I thank John Dilworth, Martin Ennis, Markus Rathey, and Sasha Valeri Millwood for reading large sections of this thesis. The supportive community of Bach Network has been an unexpected lifeline; in particular, I thank Michael Marissen, Michael Maul, Benedikt Schubert, Tatiana Shabalina, and Ruth Tatlow. Translation help has come from Tabea Debus, Hildegard O'Kane, Johan Siebers, and Franziska Wolf. I thank my viva examiners John Butt and Tomás McAuley for their careful reading of this thesis and expert comments.

My reading group and fellow PhD students have helped shape this project in profound ways. I particularly thank Adam Behan, Peter Elliott, Fatima Lahham, Paul Newton-Jackson, and Tadgh Sauvey. The librarians and archivists in Cambridge have been formidable. I thank James Clements, Helen Snelling, and Robert Leonard who went out of their way to assist me from afar. I thank those who have facilitated my research through administrative and funding guidance. Bert Vaux and Alistair Swiffen have been extremely kind in this regard. I thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council Doctoral Training Partnerships (AHRC DTP) and the Isaac Newton Trust for funding my research. Additional support from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD), King's Graduate Student Fund, and the Faculty of Music has enriched this project beyond measure.

Others have helped in ways less easy to define, but I shall try. Chi-chi Nwanoku has been an inspiration. Vince Hunt, Tim Parry, and Les Pratt remind me that words are for the eyes and ears, as well as for the brain. I am lucky to be surrounded by leading figures in the world of Bach performance. I have missed train stops because of their inspiring words and performances. They include Joe Crouch, Maggie Faultless, Jonathan Freeman-Attwood, Nicholas Mulroy, Rachel Podger, and many others.

On paper, this thesis has had one home, and I am thankful for King's College, Cambridge for providing me with the resources to complete this project. But in reality, it has had many homes. Most of all, I thank my parents who have supported me so lovingly in my endeavours, however different from their own. Shamrock Way has been a wonderful home.

Mark Seow

July 2022

List of abbreviations

- BWV [Bach Werke-Verzeichnis] Wolfgang Schmieder, *Thematisch-systematisches Verzeichnis der musikalischen Werke von Johann Sebastian Bach* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1990).
- NBR *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, eds. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, revised by Christoph Wolff (New York and London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998).

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Interviewer:

I love “lightly dusked.” Or is that too rich for you?

Ali Smith:

No, no. I love rich. The richer the better. Nobody takes a rich risk anymore. Why would we not? Language is endless currency. Shower me with words like that girl in the myth gets showered with coins.

The Paris Review, 2017

Metaphors for Listening in Johann Sebastian Bach's Germany

Introduction

Zeffirelli Why are you crying?
Krementz Tear gas. Also, I suppose I'm sad. [...] Go tell your parents you're home.
 They're worried.
Zeffirelli I'm expected back on the barricades.
Krementz I didn't see any barricades.
Zeffirelli Well, we're still constructing them.
Krementz What are you writing?
Zeffirelli A manifesto. [...] will you proofread it? My parents think you're a good
 writer.
Krementz Give it to me. [*Reads manifesto.*] It's a little damp.
Zeffirelli Physically or metaphorically?
Krementz Both, based on the cover and the first four sentences.¹

The French Dispatch (2021)

In a scene from Wes Anderson's *The French Dispatch* (2021), Zeffirelli, played by a naked Timothée Chalamet, is writing a manifesto in a bathtub. He hands a draft to the journalist Lucinda Krementz, expecting her to be impressed (Figure 0.1). Instead, she finds it damp—both “physically and metaphorically”—and full of typos. Does Zeffirelli check the status of his manifesto's dampness because they are in a bathroom where taps drip and condensation collects? Or is it because therein he is trying to describe things – revolution, freedom of movement, military conscription – *big* things, for which we writers turn to metaphor? Certainly, it's a revealing line for a film that so vividly thematises its own in-between, ambiguous status. “It is a magazine in movie form”, as one *Rolling Stone* critic put it, yet also a “sterling example of what's so movie-ish about [Anderson's] movies”.² That Zeffirelli seeks clarity on whether Krementz is talking in metaphor, though, is strange: for him, the real does not

¹ Sophie Caraan, “Timothée Chalamet Asks for Help With His Manifesto While in the Bathtub in New ‘The French Dispatch’ Clip”, *Hypebeast* (13 July 2021) <<https://hypebeast.com/2021/7/wes-anderson-the-french-dispatch-new-clip-timothee-chalamet-frances-mcdormand>> Accessed 3 March 2022.

² K. Austin Collins, “‘The French Dispatch’ Is the Most Wes Anderson-y Wes Anderson Movie of All Time”, *Rolling Stone* (25 October 2021) <<https://www.rollingstone.com/movies/movie-reviews/french-dispatch-review-wes-anderson-1243913/>> Accessed 3 March 2022.

have to be materially tangible. After all, post bath he's "expected back on the barricades"—barricades that have not yet been built. Metaphors can refer to the immaterial, the not-actually-there in a physically concrete sense. And yet the not-actually-there, as something felt, embodied or believed in, can be experienced as even *more* real than the materially tangible or visible. Metaphors harbour such realities.

Attempting to sort the literal from the metaphorical presumably took up much of the literary scholar Hetta Elizabeth Howes's decision-making energy as she finalised her recently published *Transformative Waters in Late-Medieval Literature* (2021). For seven terms in her index ("childbirth", "drowning", "floods", "fountains", "hygiene", "rivers", and "sea"), Howes delineates between when these are discussed in her book literally or as metaphor (Figure 0.2). Yet, as her exegesis of Psalm 113:7–8 reveals, such a distinction barely holds up:

Although this passage certainly has a literal meaning, demonstrating God's power and his ability to satiate the thirsty, the concept of turning stone into water is traditionally interpreted metaphorically. [...] Water appears in the Bible in various forms, representing different sometimes contradictory things, both real and allegorical. It is a gift and a punishment, a sign of purity and of corruption, an expression of emotion, a bland substance which must be transformed into wine and an agent of spiritual salvation.³

Howes describes how early moderns had "direct interaction with water, whether in the form of immersion in metaphorical seas, baths in Christ's own bodily fluids, or everyday labour with water".⁴ Together with James Smith, Howes urges scholars to "recognise water's ability to act not only as a metaphor, but as an intellectual framework, a nexus, a mode of meaning".⁵ Albrecht Classen similarly notes how early moderns utilised water for "hygienic, medical, and transportation, but then also essentially, for symbolic purposes".⁶ These scholars interrogate the intrinsically ambiguous, paradoxical, simultaneous, and insistently shifting dampness of their early modern materials and leaky subjects. "Not only do tears signal the permeability and instability of the body," writes the classicist Peter Kelly, but they also "actively mediate its boundary and challenge the unitary concept of the body [...] tears, sweat, sperm, and any other liquid emissions [were] indicators of the porous nature of the

³ Hetta Elizabeth Howes, *Transformative Waters in Late-Medieval Literature: From Aelred of Rievaulx to the Book of Margery Kempe* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2021), 34.

⁴ Howes, *Transformative Waters in Late-Medieval Literature*, 2.

⁵ James L. Smith and Hetta Elizabeth Howes (eds.), "Medieval Water Studies: Past, Present, and Promise", *New Approaches to Medieval Water Studies* (2019), 1–12 (9).

⁶ Albrecht Classen, *Water in Medieval Literature: An Ecocritical Reading* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2018), viii.



Eve	91n	Humours	39, 40, 142, 151–152
Fifteenth-century literature		Hygiene	
critical conceptions of	17, 173–176, 173n	literal	14, 58–59, 89–91
Fifteen Oes	150	spiritual	53–86
Filth		Idleness	56, 94–98, 107, 170
See pollution		imitatio christi	15–16, 90, 167
Floods		incendium amoris	131, 142, 178–180
biblical	3, 7, 30–31, 35, 98, 118	Ineffability	122, 133
literal	6–7, 63–64, 65, 90, 125	Isidore of Seville	
metaphorical	48–49, 60, 63–66, 66, 77–78, 81–85, 93, 125–128, 132–133, 145–146, 154, 157, 161, 176, 179–180	Etymologies	40–41, 45, 47
Floodgates	87, 94, 97	Jacob's Well (ME sermon series)	57–58, 60, 61–62, 65, 68–70, 72–73
Foot washing	80, 160	Jacob's Well (Bible)	33, 53–54, 84, 90, 128
Fountains		Jangle (iangle)	93–97, 94n
biblical	31–34, 53, 90, 114–115, 139, 144	Jerusalem	
literal	90	See Paradise	
metaphorical	36, 115n, 117, 165	Julian of Norwich	138, 140, 148, 153–156, 155n
See also Christ, as fountain		Kempe, Margery	
Fourth Lateran Council	6, 55	Passion meditation	147n, 156, 159n
Fulling linen	70–73		161–163

(Left) Figure 0.1: Physically and metaphorically damp. Wes Anderson, “Revisions to a Manifesto”, *The French Dispatch* (2021). (Right) Figure 0.2: Indexing the literal from the metaphorical. Hetta Elizabeth Howes, *Transformative Waters in Late-Medieval Literature* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2021), 205.

human body and the potential for the soul to seep through its structure”.⁷ As Kremenz reveals, tears caused by phenacyl chloride and xylyl bromide can drip from a sad heart, too.

All the world’s a bathroom, it seems. Even under a church roof, sheltered from the rain and snow that fell from heaven, the subjects of this thesis—Lutheran musicians and listeners in early eighteenth-century Germany—were dripping wet. Their pores seeped sweat like untightened faucets and their hearts gushed blood like garden fountains; they spluttered as they sang. Like the actors, characters and spectators that populate the studies of Shakespeare scholar Gail Kern Paster, musicians in Bach’s Germany were “leaky vessels”.⁸

While discussion of the quasi-literal nature of metaphor, or what I will call the litero-metaphorical, has roared in studies of Shakespeare’s works and early modern England over the last three decades, the significance of metaphor to understanding musical experience has only hummed in the background of Bach research. Reinhard Strohm, writing in 2006 on Bach’s *B minor Mass*, drew on the metaphor theory of twentieth-century philosopher Paul Ricoeur. For Strohm, Ricoeur’s framework “describes metaphor as a kind of farther-reaching language that constitutes meaning through

⁷ Peter Kelly, “Tears and the Leaky Vessel: Permeable and fluid bodies in Ovid and Lucretius”, *Bodily Fluids in Antiquity*, eds. Mark Bradley, Victoria Leonard, and Laurence Totelin (Abingdon and New York: Routledge, 2021), 259–271 (259 [...] 261).

⁸ Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 25.

interaction”.⁹ As such, Strohm imagined two types of listener – one inclined towards metaphor, the other towards the literal – to interact with Bach’s *Mass* and its origins in parody:

Two different contemporary listeners of the Mass, if there were such listeners, could have constructed two opposing meanings: one would have concluded that, ‘whatever this music refers to, it persuasively expresses the ideas of gratitude and magnificence, and it is a good final *peroratio*’, the other, ‘whatever this music expresses, it was last heard at the Leipzig council change’. Bach himself might have accepted this ambiguity between literal reference (to the Leipzig chorus) and metaphoric reference (to thanksgiving and peace).¹⁰

Responding to Strohm’s article, John Butt characterises the movement between the poles on a literal-metaphorical spectrum as fluid. Even if Bach had “intended a fixed meaning in such pieces”, Butt argues, “the very substance of the music would render meaning more fluid and open to unexpected expansion”.¹¹ For Butt, music “operates in metaphorical relation to a meaning that it never actually had, but which we somehow presuppose”.¹²

To explain this further, Butt turns to metaphor. To show how the “apparent meaning” of musical material can change in Bach’s compositions such as that of the *St Matthew Passion*, Butt analyses the connection between the recitative for the two priests and the bass aria that follows it, “Gebt mir meinen Jesum wieder!”.

Musically, the token shared between recitative and aria is of course the rhythmic pattern, a sort of musical coinage that seems to saturate the texture as the aria proceeds (the semiquaver and even demisemiquaver patterns can be heard as outgrowths of the initial pattern, as if the money has multiplied itself as the currency is fatally devalued). Yet this musical token of exchange clearly does not have a single, stable meaning or value, even if it provides a recognizable connection between the two movements. Its value is entirely dependent on who is singing or listening and it also changes over time. It clearly no longer works in the manner of a direct exchange, where music and meaning can simply be swapped back and forth.¹³

⁹ Reinhard Strohm, “Transgression, Transcendence and Metaphor – The ‘Other Meanings’ of the B-Minor Mass”, *Understanding Bach* 1 (2006), 49–68 (50).

¹⁰ Strohm, “Transgression, Transcendence and Metaphor”, 58.

¹¹ John Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity: Perspectives on the Passions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 181.

¹² Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity*, 177.

¹³ Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity*, 179.

In a sense, the metaphor Butt chooses is historically appropriate. Early modern Germany saw the disintegration of the “direct connection between goods, services and work through a barter economy” in favour of the “increasing reliance on money as an element of exchange with an abstract value that can go up or down according to a plethora of circumstances”. Largely historical, then; but why *this* metaphor? An obvious answer, as Butt reminds us, would be that both “texts concerned are linked by the notion of money”.¹⁴ There are also obvious representational aspects to Bach’s music. Visceral scalar lines spill in abundance, octave leaps perforate the texture, and the violinist’s overtly physical bariolage passages and arpeggio work has their arm and bow in chaotic frenzy. A performance depicts silver flung into the air, a simulation of the clattering clang of coins on stone floor. Indeed, for Albert Schweitzer, the aria was pure representation: “Bach’s aim in his music”, writes Schweitzer, “is to reproduce from the text what the eye can see and what the ear can hear”.¹⁵ Butt’s logic seems to be: if music sounds like coins, and its text is about money, perhaps it can also function as currency.¹⁶

While Butt’s metaphor may draw on the way currency operated in Bach’s time, and thus “brings us back to some of the fundamental historical issues of Bach’s environment”, it is not historical in the sense that the *metaphor* circulated in Bach’s time.¹⁷ A similar strategy occurs in Butt’s analysis of the chorus “Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen” from Bach’s *St John Passion*, in which the soldiers, noticing the seamlessness of Jesus’ coat, ask for it not to be cut up but rather kept in one piece:

We might imagine that Bach considered fugal style particularly appropriate for representing something that is ‘all of one piece’, all its threads continuously connecting to one another to make a seamless whole. [...] a longer coat without seams is obviously more valuable and impressive than a small piece of woven cloth. So Bach’s task was to work out how the opening complex could be extended in a way that remained equally seamless (or, more accurately, ‘seemingly seamless’). [...] Here, then, Bach has worked like the expert tailor who covers up a necessary seam in the garment by writing a new passage that sounds like something entirely integral to the rest of the threads.¹⁸

¹⁴ Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity*, 178–179.

¹⁵ “Aus der Arie ‘Gebt mir meinen Jesum wieder’ kann man fast am besten erkennen, wie sehr Bach darauf ausgeht, in seiner Musik vom Texte das wiederzugeben, was das Auge sieht und das Ohr hört.” Albert Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1961), 569. See also John Butt, Ruth Tatlow, and Bettina Varwig, “Bach and the Corporeality of Emotions”, *Discussing Bach* 4, eds. Ruth Tatlow and Barbara M. Reul (2022), 2–15 (3–5).

¹⁶ For a discussion of Bach’s finances and musical expressions of riches and poverty, see Noelle M. Heber, *J.S. Bach’s Material and Spiritual Treasures: A Theological Perspective* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2021).

¹⁷ Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity*, 179.

¹⁸ Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity*, 252–259.

Butt's libretto-inspired metaphors resonate with the historical context of Bach's music. Clothing was a common theological metaphor in Lutheran Germany. For example, in Johann Quirsfeld's *Allersüßester Jesus-Trost Einer Weltverdrossenen Seelen*, a devotional book published in Leipzig numerous times in the second half of the seventeenth century, Jesus is described as a beautiful dress of honour ("Mein Jesus ist mein schönstes Ehrenkleid") and His blood as a bride's beautiful red dress ("Dein Blut mein schönes Purpur-Kleid").¹⁹

But in order to reflect on the culture of metaphor in early modern Germany, a useful first step might be to grapple with metaphors prevalent in written sources from that era. Certainly, Bach might have been *thinking* about coinage and clothing – and the implications of their value, use, and materiality – in musical terms at specific points during composition. Yet the absence of music described in such terms in the musical literature does not suggest that this would have been a common or widely held interpretation by other eighteenth-century composers, musicians, or listeners. My interest in metaphor, as will soon become clear, lies in how metaphors are grounded in embodied experience to the extent that they cannot be fully separated from the lived reality from which they emerged.²⁰ Perhaps, then, Butt's metaphors of music-as-currency and music-as-cloth actually tell us more about Butt himself and his reality in the twenty-first century, something which he alludes to in the closing pages of his book:

Have I really achieved what I set out to do in this study of Bach's Passions? Is this anything more than a reasonably thorough – if sometimes perverse – study of these works, adorned with various cultural metaphors (ones that, many might believe, are surely more ephemeral than Bach's music)?²¹

We can expect historical metaphors, therefore, to tell us about historical listening experiences. Their ephemerality and historical particularity warn us against the assumption of seemingly natural, neutral, or unchanging practices of musical listening through the centuries. As Youn Kim writes, listening is "plastic".²²

¹⁹ Johann Quirsfeld, *Allersüßester Jesus-Trost Einer Weltverdrossenen Seelen* (Leipzig: Lunitius, 1689), 532–533. In the *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten* of 1694, a handbook for Confession and Communion, there is an engraving depicting "Jesus kleidet das Hertz [in der Tauffe]". See *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten, darinnen der Erste Theil das Gebetbuch, der Ander Theil Das Gesangbuch: Nebst einer Vorrede Herrn Gottlob Friedr. Seligmanns* (Leipzig: Würdig, 1694), 112. See Chapter 1 for the metaphor of Jesus' blood as clothing.

²⁰ See Bettina Varwig (ed.), "Embodied Invention: Bach at the Keyboard", *Rethinking Bach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 115–140 (118).

²¹ Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity*, 293.

²² Youn Kim, "Listening to the Musicking Body: A Cross-Disciplinary and Historical Perspective", *The Oxford Handbook of Music and the Body*, eds. Youn Kim and Sander L. Gilman (New York: Oxford University Press,

This thesis investigates metaphors that circulated in writings of early modern Lutheran Germany to reconstruct congregational listening experiences of a Bach cantata. I examine metaphor as a framework for listening through which eighteenth-century Lutherans engaged in aural worship. As Nicholas Cook writes, “meaning lies not in the work but in the relationship between work and listener.”²³ Metaphors formed a framework through which such meanings were negotiated. For instance, in Chapter 1, I explore the metaphor of liquid. As music was described in Lutheran devotional materials as a kind of liquid, I configure musical listening as an interaction with flows. Could listening in church have felt like bathing? The litero-metaphorical status of music as liquid gestures to an early modern experience of being washed clean during a cantata performance – even in the absence of material bathwater. Historical metaphors tell us not only about how listeners imagined music to function, but also how they tangibly felt music to work on and in their bodies during a cantata performance. They speak to how congregants used music to fashion themselves into better Lutherans.

Perhaps, therefore, it is not a coincidence that listening positions or “postures” have intrigued scholars invested in Bach research and performance. Butt, for one, theorises a mode of listening akin to a roller-coaster ride:

[Y]ou listen to the music and become engrossed in the stage action, you are swept along in the course of events – there is no essential separation between “the music”, on the one hand, and the listener, on the other. Likewise, if you decide to embark on a roller-coaster ride, the experience is one where your body and consciousness become part of the ride; it takes some degree of perversity to analyse how the ride is structured, or how it might be self-referential. [...] (it [the music] is, rather, the seat on that roller-coaster, inextricably connected to the machinery of the presentation, something pre-given rather than something the passenger is necessarily encouraged to create or develop).²⁴

While Butt’s theory of listening might at first imply a kind of passivity—immersed in the roller-coaster ride, the rider loses their sense of self—there are ways in which riders interact with a ride with agency. A roller-coaster rider might, for example, put their hands in the air at specific points during the ride;

2018), 418–431. See also James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); *The Oxford Handbook of Music Listening in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Christian Thorau and Hansjakob Ziemer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); John Dilworth, *Media, Knowledge and Oratorio Culture in Britain, 1840-1900*, Ph.D thesis, Harvard University (2022); Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004).

²³ Nicholas Cook, *Music as Creative Practice* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 146.

²⁴ John Butt, “Do Musical Works Contain an Implied Listener? Towards a Theory of Musical Listening”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135/1 (2010), 5–18 (9–10).

they might voluntarily scream, hold on tight, or smile for the camera. Even from a position of immersion, then, a roller-coaster rider might choose to interact with the ride in ways that articulate and heighten its engineered drama and narrative. Butt's analogy presents listening as an immersive yet agential experience.

This form of negotiated interaction is also found in what Suzanne Cusick calls her "lesbian relationship with music". Cusick describes her experience of hearing music "which seemed palpable, shining, like silver air [...] I am in search of union with that music".²⁵ She encourages her students to seek out this "immersion in something outside the solipsism of the individuated":

As a listening posture, this refreshes and renews me, gives me energy when I have none; reminds me I am alive, not dead [...] it is an experience that re-teaches me how to relate to the world, how to have the nerve to open myself to it. [...] So, when I teach, I teach my own listening posture, one that seeks to restore a primal reception of music through a listening strategy of extreme attentiveness. [...] I encourage students to receive music 'on their backs', paying the closest of attention to what in the music gives them pleasure...²⁶

In this passage, Cusick describes listening as a process of opening. As music enters her, she also enters it. As an organist, too, Cusick seeks out such circulations of power. The experience of performing Bach's *Canonic Variations on "Vom Himmel hoch"* is, for her, akin to lesbian sex:

I love feeling like I'm on top, controlling with skilled hands the articulation of snippets of the chorale in the uncanonic melody, and I especially love the climax because it is at that moment that the music gets away from me, at that moment that she is on top in the sense that because of my hands' work she has all the power, and I am reduced to rapture by that power's release. [...] a great deal of my pleasure derives from the jumbling of who's on top—am I playing "Vom Himmel hoch," or is she playing me? In all performances that give me joy, the answer is unclear—we are both on top, both on our backs, both wholly ourselves and wholly mingled with each other. Power circulates freely across porous boundaries; the categories player and played, lover and beloved, dissolve.²⁷

²⁵ Suzanne Cusick, "On a Lesbian Relationship With Music: A Serious Effort Not to Think Straight", *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, eds. Phillip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, Gary C Thomas, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2006), 67–83 (69).

²⁶ Cusick, "On a Lesbian Relationship With Music", 75–76.

²⁷ Cusick, "On a Lesbian Relationship With Music", 78.

Elsewhere Cusick describes the most physically challenging moment of performing the chorale prelude on “Aus tiefer Not” from Bach’s *Clavierübung*, Part III, BWV 686: “one might as well be floating in mid-air, so confused and constantly shifting is the body’s centre of gravity”.²⁸ But then, a state of grace “comes to the organist at the end of the phrase ... [it is] a private message from Bach’s mind through the body of the organist to the organist’s mind”.²⁹ Cusick’s model of lesbian listening and embodied music theory are particularly pertinent to my project for, unlike Butt, she is not writing in analogy.

What if music IS sex? [...]

What if hands are sex organs? *Mine are.*

What if ears are sex organs?³⁰

If sex is freed of the associations with reproduction and simply the negotiation of power and intimacy through the circulation of pleasure, Cusick argues that there is nothing preventing “music from *being* sex”.³¹ Cusick thus ascribes to her relationship with music the same litero-metaphorical *embodiedness* I have found in practices of Lutheran devotional listening. In terms of how listeners interacted with music using their bodies, music could constitute stuff other than music.

“more spiritual than material”

The use of metaphor in much early modern German writing gestures to the necessarily intertwined, ambiguous, and slippery nature of what was “real” for a Lutheran. Historical experiences of physical reality ranged from the anatomically demonstrable, such as in practices of dissection, to the tangible but invisible. The touch of God’s finger as a metaphorical gust of wind, as will be explored in Chapter 3, was felt to be just as “there” as was the pancreatic duct discovered in 1642 by the German anatomist Johann Georg Wirsung.³²

Music, too, was indisputably there yet also something difficult to grasp. Eighteenth-century writers noted its physical force. Johann Christoph Gottsched, professor of poetry, logic and metaphysics at the University of Leipzig and Bach’s librettist for *Laß, Fürstin, laß noch einen Strahl*, BWV 198, for

²⁸ Suzanne Cusick, “Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem”, *Perspectives of New Music* 32/1 (1994), 8–27 (18).

²⁹ Cusick, “Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem”, 18–19.

³⁰ Original emphasis. Cusick, “On a Lesbian Relationship With Music”, 78–79.

³¹ Original emphasis. Cusick, “On a Lesbian Relationship With Music”, 78.

³² Claudio Bassi, “The unsolved mystery of Johann Georg Wirsung and of (his?) pancreatic duct”, *Surgery* 149/1 (2011), 153–155. On the early modern fascination with dissection, see David Hillman, *Shakespeare’s Entrails: Belief, Scepticism and the Interior of the Body* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

example, described tolling bells as “piercing us to the very core”.³³ Johann Mattheson wrote how music caused “heavily occupied opera stages [to] shake and quake”.³⁴ Yet music was also something nebulous. Mattheson proposed that “the more spiritual, incorporeal, and imperishable are sounds and songs in their essence, the greater is their justification or preference”.³⁵ The Lutheran pastor Christoph Raupach emphasised that music was “much more spiritual than material”.³⁶ Simultaneously tangible and intangible, it was perhaps music’s paradoxical touch that led Caspar Calvör to admit defeat: “what is it? You say, I do not know: and I do not know it either. Behold! The unfathomable nature of music and sound”.³⁷

Centuries later, Carolyn Abbate would express similar struggles. But instead of musing on the physical effect of music on the bodies and souls of listeners, Abbate considered the indefinability of musical performance as a “material, present event”.³⁸

Meticulous as it can be, much of this writing [in performance studies] nonetheless misses a mark not so easy to define. And whatever its vague outer limits, that mark has a dense centre that has to do with musical performance’s strangeness, its unearthly as well as its earthy qualities, and its resemblance to magic shows and circuses. [...] Actual live, unrecorded performances are for the same reason almost universally excluded from performance studies; they, too, remain wild.³⁹

³³ “Der Glocken bebendes Getön /Soll unsrer trüben Seelen Schrecken /Durch ihr geschwungnes Erze wecken /Und uns durch Mark und Adern gehn.” See Richard Stokes, *J. S. Bach: The Complete Cantatas* (Oxford: The Scarecrow Press, 2004), 308.

³⁴ “Wie es denn auch ferner was sehr natürliches und gar nichts wunderbares ist, daß stark besetzte Singe-Bühnen, von heftiger Bewegung, der durch den Klang erregten zitternden Luft, durch gewirbelte Pauken-Schläge, tiefe Bässe x. einigermaßen beben und erschüttern”. Johann Mattheson, *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* (Hamburg: Herold, 1747), 110. Joyce Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition: Johann Mattheson and Christoph Raupach on Music in Time and Eternity* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 121.

³⁵ “Daher denn Luther die Musik, ohne Ausnahme der himmlischen, eine wunderbare Kreatur Gottes nennet; und zwar mit desto größerm Rechte oder Vorzuge, je geistiger, unkörperlicher und unvergänglicher Klang und Gesang in ihrem Wesen find.” Mattheson, *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*, 17. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 74.

³⁶ “DEr Klang der Music, welcher vielmehr spirituel als materialisch ist”. Christoph Raupach, *Veritophili Deutliche Beweis-Gründe* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1717), 19. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 26.

³⁷ “Oder endlich was ists? Du sprichst: Ich weiß es nicht; Und ich weiß es auch nicht: Ecce! Arcanum Soni et Musices.” Caspar Calvör, “Vorrede,” in Christoph Albert Sinn, *Musicalische Temperatura Practica* (Wernigerode: Struck, 1717), unpaginated.

³⁸ Carolyn Abbate, “Music—Drastic or Gnostic?”, *Critical Inquiry* 30/3 (2004), 505–536 (506).

³⁹ Abbate, “Music—Drastic or Gnostic?”, 508–509.

Like Abbate, I do think that words can wholly capture the “wildness” of musical performance. Metaphors – and in this category, I include similes as a kind of “pre-metaphor” – are particularly useful in this regard. Following the work of metaphor theorists George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, I do not interpret metaphor as a mere adornment of language – or, as musicologist Holly Watkins puts it, a “variety of rhetorical spice”.⁴⁰ Rather, I embrace metaphor as embodied reality. As Lakoff and Johnson described in their book *Metaphors We Live By* (1980), “metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action”. It shapes our very being:

Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature [...] Metaphor is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words. We shall argue that, on the contrary, human *thought processes* are largely metaphorical.⁴¹

As Watkins remarks, Lakoff and Johnson’s work “appears to promise a way to ground metaphor in the nature of the mind and body rather than leave it to the whims of criticism”.⁴²

While grounded in the mind and body, metaphors also seem to live and breathe on the page. As cited at the top of this chapter, the writer Ali Smith bemoans a literary landscape in which writers do not take “a rich risk anymore”. Smith then walks the walk: “Language is endless currency. Shower me with words like that girl in the myth gets showered with coins”.⁴³ Smith conjures a scene of splendour, the extravagant erotism of Ancient Greece. She predictably plays on the word “rich”. But there is also something volatile about her reply. The metaphor of currency seemingly morphs into another metaphor: money as showering liquid, rain perhaps. But it is not until the final word of her reply—“coins”—that we recognise we have not shifted. For this reader, there is a moment of unbalance: Smith’s words elicit a jolt in which the unpredictable swerves back into the expected. It is in this sense that I find in metaphors a similar wildness to that found in “actual live” musical performance. Indeed, metaphor *itself* – particularly in the context of rhetoric and early modern sermonizing – could be thought of as a kind of performance.

⁴⁰ Holly Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E. T. A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 9.

⁴¹ Original emphasis. George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 3–6.

⁴² Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought*, 9

⁴³ Ali Smith, “Ali Smith: The Art of Fiction No. 236”, interviewed by Adam Begley, *The Paris Review* 221 (2017), 175–203 (194).

Historical imagination: a methodology

My project responds to the wildness of music and metaphor by employing a more flexible and interdisciplinary approach than is common in traditional Bach studies. As David Yearsley has expressed, proving a hypothesis in Bach studies – difficult at the best of times – forms only one possible mode of engaging with historical evidence.

[Christoph] Wolff musters a convincing array of supporting evidence for his conjectures, examining key relationships, musical style, temperament, pitch standards, and keyboard compasses, among other factors. Regardless of whether the hypothesis is ever ‘proved’—*and it seems unlikely that it will be by any juridical standard*—we can for the first time imagine fully-fledged organ concertos by the instrument’s greatest master. I see the historical report on the Dresden recitals not so much as evidence in a scholarly back-and-forth but as an invitation to reinvigorate this aspect of keyboard culture through the cooperation of scholarship and performance.⁴⁴

As Yearsley points out, historical evidence need not be a smoking gun in a whodunnit; it can also be an “invitation”. Rather than attempting to prove a point – *this is what Bach’s listeners did* – I draw upon historical evidence in a more exploratory and cumulative fashion. I construct a framework with which to reimagine what historical listening might have felt like. In doing so, I have fought against any kneejerk responses to collapse the more bizarre distinctions between now and then. Instead, my approach seeks to give space to the imagery of Bach’s time to articulate itself. On the basis of what we know about eighteenth-century understandings of music, this thesis reimagines the historical possibilities for Bach’s listeners: it works in both the plausible and the peculiar.

My methodology combines elements of musical hermeneutics, reception history, and musical analysis, an approach in Bach studies that has been pioneered by Bettina Varwig. In essays such as “Death and Life in J. S. Bach’s Cantata *Ich habe genug* (BWV 82)” and “Metaphors of Time and Modernity in Bach”, Varwig explores Lutheran notions of time to “reconstruct the contemporary perceptions and norms of a historically positioned intersubjective listening community [...] a plausible ‘space’ within which such meanings were constituted and negotiated”.⁴⁵ This method has resulted in refreshing reinterpretations of Bach’s music. Alfred Dürr’s analysis of the “so-called slumber aria” from

⁴⁴ My emphasis. David Yearsley, “Keyboard Music”, *The Routledge Research Companion to Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Robin A. Leaver (New York: Routledge, 2017), 295–316 (305).

⁴⁵ Bettina Varwig, “Death and Life in J. S. Bach’s Cantata *Ich habe genug* (BWV 82)”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135/2 (2010) 315–356 (319). See also Bettina Varwig, “Metaphors of Time and Modernity in Bach”, *The Journal of Musicology* 29/2 (2012), 154–190.

Ich habe genug, BWV 82, for example, epitomises a traditional interpretation. He noted the pedal-points, cradle rhythms, fermatas, and the “melodic tendency to the Mixolydian” that characterises Bach’s aria as a “lullaby”.⁴⁶ Varwig, however, questions such a depiction. Instead, she finds “ironic commentary” in its musical structure, speculating whether Bach’s fermatas were filled with the sinful snoring of congregants.⁴⁷

Varwig’s recent and forthcoming explorations of historical metaphors have increasingly responded to the so-called “sensory turn”, as well to more corporeally focused musicological studies such as James Q. Davies’s search for sound’s “fleshy signature”.⁴⁸ To establish the veracity of early modern metaphors, Varwig has turned to medical treatises and anatomical textbooks:

Simply casting them as poetic flights of fancy would mean disregarding the fundamentally embodied nature of such metaphors, which acquired their meaningfulness precisely through a more or less tangible link to a perceived corporeal reality. In heeding Gail Kern Paster’s call for an ‘interpretive literalism’ in approaching early modern tropes based on bodily parts and functions, we might instead start from the assumption that experiences of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century bodiliness were historically particular in such a way that they could give rise to this kind of imagery without too great a sense of rupture or alienation. [...] Since the historical record is frustratingly slim with regard to actual flesh-and-blood listeners caught in the act, their experiences of engaging with music (in particular in the context of a worship service) are pieced together here from a range of theological, scientific, and musical sources...⁴⁹

Varwig attests to what I defined above as the litero-metaphorical: metaphors, as she puts it, are “fundamentally embodied” and reflect “concrete bodily realities”.⁵⁰ The soprano who performed Bach’s cantata *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*, BWV 199, according to Varwig, was not singing in “poetic flights of fancy”, but rather made listeners privy to the medical and moral specifics of her heart swimming in blood—a condition defined by early modern physicians as plethora. When Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach described keyboardist’s fingers as “throwing a tantrum” (*den Koller kriegen*), Varwig

⁴⁶ Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, trans. Richard D. P. Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 664.

⁴⁷ Varwig, “Death and Life”, 338.

⁴⁸ James Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014), 2. For discussions of the sensory turn, see Mark M. Smith, *Sensory History* (Oxford: Berg, 2007); Mark M. Smith, *A Sensory History Manifesto* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021).

⁴⁹ Bettina Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking: The Physiology of a Bach Cantata”, *Representations* 143/1 (2018), 36–62 (38–39).

⁵⁰ Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking”, 43.

implores that the “possibility needs to be entertained that those accounts of independently creative hands and fingers held a degree of experiential or conceptual veracity”.⁵¹ My thesis builds on this growing body of scholarship. Like Varwig, I seek to reconstruct the musicking bodies of early modern Germany, and like Davies, I am interested in how music functioned in the “cultivation” of those bodies.⁵²

In divergence from Varwig’s recent methods, I find embodiedness in stuff very much not made of flesh. As such, my sources go far beyond the strictly scientific. My readings of Bach’s cantatas are grounded in the rich body of early modern Lutheran theological and devotional sources (Bible commentaries, prayer books, hymn books, song books, devotional guides, spiritual musings, church orders, sermons). Beyond that, I also draw on encyclopaedia entries, poetry collections, medical books, health manuals, children’s textbooks, history books, private correspondence, newspaper reports, as well as compositional and performance treatises. I embrace visual sources such as devotional engravings for how they make historical experiences of the litero-metaphorical palpable for modern eyes. Given this range of sources, my thesis deals with corporealities you will not find described in eighteenth-century anatomical textbooks. In Chapter 2, for example, I discuss hearts made of soil. Vigilant listening ploughed these heart-fields into receiving God’s Word and guarded Lutherans from the devil’s sprinkling of seeds. That early modern anatomists did not discover farmland upon dissection, I argue, made such metaphors no less tangible or intensely felt for Lutherans determined to keep God’s Word and bring it to fruition. My thesis embraces these moments in which materiality and tangibility did not align.

The primary evidence includes, of course, the librettos and music of Bach’s cantatas themselves. Where possible, I have used Bach’s autograph parts and scores as these also constitute sources of historical interaction between composer, scribes, and performers.⁵³ In responding to these musical materials, I draw on my experiences as a professional period violinist. My training and experiences as a practical musician have revealed ideas, gestures and nuances in Bach’s music which have largely gone unnoticed in Bach scholarship. My analytical method is inspired by Elizabeth Le Guin’s “carnal musicology”, an approach which foregrounds the “sensations and experiences” of playing music. Carnal musicology, Le Guin argues, “bears witness to a genuinely reciprocal relationship between performer and composer—even when the latter is no longer living”.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Varwig, “Embodied Invention”, 118.

⁵² Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 2.

⁵³ I am indebted to the work of Bach-Digital, an online database developed by the Bach Archive in Leipzig for its digitalisation of Bach manuscripts. I am also thankful to the British Library in London for its digitalisation of the Stefan Zweig Collection.

⁵⁴ Elizabeth le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 3.

Le Guin's method asserts that certain kinds of musical knowledge are contained within or inscribed upon a performer's body. For her, musical analysis is centred around the performing self. At the Society for Music Theory's Annual Meeting of the Performance and Analysis Interest Group in 2014, Le Guin examined the implications of her approach through a series of questions:

[T]he object of analysis has to be the performer herself, and the questions she asks herself, I believe, will need to be along the lines of 'Why am I doing this? To what future does it lead? Is it plausible, liveable, *harmonious*? Is it fully human?'⁵⁵

Le Guin's language is particularly interesting given the historical context of my project. In early eighteenth-century Germany, as will be discussed more below, bodily health was evaluated in terms of harmony. Healthy bodies vibrated in harmonic concord, while sick bodies were untuned and internally dissonant. In this context, music was considered a curing agent. Citing Andreas Werckmeister, Raupach wrote that "when lovely and fitting harmonic orders of music penetrate the human senses, they bring the confused *spiritus* of the sick people and, consequently, their disposition again into order and harmony, so that health can be restored".⁵⁶

I suspect that Le Guin's use of "harmonious" is not too distant from this early modern understanding. Rather than referring to how her body might emphasise dissonance or demonstrate other traditional aspects of musical harmony, I imagine Le Guin is thinking more along the lines of whether her analytical reading of musical notation is *in tune* with her body. That is, the object of musical analysis for Le Guin is not merely concerned with how her body will kinaesthetically respond to musical notation—"What do I need to do in order to play this? Where will I put my hands, and how will I move them?", questions Le Guin posed almost a decade earlier in her book *Boccherini's Body*.⁵⁷ Rather, her carnal musicology has evolved to ask how musical notation emerges from her performing self in ways that are honest and resonant with that body.

⁵⁵ My emphasis. Elisabeth Le Guin, "Dividing in Order to Conquer: A Riff on Early Baroque Division Treatises, Pedagogy, and the Concept of Mastery", Performance and Analysis Interest Group, Society for Music Theory (2014). See John Rink, "Response", *Music Theory Online* 22 (2016) <https://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.16.22.2/mto.16.22.2.rink.html> Accessed 9 May 2022.

⁵⁶ "Denn, wenn die schöne und wohlangebrachte harmonische Ordnungen derselben in die Sinne des Menschen eindringen, so bringen sie die verwirrten *Spiritus* der Krancken und folgendes ihr Gemüth wieder in Ordnung und *Harmonie*, darauf kan ja die Gesundheit wieder erfolgen." Raupach, *Veritophili*, 35. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 37.

⁵⁷ Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, 17.

Crucially, however, the historical status of this project means that my analyses cannot solely be about me or how Bach's notation resonates with my performing body. I have to maintain a level of detachment from my historical subjects, a distance that is expertly set out by medical historian Barbara Duden:

The first step toward understanding the complaints of the women of [eighteenth-century] Eisenach was therefore to realise that my own certainties about the body are a cultural bias, one which perhaps I could even learn to transcend. I had to create some distance to my own body, for it was clear that it cannot serve as a bridge to the past.⁵⁸

Or as Michel Foucault articulated in 1977:

We believe, in any event, that the body obeys the exclusive laws of physiology and that it escapes the influence of history, but this too is false. The body is moulded by a great many distinct regimes; it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest, and holidays; it is poisoned by food or values, through eating habits or moral laws; it constructs resistances. 'Effective' history differs from traditional history in being without constants. Nothing in man—not even his body—is sufficiently stable to serve as the basis for self-recognition or for understanding other men.⁵⁹

Unlike Duden, however, who sought to “transcend” her body in her work on eighteenth-century female patients, it is more or less impossible for me to look at a musical score and not feel it through with my performing body. My body does not just read an A-sharp on the musical page: it feels it, too—and not just in the pinkie of my left hand, but also in my arms, torso, knees, eyebrows, and jaw. The performative aspects of this thesis attempt to recognise how musical notation can engage a performer's entire body.

Le Guin's notion of a “harmonious” musical analysis is therefore useful when seeking an approach that tempers the historically out-of-reach and the living, breathing carnal self. I take heed of the historically peculiar body-souls of Bach's performers and congregants while also paying close attention to how my body responds to Bach's musical notation. In particular, I attend to the ways in which these perspectives seem to speak to each other. Varwig admits that it is “unclear how far any researcher or listener today might be equipped to retune their ears and innards” to a historical way of

⁵⁸ Barbara Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), vii.

⁵⁹ Michel Foucault, “Nietzsche, Genealogy, History”, *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 76–100 (87–88).

being.⁶⁰ Yet without claiming I have recovered the body of a historical performer, I am able to ponder the type of knowledge my body offers up.

A musician's body tells them things – sometimes strange, initially inexplicable things – and, occasionally, the historical evidence sheds light on such corporeal experiences. In Chapter 3, for example, I explore a historical and spiritual grounding for Cusick's experience of performing Bach as "floating in mid air".⁶¹ Certainly, my body is attentive to things easily missed by those who subscribe to a music-as-text paradigm. Those who solely focus on A-sharp as the leading note in B minor, for example, might miss how it feels for a violinist habituated in a certain style of performance to play that note as a rising appoggiatura on a gut string. They would likely miss out on what a performer's experience of friction might afford for listeners. Embodied knowledge, therefore, can speak to a more holistic sense of corporeal devotion. In grappling with these methodologies, I tweak Le Guin's questions cited above, to ask instead: How might this music have plausibly emerged from the bodies of Bach's musicians in harmonious ways? How did Lutherans live with and through this music? How did it nourish their bodies and souls?

In moving between very different approaches and sources in my thesis, I embrace the kind of messiness that historian Mary Lindemann finds in archives of eighteenth-century German policy making:

The methods of information gathering were complex, the execution of directives entangled, and the process of policy making multi-layered and ambiguous. The very imperfections of the entire system created precisely the kinds of documentation that are invaluable, indeed, essential, to my investigation. The tentacles of central bureaucracy – what there was of it – barely stretched into local areas. Information provided in response to government directives was colourful, confused, even idiosyncratic, often containing so much contradictory or 'extraneous' material that even the proto-bureaucrats of the eighteenth century often judged it worthless. Yet it dishes up to the historian a slice of life that is almost too rich. These archives do not supply the precisely uniform paper trails and the neatly bundled files late nineteenth- and twentieth-century bureaucracies have left behind; instead, they reflect the world of nuance, flux, and inuendo that was early modern society.⁶²

Is it my imagination, or does Lindemann convey the messiness through metaphor? Directives are "entangled" and central bureaucracy has "tentacles"; her archive is an octopus with "extraneous",

⁶⁰ Varwig, "Heartfelt Musicking", 58.

⁶¹ Cusick, "Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem", 18.

⁶² Mary Lindemann, *Health and Healing in Eighteenth-Century Germany* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 17.

“colourful”, and “confused” limbs. Like Abbate above, Lindemann reaches for metaphor when seeking to convey a reality that is “almost too rich”. My thesis plays with a similar strategy in its construction of a constellation of metaphors. In other words, I do not merely present an archive of fluid metaphors: I also *perform* the fluid nature of this archive through my writing. In doing so, I am inspired by the collage Wendy Heller creates in her book *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice*:

I have tried as much as possible to recreate the librettists’ workshops, to leaf through the books that ‘lay open’ on their tables, to imagine myself browsing the shelves of the Venetian booksellers, and to patronize the private libraries of the operagoers that informed their experiences in the theatre. [...] this book explores the fluid body of knowledge that might have been shared by librettists, composers and audience members and proposes a broad range of ways in which the operas might have been understood in the context of contemporary ideologies and expectations.⁶³

This “fluid body of knowledge” is also captured by Davies in his chapter describing the close living quarters of Chopin and medical student Jan Matuszyński.⁶⁴ The flatmates, as Davies’s juxtaposition of musical figures and medical drawings would have us imagine, perhaps even shared a workspace: readers might picture a desk on which anatomical treatises lay open beside music manuscripts. By moving between different sources in this thesis, I emphasise how embodied knowledge and the metaphorical imagination flowed between different knowledge realms. My methodology enacts the slipperiness and interconnectedness of early modern metaphors themselves.

The metaphors of this thesis

The three chapters in this thesis are each dedicated to a metaphor prevalent in early modern Lutheran Germany. The first chapter looks at the metaphor of music as liquid. I establish flow as a concept central to how early modern Lutherans understood music to come from God, move between performers, reach a listener, and affect change in a listener’s body. I reconstruct the context for this “liquid” music, what I call a spiritual liquid economy, and present how music was understood and felt to intermingle with all kinds of fluid, from sweat to bathwater. The final section of the chapter presents an analysis of “Ergieße dich reichlich” from *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5 – a tenor aria with obbligato viola that traditionally has been written about for its expressive wordpainting. Yet as Butt argues, exclusively thinking of music

⁶³ Wendy Heller, *Emblems of Eloquence: Opera and Women’s Voices in Seventeenth-Century Venice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 19.

⁶⁴ Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance*, 41–65.

as representation means that “music is always after the event; it’s always a Johnny-come-lately to the world”.⁶⁵ By demonstrating that music did not solely represent liquid or depict textual flows, I explore the ways in which we can analyse Bach’s notation for how it harboured the flowing physiological dimensions of performers and listeners in worship. That is, I approach historical listening experiences of Bach’s music as flowing and imagine how a cantata performance afforded the opportunity for congregants to wash their bodies of stain and sin.

The second chapter explores the metaphor of farming. Its scriptural basis is the “Parable of the Sower and the Seed”, the Gospel reading on Sexagesima, in which God’s Word is likened to seed. Lutherans were to cultivate their hearts as if farmland, and good listening was the process of bringing this seed to fruition. Early modern writers described music as a kind of agriculture. For Raupach, religion could be “instilled, conceived, implanted (*eingepflantzet*), and maintained in humans” through singing.⁶⁶ Heinrich Müller, who described the Holy Spirit during a sermon to awaken the “inner hearing” (*inners Gehör*) and make hearts into “good fields”, also noted how words penetrated the heart more effectively if they were set to music.⁶⁷ Music itself seemed to possess propagative properties in the ways that it spread from person to person. Unlike the previous chapter, then, the metaphor of farming provided a framework within which music took on different roles—it could constitute seed or spade, as well as soil. This multiplicity and ambiguity to the ways in which music operated within different metaphors presents an opportunity to challenge a dominant mode in traditional Bach studies which understands Bach to have encrypted theological meaning into his music. Rather, I highlight the active experience of congregants shifting between different embodied aspects of a chosen metaphor as an

⁶⁵ Tatlow, Varwig, and Butt, “Bach and Emotion: ‘Zur Recreation des Gemüth’”, 4.

⁶⁶ “... daß GOTT der heilige Geist seine heilsame Lehren in wol klingende und angenehme Gesänge verfallen lasse, damit durch die angenehme liebliche und erfreuliche Musicalische Melodien zugleich die Tugend und Gottseligkeit unserm Herten beygebracht werde. Dieses bezeuget auch die Erfahrung, wie herrlich und beständig die wahre Religion durch die geistliche Hertz-bewegende Gesänge der Choral-und Figural-Music, dem Menschen könne beygebracht, eingebildet, eingepflantzet und erhalten werden”. Raupach, *Veritophili*, 30. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 33.

⁶⁷ “Durchs Wort erleuchtet und lehret dich der Heil. Geist. Solt du den rechten Schatz deß Worts haben, so muß der H. Geist kommen, dein Hertz erleuchten, daß du glaubest. Er muß durch die Predigt kommen, dein Hertz öffnen, dein inners Gehör erwecken, und also das Wort in dir lebendig machen. Er muß dein Hertz zu einem guten Acker machen, und dann den Samen in den Acker pflanzen.” Heinrich Müller, *Göttliche Liebes-Flamme* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1676), 152. “Die Texte der heiligen Schrifft sind zwar an sich selber die allerlieblichste Music, die uns Trost und Leben in Todesnoht gibt, und ein Hertz warhafftig erfreuen kan. Wann aber eine süsse und sehnliche Weise darzu kommt, (wie dann eine gute Melodey auch Gottes schönes Geschöpf und Gabe ist,) da bekommt der Gesang eine neue Krafft, und geht tieffer zu Hertzen.” Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Seelen-Musik* (Frankfurt: Wust und Wilde, 1684), 89. See Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking”, 47.

exercise in aural worship. This multiplicity also gestures towards how congregants would have consistently fallen short of ideal standards of faith and behaviour.

Two musical analyses test out such real-time flux. The first analysis is of the Sinfonia to Bach's Sexagesima cantata, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18. I explore how Bach's timbres and textures afforded listeners the opportunity to carry out formerly acts of delineation, while structural aspects of the music such as repetition and elision tested out their vigilance and patience. Congregants, in this sense, could embody different aspects of the agricultural metaphor simultaneously: as farmers, they ploughed the soil of their hearts, while as plants they brought the virtuous fruits of the Holy Spirit to fruition. The second analysis examines how music's touch could make these experiences palpable. I focus on "carnal" aspects of string playing in the alto aria "Schließe, mein Herze" and its preceding recitative "Und sie kamen eilend und funden beide..." from Part III of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248. I imagine how the touch of finger and bow against gut string created a soundworld of depth and embeddedness, and thus invited a mode of listening as an experience of *being* farmed.

To establish the corporeal veracity of certain early modern metaphors, my first two chapters emphasise the intersection of experience with the tangibly material. Chapter 1 makes the case for music's flowing touch through liquid substances such as bathwater, sweat, and blood. Music was implicated by the material wetness of these liquids. In contrast, the aural agriculture of Chapter 2 involved the ploughing of hard, stony Lutheran hearts. As Katherine Park explains, such descriptions were not merely figurative: autopsies that discovered hard stones in the hearts of the dead helped to determine their piety.⁶⁸ The English Puritan Daniel Dyke, whose devotional tract was translated into German in 1681, explained that sin "commits its worst fraud by first sneaking into the heart and then with its hellish heat drying out all good moisture and vigour, until the heart becomes hard as stone".⁶⁹ The textures of Bach's music could simulate material properties such as hardness and density.

But as the contributors to *Spirits Unseen* emphasise, early modern culture was populated by subtle, spiritual substances that lay at the "threshold of the incorporeal and immaterial realms, at the very edge of the visible, perceptible and tangible".⁷⁰ Realness, in other words, was not necessarily measured in tangibility. Richard Sugg has detailed how secular and sacred vapours suffused medicine, physiology, and religion in early modern England:

⁶⁸ See Katherine Park, "Holy Autopsies: Sainly Bodies and Medical Expertise, 1300–1600", *The Body in Early Modern Italy*, eds. Julia L. Hairston and Walter Stephens (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2010), 61–73; Katherine Park, "The Criminal and the Sainly Body: Autopsy and Dissection in Renaissance Italy", *Renaissance Quarterly* 47/1 (1994), 1–33.

⁶⁹ See Varwig, "Heartfelt Musicking", 43.

⁷⁰ Christine Göttler, "Vapours and Veils: The Edge of the Unseen", *Spirits Unseen: The Representation of Subtle Bodies in Early Modern European Culture*, eds. Christine Göttler and Wolfgang Neuber (Leiden: Brill, 2008), xv–xxvii (xv).

The spirits of the human body were a kind of fine vapour, steaming or smoking from the thinnest and most active part of the blood. They were pervasive, dynamic and utterly indispensable to the period's understanding of physiology. [...] Spirits, then, were at once a medical and a theological necessity. [...] They formed a kind of passage between this world and the next. In this nebulous transitional zone hard logic and organic tissue slowly dissolved, somewhere down a blurred and increasingly hazy line, into that strange incorporeal substance which otherwise sat so uncomfortably against the crude and stubborn matter of human flesh and bone.⁷¹

Metaphors, too, slid along this gradated notion of matter. Even the most vaporous of metaphors in early modern Germany could be experienced as tangibly embodied.

My third chapter explores the status of music as wind. I set out the devotional context in which moving air, wind, and music were not only described in similar ways, but also frequently presented as an aerated, sonic, and spiritually impregnated mixture. As winds including the Holy Spirit were distinguished by how they sounded, and these winds affected one's hearing, wind made listeners astute to their very status as listeners. I show how Lutherans felt the Holy Spirit to blow on them and fill the space of a musical performance with a kind of "fog" (*Nebel*). I then analyse the introductory Sonata to *Himmelskönig, sei willkommen*, BWV 182 as an experience of wind.

The three chapters of this thesis thus map out an early modern conception of matter as arranged along a continuum, ranging from the dense and fleshly to the ephemeral and vaporous. As these three metaphors encouraged specific kinds of relationship between Lutherans and God, they are particularly useful for reimagining the interactive or negotiated aspects of musical performance and listening. In seventeenth-century emblems, such as in Tobias Canstetter's *Trüber Brunn Und Verderbte Quelle Menschlichen Hertzen* (1673) and Daniel Cramer's *Emblemata sacra* (1624), a heavenly hand reaches through clouds to pour liquid from a jug on Lutheran hearts (Figures 0.3a–b). In Canstetter's emblem, the heart is a receptacle for plant growth, while in Cramer's emblem it is a site requiring replenishment. Musical performance can be imagined as constituting similar acts of pouring: instrumentalists and singers traded musical material as if they were pouring water from a jug or collecting juice in chalices. Listening, in turn, can be imagined as a mode of receiving liquid or being poured upon. In such terms, Lutheran practices of listening encompassed a broader set of acts. Rituals that prepared one's heart to receive the flows of replenishment determined how congregants listened to a cantata. Similarly, the relationship between Lutherans and God was depicted in agricultural terms. In an engraving featured in Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg's prayer book of 1683 (Figure 0.4a), God's hand scatters seed on

⁷¹ Richard Sugg, *The Smoke of the Soul: Medicine, Physiology and Religion in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 3–4.

farmland. Georg Philipp Harsdörffer's engraving reminds us that scattering seed was also an activity carried out by the devil (Figure 0.4b).

Given how peculiar these images might be to modern eyes, it is easy to lose sight of how they inscribe a litero-metaphorical reality. Paster described the early modern body as containing wind, liquid, and seed—not all of which contributed to good health:

All parts of the humoral body were capable of containing fumes and smoky 'fuliginous' vapours that could rise from the guts to the cranium, winds that roared and rumbled, sharp and behement grippings, belchings, gross and clammy crudities, fluids that putrefied and stank or, burning up, became 'adust,' seed that sent up poisoned vapours to the brain.⁷²

While this "seed" was of a different sort to the Word-seed of God or that which was scattered on farmland, this is precisely the point. Crossovers and correspondences structured the litero-metaphorical imagination. The internal, out-of-sight seed of the human body was made real and comprehensible for early modern Lutherans through its relationship to its more obviously observable agricultural correspondent. Similarly, the notion or image of a farmer scattering seed on soil helped listeners to imagine how a preacher's sermon might work on the farmland of their hearts.

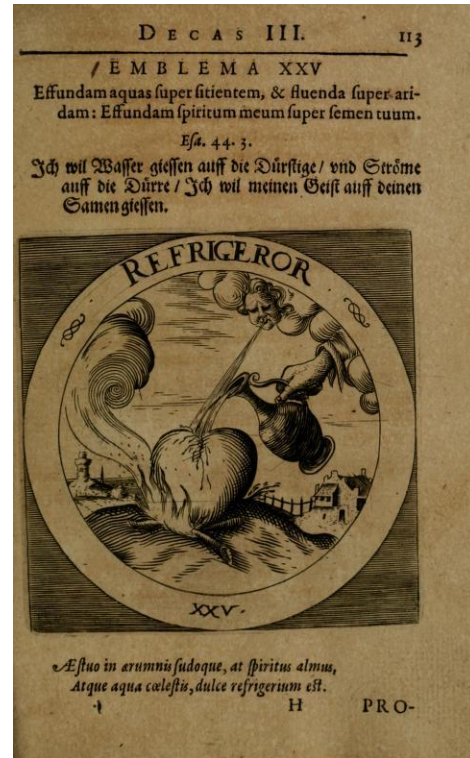
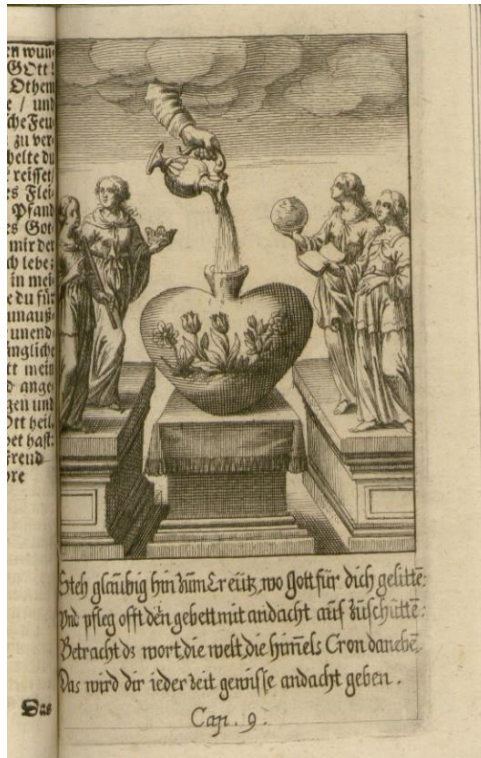
Each metaphor serves also to set out or highlight important features of Lutheran early modernity. The backdrop of Chapter 1 is "humoralism's long cultural reign".⁷³ The early modern body was understood to be regulated by an internal balance determined by the four humors: blood, choler or yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm. These were "real bodily fluids to which largely hypothetical origins, sites, and functions were ascribed".⁷⁴ The four humors were matched by the four temperaments: sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic. Moreover, Galenic physiology proposed a body whose constituent fluids were fungible: blood, sweat, tears, semen, milk, and other bodily fluids could turn into one another. The processes of expelling these liquids from the body – through crying, sweating, menstruation, lactation, and so on – were thus understood as homologous. As Ulinka Rublack writes, in reference to Mikhail Bakhtin, the early modern body was understood as something "constantly changing, absorbing and excreting, flowing, sweating, being bled, cupped and purged".⁷⁵ Chapter 1 explores how music flowed amongst all these other liquids as a kind of liquid itself.

⁷² Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 11.

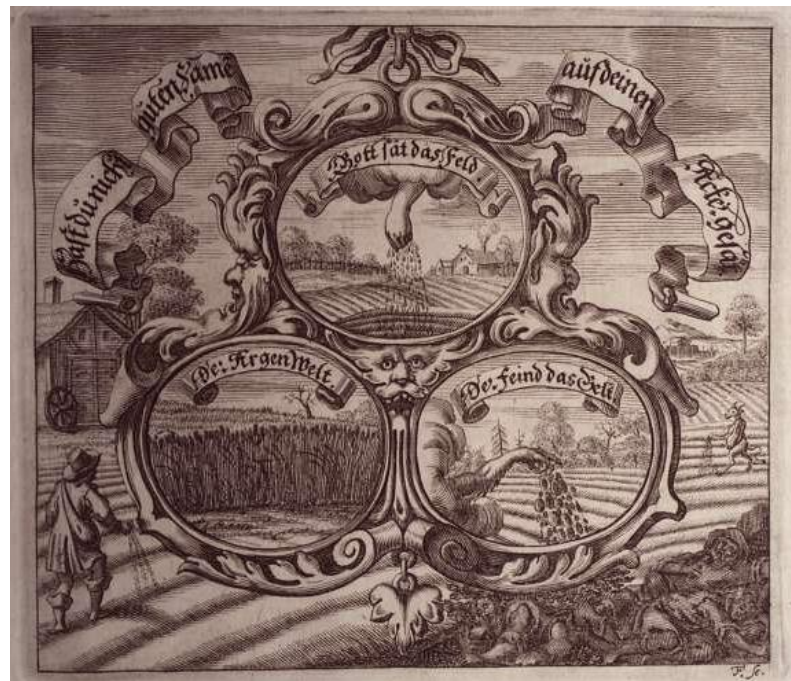
⁷³ Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 7.

⁷⁴ Nancy Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 105.

⁷⁵ Ulinka Rublack, "Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions", *History Workshop Journal* 53 (2002), 1–16 (2).



(Left) Figure 0.3a: Heavenly hand pours liquid into heart-shaped vase. Tobias Canstetter, *Trüber Brunn Und Verderbte Quelle Menschlichen Hertzens* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1673), 284. (Right) Figure 0.3b: Wind and liquid refresh a heart. Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata sacra* (Francofurti: Sumptibus Lucae Jennisi, 1624), 113.



(Left) Figure 0.4a: Heavenly hand sows seed. Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg, *Des Allerheiligst- und Allerheilsamsten Leidens und Sterbens Jesu Christi Zwölf andachtige Betrachtungen* (Nürnberg: Hofmann, 1683), 862. (Right) Figure 0.4b: God and devil sow seed. Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Drei-ständige Sonn- und Festtag-Emblemata, oder Sinne-bilder* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1669), 121.

Wetness was, of course, part of a larger universal harmony, in which the four elements – air, fire, earth, and water – corresponded to the four basic qualities of dry, hot, cold, and moist. A body's humoral balance was determined by environmental factors such as diet and air quality. Timothy J. Reiss, for one, has proposed “passibility” as the primary metaphor through which to understand the early modern subject:

[Passibility is the] aspect of the soul able to be affected by something [...] Passibility was the fundamental nature of the human being *as* human. Its relation to the endlessly multiple matter, qualities and events of its surroundings—divine, animate, social, physical—was one of being always and constantly affected by simply being in them, more exactly, being *of* them. [...] the living body affected its physical surroundings as they affected it...⁷⁶

The wind of Chapter 3 emphasises the porousness and permeability of the early modern body. As Johann Julius Hecker detailed in his treatise of 1734, the south winds “make hearing difficult and eyes cloudy, [they] weigh down the head and make the whole body sluggish and slow”. Lutherans were encouraged to “seek to protect yourself from the south wind; especially if you are of a weak physical constitution”. In contrast, the north wind “maintains a person's fresh and lively colour, strengthens the hearing and refreshes the body in every way”.⁷⁷ Music, as a kind of wind that entered bodies to rebalance the humors, also emerged from the bodies of musicians as gusts of praise. Wind and music contributed to the flux and variation of an environment in which porous bodies operated. As Paster writes:

[I]nsofar as bodily self-experience becomes knowable and communicable as a reciprocal function of sensation and language, the language of the humoral body constructs a bodily self-experience that is often tumultuous and dramatic even when function is normal. Humoral

⁷⁶ Original emphasis. Timothy J. Reiss, *Mirages of the Self: Patterns of Personhood in Ancient and Early Modern Europe* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 97.

⁷⁷ “... die Südwinde machen ein schweres Gehör und trübe Augen, beschweren das Haupt und machen den gantzen Leib träge und langsam. Und in seinem Buch *de humoribus* redet er fast eben also: die Südwinde verursachen dem Gehör allerhand Ungelegenheit, machen trübe und neblichte Augen, ein schweres Haupt, wie auch schwache, träge und ermüdete Glieder. Woraus man sich diese Regel nehmen mag: So viel als möglich, suche dich für den Südwind zu bewahren; insonderheit wenn du von einer schwachen Leibes-Constitution bist: denn solchen pflegt er am ersten und leichtesten zu schaden [...] daß der Nordwind die Leiber veste und dauerhaft, dabey auch hurtig und geschickt zur Bewegung mache, einen Menschen bey einer frischen und lebhaften Farbe erhalte, das Gehör stärke und auf alle Weise den leib erquickte”. Johann Julius Hecker, *Betrachtung des menschlichen Cörpers* (Halle: Wäysen-Haus, 1734), 531–532.

physiology ascribes to the workings of the internal organs an aspect of agency, purposiveness, and plenitude to which the subject's own will is often decidedly irrelevant.⁷⁸

This unpredictability resonates with the “wildness” of musical performance discussed above. As the twentieth-century phenomenologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty described, listeners are “like a ship’s crew buffeted about on the surface of a tempestuous sea”.⁷⁹ Or as Cook more recently reflected, when you “listen for the nth time to a recording that is etched into your memory, the experience can never be quite the same as last time, because the world constantly changes and we change with it”.⁸⁰ The metaphor of wind as music thus thematises the early modern subject’s submission to the flux and unpredictability of their landscape, as well as the capacity for music to change that very landscape.

Yet this surrender, as Paster indicates, is tempered with modes of early modern agency and purposiveness. Chapter 2 emphasises these aspects: aural agriculture is presented as work. Lutheran listeners had to plough, rake, sort, delineate, weed, and sweat. They were to practise patience and self-control—fruits of the Holy Spirit—in order to bring the Word-seed planted in their hearts to fruition. Bach’s musicians also demonstrated acts of agency. They could choose not to go to work or to practise their instruments. In a memorandum (*Entwurf*) to the Leipzig town council dated 23 August 1730, Bach complained that his aging professional town musicians were “not at all as well practiced as they should be”.⁸¹ He noted that singers often fell ill (“as the prescriptions written by the school physician for the apothecary must show”).⁸² Bach’s musicians also made decisions in real time during a cantata performance. They had to navigate musical symbols (Chapter 1) and interpret the peculiarities of Bach’s notation (Chapter 2). By reconstructing listening practices in Bach’s Germany, this thesis as a whole is concerned with congregational acts of aural agency.

⁷⁸ Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 10.

⁷⁹ Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *Phenomenology of Perception*, trans. Colin Smith (London: Routledge, 2005), 262.

⁸⁰ Nicholas Cook, *Music as Creative Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 192.

⁸¹ “Sie theils emeriti, theils auch in keinem solchen exercitio sind, wie es wohl seyn solte”. *Bach-Dokumente*, Vol. 1, ed. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig and Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 61 (no. 22); trans. NBR, 147 (no. 151).

⁸² “Zu iedweden musicalischen Chor gehören wenigstens 3 Sopranisten, 3 Altisten, 3 Tenoristen, und eben so viele Baßisten, damit, so etwa einer unpaß wird (wie denn sehr ofte geschieht, und besonders bey itziger Jahres Zeit, da die recepte, so von dem Schul Medico in die Apothecke verschrieben werden, es ausweisen müßen) wenigstens eine 2 Chörigte Motette gesungen werden kan.” NBR, 147 (no. 151).

Intermingling

As we have already begun to see, the metaphors of this thesis were not discrete. Their intermingling was characteristic in how they functioned in early modern devotional writing. From Cramer's emblem above (Figure 0.3b), for example, an image which depicts Isaiah 44:3 ("For I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring"), a dry heart is poured upon by liquid and wind.⁸³ Accompanying the heaven-held jug is a cloud that blows directly onto the heart. Yet in Cramer's accompanying quatrain entitled "Ich werde geküllt", the Holy Spirit cools the heart's thirst by water and not by breath ("Das lechtzend Hertz von Fewers Hitz, /Wird mehr zu Durst erregt. /Der Heilig Geist es kület itzt, /Und Wasser drauff geleckt").⁸⁴ For readers who knew the full Isaiah verse—Cramer's text omits its final part, "und meinen Segen auf deine Nachkommen"—the agricultural seed on dry ground would have resonated with the more explicitly procreative seed of the male body.

The proximity, if not convergence, of the three metaphors was extremely common. The widely read seventeenth-century theologian Heinrich Müller, whose theological works Bach owned, frequently turned to these metaphors in close conjunction. In his *Geistliche Seelen-Musik*, spiritual love is captured as a liquid refreshment that then transforms into a cool breeze:

How blessed is chaste ardour when Your gentle love enflames a cold heart! When a faint heart enjoys the sweetness that streams from Your breasts and the honeyed kiss of Your lips! As a breeze coolly shades our weary bodies and lives, so You provide refreshment.⁸⁵

The metaphor of liquid similarly turns into a wind in a thanksgiving hymn ("Danksagung, für die Sendung des Heiligen Geistes") by Johann Christoph Arnschwanger from 1680:

Freylich hast Du ausgegossen,	Indeed you poured out
Wie den Regen, Deinen Geist,	Your spirit like the rain
Der mit Gaben reich geflossen,	Who flowed abundantly with gifts,

⁸³ King James Version (1611). "Denn ich will Wasser gießen auf das Durstige und Ströme auf das Dürre: ich will meinen Geist auf deinen Samen gießen und meinen Segen auf deine Nachkommen", Jesaja 44:3 (Luther 1545).

⁸⁴ Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata sacra* (Francofurti: Sumptibus Lucae Jennisi, 1624), 112.

⁸⁵ "Wie selig ist die keusche brunst, Wenn deine zarte liebesgunst Ein kaltes hertz entzündet! Wann deiner brüste süßen fluß, Und deiner lippen honigkuß Ein mattes hertz empfindet! Wie ein Lüfftlein, Kühler schatten, Unsrem matten Leib und leben, So kanst du erquickung geben." Müller, *Geistliche Seelen-Musik*, 142. See Isabella Van Elferen, *Mystical Love in the German Baroque: Theology, Poetry, Music* (Lanham: The Scarecross Press, 2009), 165.

Wie ein Strom mit Wasser fleusst,	Like a river with water flows,
Wie die starke Winde brausen,	Like the strong winds roar,
Hast Du mit dergleichen Sausen,	You have with that same kind of whoosh
Ihn gesandt, daß Er uns sol,	Sent him to make us
Aller Tugend machen vol.	Full of virtue. ⁸⁶

In later verses, Lutherans prayed that Jesus' words flow into their hearts as a rain-juice ("Also laß auch jezund fließen, /Und sich in mein Herz ergießen, /Dieses milden Regens-Saft"), which then, like Cramer's engraving above, transformed into a wind that refreshed the heat of distress ("In der Hitze mancher Leiden, /Laß mir wehen diesen Wind, /Daß ich werd erquickt mit Freuden, /Und dann wieder Trost empfind").

Pentecost formed an apposite occasion for writers to experiment in the mingling of metaphors. In a Pentecost prayer by Johann Arnd[t] printed in Leipzig in 1731, the Holy Spirit's arrival on the apostles manifests as a three-in-one metaphor:

... you have compared your Holy Spirit to cool, fresh water: Oh refresh and water our arid hearts with it, so that our souls become green as grass. You have sent down your spirit in flames of fire, and made the apostles' tongues fiery, and baptized them with your holy fire of the Holy Spirit: Oh warm, enlighten and kindle our hearts in faith, in love, in devotion, in prayer. In the praise of God, let your Word become like a fire in our hearts, that it burn and shine with it. You have sent your Holy Spirit from heaven in a wind and with a lovely roar; and you made him alive into natural life, so make us alive into eternal life by your Holy Spirit. Oh loving God's flame, enlighten us! Oh you living water, refresh us! O you breath of God, make us alive!⁸⁷

⁸⁶ Johann Christoph Arnschwanger, *Heilige Palmen, und Christliche Psalmen* (Erben: Endter, 1680), 331–334.

⁸⁷ "...du hast deinen Heiligen geist verglichen einem kühlen, frischen Wasser: Ach erquickte und träncke unsere dürre Hertzen mit demselben, daß unsere Seele grüne wie ein Gras. Du hast deinen Geist in Feuer-Flammen herab gesandt, und der Apostel Zungen feurig gemacht, und sie mit deinem heiligen Feuer des Heiligen Geistes getauft: Ach erwärme, erleuchte und entzünde unsere Hertzen im Glauben, in der Liebe, in Andacht, im Gebeth, im Lobe Gottes, laß dein Wort wie ein Feuer in unsern Hertzen werden, daß es davon brenne und leuchte. Du hast deinen heiligen Geist in einem Winde, und in einem lieblichen Brausen vom Himmel gesandt, wehe uns an, und mache uns mit dem Odem deines Mundes lebendig, wie du deine Jünger anbliesest, und in der ersten Schöpfung einen lebendigen Oden dem menschen einbliesest, und ihn zum natürlichen Leben lebendig machtest, also mache uns lebendig durch deinen heiligen Geist ins ewige Leben. Ach du liebliches GOTTes Flämmelein, erleuchte uns! Ach du lebendiges Wasser, erquickte uns! O du Odem GOTTes, mache uns lebendig!" Christian Scriver, *Einer gläubigen und andächtigen Seelen vermehrtes tägliches Bet-, Buß-, Lob- und Danck-Opffer* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1731), 618–619.

In this passage, Arndt moves from simile (“you have *compared* your Holy Spirit to cool, fresh water”) through metaphor (“Oh refresh and water our arid hearts with it”) to climax in an expression of embodied, believed reality (“make us alive [...] Oh you living water, refresh us!”). This metaphorical mechanism is particularly potent as distinctions between the Holy Spirit as liquid, fire, and wind are collapsed. Similar rhetorical strategies occur throughout Müller’s writings that seem to encourage a kind of metaphorical roaming. In his *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, Müller described the Holy Spirit as rain, thunder, hammer, fire, and light. These metaphors are spun out in quick succession:

Through the Word, the Holy Spirit cleanses the heart from sinful and worldly desires. [...] That is why it is called a rain, because it drives the sin-worms out of the heart; thunder, because it causes a curative destruction, and kills the fruit of sin; therefore a hammer that strikes rocks, because it breaks and softens the soul hardened in sin; therefore a fire, because it consumes and eats away evil lust; therefore a light, because it means to cast off the works of darkness.⁸⁸

There is a rhythmic quality to Müller’s writing, a quality that conveys a kind of ploughing or chiselling. Like early modern sermons, its rhetoric created the sense that the metaphors themselves do the corporeal work expressed within them. That is, it was not solely the Holy Spirit that was like a “hammer that strikes” hearts hardened by sin, but also metaphors that were felt to work on a Lutheran’s body. Punctuated by the repetition of “darumb ein X, weil es eine Y”, Müller’s rhetoric emphasised the experience of the Holy Spirit *as* embodied metaphor:

Through the Word, the Holy Spirit moves to all virtue. How often is the heart, when we read or hear the Word, so deeply moved, so powerfully drawn? Think about how it [the Word] gives us godly thoughts? Everything is done by the Spirit that is in and with the Word. Therefore it is called a wind, because it propels the course of Christianity; therefore a fire, because it kindles the heart and leads through God’s love for good; therefore a seed, because it fills people with the fruits of righteousness; therefore a hammer because it shapes and forms [an image of] Christ in the heart...⁸⁹

⁸⁸ “Durchs Wort reiniget der H. Geist das Hertz von den sünd- und weltlichen Lüsten. [...] Darumb wirds genannt ein regen, weil es die Sünden-Würme auß dem Hertzen treibet; darumb ein Donner, weil es eine heylsame Mißgeburth verursacht, unn die Sünden-Frucht tödtet; darumb ein Hammer, der Felsen zuschlägt, weil es die in Sünden verstockte Seele zubricht und erweicht; darumb ein Feuer, weil es die böse Lust verzehret und wegfrisst; darumb ein Licht, weil es heist ablegen die Wercke der Finsternüß.” Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, 159.

⁸⁹ “Durchs Wort bewegt der Heil. Geist zu aller Tugend. Wie oft wird das Hertz, indem wir das Wort lesen oder hören, so inniglich gerühret, so kräftig gezogen? Wie manchen Gottseligen Gedancken gibts uns ein? Diß wircket alles der Geist, der in und mit dem Worte ist. Darumb heists ein Wind, weil es im Lauff deß Christenthumbs fort

Similarly, the Word of God mutates in a string of metaphors structured in rhetorical repetition:

This Word of God also has all kinds of taste and power, for which man will need it in joy and sorrow, for consolation and use. To the blind it is a light, through which he is enlightened; bread to feed the hungry; a wine that gladdens the afflicted; a doctor who heals the broken heart; a hammer that crushes and softens the stony heart; a fire that warms the cold heart; a seed that bears much fruit in good hearts.⁹⁰

Early modern rhetoric functioned beyond delivering content and worked to prepare a Lutheran's heart to receive the Word. These metaphors intermingled, overlapped, and gestured to one another – perhaps to the extent that they were experienced by Lutherans as animate themselves.

Metaphors now and then

While the metaphors I explore in this thesis are historical metaphors, in the course of conducting this study it was impossible for me not to view the historical materials in relation to the present. History, as the mathematician and historian Jacob Bronowski teaches us, is written through us from the now:

The world is not a fixed, solid array of objects, out there, for it cannot be fully separated from our perception of it. It shifts under our gaze, it interacts with us, and the knowledge that it yields has to be interpreted by us. There is no way of exchanging information that does not demand an act of judgement.⁹¹

In other words, the metaphors of now, from my position in twenty-first century Britain, were in dialogue with the metaphors of early eighteenth-century Germany.

During the second year of my PhD, the COVID-19 pandemic took hold. Other than the obvious academic disruptions—cancelled research trips, closed libraries, inaccessible archives, and so on—the

treibet: darumb ein Feuer, weil es das Hertz auffflammet, und durch die Liebe Gottes zum Guten anführet: darumb ein Same, weil es den Menschen erfüllet mit Früchten der Gerechtigkeit". Müller, *Göttliche Liebes-Flamme*, 160.

⁹⁰ "So offenbaret sich GOtt der Seelen durchs Wort, und das ist ihr Leben. Diß Wort GOTTes hat auch allerley Geschmack und Krafft, worzu es der Mensch brauchen wil in Freud und Leyd, zum Trost und Nutz. Dem Blinden ists ein Licht, dadurch er wird erleuchtet; dem Hungerigen ein Brod, das ihn speiset; ein Wein, der die Betrübete erfreuet; eine Artzney, welche die zerbrochene Hertzen heilet; ein Hammer, der die steinerne Hertzen zerschmeisst und erweicht; ein Feuer, das die kalte Hertzen erwärmet; ein Same, der in den guten Hertzen viel Früchte bringet." Müller, *Göttliche Liebes-Flamme*, 376.

⁹¹ See Classen, *Water in Medieval Literature*, xi.

pandemic influenced my project in ways that I did not predict. In the closing months of 2019, I was exploring Lutheran metaphors of illness. In early eighteenth-century Germany, healthy bodies were described to vibrate in harmonic concord, while sick bodies were like an untuned instrument or a lute with a snapped string. The abandoned chapter in question culminated in an analysis of Bach's cantata *Es ist nichts Gesundes an meinem Leibe*, BWV 25. A few months later, the pandemic took hold. It felt perverse to continue to write about metaphor and the healing properties of a cantata whose opening recitative groans "The whole world is nothing but a hospital" (*Die ganze Welt ist nur ein Hospital*). Hospitals around the world were literally spilling beyond their borders: tents housing dead bodies were erected in hospital car parks, and offices became make-shift morgues. Hospitals were built in a matter of weeks, some days.⁹²

As the worlds of my research and "real life" collided, I recognised that my work in metaphor had attuned me to how metaphor was being used to describe the virus. Metaphor was not merely being used as a tool for explanation—what the virus was, how it spread from person to person, and so on. Rather, metaphor was used to influence public behaviour. Recent studies have even suggested it contributed to making policy decisions.⁹³ Metaphor shaped how we navigated the new infected landscape.

On my daily walks, I saw benches taped "closed". But was it material or metaphor that did this closing? Yellow tape barely presented a barrier to tired, rebellious bottoms (Figure 0.5). Rather, obstruction was provided by the language of the pandemic and the potency of metaphor to shape collective responsibility; to sit on a closed bench was to go against the national effort. And nowhere was this more thickly painted than the metaphor of war. People left their homes to work on the "frontline". Wartime references made by Queen Elizabeth II in a broadcast on 5 April 2020, worked to influence public behaviour and rouse national spirit: "Those who come after us will say that the Britons of this generation were as strong as any". The Queen's speech ended with a musical reference to Vera Lynn: "While we may have more still to endure, better days will return. We will be with our friends again, we will be with our families again, we will meet again".⁹⁴

⁹² See, for example, "NHS to build more Nightingale Hospitals, as London set for opening", *NHS UK* (3 April 2020) <<https://www.england.nhs.uk/2020/04/nhs-to-build-more-nightingale-hospitals-as-london-set-for-opening/>> Accessed 1 February 2022.

⁹³ See Francesca Panzeri, Simona Di Paola, Filippo Domaneschi, "Does the COVID-19 war metaphor influence reasoning?", *PLoS ONE* 16, (2021); Costanza Musu, "War metaphors used for COVID-19 are compelling but also dangerous", *The Conversation* (8 April 2020) <<https://theconversation.com/war-metaphors-used-for-covid-19-are-compelling-but-also-dangerous-135406>> Accessed 1 February 2022.

⁹⁴ "'We will meet again' – The Queen's Coronavirus broadcast", *BBC on YouTube* (25 December 2020) <<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2klmuggOEIE>> Accessed 1 February 2022.

Metaphor, in other words, provided a way for people to navigate the world safely. But as the nature of the pandemic shifted, for example, as vaccines were produced and variants were discovered, the metaphors also had to change. In November 2021, during the lead up to the second Christmas period affected by the pandemic, the UK government began a new campaign entitled “Stop COVID-19



Figure 0.5: Metaphor made material: “BENCH CLOSED VIRUS CAUTION”. Syeda Hasan, “Here Are Some Resources For Managing Mental Health During The Coronavirus Pandemic”, *KERA* (1 April 2020).⁹⁵

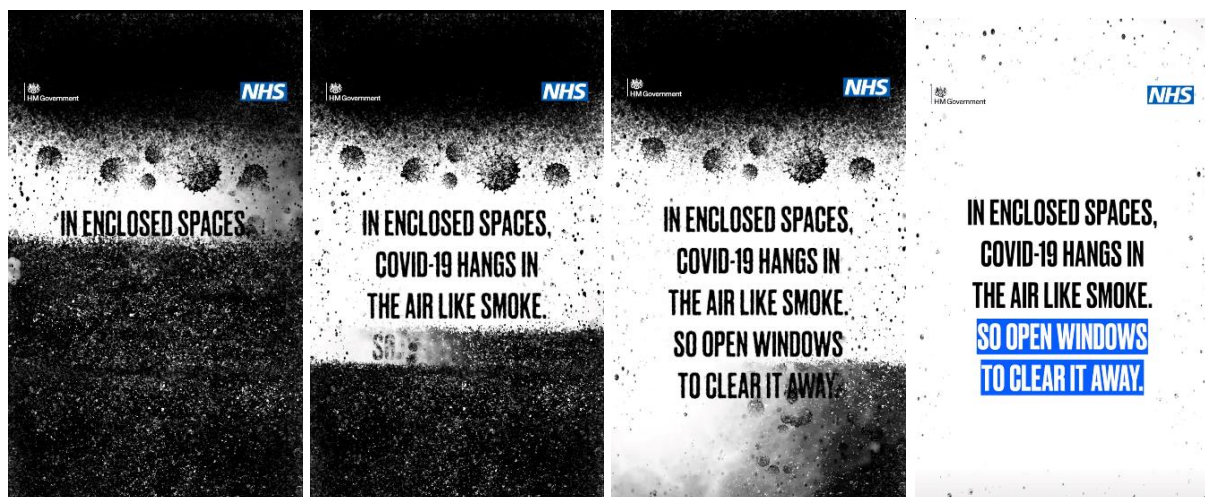


Figure 0.6: Virus as smoke. Stills from” “Stop COVID-19 hanging around”, NHS advert on *Twitter* (13 November 2021).⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Syeda Hasan, “Here Are Some Resources For Managing Mental Health During The Coronavirus Pandemic”, *KERA* (1 April 2020) <<https://www.keranews.org/health-science-tech/2020-04-01/here-are-some-resources-for-managing-mental-health-during-the-coronavirus-pandemic>> Accessed 1 April 2022.

⁹⁶ “Stop COVID-19 hanging around”, NHS advert on *Twitter* (13 November 2021). <<https://twitter.com/NHSuk/status/1459492536171573248>>

hanging around” (Figure 0.6). This advertisement did not use the word “virus” once, but instead characterised it as “like smoke”. As a press release phrased it:

The smoke represents COVID-19 particles, moved around by the air. These particles hang around and accumulate when we are indoors, especially when windows and doors are closed. The more particles in the air, the higher the risk of transmission. But COVID-19 particles disperse much faster when we let fresh air into the room, so the chance of breathing them in is greatly reduced.⁹⁷

When reading a 1734 treatise by the Prussian educator Johann Julius Hecker, past once more collided with present:

It should be particularly noted that enclosed air (*verschlossene Luft*) is very unhealthy and harmful: therefore, one must either go often into the open air and into the field, or if this is not possible due to the circumstances, one should let fresh air blow through windows and doors.⁹⁸

The striking similarities between Hecker’s eighteenth-century guidance and the advice provided by British authorities might at first speak to some sort of timeless, universal truth: breathing in fresh air is good for one’s health.⁹⁹ It might even suggest to some readers a sort of transhistorical, metaphorical archetype. I soon recognised metaphor, however, as testifying to the historically particular. The metaphor of the virus as smoke was used at a specific stage in the UK’s response to the pandemic. It did not come during the summer when bodies bathed in sunshine and barbeques sizzled in public parks. Nor was it used during the early months of the pandemic when enquiries were being made into the Institute of Virology and wet markets of Wuhan, the same period in which poet Brian Bilston described

⁹⁷ “Press release: New campaign to Stop COVID-19 hanging around”, *gov.uk* (5 November 2021) <<https://www.gov.uk/government/news/new-campaign-to-stop-covid-19-hanging-around>> Accessed 8 March 2022; “Covid UK: New government ad urges people to ventilate homes when hosting”, *The Telegraph on YouTube* (5 November 2021) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K_iVjJwDTbE> Accessed 8 March 2022

⁹⁸ “Besonders aber ist zu bemercken, daß verschlossene Luft sehr ungesund und schädlich sey: daher muß man entweder oft in die freye Luft und aufs Feld gehen, oder wenn man solches nach der Umstände Beschaffenheit nicht haben kann, die frische Luft durch Fenster und Thüren zuweilen durchstreichen lassen.” Hecker, *Betrachtung des menschlichen Körpers*, 533–534.

⁹⁹ Readers are reminded that smoking during the twentieth century was proclaimed to be good for health. See Allan M. Brand, *The Cigarette Century: The Rise, Fall, and Deadly Persistence of the Product That Defined America* (New York: Basic Books, 2007).

the virus as “like a seed /in need of certain conditions to grow”.¹⁰⁰ If the language of the COVID-19 pandemic is anything to go by, metaphor can tell us about a community and its place in time with surprising precision.

As the virus’s metaphors changed with the seasons, as the language of war characterised one year but not the next, I was reminded of music’s own living quality. As Butt describes, current concert culture could have been very different:

The Matthew Passion gained a prestige in 1829 that it could never have had before, yet this prestige was itself historically conditioned, something that might be here one year and gone the next. [...] By shortening the work to make it more compatible with the length of contemporary symphonic works, Mendelssohn rendered it more cohesive and consistent from a musical point of view.¹⁰¹

While the absence of Bach’s music in our future musical landscape might seem unimaginable to many, it is certainly not an impossibility. For Bach performance to stay alive, it needs to be fed.

And so too does Bach studies. The relatively niche topic of listening in Bach scholarship might be thought by some to have been covered comprehensively. Daniel Melamed, for one, has followed up his *Hearing Bach’s Passions* (2005) with *Listening to Bach: The Mass in B minor and the Christmas Oratorio* (2018).¹⁰² Varwig has recently summarised her research questions for the topic:

Their exposure to this music would have been almost exclusively aural [...] How, then, might Bach’s Leipzig congregants have experienced the weekly cantata performances of the 1720s and 1730s without access to a score or repeated hearing via recordings? What could they hear, how might they have listened, and how might this music have affected and become meaningful to them across the annual sequence of Sundays and feast days?¹⁰³

Where to go from this comprehensiveness? Is this not saturation point? So, again, I return to the words of Ali Smith that open this thesis. When asked whether a certain turn of phrase was “too rich”, Smith

¹⁰⁰ Bilston leaves it ambiguous whether he is taking about virus or kindness, the name of the poem. Brian Bilston, “Kindness”, *Brian Bilston’s Poetic Laboratory: From Ideation to Poemification* (9 May 2020) <<https://brianbilston.com/2020/05/09/kindness/>> Accessed 9 May 2020.

¹⁰¹ Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity*, 25[...]295.

¹⁰² Daniel R. Melamed, *Hearing Bach’s Passions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005); Daniel R. Melamed, *Listening to Bach: The Mass in B minor and the Christmas Oratorio* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

¹⁰³ Bettina Varwig, “Distributed Listening: Aural Encounters with J. S. Bach’s Sacred Cantatas”, *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 51/2 (2020), 210–240 (210).

replied: “No, no. I love rich. The richer the better. Nobody takes a rich risk anymore”. This thesis tries to take a rich risk. It balances, delicately, on the notion that we give credit to the historical imagination of Bach’s listeners. So much else went on during the acts of listening to a Bach cantata that went beyond the “exclusively aural”. Listening was not, as we have already seen, located solely in the ears; it suffused the body and stirred the soul. Listening also constituted much broader acts of corporeal, spiritual preparation, and these took place before a Lutheran arrived at church as well as long after the final notes of a cantata performance dissipated into silence. Listening exceeded sound.

Chapter 1: Liquid

In his chapter on the musical language of Bach's cantatas ("Die musikalische Sprache der Kantaten"), Albert Schweitzer began with one of the composer's apparent favourite themes: waves.¹ In Schweitzer's account, Bach's motivic waves ripple through a single composition, as well as pass from one cantata to another:

In the aria 'Ergieße dich reichlich...' [from *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5], a solo viola keeps up a delightfully flowing and murmuring obbligato. The chief motive of this accompaniment recurs in the great orchestral symphony to the first chorus of the cantata *Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam* [BWV 7].²

For Schweitzer, this flow emerges, seemingly seamlessly, out of the "rushing of the soul" (*das Eilen der Seele*) in *Was frag ich nach der Welt*, BWV 94. Schweitzer's mode of analysis—a practically unbroken drifting between the cantatas—thus mirrors his conception of Bach's musical language as a kind of river traversing the pages of musical compositions.

What exactly flowed at the premiere of *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, on 15 October 1724? Was it primarily the wave motives that represented Jesus' holy blood in "streams" of purification (*walle mit blutigen Strömen auf mich*)? If humoral theory provides a "sharpness and particularity that few other discourses of the [early modern] period can match", as Gail Kern Paster has claimed, surely we are not only dealing with metaphorical flows.³ According to the medical historian Barbara Duden, a healthy early modern body "had to 'flow': pus, blood, and sweat had to be drawn out".⁴ As the historian Ulinka Rublack reminds us, bodies in early modern Germany were "constantly changing, absorbing and

¹ "Zu den bevorzugtesten musikalischen Vorwürfen Bachs gehört die Darstellung der Bewegung der Wellen." Albert Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1961), 451.

² "Zu der Arie 'Ergieße dich reichlich, du göttliche Quelle...' läßt die Viola solo ein reizend belebtes Murmeln ertönen. Das Hauptmotiv dieser Begleitung kehrt in der großen Orchestersymphonie zum ersten Chor der Kantate 'Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam' (Nr.7) wieder." Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 696–697. Albert Schweitzer, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Vol. 2, trans. Ernest Newman (New York: Dover Publications, 1966), 356.

³ Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 24.

⁴ Barbara Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin: A Doctor's Patients in Eighteenth-Century Germany*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991), 17.

excreting, flowing, sweating, being bled, cupped and purged”.⁵ The eighteenth-century German physician Friedrich Hoffman, for one, wrote that the body and soul are “most firmly conjoined and tied together” through bodily flows: “the actions of our soul are found to be the same as in the blood that flows through the brain”.⁶ Yet the emphasis on representation in Bach studies, as Bettina Varwig has argued, makes it appear that flow functioned in a cantata performance as something exclusively textual.⁷

This has certainly been the case regarding the aria “Ergieße dich reichlich”: commentaries have almost entirely focused on Bach’s word-painting. Alfred Dürr described the viola’s “flowing melody in running semiquavers” as a “figurative element”. The motive of a “four-note falling scale”, Dürr argued, works to “characterise the abundantly flowing spring”.⁸ For Friedhelm Krummacher, Bach’s motive was an “interpretation of text” (*Textauslegung*).⁹ Eric Chafe similarly commented on the “descriptive” function of the instrumental line. Bach composed for the viola “in a manner that makes the most out of its capacity to depict the pouring forth of Jesus’s redeeming blood”.¹⁰ For Nicholas Anderson, the spring is “skilfully evoked by the almost constantly flowing viola semiquavers”.¹¹ The conductor John Eliot Gardiner, in a diary entry from the Bach Cantata Pilgrimage of 2000 (later published as a CD liner note), echoed these collective sentiments: the “tumbling liquid gestures of the viola” represent the “cleansing motions of some prototype baroque washing machine”.¹² Perhaps these attitudes are best summarised in Mark Ringer’s recent “listener’s guide” to Bach’s cantatas:

⁵ Ulinka Rublack, “Fluxes: The Early Modern Body and the Emotions”, *History Workshop Journal* 53 (2002), 1–16 (2).

⁶ “Überdem allen hat der Leib von dem Umtriebe des Geblüthes noch diesen besondern herrlichen Nutzen, daß durch Hülffe desselben Leib und Seele aufs festeste verknüpft und verbunden werden. [...] daß die Verrichtungen unserer Seele eben so befunden werden, als wie unser Blut durch das Gehirn seinen Lauff hat.” Friedrich Hoffmann, *Gründliche Anweisung Wie ein Mensch Seine Gesundheit erhalten/ und vor allerhand Kranckheiten/ Durch ordentliche Lebens-Art/ sich verwahren könne*, Vol. 2 (Halle: Renger, 1716), 330–331.

⁷ See Bettina Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking: The Physiology of a Bach Cantata”, *Representations* 143/1 (2018), 36–62.

⁸ Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach: With Their Librettos in German-English Parallel Text*, trans. Richard D. P. Jones (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 580.

⁹ Friedhelm Krummacher, *Johann Sebastian Bach: Die Kantaten und Passionen: Band 2: Vom zweiten Jahrgang zur Matthäus-Passion (1724–1729)* (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Stuttgart: Metzler, 2018), 132.

¹⁰ Eric Chafe, *J. S. Bach’s Johannine Theology: The St. John Passion and the Cantatas for Spring 1725* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 503.

¹¹ Nicholas Anderson, “Wo soll ich fliehen hin”, *Oxford Composer Companions: J. S. Bach*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 532.

¹² John Eliot Gardiner, “Cantatas for the Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity”, *The Monteverdi Choir and The English Baroque Soloists*, liner note SDG110 (2005), 12.

The tenor's aria [...] provides an image of the Christians purging their guilt with 'streams' from 'the holy source' of Christ's blood [...] Bach makes superb use of the instrument in its 'flowing' patterns [...] The words 'walle' (well-up), 'Strömen' (rivers), and 'wäschet' (wash) are treated to realistic expressive decoration.¹³

Given his language—"image", "patterns", "realistic", "decoration"—Ringer's readers would be excused in thinking that Bach's cantata was a picture rather than piece of music.

Indeed, Schweitzer's method reminds me of the work of art historian Barbara Baert, whose analyses of sixteenth-century paintings of the decapitated John the Baptist ask "where has all the blood gone"? Baert writes that the blood from the dripping head in Andrea Solario's painting of 1520 has become "sunken in [...] absorbed pictorially, concealed in the hiding places that the visual medium provides".¹⁴ The blood from the severed head, according to Baert, must flow somewhere: it becomes the redness of the textiles, hair and carnation flower. In another painting of the same morbid scene by Solario, Baert argues that the blood has become "solidified in the red attire and hair, and petrified in the flamed frame".¹⁵ Like Schweitzer, Baert's method traces flow only so far as the paint can go: to the edges of a canvas. The transforming flows of blood remain confined to the medium on which they are depicted.

Bach was clearly impacted by not dissimilar page-bound flows. In a study of Bach's compositional processes, Robert Lewis Marshall identifies "continuation sketches" as indicative of a composer determined not to let the practicalities of notating in ink stop his forwards-thinking flow:

[M]ost Bach sketches are found on recto pages in the autograph scores and record the continuation of the music that was to be written on the following verso once the ink had dried. [...] Reaching the end of a recto page probably caused a considerable interruption in the compositional act. The composer had not only to wait until the ink dried, but also to write down the brackets, clefs, signatures, and perhaps even rule the staves on the new page before he was able to resume composing. [...] Such sketches, in fact, were necessary only when the page turn interrupted the free invention of new musical material.¹⁶

¹³ Mark Ringer, *Bach's Operas of the Soul: A Listener's Guide to the Sacred Cantatas* (Lanham, Maryland: Amadeus Press, 2021), 183.

¹⁴ Barbara Baert, "Wild is the Wind. *Pathosfomel* and Iconology of a Quintessence", *Antwerp Royal Museum Annual* (2010), 9–47 (37).

¹⁵ Baert, "Wild is the Wind", 38.

¹⁶ Robert Lewis Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Autograph Scores of the Vocal Works* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), 141–142. A continuation sketch can also be found in the manuscript score of "Schließe, mein Herze" from Part III of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248 – the aria

But where did such “invention” come from? Heinrich Schenker described it as a “veritable clairvoyance”.¹⁷ Was invention really such a bolt out of the blue, a eureka-crying lightbulb moment in a bathtub? Or did Bach trace it in the pneumatic flows of inspiration which, as Baert reminds us, “penetrates into and emanates from the body, [...] a relationship between the creativity of the cosmos and the creativity of man”?¹⁸ While Marshall’s astute analysis recognises the diachronic and processual aspects of composition, flow is still configured as a thing on the page.

Perhaps we get further with Eric Chafe’s book, *Tears into Wine*. For one, his title refers to literal liquids at flow at historical events such as the Wedding at Cana. Spiritual weddings, too, as Johann Arndt wrote in his *Sechs Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum*, a work contained in Bach’s theological library, were joyous occasions of flow:

When the bridegroom arrives, the holy soul is happy and pays exact and diligent attention to his presence; for his joyful, heart-refreshing and holy arrival drives away darkness and night. The heart has sweet joy, the waters of devotion flow, the soul melts for love...¹⁹

Yet in Chafe’s analysis of Bach’s cantata *Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis*, BWV 21, liquids remain textual. Chafe tracks the “soul’s progress” through the libretto’s imagery:

analysed in Chapter 2. As Markus Rathey’s punctuation tellingly expresses, composition for Bach was a process hindered by the materiality of paper and ink: “Ideas were flowing when he reached the end of the page ... [sic] and he had to wait until the ink was dry. Lest he would forget how to continue, he wrote the continuation of the vocal line in an empty stave at the bottom of the page.” Markus Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Christmas Oratorio: Music, Theology, Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 265.

¹⁷ “Yet I reiterate that the way in which the composer arrives at his initial inspiration—whether he derives it from an earlier or from a later level, perhaps even from the foreground—is one of the unfathomable secrets of creativity. This in no way affects the logical sequence of the levels, but rather gives evidence of a veritable clairvoyance which envisions a more distant level before the nearer one is clear in the consciousness. Only a genius can command such far-reaching forward and backward perception.” While Schenker is not referring to the mechanics of writing with ink on recto and verso, “forward and backward perception” is also a kind of flow that took place at the notational level. Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 172.

¹⁸ Baert, “Wild is the Wind”, 41.

¹⁹ “Wenn der Bräutigam kommt, so freuet sich die H. Seele, und giebt genaue und fleißige Achtung auf seine Gegenwart; den durch seine fröhliche, Herz-erquickende und H. Ankunft vertreibet er die Finsterniß und die Nacht. Das Herz hat süsse Freude, es fliessen die Wasser der Andacht, die Seele schmelzet vor Liebe...” Johann Arndt, *Sechs Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum [...] Nebst desselben Paradies-Gärtlein* (Altdorff: Zobel, 1735), 641–642. Markus Rathey, *Bach’s Major Vocal Works: Music, Drama, Liturgy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 47.

The tears of the first aria, ‘Seufzer, Tränen,’ become brooks of salty tears, then an ocean of tribulation in the second aria, ‘Bäche von gesalznen Zähren,’ after which in Part 2 the imagery of water-tears disappears and the reference to Jesus’s blood, with its Eucharistic associations, as ‘Saft der Reben,’ prefigures the transformation of tears into wine at the end.²⁰

Chafe focuses on how the structures of Bach’s music mirror this journey. The “tonal motion from the C minor of Part 1 to the C major of the final chorus”, he argues, “is a direct representation of the transformation (tears into wine, lamenting into rejoicing)”.²¹ In this sense, transformations in the libretto function as a kind of pre-compositional strategy. Textual flows map out what Bach was to do in his cantata:

Within this sequence the change from the bitter water of tears and the threatening floods of God’s wrath to the sweet wine of eschatological fulfilment often involved an intermediate stage involving the association of water and wine to the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist [...] the communion wine (instituted at Jesus’s evening meal with the disciples), which then provided a foretaste of the wine of the eschatological *Abendmahl*. Viewed spiritually, the transformation, although instantaneous, contained within it a sequence of changes of which it was the culmination. This is just what happens in the change from C minor to C major over the course of Cantata 21.²²

Chafe recognises that such liquids possessed theological significance for early eighteenth-century Lutherans. Wine provided a heavenly foretaste. Yet literal flows do not feature as part of his reading. Instead, Chafe presents the liquid transformations of the libretto as a device against which Bach structured the tonal argument of his cantata. Like Baert, then, flow is traced insofar as Bach’s ink made its mark: flows are fixed as notation and remain on the page of the musical score.

In insisting that textual flows travel “beyond the score”, I am drawing on the now-classic binary of music on “the page” or of “the stage” as formulated by Nicholas Cook. Indeed, in Cook’s chapter “Everything Counts” from *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance*, liquids such as sweat are configured as part of musical performance:

[The pianist Arturo Benedetti] Michelangeli wipes the keyboard up and down with his handkerchief, and then mops his cheeks [...] He puts his handkerchief down [...] He rubs his

²⁰ Eric Chafe, *Tears into Wine: J. S. Bach’s Cantata 21 in its Musical and Theological Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 91.

²¹ Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 63.

²² Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 83.

right hand on his thigh [...] before letting it fall in a measured descent to the keyboard to sound the first note. Traditional musicological thinking would label everything up to this point as extra-musical: that is, it has nothing to do with the music, where ‘music’ is understood as a text reproduced in performance. The performance studies approach, by contrast, recognises no such distinction.²³

Cook’s approach is particularly resonant when applied to musical contexts of the eighteenth century. As Varwig writes, music in early modern Germany held the “capacity to modulate the body’s economy of fluids”, to move blood in purgative flow.²⁴ According to the German theologian Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel writing in 1721, “just as the animal spirits are moved in the blood circulation swiftly and speedily, so swift also is the cadence of tones that penetrate through the ear into the seat of the soul and help to increase the affection which flows into it by nature (*von natur eingeblösset*)”.²⁵ Some musical genres seemingly did this better than others: the Italian giga, according to Johann Mattheson, demonstrated an “extreme swiftness or fleetingness, though for the most part in a flowing rather than a frenzied manner, somewhat like the smooth arrow-swift flow of a stream”.²⁶

The first half of the century would move towards the notion of flow as something being put *to* music. In 1721, Mattheson set out what constituted a “good, flowing, moving melody” (*eine gute, fliessende, bewegliche Melodie*), and in his *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), he codified “flowing essence” (*fließenden Wesen*).²⁷ This emerged from a fundamental position in which music

²³ Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 325.

²⁴ Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking”, 50. In her forthcoming book, *Music in the Flesh: An Early Modern Musical Physiology*, Varwig notes that even as the growing understanding of the nervous system “spelled the demise of the animal spirit doctrine” by the nineteenth century, in Johann Julius Hecker’s anatomical treatise of 1734, this was still being defined in terms of liquid (*Nervensaft*).

²⁵ “Dieses kan auch eine lustige Music bey einem aufgeräumten und muntern Gemüthe verrichten, wie hurtig und schnelle hier die Geister oder Spiritus animales im Geblütte movirt werden, so hurtig ist auch die Cadence der Thone, die durch das Gehöre in den Sitz der Seelen eindringen, und den Affect, der ihr von Natur eingeblösset, vermehren helffen.” Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, *Zufällige Gedanken von der Kirchen-Musik* (Franckfurt und Leipzig: Zu finden bey dem Authore, 1721), 16. Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, “Random Thoughts About Church Music in Our Day (1721)”, *Bach’s Changing World: Voices in the Community*, ed. Carol K. Baron, trans. Joyce Irwin (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 227–249 (233).

²⁶ “Äusserste Schelligkeit oder Flüchtigkeit; doch mehrentheils auf eine fliessende und keine ungestüme Art: etwa wie der glattfortschliessende Strom-Pfeil eines Bachs”. Bettina Varwig, “Musical Expression: Lessons from the Eighteenth Century?”, *Eighteenth-Century Music* 17/1 (2020), 53–72 (54).

²⁷ See Sabine Ehrmann-Herfort, “Das Vornehmste ... in der Musik ist eine gute, fliessende, bewegliche Melodie: Johann Mattheson und die Empfindsamkeit”, *Aspekte der Musik des Barocks: Aufführungspraxis und Stil: Bericht*

intrinsically flowed as liquid, a property which was instilled by God at Creation. In the supplement to *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* published in 1713, Mattheson described how “right at the beginning when God created heaven and earth, indeed in that moment when the almighty *Fiat* resounded, music by the same token also flowed into (*eingeflösset*) and was imparted to created beings and humans”.²⁸ The notion of a “dry” or “unflowing” cantata performance is therefore a contradiction in eighteenth-century terms: music making was by nature wet and flowing. A musical analysis that seeks to pay heed to early modern musical physiology will, like Cook’s observation of Michelangelo’s sweaty brow, incorporate bodily fluids into the flows of a Bach cantata.

The work of John Butt, for whom music has the capacity to produce meaning or “meaningfulness”, makes helpful strides in this direction. In his analysis of “Du lieber Heiland du” from Bach’s *St Matthew Passion*, running semiquavers move between modes of representation and embodiment:

One might hear the accompaniment initially representing the ointment that the pious woman pours over Jesus’ body, or later as the tears now streaming from the eyes of the speaker (thus transposing the idea of anointing Jesus’ head to the present moment). Only for a moment towards the end does the singer become aligned with the flutes [...] concretizing an association of the speaker’s tears with her own anointing of Jesus’ head [...] She hears the flute figuration as an object (say, the oil anointing Jesus) and then requisitions it as an embodiment of her own tears.²⁹

Musical flows are similarly “requisitioned” in Butt’s analysis of “Zerfließe, mein Herze” from Bach’s *St John Passion*:

The ritornello therefore contains a dualistic element by which a harmonically passive passage with a contrasting motivic style holds up the regular flow of the music [...] the four-note figure in the bass, which sounds as if it were momentarily stuck in one position. It would be easy to come up with some sort of hermeneutic interpretation in keeping with the text: perhaps it

über die Symposien der internationalen Händel-Akademie Karlsruhe, 2001–2004, ed. Siegfried Schmalzriedt (Karlsruhe: Laaber-Verlag, 2006), 227–250.

²⁸ “Meines theils bin ich gewiß, daß so gleich im Anfang, da GOtt Himmel und Erden erschaffen, ja in dem Augenblick, da das allmächtige *Fiat* erklingen, dem erschaffenen Wesen und Menschen auch die *Music eo ipso* eingeflösset und ertheilet worden sey”. Johann Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1713), 302. Joyce Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition: Johann Mattheson and Christoph Raupach on Music in Time and Eternity* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), xxix.

²⁹ John Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity: Perspectives on the Passions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 84–86.

represents the heart, before it is emotionally moved to flow in streams of tears, and represented here in a sort of anxious stasis; perhaps it represents those tears themselves, flowing in the way they do, and viewed objectively, apart from the stream of subjective consciousness. Either way, there is obviously a contrast of ‘musical consciousness’, a holding up of the regular flow[.]³⁰

In such passages, Butt presents the multiplicity of “meaningfulness” generated by the hermeneutic process.

While Butt’s concern is not the physiological flux of Bach’s listeners, there is an irony to his somewhat ambivalent tone. For Butt, the hermeneut’s reading is “easy to come up with”, they merely take their pick and go “either way”—and either reading or “requisition” is deemed meaningful. Yet early moderns placed deep moral and theological significance in negotiating their humoral insides and liquid souls. Paster, for one, identifies the urgency of early modern wetness:

Early modern moralists—writing from their porous humoral bodies, experiencing the volatility of their wriggling animal spirits—are rarely so detached in tone when talking about the relations of reason and passion, about the passions’ challenge to the domain of will and soul. [...] they had no choice but to take psychophysiology seriously, because it was their governing paradigm for theorizing the bodily wellsprings of human behaviour.³¹

Musicology can strive to capture this seriousness, too. As the ethnomusicologist Peter McMurray argues, music studies “runs the risk of producing a default audiovisual stance [...] the ethnographer stays arms-length away from a person or phenomenon”.³² McMurray’s work aims to get close: he notes the smell of his dance partner’s “sticky-sweet breath”, a substance half-liquid, half-breeze created “between people and people, between dry hands and sweaty palms” in a nightclub in Berlin.³³ At a *zikk* ceremony, McMurray has the “palpable sensation [...] of touching sweat, or rather, sweaty shirts [...] of my neighbouring dervishes’ bodies soaked up in the fibres of their shirts”.³⁴ As music in early modern Germany functioned within a liquid spiritual economy, this chapter tries to capture the various flows that were at play.

As outlined in my Introduction, the distinction between the literal and the metaphorical in early modern Germany was extremely ambiguous. Early modern metaphors, as Varwig claims, were of a

³⁰ Butt, *Bach’s Dialogue with Modernity*, 281–282.

³¹ Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body*, 20.

³² Peter McMurray, “On Serendipity: Or, Toward a Sensual Ethnography”, *Queering the Field: Sounding Out Ethnomusicology*, eds. Gregory Barz and William Cheng (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 380–396 (387).

³³ McMurray, “On Serendipity”, 388–390.

³⁴ McMurray, “On Serendipity”, 394.

“fundamentally embodied nature”.³⁵ So while no “streams of blood” (*blutigen Strömen*) washed over Bach’s congregation at the performance of *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, on 15 October 1724, I still ask, “where has all the blood gone”? Baert’s canvas-bound methodology inspires, somewhat paradoxically, my attempts to go beyond the page of the musical text.

Yet signification is clearly something that was also at play in Bach’s approach to musical composition. What I put forward, therefore, does not abandon matters of representation in order to take the flows of early modern Germany literally. Rather, I propose an integration of representation within considerations of historical embodiment. Hermeneutics offer an insight into how musical motives afforded listening congregants an experience of their body-souls being worked upon. I am steered by Varwig’s preference to understand a Bach cantata as a “somatic script [which] afforded the memory of and potential for a particular set of corporeal actions, reactions and interactions between performers’ and listeners’ body-souls”.³⁶ Semiquaver patterns that represented gushing liquid occasioned a specific feltness for listeners for whom, as we shall see in the following section, crying was the cleansing of the heart, sweating called out to God in prayer, and preparing for Holy Communion included acts such as singing while you bathed. How did Bach’s melisma, by way of representing pouring liquid, also encourage congregants to assume a disposition of being poured upon? How did the capacity for *Fortspinnung* to depict flow also yield healthy flows in the bodies of listeners? On-the-page musical features, in other words, harboured physiological dimensions. Acts of performance activated such corporeal responses of listeners. A corporeally and theologically oriented musicology can thus be structured to enfold the traditional hermeneutics of Bach studies.

Blood, sweat, and tears

For the Lutheran theologian Johann Arndt, the flows of nature created sounds that were pleasing. He described nature’s systems of flow in musical terms, and these—when in “consonance”—brought about beautiful music:

As one sees in a great dry season, when it does not rain for a long time, even the water-richest springs dry out, even great streams of water; therefore, there is a remarkable consonance and relationship between heaven and earth. [...] And because these are joyful places – where the

³⁵ Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking”, 38.

³⁶ Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking”, 58.

fountains and streams are flowing – the birds of the sky like to sit there and sing among the branches. This is a beautiful music, which God has prepared for him in the green forest...³⁷

Early modern bodies were also considered systems of flow. Writing of the heart in 1699, the German physician Johann Helfrich Jüngken described it as the “most important component of our pumping apparatus or hydraulic display”.³⁸ Or as the German translation of a popular anatomy treatise by the Dutch physician Steven Blankaart published in Leipzig in 1691 outlined, the body’s juices flowed as if through an “artful water display”.³⁹

What music did these bodily flows produce? What did these sounds communicate? According to the literary scholar Michael Schoenfeldt, the early modern world was inhabited by “bodies [which] could be imagined to speak and think, where blood could be characterised as eloquent”.⁴⁰ Similarly, the literary scholar Charis Charalampous identifies the “secretions and evacuations” of the early modern body to “respond to events and assess situations meaningfully and independently of the mind”.⁴¹ Gina Bloom finds this at play in Shakespeare’s *Titus Andronicus*. When the “crimson river of warm blood, /Like to a bubbling fountain stirr’d with wind” flows from the mutilated and tongueless Lavinia, it is, in Bloom’s words, “telltale blood”: it articulates to Marcus that Lavinia has been raped.⁴²

³⁷ “Wie man siehet in grosser dürrer Zeit, wenns lang nicht regnet, so vertrocknen auch die Wasser-reichsten Quellen, ja grosse Wasserströme; darum ists eine wunderliche *consonantz* und Verwandniß des Himmels und der Erden. [...] Und weils lustige Oerter seyn, da die Brunnen und Bächlein fliessen, so sitzen auch daselbst gern die Vögel des Himmels, und singen unter den Zweigen. Das ist eine schöne Musica, die hat ihm GOtt der HErr im grünen Wald zugerichtet...” Johann Arndt, *Fünff Geistreiche Bücher vom wahren Christenthum* (Leipzig: Klob, 1702), 881–882.

³⁸ “das hertz als das vornehmste theil unseres pompen-wercks oder wasserkunst”. Johann Helfrich Jüngken, *Vernünfftiger und erfarnier Leib-Artzt* (Leipzig: Fritsch, 1699), 4.

³⁹ “...wie der Leib gleich einen künstlichen Wasser-Werck beweget wird, auch daß des Leibes Leben und Wärme alleine von dem gewöhnlichen Umlauff und Jährung derer Säffte herkomme”. Steven Blankaart, *Reformirte Anatomie, Oder Zerlegung des Menschlichen Leibes*, trans. Tobias Peucer (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1691), 281.

⁴⁰ Michael Schoenfeldt, “Eloquent Blood and Deliberative Bodies: The Physiology of Metaphysical Poetry”, *Renaissance Transformations: The Making of English Writing, 1500–1650*, eds. Thomas Healy and Margaret Healy (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 145–160 (145). See also Michael Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

⁴¹ Charis Charalampous, *Rethinking the Mind-Body Relationship in Early Modern Literature, Philosophy and Medicine: The Renaissance of the Body* (London: Routledge, 2016), 2.

⁴² Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 101–102.

Throughout my exploration of theological texts in early modern Germany, I have found liquids leaking from bodies in equally eloquent and intelligible ways. In Heinrich Müller's *Geistliche Erquick-Stunden* (1664–1666), a theological tome owned by Bach, tears call out to God:

O blessed water of tears, how delicious are you! Tears pray the most powerfully. Indeed, they flow down cheeks, but they also cry out to God in heaven on behalf of the one who sheds them. The troubled heart swells with tears like a fountain of water, and what comes from the heart goes to God, for God looks at the heart, it is indeed a great comfort when you can still cry in trials and tribulations. For as the body has its refreshment of food and drink, so the sad heart refreshes itself with its tears.⁴³

Tears were not the only liquid medium invested in intelligible speech. All matter of bodily fluids, according to Müller, called out to God:

My tears call (*ruffen*), I have not stopped admonishing with tears. My sweat calls out, 'Ah could the pulpit speak', my drops of blood call, 'How often do you see the blood under your eyes in zeal?' [...] I call out from the depths of my heart. My tears cry out, 'O Lord, help!' The blood in my veins calls out, 'O Lord, when will you be merciful?'⁴⁴

In other words, prayer and devotional acts were not merely sonic modes of call and response between worshippers and God, but also liquid systems of flow. Replenished in the Holy Spirit – which, configured as a sweet liquid, could also pour into bodies – a Christian sang psalms and hymns of praise in “spiritual drunkenness” (*geistlichen Trunkenheit*). “It is not I who speak”, Müller wrote, “but the fullness of the Spirit, the heavenly joyful wine speaks through me”.⁴⁵ Citing Matthew 12:34, Müller

⁴³ “O Seliges Thränen-Wasser, wie köstlich bist du! Thränen beten am kräftigsten. Sie fliessen zwar die Wangen herab, aber schreyen zu GOTT in den Himmel wider den, der sie heraus dringt. Das betrübte Hertz quillet die Thränen wie ein Brunn sein Wasser, und was von Hertzen geht, das kommt zu Gott, denn Gott siehet das Hertz an, es ist fürwahr ein grosser Trost, wann du noch in Anfechtungen und Nöthen weinen kanst. Denn wie der Leib seine Erquickung hat von Speiß und Tranck, so labet sich das traurige Hertz an seinen Thränen.” Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Erquick-Stunden, oder Dreyhundert Hauß- und Tisch-Andachten...* (Hamburg: Völcker, 1705), 431.

⁴⁴ “Meine Thränen ruffen, hab ich doch nicht abgelaßen mit Thränen zu ermahnen. Meine Schweißtropffen ruffen, ach könnte die Cantzel reden, meine Bluts-Tropffen ruffen, wie oft siehest du im Eyfer das Blut unter Augen? ... Ich ruffe auß der Tieffe meines Hertzens. Meine Thränen ruffen: Ach HErr, hilff! das Blut in meinen Adern rufft, ach HErr, wann wilt du gnädig seyn?” Müller, *Geistliche Erquick-Stunden*, 47.

⁴⁵ “Da rede nicht ich, sondern die Fülle des Geistes, der himmlische Freuden-Wein redet durch mich. Da gehts wie Paulus sagt Eph.5/19. Werdet voll Geistes, und reder untereinander von Psalmen und Lob-Gesängen und

reiterated that “whatever the heart is full of, the mouth overflows”.⁴⁶ In *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, a tome also owned by Bach, Müller described how the “hidden ground of the heart remains flooded with joy by the Holy Spirit, so that he will pour (*ergiessen*) himself out in God’s praise completely”.⁴⁷ Such expressions literally came forth from Lutheran mouths. Singing a hymn printed in 1758, congregants manifested heartfelt devotion into flowing sound: “Open my mouth, So that the inner ground [of my heart] overflows through the lips, And pours into your praise”.⁴⁸

This corporeal basis of devotional song presents a conception of music almost as a bodily liquid itself. In a song from the appendix of Johann Rittmeyer’s *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl*, a section which opens with an image of Jesus playing music in the heart (“Jesus spielet im Hertzen”, Figure 1.1),⁴⁹ singing brought about tears of consolation: “Cry, oh cry now in competition, the stream of both my eyes! Oh that I had enough tears, To mourn my shame! Oh that from the fountain of tears came a strong river!”⁵⁰ The metaphor of music as liquid was thus not just a way of describing music and how it interacted with other bodily juices. Rather, metaphor functioned as embodied strategy: Lutherans sung their bodies into penitential flow.

It is in this corporeal sense that prayers and hymns gushed forth as juice. Christian Scriver described his 1729 collection of “short, easy and clear prayers”, the frontispiece of which depicts angels collecting Jesus’ blood in Communion-like vessels (Figure 1.2), as the “juice” (*Safft*) of devotion.⁵¹ For

geistlichen Liedern, singet und spielet dem HErrn in euren Herten. Siehe, so redet der Wein nicht allein durch dich, sondern auch durch mich”. Müller, *Geistliche Erquick-Stunden*, 53–54.

⁴⁶ “Wer die Kräfte des Himmels geschmeckt hat, merckt wol, daß ich truncken bin. Höre: Wann mich mein JESUS bitterlich betrübet hat, und es mit mir wieder gut machen wil, so führet er mir in seinen Weinkeller, Cant. 2/4 und träncket mich mit Wollust als mit einem Strom, Psal.69. Dann werd ich voll Geistes, und wes das Hertz voll ist, des geht der Mund über, Matth. 12/34.” Müller, *Geistliche Erquick-Stunden*, 53.

⁴⁷ “In der Stille Gott loben, wenn der verborgene Grund deß Herzens vom Heil. Geist mit Freuden überschwemmet wird, daß er sich in Gottes Lob ganz und gar ergiessen wil”. Heinrich Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme Oder Auffmunterung zur Liebe Gottes* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1676), 1026.

⁴⁸ “Oefne meinen mund, Daß der inn’re grund Durch die lippen überfliesse, Und sich in dein lob ergiesse. Oefne meinen mund, Meinen inner grund.” *Vollständiges Gesang-Buch*, 8th edition (Altona: Burmester, 1758), 286.

⁴⁹ This structure is replicated in the *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten* of 1694. Preceding the section of songs, there is an engraving of “Jesus singet im Hertzen”. See *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten* (Leipzig: Wüdig, 1694), 289.

⁵⁰ “Wein, ach wein itzt um die Wette, Meiner beyden Augen Bach! O daß ich gnug Zähren hätte, Zu betrauren meine Schmach! O daß auß dem Thränen-Brunnen Käm ein starcker Strom gerunnen!” Johann Rittmeyer, *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl der Kinder Gottes auf Erden...* (Lüneberg: Stern, 1735), 545.

⁵¹ “Auf verschiedene Veranlassung habe mich unterwunden den Seelen-Schatz, ein sehr geistreiches Werck eines berühmten Lehrers unserer Kirchen, in kurtze, leicht und deutliche Andachten zu verfassen, und dessen alleredelsten Kern oder Krafft und Safft in wenig Worten und Blättern Christlichen und GOTT-liebenden Seelen

the mystical theologian Christian Hoburg, whose *Hertzens-Safft* was printed in Leipzig numerous times in the seventeenth to the first half of the eighteenth century, his liquid-like devotions could “purify, enlighten, strengthen and unite the heart with God”.⁵² Christian Gottlieb Kern’s *Geistliche Safft- Und Andachts-Quelle Jesum-liebender Seelen*, a prayer and hymn book published in Nuremberg in 1695 (and reprinted in 1700, 1705 and 1710), similarly conceptualised its devotional contents as a “prayer juice that springs from the bottom of the heart”. Readers were to use Kern’s prayer and hymn texts as a fountain of replenishment, a source from which to drink, grow, and bring forth fruits of praise:

Let it refresh the hearts of their devout Christian souls, who get their consolation and refreshment juice from this source, and let it moisten them with the power of your spirit, that they, as beautiful green trees on the streams, give plenty of juice, and bring glorious fruit for your praise and glory from their devout soul, and bring to the future joyous angelic harvest, so that there, too, they will be included in your heavenly notes of honour.⁵³

Hymns sung in praise materialised as liquid overflow from their newly replenished hearts. This juice flowed to God, who in one engraving is depicted as an omniscient vessel that can hear (“Herz! höre mein gebeth”). In Kern’s image (Figure 1.3), angels collect juice from a spurting heart in cups and carry it heavenward. Devotional music making, in other words, was enmeshed in a flow both within Christian bodies as well as between worshippers and God. As Evelyn Tribble writes of early modern English theatre, plays let loose a “flow of passions and affections among players on stage, between audience and players, and among the audience members themselves”.⁵⁴ Writing of spectators more generally,

darzureichen...” Christian Scriver, *Seelen-Schatzes Krafft und Safft, Oder Geistreiche und bewegliche Seelen-Andachten* (Magdeburg und Leipzig: Seidel und Scheidhauer, 1729), frontmatter.

⁵² Christian Hoburg, *Postilla Evangeliorum Mystica, oder verborgener Hertzens-Safft Aller und jeder Sonn- und Festtags-Evangelien, Bestehend in Geistlichen Andachten und Seelen-Gesprächen, zu Reinig- Erleucht- Stärck- und Vereinigung des Hertzens mit Gott, durch dessen Krafft, in Zeit und Ewigkeit...* (Franckfurt und Leipzig: Andreä, 1716).

⁵³ “Lasse es also die Herten deren andächtigen Christ-Seelen, welche aus dieser Quelle ihren Trost und Erquickungs-Safft heraus holen, dermassen erfrischen, und mit deines Geistes Krafft anfeuchten, daß sie als schöngrünende Bäume an den Wasser-Bächen, reichlich safftten, und herrliche Früchte [zu] deinem Lob und Preiß, aus andächtiger Seele hervorbringen, und zu der dermaleinst freudigen Engel-Erndte zeitigen, auch dort in deine himmlische Ehren-Scheine aufgesamlet werden mögen.” Christian Gottlieb Kern, *Geistliche Safft- Und Andachts-Quelle Jesum-liebender Seelen/ In der Schutz-reichen Engel-Hut Gottes auf Erden. Darinnen enthalten, der aus inner Hertz-Grund hervorquellende Gebets-Safft...* (Nürnberg: Otto, 1705), 4.

⁵⁴ Evelyn Tribble, “Affective Contagion on the Early Modern Stage”, *Affect Theory and Early Modern Texts: Politics, Ecologies, and Form*, eds. Amanda Bailey and Mario DiGangi (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), 195–212 (197).



(Left) Figure 1.1: Jesus playing a harp in the heart. Johann Rittmeyer, *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl der Kinder Gottes auff Erden Oder Geistreiche Gebete* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1728), unpaginated. (Right) Figure 1.2: Angels collect Jesus' blood. Christian Scriver, *Seelen-Schatzes Krafft und Safft, Oder Geistreiche und bewegliche Seelen-Andachten* (Magdeburg und Leipzig: Seidel und Scheidhauer, 1729), frontispiece.



(Left) Figure 1.3: Collecting hymns as juice from hearts. Christian Gottlieb Kern, *Geistliche Safft- Und Andachts-Quelle Jesum-liebender Seelen* (Nürnberg: Otto, 1705), frontispiece. (Right) Figure 1.4: Flow of Jesus' blood. Tobias Canstetter, *Trüber Brunn Und Verderbte Quelle Menschlichen Hertzens* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1673), unpaginated.

Tribble emphasises that “audiences are by no means empty vessels; they come primed for particular forms of affective practice and may or may not respond to the affective designs upon them”.⁵⁵ The term “vessel” might bring to mind a passive kind of listening—a “flowchart of communication” which Christopher Small described as “running from composer to individual listener through the medium of the performer”.⁵⁶ When contextualised within the liquid spiritual economy, however, the resonances are more literal. In Bach’s Germany, early modern Lutherans *were* configured as vessels, and music was traded between bodies as liquid leakage eloquent in devotional praise.⁵⁷

This literalness might serve us well when translating a cantata libretto by Weimar poet Salomo[n] Franck from his *Evangelische Sonn- und Festtages Andachten* (1717), a collection containing texts Bach set in Weimar and Leipzig. In Markus Rathey’s translation of this aria text, the Lutheran’s heart *captures* Jesus’ blood:

Come, come my heart, and hurry with desire	Komm, komm mein Hertz, und eile mit Verlangen,
To capture the most precious drops of blood	Die kostbarsten Bluts-Tropffen aufzufangen,
Which now flow most generously	Die itzt dein JEsulein
From the little body of your Jesus. ⁵⁸	So milde läßt von seinem Leibgen fließen...

In the historical, litero-metaphorical context of early modern devotional leakage, however, “collect” might be a more appropriate translation for *aufzufangen*. Certainly, “collect” would resonate more with the common visual trope of the Lutheran heart as container or vessel. Engravings, such as those in Tobias Canstetter’s *Trüber Brunn und verderbte Quelle Menschlichen Hertzens* (1673), made this explicit. In one engraving inspired by Psalm 42 (Figure 1.4), blood from the crucified Jesus pours into

⁵⁵ Tribble, “Affective Contagion on the Early Modern Stage”, 206.

⁵⁶ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 6.

⁵⁷ There are resonances between Gail Kern Paster’s explorations of shame in early modern England and William Cheng’s recent study of “leaks” and the shamed female celebrity. As Cheng writes, “the allure of leaks: whatever their true shock value, leaks tempt people into performative spirals of metacritical introspection, all the while short-circuiting the intellectual, affective, and moral integrity of our own leakable bodies and of the body politic. [...] Leaks are about all of us. Because all of us leak.” William Cheng, “So You’ve Been Musically Shamed”, *Journal of Popular Music Studies* 30/3 (2018), 63–98 (65). Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

⁵⁸ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Christmas Oratorio*, 275. “Komm, komm mein Hertz, und eile mit Verlangen, /Die kostbarsten Bluts-Tropffen aufzufangen, /Die itzt dein JEsulein /So milde läßt von seinem Leibgen fließen, /Laß auch dich den Purpur sich ergiessen, /So wirst du ewig rein.” Salomo Franck, *Evangelische Sonn- und Festtages Andachten ... in Geistlichen Arien erwecket* (Weimar/Jena: Bielcke, 1717), 13.

a heart-shaped basin. By directing the flows of blood into a stream from which a deer drinks, the basin becomes, like Kern's gushing heart above, a fountain and source of refreshment.

In this context of intermingling bodily and musical flows, as well as the devotional framework in which music was received by God's ears as the liquid-overflow of hearts replenished in the Holy Spirit, representation in Bach's music potentially functioned more viscerally and tangibly than scholars have previously recognised. Rather than merely forming a representational soundtrack to processes of purification or prayers for forgiveness, an aria such as "Ergieße dich reichlich" potentially engaged the bodies of those present in congregational purification. On this basis, musical motives were palpably felt by listeners to contribute to devotional flows. While I would not go as far as claiming that Bach's listeners understood music as a cleansing agent in the same way that Lutherans ascribed purifying properties to Jesus' holy blood, I do suggest that musical performances gained experiential power through their proximity to theologies of liquid salvation. The litero-metaphorical status of music as liquid potentially meant that a cantata performance activated in listeners the same experiential processes afforded to cleansing liquids. Music that then pronounced its own liquid-like status through representation, such as in "Ergieße dich reichlich", made the purifying potential of its flows particularly palpable.

Bed, bath and beyond

Lutheran bathing rituals shed further light on how liquid purification played out in early modern Germany. A prayer by C. Jäger, printed in Leipzig in 1731, guided Lutherans through devotional bathing ("Wenn du dich wäschest, oder badest"). A bather was to imagine water as the blood that poured out of Jesus' sides:

Wash and purify me, my LORD JESUS, with your rust-coloured, precious blood from all sinful impurity, with which the hellish unclean spirit has defiled me. Refresh me in all my troubles with your holy water that comes out of your sides, and let me partake with Peter, the great sinner, in you and your eternal glory, Amen.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ "Wasche und reinige mich, mein HERR JESU, mit deinem rostfarben theuren Blute von aller sündlichen Unreinigkeit, damit mich der höllische unsaubere Geist verunreiniget hat! Erquicke mich mit deinem heiligen Seiten-Wasser in allen Nöthen, und laß mich auch Theil haben mit Petro, dem grossen Sünder, an dir und deiner ewigen Herrlichkeit, Amen." Christian Scriver, *Einer gläubigen und andächtigen Seelen vermehrtes tägliches Bet-, Buß-, Lob- und Danck-Opffer* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1731), 650.

This “recolouring” of water as red in the Lutheran imagination was particularly connected to baptism. As described in the seventh verse of Martin Luther’s hymn “Christ unser Herr zum Jordan kam” – a verse Bach set in a cantata for 24 June 1724 – faith can see beyond mere appearances:

Das Aug allein das Wasser sieht	The eye sees only water
Wie Menschen Wasser giessen,	When the water is poured by man,
Der Glaub im Geist die Krafft versteht	Faith in the spirit understands the power
Des Blutes JESu Christi,	Of the blood of Jesus Christ,
Und ist für ihm ein rothe Fluth,	And for him [the faithful] it is a red stream
Mit Christi Blut gefärbet...	Coloured by Christ’s blood... ⁶⁰

As part of domestic routines of bathing, then, dwelling on Jesus’ crucifixion and its theological connections to baptism and the wine of Communion were far more present in the Lutheran mindset than we might at first expect.⁶¹

In *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl* (1655), a popular devotional manual and hymnal by the Lutheran pastor Johann Rittmeyer cited above, music was also enmeshed in rituals of bodily and spiritual preparation. In addition to an appendix of songs, Rittmeyer scattered hymns throughout his devotional text. In a section dedicated to preparing one’s body on the morning of Communion taking, for example, Rittmeyer implanted the first verse of Johann Franck’s “Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele” and an altered version of the seventh verse of Johann Heermann’s “O Jesu, du mein Bräutigam!” amid his instructions. In order to capture the holistic nature of Rittmeyer’s text, I cite this section more or less in full:

§. 2. Anyone who is well prepared and ready in this way, and longs to be God’s table companion, will like to get up earlier in the morning. The spirit of God, who not only starts good work in us, but also continues and completes it, will not let him sleep or lie in bed for long. As soon as he awakens, his thoughts are with God through the inner urge of the Holy Spirit. Joy and fear are mixed in his heart. He sighs to God, for his soul’s comfort and refreshment that he may spend his holy day in a worthy way, to God’s honour. He commends himself to the grace of God, and hastily rises from his resting place; with great diligence he

⁶⁰ Heinrich Müller, *Geistlicher Danck-Altar* (Hanover: Förster und Sohn, 1724), 204.

⁶¹ It is important to distinguish between devotionally dwelling on Communion from actual Communion practices. According to Christian Gerber, Communion was taken in Leipzig only “four, six, or more times a year”. “Wir haben aber gleichwol auch solche Mitglieder unter uns, die freywillig nach ihren eigenen Verlangen des Jahrs zu vier, sechs und mehrmalen zum Tisch des HErrn kommen, und durch die Geniessung des Sacraments sich kräftig gestärckt zu seyn befinden.” Christian Gerber, *Historie der Kirchen Ceremonien in Sachsen* (Dresden and Leipzig: Sauereßig, 1732), 466.

guards that no earthly thought must come to his heart; He directs his heart and thoughts to God [...] He encourages his soul with joyous comfort:

Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele	Adorn yourself, beloved soul,
Laß der Sünden dunckle Höle,	Leave the dark cave of sin,
Komm ans helle Licht gegangen,	Enter into the bright light,
Fange herrlich an zu prangen,	Begin to shine in all your splendour;
Denn der HERR voll Heil und Gnaden	For the Lord, full of salvation and grace,
Will dich itzt zu Gaste laden.	Invites you now to be His guest.
Der den Himmel kan verwalten,	He who rules in Heaven
Will itzt Herberg in dir halten.	Seeks lodgings within you.

§.3. By washing and purifying himself, he thinks of the purification of his soul, without which all his washing and cleansing of his body is for nothing and in vain. He calls and prays for washing and cleansing of the soul, with these or similar words:

Wasch alle Laster aus in mir,	Wash out all the vices in me,
Mein Hertz mit Lieb und Glauben zier,	Adorn my heart with love and faith,
Und was sonst ist von Tugend mehr,	And what more there is of virtue,
Das pflantz in mir zu deiner Ehr.	Plant it in me for your honour.

§.4. When he puts on his clothes, he thinks more of his soul than adorning his body...⁶²

⁶² “§. 2. Wer sich itzt besagter massen wol bereitet und angeschicket hat, und Verlangen träget Gottes Tisch-Genoß zu seyn, der wird deß Morgens gerne früher auffstehen, wie sonst. Der Geist Gottes, der das gute Werck nicht nur in uns anfänget, sondern auch gerne fortsetzet, und vollendet, wird ihn nicht lange schlaffen, noch im Bette ligen [sic] lassen. So bald er erwachet, sind durch den innerlichen Trieb deß heiligen Geistes seine Gedancken bey GOTT. Sein Hertz ist mit Freude und Furcht vermischet. Er seufftzt zu GOTT, daß er zu dessen Ehren, und zu seiner Seelen Trost und Erquickung diesen heiligen Tag würdiglich zubringen möge. Er empfiehlt sich der Gnade Gottes, und stehet eilig von seiner Ruhestätte auff, er hütet sich mit grossem Fleiß, daß kein irdischer Gedancke ihm muß ins Hertze kommen; Sein Hertz und Gedancken richtet er zu Gott [...] Er ermuntert seine Seele mit freudigem Zuspruch:

Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele /Laß der Sünden dunckle Höle, /Komm ans helle Licht gegangen, /Fange herrlich an zu prangen, /Denn der HERR voll Heil und Gnaden /Will dich itzt zu Gaste laden. /Der den Himmel kan verwalten, /Will itzt Herberg in dir halten.



Figure 1.5: Discrete stages of devotion. Christian Scriver, *Einer gläubigen und andächtigen Soelen vermehrtes tägliches Bet-, Buß-, Lob- und Danck-Opffer* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1731), frontmatter.

An initial interpretation of this text might presume that Rittmeyer was recommending his readers to sing Franck and Heermann's hymns aloud as part of their morning rituals. Certainly, the colons and indentation of text at first seems to suggest an instruction to sing at these points. Rittmeyer's layout could imply a discreteness as conveyed in an engraving in Scriver's 1731 compilation: praising God with music is depicted as a single stage in a day's routine (Figure 1.5). But interpreting the section of Rittmeyer's text solely as a series of events—1. Waking; 2. Singing; 3. Washing; 4. Singing; 5. Getting dressed—might downplay or misunderstand a far richer, more interconnected set of practices.

If Rittmeyer's readers sung as they carried out their morning routines, the flowing materiality of music intermingled with the other modes of feltness generated by their preparations for Communion. As water poured over bodies, for example, washing off layers of grime and covering skin in wetness, music was felt to cleanse too. Or as Lutherans put on fresh clothing, music constituted another layer with which to adorn, perhaps even preserve or defend, one's embodied soul. This complex intermingling continued, as some ten pages later, Rittmeyer quoted a popular Lutheran *Monitoria*:

§. 3. In dem er sich wäschet und reiniget, dencket er auff die Reinigung seiner Seelen, ohn dem alles Waschen und Saubern deß Leibes umsonst und vergeblich ist. Er seufftzt und betet um Abwaschung und Reinigung der Seelen, ohngefährlich mit diesen, oder dergleichen Worten:

Wasch alle Laster auß in mir, /Mein Hertz mit Lieb und Glauben zier, /Und was sonst ist von Tugend mehr, /Das pflantz in mir zu deiner Ehr.

§. 4. Bey Anlegung seiner Kleider dencket er mehr auff seine Seele, als den Leib zu schmücken." Rittmeyer, *Himmlisches Freuden-Mahl*, 24–26.

Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit,	Christ's blood and justice
Ist mein Schmuck und Ehren-Kleid,	Is my adornment and dress of honour,
Darinwill ich fur GOtt bestehn,	In it I will stand before God
Und mit Freuden zu Ihm in den Himmel gehn.	And with Joy go up to him in heaven. ⁶³

In this metaphor, Jesus' blood covered Lutheran skin as a dress of honour. A similar metaphor was used for baptism in the *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten* of 1694. As part of a similar sequence of "Jesus in the Heart" engravings employed in Rittmeyer's text, the 1694 handbook depicts "Jesus kleidet das Hertz [in der Tauffe]".⁶⁴ The interconnectedness of metaphorical practices gestures towards a morning routine in which events were not experienced as wholly discrete.

As the flowing touch of song enveloped the tactile practices of morning ritual, music became implicated in those very touches and feelings of bodily and spiritual preparation. A three-verse spiritual song that was sung while bathing ("Bey dem Waschen") by the German poet Magnus Daniel Omeis testifies to a similar experience of interconnectedness. With no specific mention of the cleansing agent—for instance, "I wash my body *with X*"—the song reflects the imprecise coalescence of flowing materialities:

I wash my body. Lord, wash my soul
 which is very black and red from the debt of sin.
 Come, clean my heart from the stink of sin and grime,
 so that it becomes a pure cave for you to dwell in.

Whoever is pure has no need to be washed.
 I, LORD, am full of filth, my heart hangs down to the earth,
 the soul wallows in the filth of this world.
 So wash me! No filth enters your heavenly canopy.

⁶³ Rittmeyer, *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl*, 36. See also August Pfeiffer, *Magnalia Christi, Oder Die Grossen Thaten Jesu Christi* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1685), 327; Christian Sriver, *Seelen-Schatz* (Magdeburg und Leipzig: Seidel und Scheidhauer, 1731), 254.

⁶⁴ Robin A. Leaver writes that there is a "strong possibility that Bach was aware of such [Jesus in the heart] images" as when the Lüneburg publisher Stern took over publishing the Rittmeyer volume in the early 1720s, the images were re-engraved by the Brühls of Leipzig. See Robin A. Leaver, Noelle M. Heber, and Michael Marissen, "Bach and Jesus", *Discussing Bach 2*, eds. Ruth Tatlow and Barbara M. Reul (2021), 2–17 (6); *Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten, darinnen der Erste Theil das Gebetbuch, der Ander Theil Das Gesangbuch: Nebst einer Vorrede Herrn Gottlob Friedr. Seligmanns* (Leipzig: Würdig, 1694), 112.

Here, by washing the limbs of the body like this,
remind me, Lord, of the water of my baptism.
Let your grace-spring always run over me
that the pitch of hell will not burn me to ashes.⁶⁵

Song thus contributed to how a Lutheran cleaned their body, heart and soul. The “dark cave of sin” from Franck’s “Schmücke dich, O liebe Seele” is inverted in the first verse of Omeis’s song and transformed into a “pure cave”. Nevertheless, the shared vocabulary of *inhabitatio* in both texts emphasises how bathing rituals in early modern Germany were considered to clean a body’s interior. That is, while grime was being washed off skin—a fragile boundary which, Barbara Duden reminds us “was not meant to demarcate the body against the outside world”, but rather a “surface on which the inside revealed itself”—song helped to reach the dirty areas that water could not.⁶⁶ By functioning as a cleaning agent, Lutheran bathing songs illustrate what James Q. Davies calls music’s “cultivation of bodies [...] a corporeality that is both artful and actual, shaped from the outside in as well as the inside out”.⁶⁷ By cleaning internal chambers such as the heart, musical bathing constituted a physical and spiritual kind of reshaping.

The texts by Rittmeyer and Omeis cited above thus not only emphasise the status of bathing as a musical activity. Rather, they also attest to the potential for music – in other places and ways – to instil feelings of bodily and spiritual preparation. As Rittmeyer’s readers meditated on an engraving of Jesus as a fountain of grace in which a child bathes (“Jesus der Brunn aller Gnaden”, Figure 1.6), they prayed for His blood to flow on them “forever”.⁶⁸ Similarly, Omeis’s readers sang for God’s “grace-spring” (*Gnaden-Born*) to pour over them “always”. Even once Lutherans had finished bathing, music presented a way to reexperience the purifying touch of water beyond the bathroom. Musical listening in church could therefore be experienced by congregants as the washing of their bodies and souls. This

⁶⁵ “Ich wasche meinen Leib. HErr, wasch du meine Seele, /die zimlich schwarz und roht von Sünden-Schulden ist. /Komm, säubre du mein Herz vom Sündenstank und Mist, /damit es dir zum Sitz werd eine reine Höle. Wer rein ist, hat nicht noht, daß er gewaschen werde. /Ich, HERR, bin voller Wust, mein Herz hängt an der Erde, /die Seele wälzet sich im Unflat dieser Welt. /Drum wasche mich! Kein Koht kommt in dein Himmel-Zelt. Hierbey, indem ich so des Leibes Glieder wasche, /erinnre du mich, HErr, des Wassers meiner Tauf. /Laß deinem Gnaden-Born stets über mir den Lauf, /daß mich das Höllen-Pech nicht Brennen mög zur Asche.” Magnus Daniel Omeis, *Geistliche Gedicht- und Lieder-Blumen, zu Gottes Lobe und frommer Seelen-Erquickung geweiht und gestreuet* (Nürnberg: Michahelles und Adolph, 1706), 87.

⁶⁶ Duden, *The Woman Beneath the Skin*, 123.

⁶⁷ James Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014), 2[...]7.

⁶⁸ “Jesu deiner Wunden Fluten /Roth von heißen Liebes Gluthen /Laß als einen Strom auff mich /Lebend fließen ewiglich.” Rittmeyer, *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl*, 326.

confluence of flows is captured in the frontispiece of Johann Quirsfeld's *Allersüssester Jesus-Trost Einer Weltverdrossenen Seelen* (Figure 1.7), a devotional book published in Leipzig numerous times in the second half of the seventeenth century. Jesus' heart forms a fountain that gushes with blood. Surrounding His wreathed love are angels playing lutes, harps, violins, oboes and other instruments. A mixture of this music and Jesus' "blood-red streams" flows on the listeners below, one of whom feeds wine to another.⁶⁹ Quirsfeld's frontispiece, like the scenes featured by Canstetter and Scriver above, gestures to a larger narrative of replenishment: Jesus' flows quench the thirst of believers and "spread out into the whole world-desert".⁷⁰

Does Quirsfeld's image offer clues to what listeners experienced when, on 15 October 1724 in Leipzig, Bach's tenor negotiated the flows of song, instrumental melisma, spiritual juice, purifying blood, and the simulated sprays of bathwater? In the aria to which we now turn, was flow felt to implicate its listeners in purifying touch?

Ergieße dich reichlich, du göttliche Quelle	Pour yourself out abundantly, you divine spring,
Ach, walle mit blutigen Strömen auf mich!	Ah, flow over me with streams of blood!
Es fühlet mein Herze die tröstliche Stunde,	My heart feels the hour of consolation,
Nun sinken die drückenden Lasten zu Grunde,	Now my crushing burdens sink to the bottom,
Es wäschet die sündlichen Flecken von sich.	The stains of sin are washed away.

In the following musical analysis of "Ergieße dich reichlich" from *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, I attempt to keep hold of all this wetness. I situate Bach's aria in the liquid spiritual economy of early modern Germany—a landscape in which, as we have seen, sweat called out to God, blood was eloquent,

⁶⁹ It seems that Communion in Leipzig was served by an Administrator who poured wine directly into a communicant's mouth i.e. communicants did not hold the Communion cup. See Johann Christoph Rosten, *Nachricht, Wie es, in der Kirchen zu St Thom. alhier, mit dem Gottesdienst, Jährlich sowohl an Hohen feste, als andern Tagen, pflaget gehalten zu werden, auffgezeichnet von Johann Christoph Rosten, Custode ad D. Thomae* (manuscript: 1716), 17. Pictorial evidence in Müller's *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme* (Plate 10) and Scriver's *Einer gläubigen und andächtigen Seelen vermehrtes tägliches Bet-, Buß-, Lob- und Danck-Opffer* (pg. 490) supports this claim.

⁷⁰ "Ach siehe doch, wie er sich seine Hände, Füße und Seiten hat durchgraben lassen, daß fünff blutrothe Ströhmlein von ihm herab fließen, die sich in diese gantze Weltwüsten herumb ausbreiten. Ach höre doch die Zucker-süssen Worte an, darinnen sich diß Lebens-Brünnlein allen durstigen Seelen so tröstlich abebildet. So komm doch, und laß uns etwas näher zu ihm hintreten, und dieses Brünnlein nicht nur allein wol beschauen, sondern auch zugleich daraus unsern geistlichen Durst leschen." Johann Quirsfeld, *Allersüssester Jesus-Trost Einer Weltverdrossenen Seelen* (Leipzig: Lunitius, 1689), 165.



(Left) Figure 1.6: Fountain of grace. Johann Rittmeyer, *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl der Kinder Gottes auf Erden...* (Lüneberg: Stern, 1735), 326. (Right) Figure 1.7: Jesus' heart as a fountain. Johann Quirsfeld, *Allersüßester Jesus-Trost Einer Weltverdrossenen Seelen* (Leipzig und Franckfurt: Lunitius, 1689), frontispiece.

angels were imagined to collect hymn-juice in cups, and singing cleaned hearts as water washed skin. Just as McMurray sought to capture the sweaty intimacy “between people and people”, my analysis explores Bach’s music as something flowing between performers and listeners. By re-evaluating what the music that Sunday in 1724 was made up of—watery pneuma as well as representational melisma—I interpret Bach’s cantata as a performance that afforded congregants the experience of being made wet. In short, I analyse the listening practices of historical congregants as a mode of bathing.

Musical flows

Bach and his librettist did not have to construct such an opulent tenor aria. After all, as the bass singer described in the preceding recitative, a single drop of holy blood was sufficient to cleanse a sinner (“Doch weil ein Tropfen heiliges Blut /So große Wunder tut”). Bach’s soprano reinforced this in the sixth movement: even the tiniest drop can purify the entire world (“Daß jeder Tropfen, so auch noch so klein, /Die ganze Welt kann rein /Von Sünden machen”). Just one month earlier, too, at the performance

of *Jesu, der du meine Seele*, BWV 78, on 10 September 1724, Bach's bass soloist described a similar process:

Dies mein Herz, mit Leid vermenget,	This my heart, mixed with suffering,
So dein teures Blut besprenget,	Sprinkled with your precious blood,
So am Kreuz vergossen ist,	That was shed on the cross
Geb ich dir, Herr Jesu Christ.	I give to you, Lord Jesus Christ.

Bach's setting (Example 1.1) created an association between "mixed" (*vermenget*) and "sprinkled" (*besprenget*). Bach shaped both words with the same rhythm and melodic contour: a semiquaver grouping in a rising then descending motion. This was a new figure and had not been used in the recitative's previous 18 bars. Both words were also sung as cadences, decorated with a trill and anticipation note. Through this specificity of wordpainting, Bach could have been gesturing to the early modern understanding of suffering as a liquid state. The humoral mixture contained in a heart determined physiological and emotional wellbeing. The sprinkling of Jesus' blood altered this mixture. At this point of the recitative, the strings transformed from held accompanato chords to flowing quaver motion. This example demonstrates Bach's particularity when setting liquid-related verbs. Why, then,

The musical score for Example 1.1 from Johann Sebastian Bach's *Jesu, der du meine Seele*, BWV 78, is presented in two systems. The first system covers measures 16 to 19, and the second system covers measures 20 to 23. The tempo is marked 'andante' and 'a tempo'. The lyrics are in German and English. The music features a semiquaver grouping in a rising then descending motion, trills, and anticipation notes.

mei-ne vor dich nie - - - der. Dies mein Herz, mit Leid ver - men - get,

so dein - teu - res Blut be - spren - get, so am Kreuz ver - gos - sen

Example 1.1: *Vermenget* and *besprenget*. Johann Sebastian Bach, *Jesu, der du meine Seele*, BWV 78, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 21 (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958), 115–146 (139), bb. 16–23.



Figure 1.8: Five-note slur. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, Violin I part, bb. 1–2. Scribe: Christian Gottlob Meißner, D-LEb Thomana 5 (Depositum im Bach-Archiv) – Bibliothek der Thomasschule, Leipzig.



Figure 1.9: Slur crosses two systems. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, Violin I part, bb. 21–29. Scribe: Christian Gottlob Meißner, D-LEb Thomana 5 (Depositum im Bach-Archiv) – Bibliothek der Thomasschule, Leipzig.



Figure 1.10: Four-note *circulatorio* slurs. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Herr unser Herrscher”, *Johannes-Passion*, BWV 245, score, bb. 1–5. Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 28 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

did Bach not similarly sprinkle isolated instances of melisma in “Ergieße dich reichlich”? Why did he opt for gushing? What was afforded to Bach’s listeners by covering them in waves of blood?

As described at the beginning of this chapter, “Ergieße dich reichlich” has mostly been analysed for its musical motives—*Wogenmotiven*—that represent the abundantly flowing spring of the libretto. Dürr identified a “four-note falling scale” as significant motivic material. Though there are many instances in the viola writing of a four-note grouping, Bach’s notation in bar 1 clearly marked the motive as a *five-note* pattern. Dürr’s “falling scale” was actually a turn figure that curled back up to the first degree of the E-flat major scale (Figure 1.8). This motive was repeated in bar 2, and continued to be consistent in its five-note grouping. Instances in the manuscript where this motive straddles two systems made this gestural intention and bowing instruction extremely clear to Bach’s performer (Figure 1.9). It was not, then, as Dürr described, just a falling scale. Unlike the opening *circulatorio* swirlings of the *St*

John Passion (Figure 1.10), Bach articulated a pattern that went beyond the grouped beamings: a five instead of a four.

This extended slurred semiquaver grouping had implications for performance. Bach's notation indicated to his violist to soften the metric emphasis on the second beat of the first bar while maintaining a bow-direction that was the "right way round" (the second bar begun on a down bow). This would have created a feeling of one-in-a-bar through a gesture that propelled towards the second bar. Perhaps, even, the gestural corporeality of the five-note figure contributed to Bach's choice of E-flat major as the aria's key: no string crossing was required to perform the five-note motive in its statements in the tonic and dominant. This uninterrupted physicality in the drawing of the violist's right arm across the D string (tonic) or A string (dominant) produced a single gesture that could flow unimpeded from first beat into the second. Bach's key signature, in this sense, functioned with the slur markings to indicate a type of playing, an *Affekt*.⁷¹ A five-note slur potentially encouraged Bach's violist to create a warmth of sound, a coaxing and loving decay to the slur (something very different to the throbbing four-note *circulatio* patterns of incessant stress in the *St John Passion*). In other words, while E-flat major clearly had a function within the larger G minor tonality of the cantata, the tonal centre also operated independently of "the page". The key possessed carnal implications for bodies caught in performance.

Responding to the notation, Bach's violist perhaps conjured a way of playing, a mood that emphasised flow and momentum. This could have played out in the blurring of larger phrasal and structural patterns, too. Bach closed the first part of the opening phrase (bb. 1–4) with the same five-note turn which began the phrase in bar 1. The continuo players, whose cadential harmonies in bar 3 set up a certain kind of closure to the downbeat of bar 4, also repeated their material from bar 1 in bar 4. In merging "head" and "tail", so to speak, Bach created a Janus-like moment: the first 16 bars afforded an aural experience of elision. The connecting gesture of an ascending scale in bar 8 also blurred the distinction between the first (bb. 1–8) and second parts (bb. 9–16) of the phrase (Example 1.2).

This is not to say that Bach's listeners were studiously counting beats or bars that Sunday. Rather, I argue that elided phrase lengths and motives invited performers to respond in specific ways to the notation, engendering a particular kind of listening experience for theologically primed congregants. The violist, upon seeing the motivic head return as a close, likely was encouraged to coordinate his phrasing – through rubato, dynamics or other means – with dovetailed connection. In other words, Bach's musical syntax and notational details invited his performers to shape their performance through the bends and curls of figurations and phrases. Listeners perhaps responded in a type of corporeal surrender: as Bach's musicians crafted a performance that flowed in seamless streams, congregants potentially relaxed into its enveloping flow. Perhaps, even, Bach's music was felt by congregants as a

⁷¹ Mattheson, for example, associated E-flat major with pathos and lament: "...hat viel pathetisches an sich; will mit nichts als ernsthaften und dabey plaintiven Sachen gerne zu thun haben, ist auch aller Uppigkeit gleichsam spinne feind". Johann Mattheson, *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1713), 249–250.

3. Aria

Violino solo*

Tenore

Continuo
Organo

Example 1.2: Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 24, ed. Matthias Wendt (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1990), 133–172 (156), bb. 1–11.

response to their prayers and devotions sung at home—“Lord, wash my soul”, “Let your grace-spring always run over me”, “Wash out all the vices in me”. Listeners in turn took up a bodily disposition that welcomed the enfolding waves of music over and through their bodies.

Other notational details suggest that blurred corners and elided flow were not simply events that occurred in the playing out of the aria. Rather, musical signs accumulated to shape a particular type of performative stance. The placement of the *dal segno*, for example, might suggest that the violist conjured a sense of flow in performing the movement’s large-scale structures. The marking of the *dal segno* (Figure 1.11) was delayed by a beat (something that nineteenth-century and modern editions tend to ignore, see Examples 1.3a and 1.3b). The violist was instead provided with the motivic head of the A section at the end of the B section. As the solo viola part for the aria was completed by two scribes – the first fourteen systems were written out by Christian Gottlob Meißner, while the movement was completed by Johann Andreas Kuhnau – it is not entirely clear who determined this placement. Most likely Kuhnau provided the extra beat of musical material simply because this was what Bach did in the manuscript score from which the scribe was working (Figure 1.12). The delayed *dal segno* notation invited Bach’s violist to explore this structural corner with particular care and gestural subtlety. Rather than an emphatic marking of the recapitulation, the string soloist perhaps flowed back into the A section

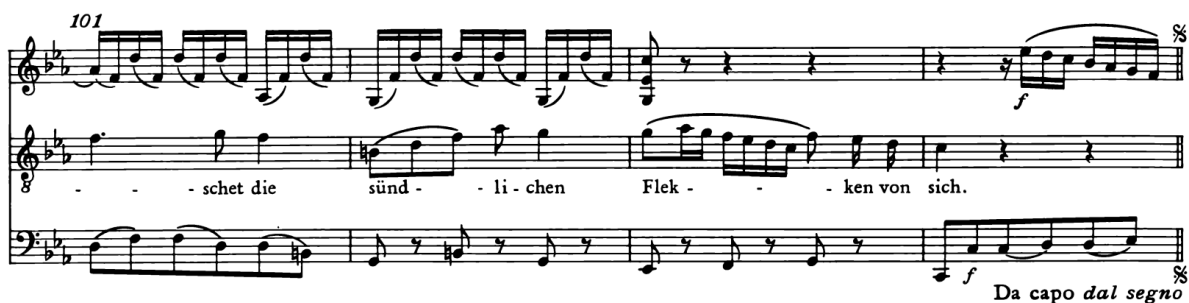
in an unmarked and veiled fashion. The Janus-like moment of bar 4 was, in other words, reconfigured as part of the movement's overall ternary structure. This response to the notation would have offered congregants a listening experience in which they did not realise the aria had “begun again” until it had, indeed, already begun again. Congregants were caught up, both aurally and physically, in the unfolding flow of musical structures.



Figure 1.11: Delayed segno marking. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, Violin I part, bb. 101–104–1. Scribe: Johann Andreas Kuhnau. D-LEb Thomana 5 (Depositum im Bach-Archiv) – Bibliothek der Thomasschule, Leipzig.



Example 1.3a: Segno ending in 1851 edition. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, *Bach-Gesellschaft Ausgabe*, Band 1, ed. Moritz Hauptmann (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1851), 127–150 (141), bb. 101–104.



Example 1.3b: Segno ending in 1990 edition. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 24, ed. Matthias Wendt (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1990), 133–172 (161), bb. 101–104.

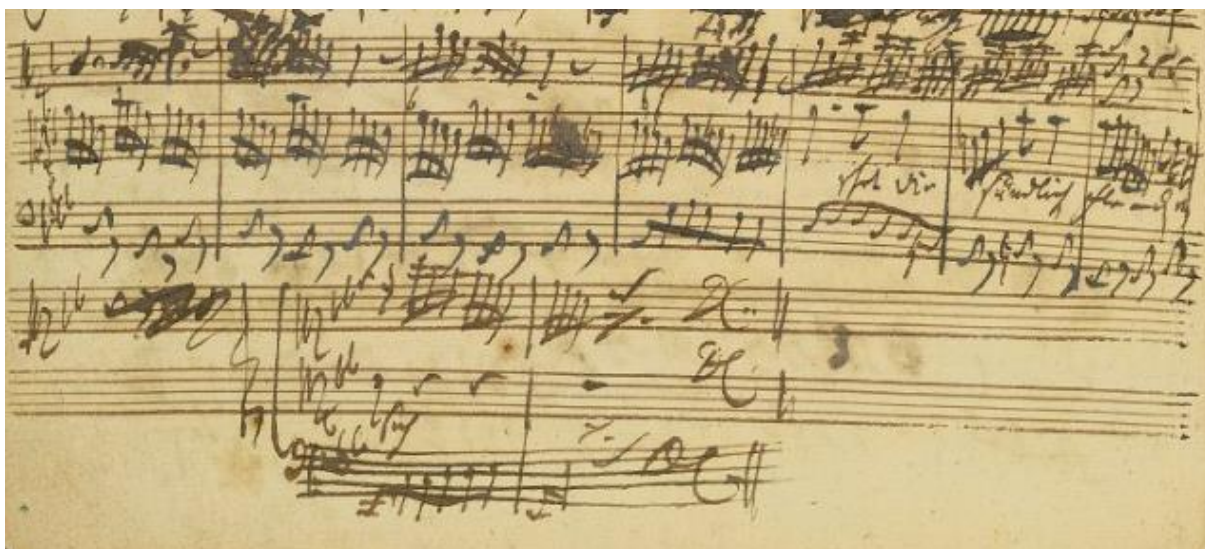


Figure 1.12: *Dal segno/da capo* marking in autograph score. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, Score, f.5r, bb. 97–104–1. Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. GB-Lbl Zweig MS. 1 – The British Library, London.



Figure 1.13: Lack of slurs in autograph score. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, Score, f.6r, bb. 1–13. Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. GB-Lbl Zweig MS. 1 – The British Library, London.

For my more sceptical readers, for whom perhaps my analysis reads like a faithful hermeneutics in finding flow, I turn for a moment to a debate currently unfolding in Bach studies. In a critique of Ruth Tatlow’s work on “parallel proportions”, Daniel Melamed writes of the “interpretative character” involved in such acts of analysis:

This is because the numbers presented do not fundamentally quantify features of works of music. They are rather the result of a series of analytical choices that are themselves part of the interpretative method. [...] We particularly need to keep the interpretative character of counting in mind when we come across claims that notation itself proves Bach's intentions. In the violin solos, for example, the theory suggests that

the da capo [notation of one movement] ... may be evidence of how Bach manipulated the score to achieve his perfect numerical plan. ... Had Bach omitted the da capo indication and written out the final eight bars, the movement would have had 100 bars (108 with repeats) instead of 92 bars. This would have destroyed the perfect numerical plan.

There is apparently a presumption here of Bach's 'perfect numerical plan', and the evidence for that plan is that the numbers work out. But the working out of the numbers is the hypothesis, and the choice of how to count the da capo movement isn't evidence of its correctness – it is part of the analytical method, endorsed by the analyst because the numbers add up. The quoted argument implicitly acknowledges that at least two ways of counting were tried (with and without the da capo) and that the one that worked was selected.⁷²

In Tatlow's interpretation, the *da capo* indication in the "Gavotte en Rondeau", BWV 1006/3 is evidence for Bach's "perfect numerical plan". Yet, as Melamed writes, this method "borders on circularity to argue that analytical decisions themselves – the ones that yield results – are evidence in favour of the theory".⁷³

While music's liquid flow is a totally different kind of hypothesis to Tatlow's numerical plan, this detour presents an opportunity to spell out the differences in our approaches. For my analyses, I draw upon Bach's notation as documentary evidence for a historical event—a cantata performance—and look for ways in which the notation potentially shaped the nature and dynamics of that event. The delayed *dal segno* marking, as we can see from the multiple editions identified above, is not something contained in the aria – or at least not in the same sense in which Tatlow identifies a Bach movement to "have" a specific number of bars. Rather it is a notational detail which Bach's violist had to interpret

⁷² Daniel Melamed, "'Parallel Proportions' in J. S. Bach's Music", *Eighteenth-Century Music* 18/1 (2021), 99–121 (102). See also Ruth Tatlow, *Bach's Numbers: Compositional Proportion and Significance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁷³ Melamed, "'Parallel Proportions' in J. S. Bach's Music", 102.

that Sunday in 1724. It conveyed information about what to do next, and in doing so invited a type of corporeal engagement from the performer.⁷⁴

Whether that invitation was taken up or not is another matter. In other words, I do not claim that my reading captures either Bach's intentions or what actually went on in any specific performance. That is, I do not argue that Bach delayed his writing of the *dal segno* in order to elicit a certain effect from his violist (although this is certainly a possibility). Rather, I seek to reconstruct a plausible response by Bach's violist to the notation. Moreover, I seek to trace the aural responses to that plausible response. The *dal segno*, after all, was not just something read by a single person, but also something heard by many Lutherans primed in a specific kind of devotional listening. The violist's reading of the sign manifested as an audible navigation of the mechanics and subtleties of its meaning (to which other performers reacted, too). Set in the context of early modern Germany and its spiritual liquid economy, then, Bach's performing parts inscribe various ways music was conjured by performers and felt by listeners to flow.

While such seemingly spontaneous responses took place in real time during a cantata performance, they also constituted premeditated strategies of Lutheran musical making. Bach's instrumentalists and singers arrived at church that Sunday with an accumulation of learnt strategies with which to interpret musical notation and transform it into affective sound. And his listeners arrived with premeditated strategies, too. As the Lutheran pastor Christoph Raupach wrote in his 1717 treatise, quoting Jacob Andreae, "in figural and organ music, I not only receive the sound or peal in my ears, but my spirit and soul is also marvellously moved and awakened through such lovely harmony so that I pray all the more fervently and earnestly or listen and attend to the sermon with a more ardent spirit".⁷⁵ Indeed, upon taking up the job of *Thomaskantor*, Bach pledged to the Leipzig town council on 5 May 1723 that he would "incite the listeners to devotion".⁷⁶ A performer's interpretation of the musical notation, particularly at significant structural corners and harmonic events, would have been fundamental in shaping this process.

⁷⁴ The viola music was written over three pages (recto, verso, recto). The first recto page was therefore turned over twice during a performance of the aria. The function of the *dal segno* to prepare Bach's violist for what was coming next was therefore particularly important as this moment involved the mechanics of a page turn. Though it is possible Bach's violist used the rests (b. 103) to turn the page himself, it is unlikely he was able to carry out the page turn during the *da capo* repeat (b. 43). Another person potentially aided in this regard. See Violin I part, D-LEb Thomana 5 (Depositum im Bach-Archiv).

⁷⁵ "Ich kan mit Warheit von mir selbst sagen, als der ich meistens zur Figural-Music und Orgel Lust habe, daß ich daraus nicht allein den Hall oder Klang mit den Ohren empfangen, sondern daß auch mein Geist und Gemüth durch solche liebliche Harmonie wunderbarlich bewegt und erwecket wird, daß ich desto brünstiger und eyffriger bechte, oder die Predigten mit brennenderem Geiste verrichte oder anhöre". Christoph Raupach, *Veritophili Deutliche Beweis-Gründe* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1717), 27. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 31.

⁷⁶ NBR, 105.

With this in mind, the *segno* notation in bar 1 potentially encouraged Bach's violist to approach the entire movement with a strategy of flow. The *segno* marking was written before the slur (hence the slur that goes over and around the *segno*). As Bach's score (Figure 1.13) did not have many slurs for the scribes to copy, it is likely that Bach entered the slurs in the part once the scribes had written out the rest of the material. The rearticulated and elongated specificity of the second slur of the movement reinforces this interpretation (Figure 1.8). The *segno* marking was therefore probably written by Meißner, while the slur was written by Bach after the copyists were done. The result of this process, whatever the specifics may have been, was that the violist engaged with a notational representation of structural flow before he commenced to play. It was conceived as part of his breathing in, as part of his preparation for and colouring of the anacrusis gesture. Whether this manifested in tone colour, tactus, rubato, agogic accent, dynamics, gestural emphasis, or an infinite mixture of other subtle shadings available to the performers (bow speed, bow pressure, amount of bow hair, placement of bow in relation to the bridge, vibrato, and so on)—indeed, including a literal, audible inhalation or exhalation—Bach's notation placed his violist in a position to engage with a strategy of flow and elision from the outset.

This analytical reconstruction addresses concerns not far removed from those central to Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi's concept of flow as a psychological state. Csikszentmihalyi termed flow as an "understanding of experiences during which individuals are fully involved in the present moment [... when] experience seamlessly unfolds from moment to moment".⁷⁷ In an account of his performance of a Chopin Nocturne on a Pleyel upright piano in 2004, John Rink draws on Csikszentmihalyi's vocabulary of flow:

As the piece progressed, with each sound being anticipated in my inner ear, which in turn prompted the precise physical motions required to produce them on the instrument, I was increasingly immersed in the experiencing of the music to the point that I forgot I was playing in public. My world was that of the music, my perceptions of time and space utterly conforming to it. It was if I had *become* the music.⁷⁸

Such descriptions were not new in musicology. In 1974, Edward Cone argued that a "good musician immerses himself so completely in the flow of the music that, for the duration of the performance, his own experience becomes identical with the course of the music. [...] His synoptic overview of the entire composition is translated into an immediate experience of each event in its order of occurrence; this is

⁷⁷ Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi, *Flow and the Foundations of Positive Psychology: The Collected Works of Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi* (New York: Springer, 2014), 239–240.

⁷⁸ Original emphasis. John Rink, "Impersonating the music in performance", *Handbook of Musical Identities*, eds. Raymond MacDonald, David J. Hargreaves, Dorothy Miell (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 345–363 (347).

what brings his performance to life”.⁷⁹ My analysis of “Ergieße dich reichlich” does not aim to argue whether Bach’s violist was a “good musician” or not. Nonetheless, contemporary ideas surrounding performance resonate with my approach towards musical notation as something which stimulates various kinds of musical flow, both as pre-meditated strategy as well as in the spontaneous moment of performance.

Another philological detail in the viola part encourages us to speculate on Bach’s conscious shaping of flow. At the close of the B section, right before composing the bar of the *dal segno*, Bach began a musical idea which he cancelled out and traded for something very different (Figure 1.12). I agree with Rathey, who in his study of Bach’s *Christmas Oratorio* finds that “corrections and revisions in the autograph score reflect Bach’s compositional process [... They] document how Bach worked on his material”.⁸⁰ While Bach’s rejected attempt began in the same metric point of the bar as the final version (after rests totalling a crotchet and a semiquaver), its differences are revealing. Bach initially wrote an ascending scale beginning on F, a note that the violist had not played the entire movement.⁸¹ Indeed, not only would it have been the lowest note that Bach’s violist had to play; it also would have been the only note he had to play on his lowest C string. Perhaps pragmatism guided Bach’s decision to abandon the ascending scale beginning at such depths. By not utilising the C string, Bach ensured that the movement could also be played on the violin. Written in the violin manuscript part, but in alto clef, it is plausible that the movement was performed by Bach’s first violinist on either a violin or viola.⁸²

But perhaps Bach was guided by factors alongside organology. Firstly, his melodic writing for the aria was characterised by descending scales. Ascending scales were few in occurrence and tended to lead to the bariolage figure that characterised the *Fortspinnung*-like material (bb. 8, 48). Except for a singular occurrence in bar 32, an ascending scale did not lead to the head motive of the main theme. Moreover, descending scales tended to be followed by a lower note the following bar (bb. 64–65, 76–77, 84–85, 91–92, 96–97). Given that the five-note head motive began on the 3rd scale degree, and that a descending scale normally continued its descent for at least one note in the following bar, it was unlikely that a descending scale would lead to the five-note head motive. Bach potentially abandoned his initial plans for an ascending scale upon the realisation that a descending scale that then ascended

⁷⁹ Edward T. Cone, *The Composer’s Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), 127.

⁸⁰ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Christmas Oratorio*, 264.

⁸¹ Butt muses whether Bach’s amendment was not a change of mind, but rather a mistake: that Bach begun the scale on F “seems quite implausible in the context of C minor. Perhaps Bach thought he was in the treble clef, beginning with a scale on E-flat?” (PhD pre-viva report, 18 October 2022).

⁸² As Butt speculates, this was “probably a case of the actual violist not being up to it!” (PhD pre-viva report, 18 October 2022). Bach’s use of alto clef has also given rise to the notion that the aria was performed by piccolo cello despite the lack of designation. See Eric Chafe, *J. S. Bach’s Johannine Theology*, 503.

the next bar by step would disguise the structural recapitulation. This alteration thus incorporated a turn figure as part of the transition: Bach's violist curled their way back into the curl that opened the return. Bach appears to have changed his mind to make for a more flowing elision of the *dal segno*. The crossed-out material suggests Bach sought a compositional solution that worked to dissolve structural demarcation. In other words, he crafted a juncture in his music that in performance would have been difficult not to make flow or be experienced by listeners as flowing.

The seamlessness between sections was also something played out between bodies that Sunday. Bach's writing engaged his performers in a mode of interaction that prioritised the flow of musical material between them. For example, Bach's tenor produced a melisma of 48 semiquavers on the word "wäschet" (Example 1.4). This melisma did not emerge from nowhere: it was set up by the violist in a descending scale of eleven semiquavers (which itself spilled out from a tied note). Similarly, string semiquavers emerged out of the tenor's melisma in bar 81. Bach reproduced this pattern of exchange in the tenor's second extreme melisma (bb. 97–100), also 48 notes long (Example 1.5). Characteristics of Bach's melodic writing accentuated the mellifluousness of such exchanges. Frequent ties (bb. 35, 42,

The image displays three systems of musical notation from a score. Each system consists of three staves: a vocal line (soprano), a string line (violin), and a string line (cello/bass). The first system (bb. 73-76) shows a vocal line with a melisma on 'wä -' and a string line with a descending scale. The second system (bb. 77-80) continues the melisma. The third system (bb. 81-84) shows the string line emerging from the melisma with semiquavers. The lyrics are: 'sin - ken die drük - ken-den La - sten zu Grun - de, es wä - schet die sünd - li - chen Flek - ken von sich.'

Example 1.4: Melisma on "wäschet". Johann Sebastian Bach, "Ergieße dich reichlich", *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 24, ed. Matthias Wendt (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1990), 133–172 (159–160), bb. 73–84.

Example 1.5: Exchange between violist and tenor. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Ergieße dich reichlich”, *Wo soll ich fliehen hin*, BWV 5, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 24, ed. Matthias Wendt (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1990), 133–172 (160–161), bb. 93–104.

48, 72, 74, 76, 81, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 100) and rhythmic entrances after a semiquaver rest (bb. 64, 96, 104) meant that performers engaged in a dynamic of responsive exchange. This pouring, so to speak, promoted a specific kind of relationship between violist and tenor. As their bodies traded in semiquavers, a flowing reciprocity was generated at these moments of exchange.

But, of course, this was not just *musical* material. As discussed above, music emerged from bodily vessels in which it mixed with all manner of bodily fluids. These fluids, we are to remember, leaked with sound too: sweat, blood and tears all called to God. Devotional music—what Kern described as a “juice”—was understood and experienced as the liquid-like overflow from hearts replenished in the Holy Spirit. What flowed out as melisma, then, was not just smooth semiquavers that resembled the rising-then-falling patterns of waves. Rather it was a substance implicated in the vital spirits, bodily fluids, and devotional juices of Bach’s tenor. Unlike the angels in the engravings featured by Kern, Scriver and Quirsfeld above, the tenor did not require a cup to collect and transfer this liquid to the violist. His heart was a vessel, and it overflowed in music that could be passed between the bodies of performers in contrapuntal exchange. The ascending scalar sequences thus potentially conjured for listeners an experience of melisma surging out from within, a gushing forth of musical and bodily

material. In such moments of abundant overflow, congregants were perhaps reminded of the scriptural verse cited by Müller above, “for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaks” (Matthew 12:34).

Given this melismatic mixture, perhaps music was not so distinct from the other liquids at flow. Depending on tempo, Bach’s tenor might not have needed to breathe during those two melismas of 48 notes each. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to imagine that the tenor struggled with these two passages, either gasping for breath mid-phrase or pushing through its closure in forwards-directed splurge. These melismas potentially took on a tone of raw urgency, a sound that was splutteringly corporeal and overtly wet. In the language of twentieth-century French literary theorist Roland Barthes, Bach’s listeners were exposed to the tenor’s “grain [...] the materiality of the body”.⁸³ The flows of breath, spiritual and bodily liquids were configured as part of the musical material. Its scalicness, flowingness, phrasing and dynamics: all these were made wet by pneuma and drenched in the replenishment of the Holy Spirit. Bach’s melodic and contrapuntal writing thus set up a performance in which the wetness of music was palpable to congregants. They could bathe in it.

Within this context, Bach’s figurative melismas, both textual and wordless, inscribed a type of performance into the musical score that not only conveyed to listeners a representation of liquid transfer. Rather they enfolded mimesis within a felt experience of liquids covering the bodies of congregants, coating their ears and hearts in wetness. Like toddlers running naked through sprinklers in the Jardin Villemin in Paris, I like to imagine Bach’s listeners embracing this wetness with eagerness, bathing their blemished bodies with sound.

⁸³ Roland Barthes, “The Grain of the Voice”, *The Responsibility of Forms* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991), 267–277 (270).

Chapter 2: Farming

The whole world
Is God's field
Where He scatters seeds!
His Holy Word,
That here and there
Bear fruit and flourish.¹

Salomo Franck, *Evangelische Sonn- und Festtages-Andachten* (1717)

On Sexagesima, readers of *Evangelischer Hertzens Schatz*, a devotional book by the cantor Johann Quirsfeld first published in Leipzig in 1683, would have meditated on two heart-framed scenes of agriculture (Figure 2.1). The scene on the left depicts the Gospel reading of the day, the “Parable of the Sower” (Luke 8:4–15). In this Parable, Jesus tells of a sower who sowed his seed on four different types of ground. Some seed fell by “the wayside” (*an den Weg*) which was trodden upon and eaten by birds. Other seed fell upon rock: this grew but then withered because the ground lacked moisture. Seed also fell among thorns which choked it so that it did not grow either. Finally, there was seed that fell on good ground which was able to grow and bear fruit. Unlike most other parables, Jesus explained its meaning for the disciples:

Now the parable is this: The seed is the word of God. Those by the way side are they that hear; then cometh the devil, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved. They on the rock are they, which, when they hear, receive the word with joy; and these have no root, which for a while believe, and in time of temptation fall away. And that which fell among thorns are they, which, when they have heard, go forth, and are choked with cares and riches and pleasures of this life, and bring no fruit to perfection. But that on the good ground are they, which in an honest and good heart, having heard the word, keep it, and bring forth fruit with patience.²

¹ “Die gantze Welt /Ist GOTTes Feld, /Wo er den Saamen streüet! /Sein heilges Wort, /Das hier und dort /Frücht bringet und gedeyhet.” Salomo Franck, *Evangelische Sonn- und Festtages-Andachten* (Weimar und Jena: Bielcken, 1717), 22.

² Luke 8:11–15, King James Version (1611).



Figure 2.1: Heart-framed agriculture. Johann Quirsfeld, *Evangelischer Hertzens Schatz* (Leipzig: Lunitius, 1683), 152.

The four types of ground in the Parable represented four types of heart; only one of these was able to receive and hold onto God's Word successfully. The heart-framed scene on the right of Quirsfeld's engraving thus depicts the Christian who has listened well: from his heart sprouts a plant whose flower is labelled with the Christogram "IHS", the abbreviation for Jesus.

Jesus' explanation of the Parable suggests that the shape of Quirsfeld's engravings was not merely decorative.³ As much Bach scholarship has explored, early modern Lutherans understood faith to take place in the heart. As part of the threefold coming of Christ, Lutherans celebrated the second coming—the *unio mystica*—as the spiritual entrance of Jesus into the hearts of believers.⁴ The shape of Quirsfeld's emblems thus point towards a corporeal reality. Listening did not only involve the ears: rather, Lutherans incorporated God's Word into the fleshy material of their hearts, too. Heinrich Müller

³ For a concise history on heart emblems, see Ralph Dekoninck and Agnès Guiderdoni, "Framing Devices and Exegetical Strategies in Northern Illustrated Spiritual Literature", *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400–1700*, eds. James Clifton, Walter S. Melion, and Michel Weemans (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 579–607.

⁴ See Markus Rathey, "Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* and the Mystical Theology of Bernard of Clairvaux", *Bach Perspectives, Vol. 12: Bach and the Counterpoint of Religion*, ed. Robin A. Leaver (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2018), 84–103.

wrote how during a sermon, the Holy Spirit would “open your heart, awaken your inner hearing (*inners Gehör*) [...] He will make your heart a good field, and then plant the seed in the field”.⁵ As the art historian Christian Kleinbub writes, the “sowing-of-the-heart metaphor” was not “simply exegetical and scriptural [...] the heart [was considered] the essential point of contact between the spirit and the flesh in man’s anatomy”.⁶ On Sexagesima in particular, the embedding of scripture into Lutheran bodies was expressed through the metaphor of agriculture. The libretto for Bach’s Sexagesima cantata, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, opens with Isaiah 55:10–13. This passage likens God’s Word to rain and snow that “waters the earth, and makes it fruitful and growing, so that it may give seed to sow and bread to eat”.⁷ The tenor’s recitative deals with the Parable more explicitly as he presents his heart to God as a field:

My God, here will my heart be:
 I open it to you in my Jesus’s name;
 So scatter your seed [into my heart]
 As into good soil.
 My God, here will my heart be:
 Let such [a heart] bring forth fruit, and a hundredfold.⁸

As the helpful parentheses in this recent “historically-informed” translation by Michael Marissen and Daniel Melamed emphasise, Lutherans were to feel this agriculture in their bodies; they were to cultivate their hearts into “good soil”. According to Müller, even a single word or short passage of

⁵ “Durchs Wort erleuchtet und lehret dich der Heil. Geist. Solt du den rechten Schatz deß Worts haben, so muß der H. Geist kommen, dein Hertz erleuchten, daß du glaubest. Er muß durch die Predigt kommen, dein Hertz öffnen, dein inners Gehör erwecken, und also das Wort in dir lebendig machen. Er muß dein Hertz zu einem guten Acker machen, und dann den Samen in den Acker pflanzen.” Heinrich Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1676), 152.

⁶ Christian K. Kleinbub, “To Sow the Heart: Touch, Spiritual Anatomy, and Image Theory in Michelangelo’s *Noli me tangere*”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 66/1 (2013), 81–129 (105[...109).

⁷ For the translations of Isaiah 55 and Bach’s cantata *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18 in this chapter, I have used the website BachCantataTexts.org. Michael Marissen and Daniel R Melamed, *BachCantataTexts.org* (20 February 2022) <<https://bachcantatatexts.org/BWV18.htm>> Accessed 7 April 2022.

⁸ “Mein Gott, hier wird mein Herze sein: /Ich öffne dirs in meines Jesu Namen; /So streue deinen Samen /Als in ein gutes Land hinein. /Mein Gott, hier wird mein Herze sein: /Laß solches Frucht, und hundertfältig, bringen.” Marissen and Melamed, *BachCantataTexts.org*.

scripture planted in a heart that was kept as a “good field” could offer great light and understanding.⁹ Farming was a metaphor through which congregants practised good Lutheran listening.

The weather provided a model for such acts of corporeal embedding. In Johann Georg Leigh’s exegesis of Isaiah 55 published in 1734, snow protected the earth and enabled the conditions for seed to grow:

And this power and effect is not only attributed to the rain, but also to the snow; because both are necessary and serve partly the preservation and warmth, and partly the growth of the fruits. As the nature-teachers remarked, the snow not only protects the field against the cold in winter so that the earth keeps its warmth, and the tender seed does not freeze to death, but also fertilises it and makes it better and thus more fertile than the rain.¹⁰

Similarly, the Lutheran writer Christian Scriver likened the snow to a “white fur” as it protected the earth.¹¹ Snow covering the fields predicted a fertile year ahead. Rain on the other hand, according to Leigh, “quenches the thirst of the arid earth” and should be regarded as a “heavenly gift, a blessing from heaven, which is poured down from God’s rich fountain, the clouds”.¹² God, in this sense, whose clouds Johann Arndt similarly described in 1702 as “big water barrels and hoses”, was characterised as a kind

⁹ “Wir empfinden oft, daß aus einem Wörtlein, so das Hertz als ein guter Acker sähet, ein grosses Licht, Verstand, Lob und Preiß wird”. Heinrich Müller, *Himmlicher Liebes-Kuß* (Leipzig: Wilden und Plener, 1714), 139.

¹⁰ “Und diese Kraft und Wirkung wird hier nicht allein dem Regen, sondern auch dem Schnee zugeschrieben; weil beydes theils zur Erhaltung und Erwärmung, theils zum Wachsthum der Früchte nötig ist und dienet. Wie denn die Natur-Lehrer angemerket, daß der Schnee den Acker nicht nur zur Winters-Zeit wider die Kälter bewahre, damit die Erde ihre Wärme behalte, und der zarte Same nicht erfriere, sondern auch denselben dünge und bessere, und also noch fruchtbarer mache, als der regen.” Johann Georg Leigh, *Der Exegetisch- und Moralischen Betrachtungen über die Weissagungen des Propheten JESAJAE...* (Braunschweig: Friedrich Wilhelm Meyers, 1734), 63.

¹¹ “Der Schnee ist kalt, als ein weisser Peltz bedecken...” Christian Scriver, *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten vier Hundert* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1737), 370–371.

¹² “Unter denen Eigenschaften und Wirkungen des Regen-Wassers (welches hier eigentlich verstanden wird,) finden sich sonderlich folgende, die sich hieher schicken, und in der Vergleichung des heiligen Geistes und seiner Gaben mit gedachtem Wasser, in Betrachtung zu ziehen sind; als daß dasselbe 1) den Durst der dürren Erden löschet, 2) dieselbige befeuchtet, fruchtbar macht, und gleichsam von neuen belebet, 3) die Hitze dämpffet, 4) die Erde, welche wegen anhaltender Dürre gleichsam getrauret, wieder erfreuet und erfrischet; 5) eben zu dem Ende vom Himmel herab auf die Erde Tropffen-weise gelassen wird, und also anzusehen als eine himmlische Gabe, als ein Segen des Himmels, welcher aus dem reichen Brunnen GOTTes, den Wolcken, herab geschüttet wird...” Johann Georg Leigh, *Commentarius über den Propheten Jesaiam* (Braunschweig: Verlag Friedrich Wilhelm Meyers, 1732), 16.

of farmer.¹³ We have already seen in the Introduction how Lutherans depicted God's hand to reach through clouds and scatter seed onto fields. God controlled the weather, too: He delivered rain and snow from heaven, and measured them in "abundance" or "scarcity".¹⁴

The weather was therefore also understood as a tool of God's wrath. Using their copies of the *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* printed in 1710, Lutherans prayed for God to curb heavy rains and hail: "Lord Jesus Christ now stand by us, that the weather is not harmful, preserve the grain and the vine".¹⁵ Leigh emphasised these discriminatory aspects of the weather. God replenished fields and meadows, while choosing to keep areas of the earth, such as the Arabian deserts, dry.¹⁶ A hymn by the Leipzig pastor Nikolaus Selnecker, which featured in the *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* of 1682, reiterated that rain moistened the earth only when and if God ordained it to ("Er gibet Regen, wenn er wil, auff Erden").¹⁷ For wheat to grow, it was not simply a case of throwing seed onto soil and hoping for the best. Agriculture formed a much larger picture in which, according to Leigh, "everything is connected":

The fruit and the benefit itself, which we humans have from the power and effect of rain and snow, and which the Lord also shows in the Old Testament, and attests to this earth made fertile and growing by these two kinds of wetness, by saying that it [the earth] gives seeds to sow, and bread to eat. i.e. after the earth has been moistened and made fertile by the rain and snow, and sowed with fertile seed by the farmer, it gives not only renewed seed to sow, and to plant the field again after the harvest, but beyond this also bread to eat, that is, a rich supply of food, for

¹³ "Siehe an die Lufft und die Winde, wie schön und klar machen sie den Himmel, vertreiben die Wolcken, und treiben die Wolcken zusammen, als grosse Wasser-Fässer und Schläuche, Psalm 33/v.7; giessens hernach aus auff die Erde: Und ist hoch zu verwundern, daß Gott das Wasser in den Wolcken unter dem Himmel zusammen halt als in einen Schlauch, und die Lufft muß es tragen und halten." Johann Arndt, *Fünff Geistreiche Bücher Vom wahren Christenthum* (Leipzig: Richter, 1702), 475.

¹⁴ "...auch von dem allmächtigen Beherrscher des Himmels nach eigenem Gefallen, in reichem oder sparsamen Maase, als ein himmlischer Segen, der Erden mitgetheilet wird..." Leigh, *Commentarius über den Propheten Jesaiam*, 16.

¹⁵ "HErr JESu CHrist nun steh uns bey, daß uns das Wetter nicht schädlich sey, bewahr das Gtreyd und auch den Wein, laß den Hagel nicht schlagen drein." *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* (Leipzig: Groschuff, 1710), 168–171.

¹⁶ "Denn daß sich diese Kraft des Regens und Schnees nicht an rauhen, sandigten, wüsten Einöden, dergleichen Arabien hat, noch auch an dünnen Felsen und Klippen, oder an dem Wasser und Meer zeigt..." Leigh, *Der Exegetisch- und Moralischen Betrachtungen über die Weissagungen des Propheten JESAJAE*, 63.

¹⁷ *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* (Leipzig: Klinger und Niemann, 1682), 599.

the maintenance and care of both humans and cattle. And in this way, everything is connected to each other, in the preservation of human life.¹⁸

The interconnectedness of creation can be traced in children's textbooks that Bach would have used at school, such as *Die sichtbare Welt* by John Amos Comenius.¹⁹ In an illustrated edition published in 1698, young readers were able to follow a sequence of events: the rain nourished the fields, crops grew and were harvested, grain was milled into flour which bakers then transformed into bread (Figures 2.2a–d). The conductor John Eliot Gardiner even finds a kind of music in these patterns: the “turning of the agricultural year – the certainty of the land, its rhythms and rituals, the unerring pace of its calendar and the vagaries of rural weather”.²⁰

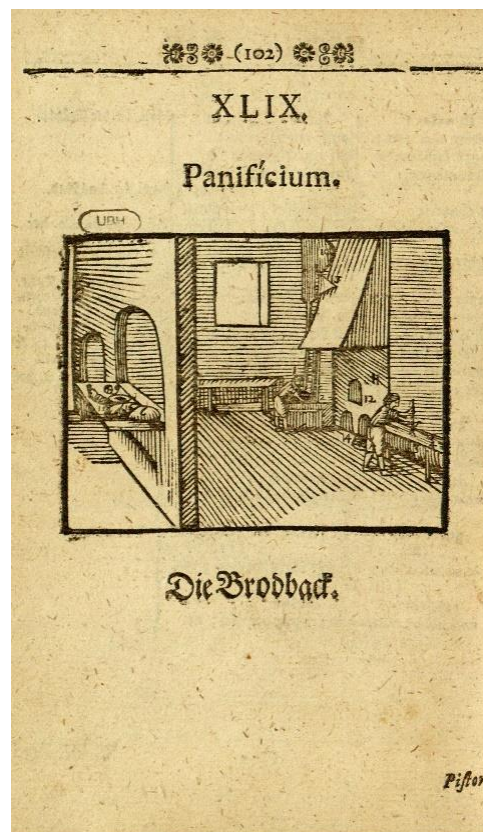
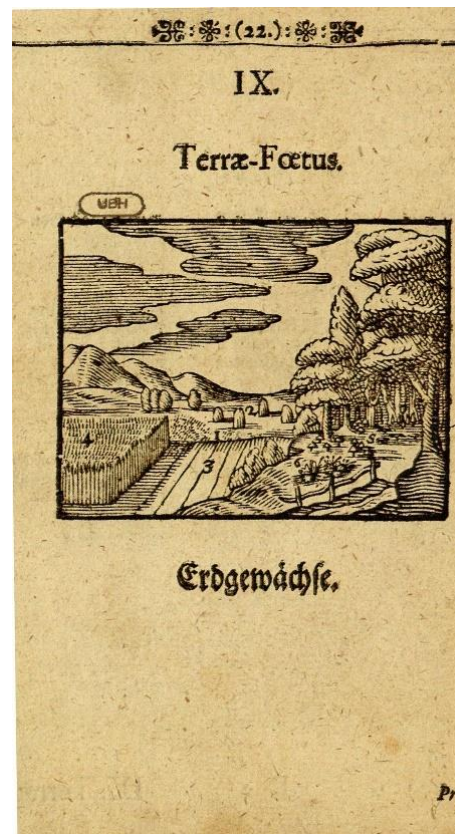
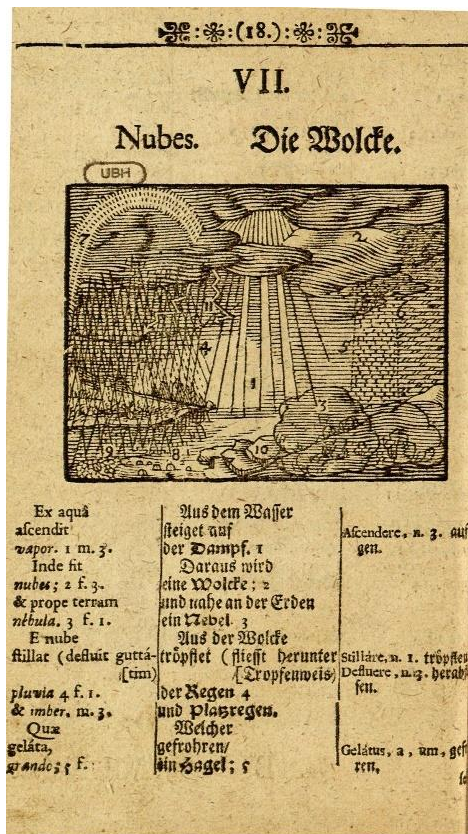
Some of these aspects of early modern German life could have been covered in Chapter 1. Rain and snow arguably might have found a more natural home in this dissertation among the flowing liquids of spiritual juice, Jesus' blood, and the bodily humors. There is a sense, however, in which agriculture was not only part of a larger system and more diverse set of devotional practices, but also that there was considerable overlap and interchange between different metaphorical fields. Liquid, farming, and wind—the three metaphors of this thesis—did not constitute discrete categories, but rather modes of understanding and navigating the world that blurred into one another. As discussed in the Introduction, a certain sense of agency characterised how metaphors moved between each other in devotional writings, transgressing the boundaries of their own field of associations. It is in this sense that I describe aspects of agriculture to “flow”.

Of course, sound transgressed these boundaries, too. Like the flowing mixture of song and water in Lutheran washrooms explored in Chapter 1, music filled and implicated the spaces of farmers

¹⁸ “Der Frucht und das Gute selbst, das wir Menschen von der Kraft und Wirkung des Regens und Schnees haben, und welches auch der HErr in U. T. [sic] anzeigt, und von der durch diese beyden Feuchtigkeiten fruchtbar und wachsend gemachten Erde bezeuget, indem er spricht, daß sie gebe Samen zu säen, und Brod zu essen. Nemlich es gibt die Erde, nachdem sie von dem Regen und Schnee solchergestalt befeuchtet und fruchtbar gemacht, von dem Säemann aber mit tüchtigem Samen bestellet worden, nicht nur wieder Samen zu säen, und nach gehaltener Erndte den Acker wieder zu bestellen, sondern auch über dieses noch Brod zu essen, das ist, einen reichen Vorrath von Lebens-Mitteln, zur Erhaltung und Versorgung beydes der Menschen und auch des Viehes. Und solchergestalt hanget alles an einander, in Erhaltung des menschlichen Lebens.” Leigh, *Der Exegetisch- und Moralischen Betrachtungen über die Weissagungen des Propheten JESAJAE*, 64.

¹⁹ Markus Rathey describes Comenius's book, first published in Nuremberg in 1657, as an “encyclopaedia of early modern knowledge [that] is important not only for our understanding of education in the seventeenth century but also for our understanding of the early modern period worldview”. Markus Rathey, “Schools”, *The Routledge Research Companion to Johann Sebastian Bach*, ed. Robin A. Leaver (New York: Routledge, 2017), 116–141 (123).

²⁰ John Eliot Gardiner, *Bach: Music in the Castle of Heaven* (New York: Vintage Books, 2015), 290.



(Clockwise from top left) Figures 2.2a–d: Interconnectedness through educational scenes. John Amos Comenius, “Die Wolcke”; “Erdgewächse”; “Die Brodback”; “Geträid, oder Feld-Früchte”, *Die sichtbare Welt* (Noribergae: Endteri, 1698), 18; 22; 102; 36.

and bakers at work. In his treatise of 1717, Christoph Raupach described how no work is “so burdensome and bitter that it may not be carried out with pleasure when one accompanies or alternates it with well-trained pleasant singing and playing of musical instruments. It is this respectable field of knowledge that lightens and sweetens the work of each person, whatever the age or status”.²¹ Since ancient times, different trades had their different songs: the “bakers had their *himæon*, the mariners their *paracelesticon* [...] others had other songs to drive away the tedium of work”.²² Farmers, too, as they “worked the plough in the field or cut down the fruit, joyfully sang the psalms of David, which resounded in the fields”.²³ Since a piece of secular music “has the power to make work light and sweet”, Raupach commented how spiritual music, “especially in a soul that has been submitted to God”, possessed even greater benefits.²⁴ In such instances, music was disseminated among Christian workers like seed itself:

A journeyman baker in the old city of Brandenburg sang the hymn *Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten* everyday devoutly and often as he carried out his tasks; thus this hymn became so familiar afterwards that there was almost no one in that place who did not sing it for diversion.²⁵

²¹ “Keine Arbeit ist so beschwerlich und sauer, wenn man sie mit wohl-gelerntem, anmuthigen Singen und Spielen auf Musicalischen Instrumenten begleitet oder abwechselt, daß sie nicht mit Lust sollte verrichtet werden. Diese, einem jeden Alter und Stande (zu seiner Zeit) anständige Wissenschaft ist es, durch deren Hülffe die Schiff-Leute ihre gefährliche See-Fahr [...] die Kriegs-Leute ihre Travailleurs und Gefährlichkeiten versüssen und lindern”. Christoph Raupach, *Veritophili Deutliche Beweis-Gründe* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1717), 14. Joyce Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition: Johann Mattheson and Christoph Raupach on Music in Time and Eternity* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 22.

²² “Die Alten hatten unterschiedliche Arten der Lieder, so sich zu denen unterschiedenen Künsten und Gewercken schickten. Die Becker hatten ihr *Himæon*, die Schiffer ihre *Paracelesticon* ... und andere andere Lieder, die Verdrießlichkeit der Arbeit zu vertreiben”. Raupach, *Veritophili*, 15. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 22.

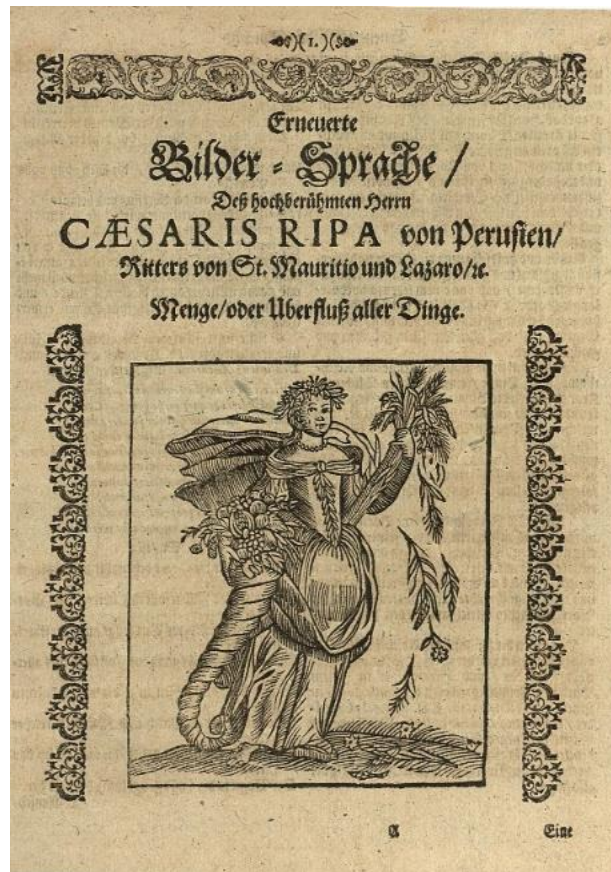
²³ “Hieronymus gedencket in seinem Schreiben, so er an Marcelli nachgelasse Wittwe abgehen lassen, daß zu seiner Zeit die Bauren im Jüdischen Lande, wenn sie den Pflug gehalten im Felde, oder die Frucht abgeschnitten, die Psalmen Davids mit Freuden gesungen, daß es im felde geklungen habe.” Raupach, *Veritophili*, 17. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 24.

²⁴ “So nun eine weltliche Music die Krafft hat, die Arbeit leicht und süß zu machen; wie vielmehr thut solches, sonderlich in GOtt ergebenen Seelen, die geistliche Hauß-Music.” Raupach, *Veritophili*, 16–17. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 24.

²⁵ “Ein Becker-Gesell hat in der alten Stadt Brandenburg bey seinen Verrichtungen den Gesang, Wer nur den lieben GOtt läßt walten, alle Tage andächtig und offft abgesungen, daher dieser Gesang hernach so bekand geworden, daß fast niemand daselbst seyn soll, der solchen nicht zu seiner Belustigung absinge.” Raupach, *Veritophili*, 18. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 24–25.

In Raupach's account, music spread from person to person.²⁶ But unlike the flow conjured in the previous chapter, in which music was poured from vessel to vessel in a dynamic of exchange, here we find music as an ever-growing, potentially exponential bounty. Like the seemingly infinite supply of flowers and fruit spilling from heaven, as depicted in an edition of Müller's *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuß* published in Leipzig 1714, music could multiply endlessly (Figure 2.3). Or like the teeming cornucopia carried by the haloed man in the background – the symbol for “abundance” (*Menge, oder Überfluß aller Dinge*) that overflows with wheat in a 1669 German translation of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (Figure 2.4) – music grew in profusion. Given the right conditions and proper cultivation, music proliferated.

The notion of propagation was central to the Protestant mission. From the 1720s, the image of a sower in a ploughed field was used as a colophon by the printing press of the Francke Foundation in Halle. Founded by August Hermann Francke, a professor of theology and leading proponent of the Pietist movement, the Francke Foundation was the major voluntary charitable institution in Protestant



(Left) **Figure 2.3:** Bounty from heaven. Heinrich Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuß* (Leipzig: Wilden und Plener, 1714), Plate 1. (Right) **Figure 2.4:** Abundant overflow from cornucopia. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia oder Bilder-Sprach*, trans. Lorenz Strauß (Franckfurt: Serlin, 1669), 1.

²⁶ As discussed in the Introduction, this property of music was also explored through the trope of infectious disease.

Germany. It grew to include an orphanage, a medical dispensary, and a Bible Institute. The stamp, which adorned countless books, was headed by a banderol with the words “By his radiance I will be uplifted” (*Illo Splendente Levabor*).²⁷ As the historian of religion Philippa Koch argues, the colophon reflected the theological convictions and missionary goals that underpinned the Foundation: Francke sought to establish a seminary that would “spread centrifugally to all estates of society, in and beyond Germany to Europe”.²⁸ It was a project that would spread like the growth of a garden across the world.²⁹ Books produced by the *Hallesches Waisenhaus*, including song books and theological treatises, exemplified the dissemination of knowledge as the cultivation and fruition of Pietist practice (Figures 2.5a–f). In other words, the image of a sower imbued the objects on which it was stamped with the virtues of Lutheran fruitfulness. Charity and compassion grew out of its philanthropic base in Halle, reproduced in bounty, and spread across far-reaching missionary networks.

Wheat was also literally distributed in colonial missionary work. As historian Rebecca Earle has uncovered, the religious metaphor of agriculture was reinforced by the literal planting of wheat and the missionizing prescription of diet:

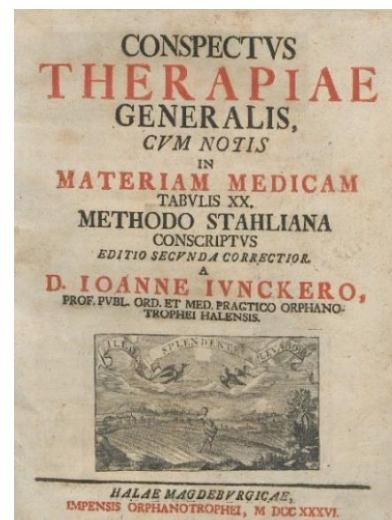
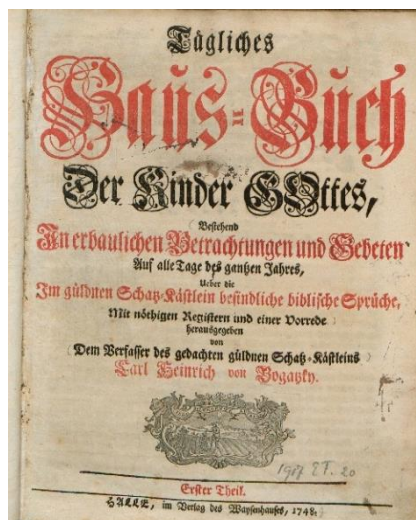
Evangelisation could thus be seen, specifically, as a process of substitution, whereby the unwholesome ‘roots and stumps’ of indigenous idolatry were replaced by the nourishing wheat of Christianity [...] Such metaphors encoded a series of literal prescriptions; as we have seen, colonists were regularly enjoined to plant both the faith and the grain that represented it [...] these agricultural metaphors were accompanied by persistent recommendations that Amerindians adopt the dietary habits of Europeans alongside their religion. [...] the introduction of wheat to a wheatless continent was both a metaphor and a concrete agricultural policy.³⁰

²⁷ An emblem with “illo splendente levabor” occurs earlier in *Symbol Philothei Symbola Christiana Quibus Idea Hominis Christiani Exprimatur* (Frankfurt: Johannem Petrum Zubrod, 1677), 31–32. This version shows the field without a sower.

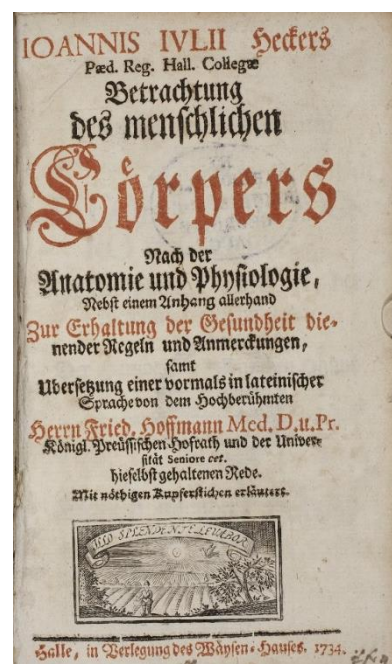
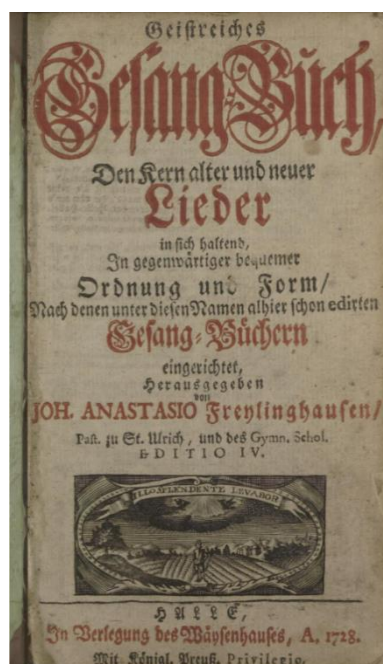
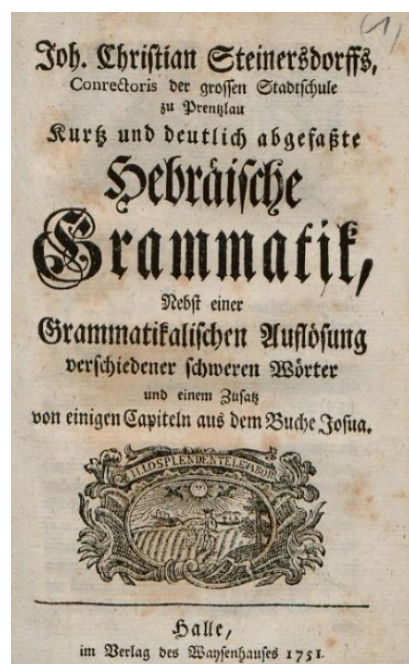
²⁸ Philippa Koch, “Marketing Missions: Material Culture, Theological Convictions, and Empire in 18th-Century Christian Philanthropy”, *Religions* 9/7 (2018), 1–17 (9).

²⁹ “Project zu einem Seminario Universali oder Anlegung eines Pflanzgartens, an welchem man eine reale Verbesserung in allen Ständen in und ausserhalb Teutschlands, ja in Europa und allen übrigen Theilen der Welt zu gewarten”. See Kristian Mejrur, “Halle Pietism: Acrobats Buying Time”, *Anthropological Reformations – Anthropology in the Era of Reformation*, eds. Anne Eusterschulte and Hannah Wälzhol (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 431–442 (434).

³⁰ Rebecca Earle, *The Body of the Conquistador: Food, Race and the Colonial Experience in Spanish America, 1492–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 159–175.



(Left) **Figure 2.5a:** Georg Michael Laurentii, *Kurtze Erklärung des Briefs Pauli an die Ebräer* (Halle: Wäysenhaus, 1741), cover. (Centre) **Figure 2.5b:** Carl Heinrich von Bogatzky, *Tägliches Haus-Buch Der Kinder Gottes* (Halle: im Verlag des Wäysenhauses, 1748), cover. (Right) **Figure 2.5c:** Johann Juncker, *Conspectus Therapiae Generalis* (Halae Magdeburgicae: Orphanotropeum, 1736), cover.



(Left) **Figure 2.5d:** Johann Christian Steinersdorff, *Kurtz und deutlich abgefaßte Hebräische Grammatik* (Halle: Wäysenhaus, 1751), cover. (Centre) **Figure 2.5e:** Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, *Geistreiches Gesang-Buch* (Halle: In Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1728), cover. (Right) **Figure 2.5f:** Johann Julius Hecker, *Betrachtung des menschlichen Körpers* (Halle: Wäysen-Haus, 1734), cover.

The planting of both literal and metaphorical wheat in early modern Spanish America was part of the colonial propagation of an embodied faith. Christianity was a faith embodied by the entire nourished, worshipping body-soul.

Perhaps it is therefore no surprise that propagative properties have been picked up in analyses of Bach's music. In Michael Maul's interpretation of the Sinfonia to *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, music grows like wheat:

In this deep register, repeated again and again in the ritornello, the actual motive – these are the seeds – and in the episodes where the motive is always spun differently, there the seed sprouts: many times, a hundred times, a thousand times, and always different.³¹

The success of this sprouting could be partly attributed to timbre. For Gardiner, the cantata's instrumentation of four violas created a texture that represented "warm topsoil, fertile and well irrigated [...] an ideal seed-bed in which God's Word may germinate and prosper".³² Maul and Gardiner's descriptions resonate with what John Butt identifies as music's "potential for autonomy". Butt comments on how through the formalising procedures that developed in Baroque instrumental composition, music "seemed capable of pursuing a life of its own".³³

The agency and intermingling to which these historical and analytical accounts gesture are tricky to pin down from a single perspective. The baker's song proliferated in Brandenburg, while musical motives within a single cantata could sprout. Music could also provide the conditions for growth; it was fertile soil. This "scrambling", to borrow a term from Suzanne Cusick, complicates the strategy employed in the previous chapter, in which we saw music consistently characterised as a flowing liquid.³⁴ In contrast, the agricultural metaphor encompasses a field of disparate meanings,

³¹ "In diesem tiefen Register, immer wieder im Ritornel vorgetragen, das eigentliche Motiv, das sind die Samenkörner und in den Episoden, wo das Motiv immer anders fortgesponnen wird, da geht der Samen auf: vielfach, hundertfach, tausendfach und immer wieder anders." Michael Maul and Bernhard Schrammek, "Die Bach-Kantate: 'Gleichwie Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt'", *Mitteldeutscher Rundfunk Klassik*, Episode 16 (7 February 2021)

<<https://www.ardaudiothek.de/episode/mdr-klassik-die-bach-kantate-mit-maul-und-schrammek/die-bach-kantate-gleichwie-regen-und-schnee-vom-himmel-faellt-bwv-18/mdr-klassik/86012354/>> Accessed 5 April 2022.

³² John Eliot Gardiner, "Cantatas for Sexagesima", *The Monteverdi Choir and The English Baroque Soloists*, liner note SDG153 (2009), 15–19 (15).

³³ John Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity: Perspectives on the Passions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 13.

³⁴ Suzanne Cusick, "On a Lesbian Relationship With Music: A Serious Effort Not to Think Straight", *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, eds. Phillip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, Gary C Thomas, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2006), 67–83 (73).

feelings, and functions. As music could constitute seed, spade, or soil—as we shall continue to see—understanding music through the metaphor of farming involved Lutheran musicians and listeners shifting between different agricultural roles. As the Steinberg pastor Friedrich Günther Bieber described in 1741, everyone participated in farming. Drawing on 1 Corinthians 3:9 (“Denn wir sind Gottes Mitarbeiter; ihr seid Gottes Ackerwerk und Gottes Bau”), Bieber urged his congregation not to distinguish themselves from farmers in the fields:

A country's happiness and salvation	Eines Landes Glück und Heyl
Is based on good farmers,	Gründet sich auf gute Bauren,
For everyone takes part,	Dann es nimmt ein jeder Theil,
Even within the [city] walls	Auch so gar in allen Mauren,
In what the farmer creates,	An dem was der Bauer schaffet,
And makes in his dwelling.	Und in seiner Hütte machet. ³⁵

Indeed, the librettist Salomo Franck, whose words from 1717 open this chapter, wrote that the “whole world is God’s field”. Congregants were implicated in what went on in the fields outside the city walls. As Gardiner remarked, that Bach reminded his “urban audience of Leipzig burghers of the patterns of seed-time and harvest existing just beyond their city walls was nothing unusual, and the rhythms and rituals of the agrarian year frequently seep through into his music”.³⁶ From their position in church – where hymns of praise were sung, later to return to the earth as replenishing rain and snow – Lutheran congregants, too, contributed to the success of harvest. As Bach’s tenor opened his heart to God’s seed in recitative, then, music flowed as part of a spiritual agriculture.

I therefore consider music not merely as something that accompanied or “sweetened” agricultural practices in the fields, but rather as a mode of agriculture in itself. In the sections that follow, I continue to explore different aspects of the farming metaphor and how they shaped listening practices of congregants and performers in church. The key agricultural themes that emerge—labour, fruition, delineation, depth, and vigilance—direct my analyses of Bach’s music. In the spirit of the metaphor’s plurality, I offer two musical analyses that each explore multiple ways of listening through the metaphor of agriculture. The first analysis is primarily about listening as labour. I analyse the Sinfonia to Bach’s Sexagesima cantata, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, for how listeners were presented with musical material that beckoned aural labour. As congregants interacted with Bach’s textures and timbres as if unploughed soil, this involved a shift in embodiment. Through good listening, Lutherans bore the fruit of the Holy Spirit: they were reconfigured as plants. The second analysis

³⁵ Friedrich Günther Bieber, *Den gesegneten Bauer In dem Acker-Werck Gottes* (Büdingen: Johann Christoph Stöhr, 1741), lines 1–6.

³⁶ Gardiner, *Bach: Music in the Castle of Heaven*, 291.

“scrambles” this arrangement by focusing on the experiences of listeners being worked upon as if *they* were farmland. I analyse a recitative and aria from Part III of Bach’s *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248, for how musical performance simulated the feeling of music digging deeper into the hearts of listeners. My professional experiences as a period violinist guide a “carnal” reconstruction of these movements. I argue that these tactile experiences of the individual performer created a soundworld that afforded for listeners an experience of being farmed.

Labour of listening

Through pursuing multiple ways of thinking about Bach’s music, this chapter resists an approach typical of traditional Bach studies that interprets the cantatas as an explication of doctrine. After all, more theological explanation was perhaps not necessary on Sexagesima. Eighteenth-century Lutherans knew what the Sexagesima Parable meant: as reproduced above, Jesus provided an explanation of its meaning. In his *Evangelische Hertz-Postilla* printed in Leipzig in 1732, the Lutheran pastor and theologian Valerius Herberger implored preachers to match Jesus’ intelligibility in their sermons:

It is one of the easiest ones in the whole year; we cannot be mistaken in the understanding, the Lord Jesus has explained it himself, he has done it so well that even farm hands can understand it. It needs no interpretation, but only a reminder. That is why an old masterly preacher once said: I would take a penny, and go home again, I have nothing to explain in all this, the Lord Jesus has already exempted me the effort, and it’s not easy to preach after him; who could do it better?³⁷

The Parable was “sharp” (*spitzig*) and far-reaching (*es greifft weit um sich*): all could understand it and were affected by its message.³⁸ A preacher’s sermon, which according to Georg Philipp Harsdörffer’s poetic dictionary of 1650 served the “propagation of faith” (*Fortpflanzung deß Glaubens*), would have emphasised the message of the Gospel reading.³⁹ Given all this doctrinal clarity, surely the role of music on Sexagesima went beyond this. As Bettina Varwig has argued, analyses in traditional Bach studies

³⁷ “Es ist der allerleichtesten eines im gantzen Jahre; Wir können im Verstande nicht irre werden, der HErr JESus hat es selber erkläret, er hat es so alber gemacht, daß es auch alle Bauren-Knechte vernehmen können [...] Es bedarff keiner Auslegung, sondern nur einer Erinnerung. Darum sagte einmahl ein alter wercklicher Prediger: Ich nähme einen Heller, und gienge wieder heim, hab ich doch nichts allhie zu erklären, der HErr JESus hat mich der Mühe schon überhoben, und diesem Meister ist nicht gut nachpredigen, wer will es besser machen?” Valerius Herberger, *Evangelischen Hertz-Postilla* (Leipzig: Gleditschens sel. Sohn, 1732), 176.

³⁸ Herberger, *Evangelischen Hertz-Postilla*, 175.

³⁹ Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Poetischer Trichter* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1650), 380.

“vastly underestimate the potential ascribed to this music precisely to short-circuit the representational involvement of the brain in the aural experience”.⁴⁰ As we have seen, music did not merely represent sprouting seed, but was something that sprouted itself. With Jesus’ Gospel and the sermon already providing exegetical clarity, then, music might have been felt to work directly in farming a Lutheran’s heart.

In this sense, music functioned as a kind of agricultural tool. For Raupach, religion could be “instilled, conceived, implanted (*eingepflantzet*), and maintained in human beings through the stirring spiritual singing of choral and figural music”.⁴¹ Franz Xaver Anton Murschhauser, writing in 1721 from Nuremberg, similarly described how “eagerness for praising God is implanted (*eingepflantzet*) and promoted by a serious devotional and regulated church style (for which the music and its rules are mainly instituted and prescribed)”.⁴² Heinrich Müller, citing the authority of early Lutheran reformer Johannes Mathesius, agreed that words reached the heart more effectively if they were set to music. “The text of the Holy Scriptures are in themselves the loveliest music”, Müller quoted, “but when a sweet and longing melody joins [the words] [...] the song receives a new power and goes deeper into the heart”.⁴³

⁴⁰ Bettina Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking: The Physiology of a Bach Cantata”, *Representations* 143/1 (2018), 36–62 (46).

⁴¹ “... daß GOtt der heilige Geist seine heilsame Lehren in wol klingende und angenehme Gesänge verfallen lasse, damit durch die angenehme liebliche und erfreuliche Musicalische Melodien zugleich die Tugend und Gottseligkeit unserm Hertzen beygebracht werde. Dieses bezeuget auch die Erfahrung, wie herrlich und beständig die wahre Religion durch die geistliche Hertz-bewegende Gesänge der Choral-und Figural-Music, dem Menschen könne beygebracht, eingeildet, eingepflantzet und erhalten werden”. Raupach, *Veritophili*, 30. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 33.

⁴² “Und zwar erstlich der Eyffer vor die Göttliche Ehr, welche durch ein gar zu ausgelassenes, und eben darum auch gemeinlich irregulirtes Gesang oder Instrumental-Music (wodurch die Anwesende von der Andacht abgehalten, und viel mehr zum Fürwitz und Ausschweifigkeiten, oder wohl gar zu andern Eitelkeiten verleitet werden), nicht geringen Schaden leidet: hingegen durch einen gravitätischen, zur Andacht bewegendenden und regulirten Kyrchen-Stylum, (worzu die Music und dero Gesetz hauptsächlich angestellt und verordnet), eingepflantzet, und befördert wird.” Franz Xaver Anton Murschhauser, “Vorrede”, *Academia musico-poetica bipartita, oder Hohe Schul der Musicalischen Composition* (Nürnberg: Endters, 1721), unpaginated.

⁴³ “Die Texte der heiligen Schrifft sind zwar an sich selber die allerlieblichste Music, die uns Trost und Leben in Todesnoht gibt, und ein Hertz warhafftig erfreuen kan. Wann aber eine süsse und sehnliche Weise darzu kommt, (wie dann eine gute Melodey auch Gottes schönes Geschöpf und Gabe ist,) da bekommt der Gesang eine neue Krafft, und geht tieffer zu Herten.” Heinrich Müller, *Geistliche Seelen-Musik* (Franckfurt: Wust und Wilde, 1684), 89. Varwig, “Heartfelt Musicking”, 47.

Music planted the Word deeper in the hearts of believers than by speech alone. It not only spread “horizontally”, as we saw with the baker’s song in Brandenburg above. Rather, Raupach, for one, also attested to music’s “vertical” or deep penetrative powers:

Because of the pleasing melodies and delight to the ears, young boys and girls learned these songs easily and quickly and retained them thereafter to the end of their lives [...] Experience also confirms this concerning figural music, namely that through the frequent repetition of glorious biblical texts, as is common in motets, concertos, oratorios, and arias, and also through the various devotional expressions or depictions of holy and good movements of the heart, God’s Word is repeatedly implanted (*gepflantzet*) deep in the hearts of people all the more emphatically and delightfully.⁴⁴

Herberger emphasised that the Word must travel to the “bottom of the heart” (*den Grund des Hertzens*) to bring forth usefulness.⁴⁵ Similarly, the Lutheran theologian Theophil Großgebauer remarked that seeds not planted deep enough would never come to fruition because they did not “partake in the sap (*Safft*) of the trunk”.⁴⁶ Citing the influence of Herberger, the Lutheran pastor Christoph Frick in his *Music-Büchlein* of 1631 wrote that even the singing of a tender little voice could “penetrate” (*durchgraben*) God’s heart.⁴⁷ Together, these sources form a picture of music as working at or

⁴⁴ “... gleich von ihren Kindlichen Jahren an, möchten unterrichtet und geübet werden, welche Gesänge die jungen Knaben und Mägdlein auch fertig und bald, ob Melodiae jucunditatem & aurium oblectamentum, wie Basilius redet: das ist, wegen Lieblichkeit der Melodie und Belustigung der Ohren, ohne einige Beschwerñis gelernet und hernach bis an ihr seliges Ende behalten haben. Die Erfahrung bezeuget es auch von der Figural-Music, nemlich, daß durch das öfftere Wiederholen der herrlichen Biblischen Worte, wie in Motetten, Concerten, Oratorien und Arien üblich, ingeleichen, durch die mancherley andächtige Ausdruck-oder Vorstellungen heiliger und guter Gemüths-Bewegungen, GÖttes Wort mit desto grösserer Lust und Nachdruck den Leuten mehrmals gar tieff ins Hertz gepflantzet worden.” Raupach, *Veritophili*, 30–31. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 33.

⁴⁵ Herberger, *Evangelischen Hertz-Postilla*, 176.

⁴⁶ “Das Wort Gottes, darauß wir zu Erstlingen seiner Creatur sollen gezeuget werden, muß in uns eingepflantzet werden, Jacobi am 1. Alle Pflantzen müssen zum wenigsten so tieff eingesetzet werden, daß sie die Feuchtigkeit der Erden erreichen, oder des Stammes Safft theilhaftig werden können: was oben hingesäet, und obenhin flugsweise eingepflantzet wird, das kommt nimmer zu Kräfteñ, es muß verdorren, denn es hat nicht Safft”. Theophil Großgebauer, *Drey Geistreiche Schrifften* (Frankfurt: Wilde, 1682), 23.

⁴⁷ “Singet in der Kirchen allezeit die oberste octavam uber die Maßpersonen: Singet im Namen GÖttes, und lasset ewer zartes Stimmlein klingen: ewre subtile Stimmlein seyn lauter Himmelsböhrlein und Hertz-friemerlein, damit ihr Gott dem Herrn könnet das Hertz durchgraben.” Christoph Frick, *Music-Büchlein* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1631), 96.

cultivating the bodies of listeners: music functioned as an agricultural implement in planting God's Word deep in hearts.⁴⁸

An irony thus emerges. Farming was a life of toil, yet in the metaphor of agricultural listening, music reduced the labour required. As Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel noted in 1721, music prepared a Christian's heart to receive a sermon. Simply being in church constituted a kind of consent for music to work on their bodies.

All this has its proper consequences: granted that they come with vain thoughts into the church and merely with the intention of listening to one piece of beautiful music or another, still it is not merely possible but rather fully probable that they can acquire good thoughts. If their affections are moved just once by well-ordered harmony (for it is certain that whoever likes to listen to music is also easily moved by it), then they can easily endure the sermon, because they have at the same time already been prepared for it. If this happens, the Word of God does not fall into stony hearts but into softened hearts where it can bring forth fruit better and sooner than otherwise.⁴⁹

But was it really so easy? Was turning up to church with merely the intention of listening to music enough to bring forth fruit? Scheibel's account suggests that music—that agential, quasi-autonomous force we saw above—did all the work.

Yet this does not quite square with the sense of industry highlighted in the Gospel reading and sermons or writings for Sexagesima. Herberger described how some hearts are hardened like the floor

⁴⁸ "Depth", as musicologist Holly Watkins points out, "serves to measure the extent of interiority or inwardness: the 'deepest' subjects are those whose inwardness is most highly developed." Watkins's study of depth as a metaphor in the German tradition of music criticism and analysis spanning the period from the late eighteenth century to the middle of the twentieth might therefore be read as an offshoot of the early modern metaphor of agriculture. Holly Watkins, *Metaphors of Depth in German Musical Thought: From E. T. A. Hoffmann to Arnold Schoenberg* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 4.

⁴⁹ "Dieses alles hat seine richtige Folgerungen; Gesetzt daß sie mit eitlen Gedancken in die Kirchen kommen, und bloß mit der Intention diese oder jene schöne Music anzuhören, so ist es nicht mehr possibel sondern völlig probabel daß sie gutte Gedancken kriegen können. Ist bey ihnen durch die wohlbestellte Harmonie der Affect nur einmahl movirt worden (wie denn gewiß, daß wer Musicken gerne hört, auch leicht durch sie wird bewegeet werden) so kan dieser leicht die Predigt durch tauren, weil sie gleichsam darzu sind schon praepariret worden. Geschicht dieses, so fällt das Wort GOTtes in keine felsichte, sondern erweichte Hertzen darinnen es besser und eher frucht bringen kan, denn sonst." Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, *Zufällige Gedanken von der Kirchen-Musik* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Zu finden bey dem Authore, 1721), 29–30. Gottfried Ephraim Scheibel, "Random Thoughts About Church Music in Our Day (1721)", *Bach's Changing World Voices in the Community*, ed. Carol K. Baron, trans. Joyce Irwin (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2006), 227–249 (237).

of a barn or full of stones and so must be ploughed. Lutherans particularly prone to temptation were to plant a big tree in front of their “heart-field” (*Hertz-Acker*) or build a fence surrounding it; in no instance was a Lutheran to let their heart lie fallow and untilled for it would turn into a wild heath.⁵⁰ The 1702 reprint of Martin Luther’s *Hauß-Postilla*, a copy of which Bach possessed, instructed that the heart must be cleaned and swept so that there were no thorns inside.⁵¹ There are resonances here with Johann Rittmeyer’s emblems of Jesus doing various things in the heart, discussed in the previous chapter, one of which pictures Him sweeping out snakes with a broom (Figure 2.6). Despite music seemingly providing a quick and easy fix for hardened hearts, advice given on Sexagesima demanded a flurry of activity.

Perhaps, therefore, listening through the metaphor of farming involved drawing upon music’s own capacity to cultivate Lutheran hearts. In other words, music could have provided a model for *how* to listen. That is, music not only planted the Word-seed deeper, but also stimulated a way of listening that reinforced its agricultural work on a believer’s heart. Rather than magnifying the “vain thoughts” that congregants brought into church, as Scheibel noted, for example, or creating a disposition of complacency in a listener, music instigated a mode of industry. Music’s ability to work—its labour—inspired listeners to be labourers themselves. In these terms, a Lutheran’s desire to improve their listening might have been fuelled by music itself and its capacity to work on Lutheran bodies.

A prevalent aspect of this labour involved keeping things separate. In an emblem for Sexagesima entitled “Growth” (*Cresco*) by the Lutheran theologian Daniel Cramer (Figure 2.7), a heart is surrounded by encroaching thorns. Wheat could only flourish if these thorns were kept at bay. Müller similarly described a binary between thorns of the “vain world” and the heart’s interior in which the treasure of God’s Word is kept.⁵² An engraving in *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuß* depicts this binary as a struggle: a heart-carrying Lutheran is almost eclipsed by a high wall of thorns (Figure 2.8). Spiritual agriculture involved keeping things separate. In an installation speech given as Ehrhard Johann Brumhardt took up his position as Deacon of Groß-Jena in 1729, a good preacher was described as a farmer busy at work on the hearts of his congregants:

⁵⁰ “Bey Leibe laß dein Hertz nicht brache und wüste liegen, es möchte in deinem Gewissen alles zu einer wilden Heyde und ödem Gefilde werden [...] Also wird manches Hertz ausgehärtet, wie eine ausgeschlägelte ausgetengelte Scheun-Tenne [...] die einen Fels im Grunde des Hertzens haben, oder aber mit einem dünnen Häutlein gedichteter Frömmigkeit überzogen seyn [...] Oder lege einen grossen Baum vor deinem Hertz-Acker [...] Oder mache einen starcken Zaun um dein Hertz”. Herberger, *Evangelischen Hertz-Postilla*, 178–180.

⁵¹ “...muß es auch gereiniget und ausgefeget seyn, daß nicht Dörner drinnen sind [...] Dorn und Disteln aus dem Herten ausfegen”. Martin Luther, *Hauß-Postilla*... (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1702), 169.

⁵² “Hab ich dein Wort nur Herz so hab ich schon gesunden /Den Schatz der mich vergnügt: Es kan mein Hertz verwunde /Mann sich dasselbe nur nicht zu den Dornen hält /Zeuch du es Himmel an auß dieser eiteln Welt.” Heinrich Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuß* (Leipzig: Wilden und Plener, 1714), 138.

To his end, he tills and ploughs /The hard hearts with the Word of the Law, /He clears away the stones and eradicates the thorns /So that the seed of the Word /Neither withers away because of lack of juice /Nor is smothered by other obstacles. /What during the growth becomes weak and frail, /He straightens; /What is dried out by the heat of temptation, /He refreshes with water of consolation. /In short, /He tends to and maintains his field /As a good farmer.⁵³

This trope of delineation pervaded writings on spiritual agriculture. A farmer's tasks were frequently set as a series of oppositions—good from bad, wheat from weeds, God from Satan—and this characterised much of the exegetical rhetoric concerning the “Parable of the Wheat and the Weeds”, the Gospel reading for the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany (which in 1713 and 1715 fell two weeks before Sexagesima). Brumhardt's installation speech, which followed a reading of this Parable, expressed that both good and false teachers sowed doctrine in the hearts of listeners as seed. Brumhardt's binarizing rhetoric could not have been more thickly painted. The centralised layout of the commemorative edition of Brumhardt's speech also highlighted for readers its rhetorical anaphora (Figure 2.9).

Both have /One name, one task, one field /But different seeds /One has good, the other has evil, /One has wheat, the other weeds, /One has true doctrines, the other false. /One group are God's stewards /And order the field entrusted to them well, /The other are Belial's servants and devastate the field of God...

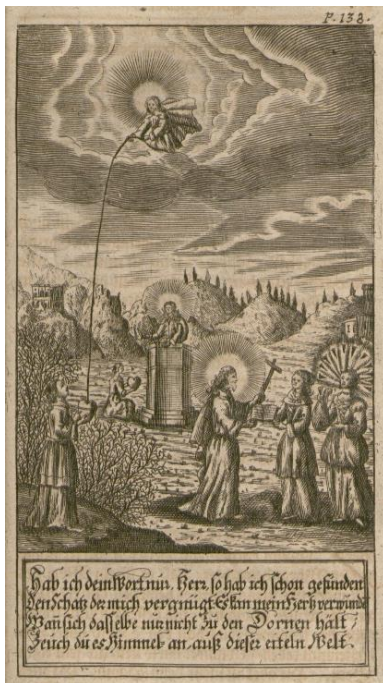
Once a Christian had distinguished “one” from “the other”, they laboured to keep these separate. “Accordingly, a good sower always is busy /With both wheat and weeds, /The former to sow and to await, /The latter to weed out and destroy”.⁵⁴ Even in seemingly non-binary settings, such as the tripartite organisation of the Sexagesima Parable by the German poet Georg Philipp Harsdörffer in his

⁵³ “Zu dem Ende pflüget und durchschneidet er /Die harten Hertzen mit dem Worte des Gesetzes /Er räumt die Steine weg und reutet die Dornen aus /Damit der Same des Wortes /Weder wegen Mangel des Saftes verwelcke /Noch durch andere Hindernisse ersticket werde. /Was bey dem Anwachs schwach und hinfällig wird /Das richtet er auf /Und was die Hitze der Anfechtungen austrocknet /Das erquicket er mit Wasser des Trostes. /Kurtz /Er pflaget und wartet seines Ackers /Als ein guter Ackermann.” *Ein rechtschaffener Prediger Wurde Als ein guter Säemann betrachtet...* (Jena: Ritter, 1729), 2–3.

⁵⁴ “Das wahrhaftige Wort GOTTes lehret uns /Daß sowol ein falscher als rechtschaffener Lehrer ein Säemann sey /Deren Acker die Hertzen ihrer Zuhörer /Der Same ihre Lehre. /Beyde haben also /Einerley Namen einerley Amt einerley Acker /Aber unterschiedlichen Samen /Jene guten diese bösen /Jene Weitzen diese Unkraut /Jene wahre diese falsche Lehren. /Jene sind GOTTes Haushalter /Und bestellen den ihnen anvertrauten Acker wohl /Diese sind Belials Hausknechte und verwüsten den Acker GOTTes [...] Demnach hat ein guter Säemann stetig zu thun /Mit Weitzen und Unkraut /Jenen zu säen und zu warten /Dieses auszugäten [sic] und zu tilgen.” *Ein rechtschaffener Prediger Wurde Als ein guter Säemann betrachtet*, 1.



(Left) **Figure 2.6:** Jesus sweeps snakes from the heart. Johann Rittmeyer, *Himmlisches Freuden=Mahl der Kinder Gottes auff Erden Oder Geistreiche Gebete* (Lüneburg: Stern, 1728), 120. (Right) **Figure 2.7:** Wheat grows from a heart. Daniel Cramer, *Emblemata sacra* (Francofurti: Sumptibus Lucae Jennisi, 1624), 21.



(Left) **Figure 2.8:** Wall of thorns. Heinrich Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuß* (Leipzig: Wilden und Plener, 1714), 138. (Right) **Figure 2.10:** Ploughed fields beyond the pentagons. Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Dreiständige Sonn- und Festtag-Emblemata, oder Sinne-bilder* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1669), 125.

emblem collection of 1669, Christians would have distinguished between the unkept fields and the neatly-ploughed landscape beyond the framed pentagons (Figure 2.10).

These delineating aspects of the devotional page, both rhetorical and visual, were embodied through living a “useful” Christian lifestyle. Harsdörffer was a member of *Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, a literary society founded in 1617 whose motto was “Everything to use” (*Alles zu Nutzen*). Each member of the Society was given a name that was associated with that which “grows out of the earth”.⁵⁵ According to the Society’s manifesto, each member was to “bring forth fruit and use in everything” that they did.⁵⁶ Many of the members’ names riffed on agricultural virtues or the fruits of the Holy Spirit, such as Georg Ehrenreich von Roggendorf und Mollenburg, “the patient one” (*der Geduldige*) and Adam Ernst Senfft von Pilsach, “the meek one” (*der Sanftmütige*). The page in the Society’s records dedicated to “the receptive one” (*der Wohlbekommene*), who in 1617 was Christoph von Krosigk, depicts barley that thrives in good land (Figure 2.11a). The page for “the eater” (*der*

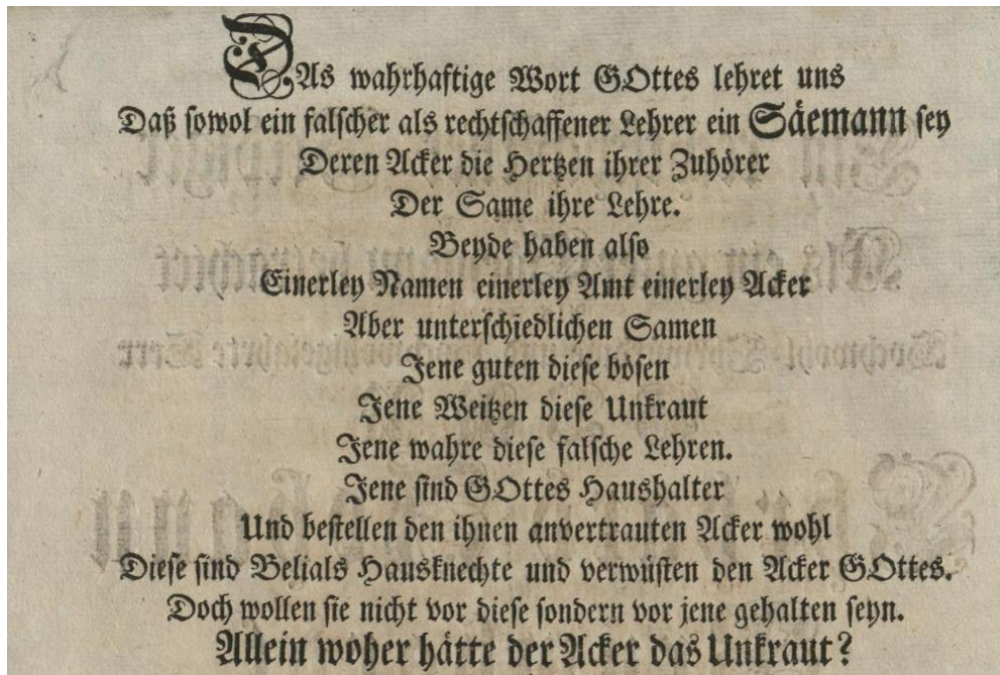


Figure 2.9: Rhetorical anaphora. *Ein rechtschaffener Prediger Wurde Als ein guter Säemann betrachtet...* (Jena: Ritter, 1729), 1.

⁵⁵ “Der Name Fruchtbringende darumb, damit ein iedweder, so sich hinein begibet oder zubegeben gewillet, anders auch nicht, als was fruchtmessig, zu Früchten, Bäumen, Blumen, Kräutern oder dergleichen gehörig, und aus der Erden wachsende, oder darvon entstehend, ihme erwehlen könne, und darneben überall Frucht zuschaffen geflissen seyn solle.” Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen, *Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Nahmen, Vorhaben, Gemähldte und Wörter* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Merian, 1646), unpaginated.

⁵⁶ “Wol dem, der, gleich wie er darnach nur strebt und ringt /Das er in allem Frucht und Nutzen bringen auf Erden.” “Kling-Gedichte”, *Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Nahmen, Vorhaben, Gemähldte und Wörter*, unpaginated.



(Left) Figure 2.11a and (Right) Figure 2.11b: Prince Ludwig of Anhalt-Köthen, “Der Wolbekommende” and “Der Speisende”, *Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Nahmen, Vorhaben, Gemählde und Wörter* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Merian, 1646), unpaginated.

Speisende), Heinrich von Reuß, emphasises the interconnectedness discussed above: grain is pictured next to an oven in which it is baked into bread (Figure 2.11b). Other member names were more overtly inspired by acts of farming, such as those belonging to Johann Kasimir von Anhalt-Dessau, “the penetrating one” (*der Durchdringende*), Georg Wilhelm von Brandenburg, “the straightener” (*der Aufrichtende*), Kaspar Heinrich Marschall von Gosserstedt, “the orderly one” (*der Geordnete*), Georg von Meding, “the fertilised one”, (*der Bedüngete*), and Johann Schneidewind, “the clearing away one” (*der Wegräumende*).⁵⁷ Acts of labour characterised an agricultural approach towards life.

Through acts of aural agriculture, the Word-seed planted in the hearts of listeners would grow and eventually bear fruit. In the quatrain accompanying an engraving of a garden scene from 1673 (Figure 0.3a), Tobias Canstetter described the qualities required to produce such bounty:

The deeply ploughed field will finally bear fruit
Through practice, love, faith, patience, constant waiting,

⁵⁷ Georg Philipp Harsdörffer, *Drei-ständige Sonn- und Festtag-Emblemata, oder Sinne-bilder* (Nürnberg: Endter, 1669), 19–20. See Klaus Conermann, *Der Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft Geöffneter Erzschein* (Weinheim: VCH, 1985).

Simplicity, prudence, and various virtues
Of the heart blossom when God's strength stirs.⁵⁸

Canstetter's list bears striking resemblance to the fruits of the spirit described in Galatians 5:22–23 ("But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance"), which also inspired the names of *Die Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft* members discussed above. Patience, too, was a virtue specified by Jesus in the Sexagesima Parable: a good listener keeps the Word and brings forth fruit "with patience". By tending to their hearts with delineating acts such as ploughing, a Lutheran became a fruit-bearing plant whose branches teemed with virtues.

This notion of embodying a plant was perhaps not so alien for early modern Lutherans as we might imagine. In *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme*, Müller opened the chapter concerning loving your neighbour ("In der Liebe des Nächsten") with an image of a hybrid person-plant (Figure 2.12). Tanya Kevorkian reminds us that in early eighteenth-century Leipzig, the term "Nächsten" also referred to those who sat close to you in church.⁵⁹ In Müller's engraving, a heavenly hand replenishes the dry-looking branches that stem from its head with a watering can. What heaven provides, the Christian is to "give back to the earth".⁶⁰ This sense of agriculture as something flowing onwards in devotional generosity is conjured through the child that picks fruit from its branches. A similar engraving that blurs the distinction between human and plant opens the chapter on the indwelling of God's love ("Von der einwohnenden Liebe Gottes") in Müller's *Himmlicher Liebes-Kuß*. In this image, the Christian is transformed into a tree whose branches are abundant with leaves (Figure 2.13). Lutheran devotion, particularly in terms of neighbourly interaction, was to grow and provide in plant-like ways.

Congregational experiences of the Sexagesima Parable could similarly shift between different modes of embodiment. For the Sexagesima liturgy printed as part of his *Evangelische Hertz-Ermunterung* (Leipzig, 1701), the Silesian preacher Johann Neunhertz structured the explication of the Parable as a four-part set of preces and congregational responses. In this dialogical exchange entitled "The bad and good listeners" (*Die bösen und guten Zuhörer*), congregants responded to a cantor who set out each type of listener.⁶¹ Congregants "sighed" four prayers (*Suspirium*) in response to the cantor: a prayer against the danger of evil spirits trying to steal the Word from listeners' hearts, a prayer for

⁵⁸ "Das tieff zerhackte feld doch endlich fruchten träget. /Durch üebung[,] liebe, glaub, gedult, beständigs warten, /Einfalt, vorsichtigkeit, und viler tugentarten /Des herzens blumen sind, wan Gottes krafft sich reget." Tobias Canstetter, *Trüber Brunn Und Verderbte Quelle Menschlichen Hertzens* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1673), 284.

⁵⁹ Tanya Kevorkian, *Baroque Piety: Religion, Society and Music in Leipzig, 1650–1750* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 56.

⁶⁰ "Was mirder Himmel giebt, geb ich der Erden wieder". Heinrich Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1676), unpaginated.

⁶¹ Johann Neunhertz, *Im Nahmen Jesu. Evangelische Hertz-Ermunterung...* (Leipzig: Georgen, 1701), 45–49.



(Left) Figure 2.12: Heinrich Müller, *Göttliche Liebes-Flamme* (Franckfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1676), Part II, Fig. 6, Plate 31. (Right) Figure 2.13: Heinrich Müller, *Himmlischer Liebes-Kuß* (Leipzig: Wilden und Plener, 1714), 218.

constancy and connection with God through good and bad times, a prayer for relinquishment of worldly desire and wealth (for this suffocates the Word-seed), and a prayer for patience to cultivate the Word-seed. Through their replies, congregants embodied the four types of listener in turn. This temporal unfolding of preces and responses emphasised a mode of interaction when dealing with the Parable. After the preces and responses, the congregation were instructed to sing “Ich bitt o Herr auß Hertzen Grund”, the eighth verse of the hymn “Durch Adams Fall ist gantz verderbt”—the same chorale verse that concluded Bach’s Sexagesima cantata to which we now turn.

Timbre and texture

Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt, BWV 18, originated in Bach’s Weimar years. It is thought to have been initially performed on Sexagesima in either 1713, 1714, or at the latest in 1715.⁶²

⁶² Christoph Wolff writes that BWV 18 “stem[s] in all likelihood from before the concertmaster appointment” in March 1714. Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach – The Learned Musician* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002), 163. Daniel Melamed questions the authority of Alfred Dürr who implies that the cantata “might have been

An expanded version of the cantata is thought to have been performed on 13 February 1724 in Leipzig.⁶³ The libretto was taken from Erdmann Neumeister's 1711 *Jahrgang* for the Eisenach court. When contrasting the approaches taken by Bach and Telemann in their settings of Neumeister's text, David Schulenberg writes that Bach "shifts the musical depiction of rain or snow from the accompaniment of the opening recitative [where Telemann has it] to an introductory sinfonia".⁶⁴ Eric Chafe has also described how Bach drew upon the agricultural libretto in composing musical patterns.

In the passage from Isaiah [55:10–11] falling is a necessary part of the process of growth: the falling seeds themselves renew the cycle as well as providing bread to eat; analogously, God's word provides spiritual nourishment for the faithful, who return the word to Him through prayer [...] Bach must have been closely attuned to the underlying descent – ascent dynamic of Neumeister's text, for he begins 'Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee' with an introductory sinfonia, whose principal theme represents the dualism of falling and rising, by means of both its rising sequences of falling fifths and its falling and rising eighth-note patterns.⁶⁵

Chafe conceptualises agriculture as a structural device employed by Bach. Falling seeds and rising prayer are codified as notes on the page, both as large-scale design as well as surface-level features such as motivic shape.

While Chafe's style of hermeneutics has been widely criticised, notably by Butt, I find an omission in his work on the Sexagesima cantata to be more significant.⁶⁶ In Chafe's seven-page

composed well before its presumed performance in 1715, but it is hard to see why this must be so". Daniel R Melamed, "J. F. Doles's Setting of a Picander Libretto and J. S. Bach's Teaching of Vocal Composition", *The Journal of Musicology* 14/4 (1996), 453–474 (459).

⁶³ The uncertainty surrounding this Leipzig performance stems from a *Textheft* (Sign. 6.35.1.849) held in the National Library of Russia, St Petersburg. We learn from this document that Bach's cantata *Leichtgesinnte Flattergeister*, BWV 181, was performed in Leipzig's *Nikolaikirche* on Sexagesima 1724. The libretto of BWV 18, however, does not feature in this document. For a history of the added recorder parts to the Leipzig version, see Michael Marissen, "Bach and Recorders in G", *The Galpin Society Journal* 48 (1995), 199–204.

⁶⁴ David Schulenberg, "Telemann as 'General Capellmeister' to the Bach Family", *Telemann Studies*, eds. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Steven Zohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 215–233 (224–245). For another comparison of Bach and Telemann's settings, see Gardiner, *Bach: Music in the Castle of Heaven*, 436–437.

⁶⁵ Eric Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 102–104.

⁶⁶ See John Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity: Perspectives on the Passions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 147–160; John Butt, "Review of Chafe, Eric Thomas, *Tears into Wine: J. S. Bach's Cantata 21 in its Musical and Theological Contexts*", *H-Music* (2018), <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=52720> Accessed 10 October 2019.

analysis, he does not once mention Bach's scoring. The cantata was scored for four solo violas, an instrumentation potentially unique in the cantata literature. Malcolm Boyd shares this disregard for timbre when commenting on Bach's *Brandenburg Concerto No. 6*, BWV 1051, a work often associated with the Sexagesima cantata. "[T]here is no need to suppose that this particular instrumental colouring was an essential part of Bach's conception of the work", argues Boyd. Instead, it is "quite likely that the availability of players was more decisive in the choice of instruments than any desire to colour the music in a particular and unusual way".⁶⁷

Chafe's omission and Boyd's indifference are characteristic of what Emily Dolan calls the "decidedly marginal position" that timbre has occupied in musicology over the past hundred years.⁶⁸ While Dolan astutely notes that there "was a time before timbre; there was no discourse [in the early eighteenth century] that accounted for the actual lived experience of instruments described in terms of their sonic characters and their effect on a listener" – and that the word *timbre* only entered into the broader musical vocabulary in the mid-eighteenth century – this does not exclude timbre existing in Bach's Germany as an unarticulated sensation.⁶⁹ Indeed, in early attempts to describe timbre, writers struggled to establish a language that captured its different qualities. In the first definition by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the *Encyclopédie* (1765), words are somewhat inadequate: the "sound of a flute would always have a certain *je ne sais quoi* of softness and pleasantness".⁷⁰

Certainly, the positions adopted by Chafe and Boyd are awkward to reconcile with the lengths to which Bach went to differentiate his Weimar cantatas in texture and timbre. As Christoph Wolff notes, these pieces explored "unusual" and "colourful instrumental combinations".⁷¹ Boyd's stance also does not square with recent work by Isabella Van Elferen, for whom timbre is "perhaps the most powerful agent in musical aesthetics".⁷² For Van Elferen, timbre in Bach's Germany functioned in a "chain of connotation, metaphor and symbolism". The two alto recorders and two violas da gamba in *Gottes Zeit ist die allerbeste Zeit*, BWV 106, for example, have "nothing to do with theology", and yet

⁶⁷ Malcolm Boyd, *Bach: The Brandenburg Concertos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 35–36.

⁶⁸ Emily I. Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution: Haydn and the Technologies of Timbre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 54.

⁶⁹ Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution*, 14–15.

⁷⁰ "... le son de la flûte aura toujours je ne sai quoi de doux & de moëlleux...". Jean-Jacques Rousseau, "Son", *Encyclopédie: ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, Vol. XV, eds. Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert (Paris: Breton, David, Durand, et Briasson, 1751–1772), 345–347 (345). Dolan, *The Orchestral Revolution*, 55.

⁷¹ Christoph Wolff, *Bach's Musical Universe: The Composer and His Work* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2020), 100. See also Michael Marissen, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach's Brandenburg Concertos* (Chichester: Princeton University Press, 1995).

⁷² Isabella Van Elferen, *Timbre: Paradox, Materialism, Vibrational Aesthetics* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020), 204.

they “became timbral metaphors; and these in turn lead to the use of alto recorder and viola da gamba as symbols for eschatological bliss and sorrow”.⁷³ For a congregant on Sexagesima, who as we have seen was primed to interact with musical material and to embody different agricultural roles, timbre potentially afforded a particular kind of provocation. The performance of *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, generated timbral combinations that had not been encountered by its Lutheran listeners before—nor by the instrumentalists of Bach’s ensemble who produced them. How might listeners have responded? When confronted with a texture unfamiliar to their ears, what kind of labour did the music beckon?

Distinguishing the four solo viola parts from one another, for one, would likely have challenged listeners. Homogeneity grabbed their attention from the outset: the cantata began with an orchestral unison, a ritornello-like refrain (bb. 1–4, Example 2.1) that returned three more times in the Sinfonia (bb. 17–20, 52–55, 68–72). The “tasto solo” instruction written in the “Violono ô Organo” part (Figure 2.14) reinforces that the refrain was heard as a complete unison, with harmonisation provided by the organist only from bar 5 onwards. Though this arresting unison was not a unique opening device in Bach’s output – the Weimar cantata *Der Himmel lacht! Die Erde jubilieret*, BWV 31 first performed on 21 April 1715 also began in unison, with harmonisation provided only from bar 7 (Figure 2.15) – BWV 18 was distinctive in that its unison did not evoke a fanfare. Beyond the four moments of complete unison, Bach’s listeners that Sexagesima were presented with fluctuating levels of homogeneity. There were two sections in which Viola 3 and Viola 4 joined the *basso continuo* in playing the bassline (bb. 9–12, 60–63, Example 2.2). At other points, it was only the bassoon that joined the *basso continuo* in unison (bb. 13–16, 37–41, 45–51, 64–67). There was one moment where Viola 3 and Viola 4 played the ostinato statement in unison without the *basso continuo* (bb. 26–29).

If congregants had gleaned anything from the Parable which had just been read—a Gospel passage that, to recall, was considered to be intelligible by all—we might imagine that Bach’s listeners aspired to a specific type of engagement with the musical performance. The homogenous four-viola texture and changing intensities of unison afforded listeners an opportunity to practise aural acts of delineation. By doing so, listeners practised agricultural virtues in real time: they could listen with diligence, care, and constancy. The cantata performance thus invited listeners to interact with the music from within a mode of agriculture: Bach provided congregants with musical material that asked to be treated as unploughed farmland. In short, listeners were invited to labour.

In the fast-moving fluctuations of textual density, this was no easy feat. In the 72-bar Sinfonia, listeners encountered no fewer than six different configurations of unison texture. The sense of *moto perpetuo*—every crotchet beat in the movement was articulated by at least one part—heightened this challenge: listeners were given no moments of stasis. The “missing note” of bar 1 meant that the ends

⁷³ Van Elferen, *Timbre: Paradox, Materialism, Vibrational Aesthetics*, 70.



Example 2.1: Homogenous unison. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Sinfonia”, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 7, ed. Werner Neumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1956), 81–106 (83), bb. 1–4.



Figure 2.14: “Tasto solo”. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Sinfonia”, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, Violone o Organo part, bb. 1–12 (plus insert for *dal segno*). Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 34 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

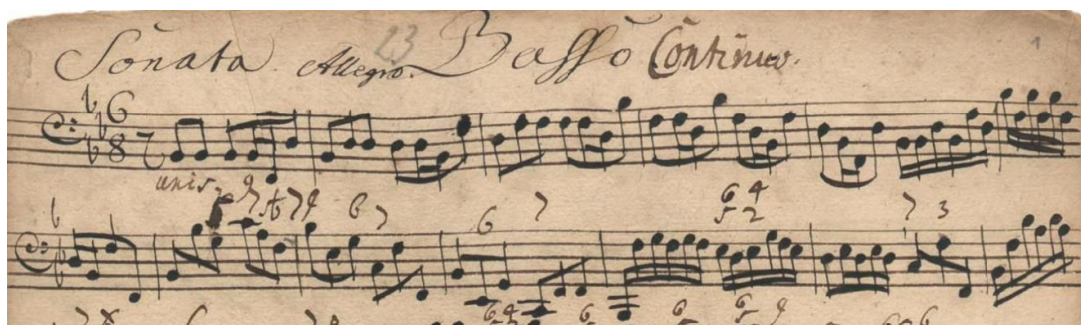


Figure 2.15: ‘Unis’. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Sonata”, *Der Himmel lacht! Die Erde jubiliert*, BWV 31, Basso continuo part, bb. 1–12. Scribe: Samuel Gottlieb Heder. Scribe of figured bass: Johann Sebastian Bach. PL-Kj Mus.ms. Bach St 14, Faszikel 3 – Biblioteka Jagiellonska, Kraków.



Example 2.2: Viola 3 and Viola 4 join *basso continuo*. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Sinfonia”, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 7, ed. Werner Neumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1956), 81–106 (89), bb. 60–63.



Example 2.3: Suspensions and syncopations in Viola 1 and Viola 2. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Sinfonia”, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 7, ed. Werner Neumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1956), 81–106 (83), bb. 5–9.



Example 2.4: Rolling quavers in Viola 1, Viola 2, and Viola 3. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Sinfonia”, *Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt*, BWV 18, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 7, ed. Werner Neumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1956), 81–106 (90), bb. 64–67.

of sections immediately became the next iteration of the ostinato bassline (bb. 9, 17, 52, 60, 68). Bach's contrapuntal use of suspensions and syncopations (bb. 5–8, 21–27, 33–36, 41–42, 56–61, Example 2.3) exaggerated this motion. Upon cadential arrival, bars of rolling quavers propelled the material forwards (bb. 13–14, 64–65). There was simply no respite for listeners who sought to mark out its structure. In terms of aural labour, Bach's listeners were presented with tasks of vertical and horizontal delineation. The homogenous unison, together with an obscuring or melding of phrases into one spiralling stream of motion, provided material for such labour. Unlike the neatly defined rows of seeds in images for Sexagesima above, listeners were presented with a sonic materiality of riotous, sprawling growth.

The cantata performance, then, afforded listeners the opportunity to engage in acts of aural agriculture in real time. Bach's writing created the sensation that the music was growing, encroaching even. The opening motive, a repeating low-high-high figure, created a spiralling shape, something that might have ascended step by step *ad infinitum*.⁷⁴ An ascending sequence of descending scales in canon (bb. 13–14, 64–65, Example 2.4) created a sense of entanglement between the musical lines. The arpeggiated motions on the diminished seventh chord (bb. 3–4, 11–12, 19–20, 28–29, 39–40, 47–48, 54–55, 62–63, 66–67, 70–71) heightened this tousled texture. In all, Bach's motivic work generated the sense of a moving landscape. Listening as agricultural labour constituted interacting with this landscape: Bach's music presented to Lutherans a constantly moving, growing, spreading, shifting, tangled material to farm.

Vigilance

On the face of it, my analysis might appear similar to Chafe's. That we identify the same shapes and contours in Bach's music is unsurprising: they are there on the page. The difference in our methods lies in the type of significance we ascribe to their presence. Chafe uses the motivic shapes to read Bach's score as an explication of theological doctrine. In this framework, the composer encrypted the "underlying descent – ascent dynamic" of the passage from Isaiah 55 into the musical fabric.⁷⁵ Yet this mapping from page to page, from scripture to score, denies much of what was and is dynamic about musical performance. My analysis instead seeks to capture how Bach's motives afforded Lutheran congregants an opportunity to practise and embody doctrine through their listening. The performed implications of the Sinfonia's score—textural thickness, timbral homogeneity, tangled spiralling motion, fluid structural boundaries, and so on—invited congregants to engage in aural agriculture. The

⁷⁴ Butt uses the shape of a spiral to describe the temporal experience offered in the performance of some of Bach's works: "The Bachian sense of time demands progress within stability, a dynamic approach to cyclic time that evokes something of the energy of a spiral". Butt, *Bach's Dialogue with Modernity*, 110. See also Bettina Varwig, "Metaphors of Time and Modernity in Bach", *The Journal of Musicology* 29/2 (2012), 154–190.

⁷⁵ Chafe, *Analyzing Bach Cantatas*, 104.

theology of Sexagesima, in this sense, was located in the interaction between historical listeners and the performed musical material.

But did everybody farm? While all were encouraged to participate in farming, as we have seen, presumably not everyone took up the invitation to rake with their ears. In the “Parable of the Wheat and the Weeds” (Matthew 13:24–30), the Gospel reading for the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany, Jesus instructed that the weeds were to be left to grow and intermingle with the wheat. Though in the Sexagesima Parable, Jesus did not call for the destruction or removal of weeds – only stones or thorns are of concern, a subtlety to which early eighteenth-century German theologians were also alert – there is nonetheless an ambiguity as to how congregants might have responded to the musical material. In this sense, Bach’s compositional structures not only presented to listeners a tangible problem—a homogenous, sometimes sprawling mess that seemed to require sorting out. Rather, the cantata performance also provided listeners with the challenge in deciding how they were to engage with the musical material. Did congregants labour, or did they instead allow the music to grow on its own accord?

Such challenges perhaps called for a heightened sense of aural alertness. Attentiveness, or “attention” as preferred by Matthew Riley in his study *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment* (2004), changed through the course of the eighteenth century. Riley emphasises the “distinctiveness of these early conceptions of musical attention [...] which were] entangled with the earnest ethical priorities characteristic of Enlightenment theories of the arts”.⁷⁶ As Kevorkian similarly warns, despite outward signs of distraction, congregational standards of punctuality and silence “developed later, and to judge 18th-century audiences by modern concert-hall paradigms is to misunderstand them”.⁷⁷

There are, however, certain continuities with more recent modes of attentive listening. Sleeping in church, as Varwig has reconstructed, was a widespread problem in early modern Germany. She cites the *Philosophisches Lexicon* (1726) by the theologian Johann Georg Walch, in which sleep is described as in itself a natural occurrence, something “planted” (*eingepflantzet*) in humans by God. But when carried out “at an inappropriate time [...] for example if one sleeps in church”, sleep became “something sinful”.⁷⁸ In the 1702 reprint of Luther’s *Hauß-Postilla*, the Leipzig-based engraver Erasmus Andresohn depicted the “Parable of the Wheat and the Weeds” as men snoozing at the base of a tree trunk oblivious

⁷⁶ Matthew Riley, *Musical Listening in the German Enlightenment: Attention, Wonder and Astonishment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 2.

⁷⁷ Tanya Kevorkian, “The reception of the cantata during Leipzig church services, 1700–1750”, *Early Music* XXX/I (2002), 27–46 (34).

⁷⁸ Bettina Varwig, “Death and Life in J. S. Bach’s Cantata *Ich habe genug* (BWV 82)”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 135/2 (2010), 315–356 (337).

to the devil working in the field (Figure 2.16). In a poem of 1741, Friedrich Günther Bieber reiterated that evil seeds sown by the devil were more likely to become implanted in listeners if they were asleep.

Falle ja in keinen Schlaff,	Do not fall into a sleep
Daß der Feind nicht Unkraut säe.	So that the enemy does not sow weeds
GOTT erhalte Deinen Graff,	GOD preserve your count,
Daß Er mit auf alles sehe,	That He looks after everything,
Und zur Lehre und zum Leben,	And in doctrine and in life,
Allen Beystand könne geben. ⁷⁹	Can offer you all help.

Lutherans in Leipzig were also alert to this peril. In a hymn printed in the *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* of 1682, congregants called for God to protect their open hearts left vulnerable by sleep:

Denn ob mein Auge schläffet,	Because although my eye sleeps
Der Leib von Wercken frey,	The body free from work,
Mein Hertz doch öffters äffet,	My heart often conjures
Viel böse Phantasey,	Much evil fantasy,
Das macht des Teuffels Samen,	That makes the devil's seeds
Den er außstreut geschwind,	That he scatters quickly,
Wann wir ohn deinen Namen Einschlaffn,	When we fall asleep without your name
und sicher sind. ⁸⁰	and are safe.

The Leipzig town council seemingly sought to remove any further conditions that could exacerbate sleeping in church. As articulated in Bach's contract of employment, the composer was to "arrange the music that it shall not last too long, and shall be of such a nature as to [...] incite the listeners to devotion".⁸¹

The challenges posed by a performance of the Sexagesima Sinfonia thus afforded multiple spiritual consequences. For some, it kept them wide awake, attentive with agricultural ears. For others it might have had the opposite effect. The repetitive structures of the Sinfonia presented a particular danger. As Johann Adolph Scheibe warned in his *Critischer Musikus* (1745), compositions that contained too much repetition caused a listener to "lose all patience when hearing the same thing sung

⁷⁹ Friedrich Günther Bieber, *Den gesegneten Bauer In dem Acker-Werck Gottes* (Büdingen: Stöhr, 1741), lines 55–60.

⁸⁰ "Zu dir, von Hertzens Brunde", *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch*, 569.

⁸¹ NBR, 105.



Figure 2.16: Men sleep as devil sows seeds. Martin Luther, *Hauß-Postilla, über alle Sonntags- und fürnehmsten Fest-Evangelien durchs gantze Jahr* (Leipzig: Gleditschens und Weidmanns sel. Erben, 1702), 151.

and played so often, so that finally, after yawning repeatedly, he will succumb to sleep”.⁸² Significantly, however, the responsibility of staying awake and alert remained with a listener. As the Prussian cantor Georg Motz wrote in 1703, musicians were not to blame even if the sounds of the organ lulled people to sleep.⁸³ While for some listeners, Bach’s repetitions formed a tool with which to demarcate the musical structure, for others they might have been boringly soporific and left them prey to the seedwork of the devil. Bach’s music thus embodied a mode of agriculture in itself: it separated the wheat from the weeds, good listeners from bad.

Vigilance was a strategy not restricted to listening congregants that Sexagesima. Way up in the music gallery, Bach’s instrumentalists were among those kept on their toes. It has become commonplace in Bach studies to objectify the historical instrumentalists involved in performance and to conflate them with the instrumental parts that they played. When discussing the trumpet writing in *Du sollt Gott, deinen Herren, lieben*, BWV 77, for example, Michael Marissen describes how there was no “more

⁸² “Daß der Zuhörer alle Geduld verlieret, wenn er einerley so oft singen und spielen höret, und daß er endlich nach oft wiederholtem Gähnen einschlafen muß”. See Varwig, *Death and Life*, 337–338.

⁸³ “Bey dem öffentlichen Gottesdienst bezeugt es die tägliche Erfahrung daß durch den Orgel-Klang die Gemeine vielmehr ermuntert, als schläffrig und faul gemacht werde [...] Daß etliche unter dem Orglen und musiciren schwatzen, und dahin sehen da sichs nicht gebührt, ist nicht zu loben: aber geschiehet solches nicht auch unter dem predigen? wer ist dann schuld daran? gewißlich weder die Priester noch die Musici.” Georg Motz, *Die vertheidigte Kirchen-Music* (n.p.: 1703), 158–159.

effective way [...] at the time to help express this imperfection [described in the libretto] than to have the natural (valveless) trumpet struggling through material that is exceedingly unnatural for the instrument”.⁸⁴ While Marissen powerfully grounds his hermeneutics in historical organology, the limitations of the harmonic series are necessarily caught up in the corporeal: it was a trumpeter that struggled. In Bach’s Sexagesima cantata, the scoring for four violas was, of course, performed by four string players.⁸⁵

Bach’s unison textures, in which the imperfections or discrepancies between players would have been more noticeable, demanded a particular kind of focus and industry among these performers. Intonation, blend of bow stroke and togetherness were necessary if, for example, the unison passages were to sound at all unison. The *moto perpetuo* streams of quavers, as well as the rhythmic interplay of suspensions, required a specific type of attentiveness to others in order to maintain rhythmic synchronicity. This is not, of course, to suggest that other cantatas did not require togetherness, but rather that this was something heightened in a performance containing musical material of this sort. While the unison textures in the Sinfonia might not “reek of effort” in the same way that Jonathan Gibson describes the chordal bowings of the viola da gamba player in “Komm, süßes Kreuz” from Bach’s *St Matthew Passion*, there is a sense in which the industry of instrumentalists was tested through the act of performance.⁸⁶

Indeed, the performers’ heightened focus on ensemble playing might have been palpable to listeners, generating an intensified response of aural attention. Vigilance that Sexagesima was not something only distributed in church like scattered seed, a common image in English exegeses such as by the Puritan divine Thomas Taylor (Figure 2.17).⁸⁷ It also manifested as a kind of aural propagation. Good congregational listening compelled a heightened listening among performers, and as unison playing became more synchronised and homogenised in tuning, this in turn presented congregants busy in tasks of delineation with an even greater challenge of aural labour.

⁸⁴ Marissen, *The Social and Religious Designs of J. S. Bach’s Brandenburg Concertos*, 4.

⁸⁵ The four solo viola parts were “probably played by violinists”. David Schulenberg, “Gleichwie der Regen und Schnee vom Himmel fällt”, *Oxford Composer Companions: J. S. Bach*, ed. Malcolm Boyd (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 193.

⁸⁶ Jonathan Gibson, “Hearing the Viola da Gamba in Komm, süßes Kreuz”, *Fiori musicali: Liber amicorum Alexander Silbiger*, eds. Claire Fontijn and Susan Parisi (Sterling Heights: Harmonie Park Press, 2010), 419–450 (434).

⁸⁷ Thomas Taylor’s essay on the Sexagesima Parable was printed in German translation as *Der rechtschaffenen Christen Bewärender Prüff-Stein/ auß dem Gleichniß von dem Säemann und Saamen/ auff unterschiedlichem/ vierfachem Grund und Acker* (Cassel: Ingebrand, 1678–1679). Much of Taylor’s output was translated into German and published in German-speaking lands throughout the seventeenth century up until the early eighteenth century. See Edgar C. McKenzie, *A Catalog of British Devotional and Religious Books in German Translation from the Reformation to 1750* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 396–401.

As we saw in the previous chapter, musical scores present a fascinating and unique source with which to reconstruct historical acts of embodiment. On-the-page musical features harboured physiological dimensions, which through the acts of performance could stimulate or bring about certain corporeal responses of listeners. Dense textures and timbral homogeneity urged congregants to distinguish between different musical lines, and musical material that somehow seemed to grow in disorderly or unruly ways beckoned aural labour. For some, repetition helped to demarcate the musical structure, while for others, this left them snoring and vulnerable to the devil's planting of evil seeds. In thematising good listening, a performance of Bach's Sexagesima Sinfonia afforded listeners—congregants and performers—a vehicle through which to embody the teachings of Jesus' Parable in real, musical time. By listening in formerly ways, music could be used by Lutherans to cultivate their hearts, deeply receive God's Word, and bring it to fruition.

Being farmed

The analysis above focused on the role of listener as farmer or as fruit-bearing plant. But as we have also seen, music planted the Word-seed deeper into the hearts of the faithful: Lutherans embodied farmland. What might it have felt like to constitute soil? How did musical performance contribute to such embodied experiences for congregants? The following analysis of movements from Part III of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248 explores how the various touches of musical performance could generate aural experiences of being farmed.

The cultivation and preparation of Lutheran hearts informs Markus Rathey's recent study of the *Christmas Oratorio*. Given Rathey's claim that a philological study of Bach's manuscript sources can at the same time be an exploration of a work's theological profile, it is unsurprising that Rathey is interested in the central movements of Part III. His primary focus is Bach's significant revisions in design (indeed, an image of the rejected aria opening adorns the front cover of Rathey's monograph, Figure 2.18). Rathey interprets the crossed-out sketches, which were repeatedly altered and finally rejected, as indicative of Bach's "considerable amount of work" in designing the sequence of movements.⁸⁸ This interpretation is supported in much of the literature. Alfred Dürr described how the "profusion of corrections" in the manuscript score and the "exceptionally conscientious articulation marks" in the violin part bear witness to "Bach's self-critical engagement with its composition".⁸⁹ This is all to be expected if, like Rathey, we interpret this moment as the theological encapsulation of the entire six-part *Oratorio*:

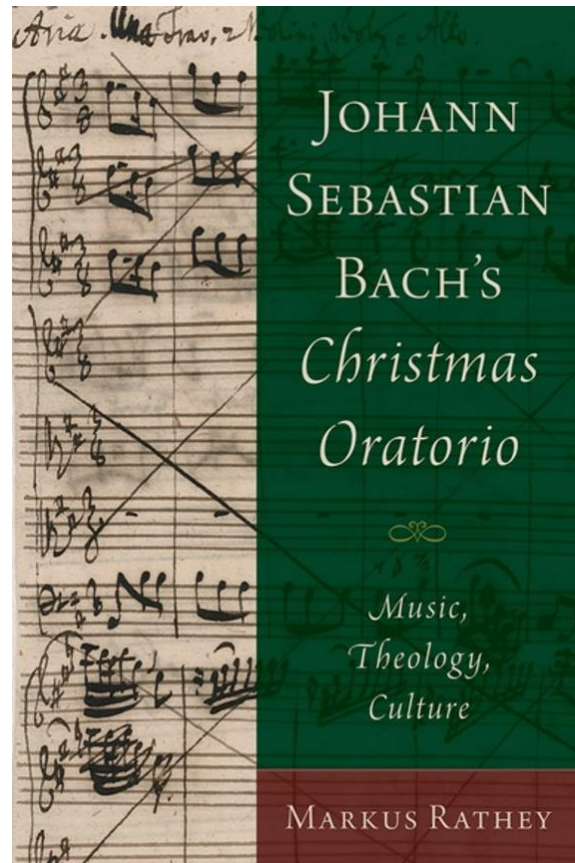
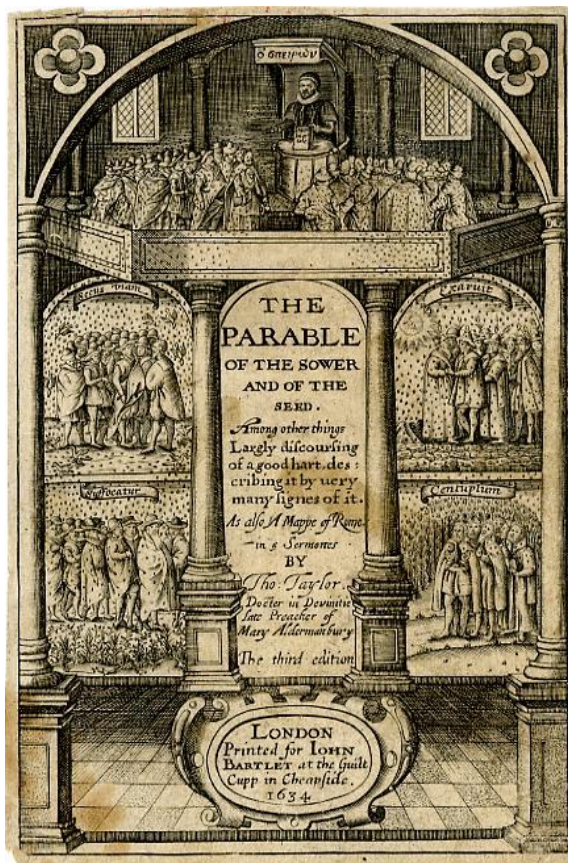
⁸⁸ Markus Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio: Music, Theology, Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 64.

⁸⁹ Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach: With Their Librettos in German-English Parallel Text*, trans. Richard D. P. Jones (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 133.

We have discussed this movement more extensively because it provides valuable insights into Bach compositional process: the way in which he shapes his ideas in the ritornello, how he reuses and manipulates the material in the course of the movement, and how sections of earlier material alternate with measures where the musical development forces the composer to work out new musical solutions. That all of this happens in this particular aria is no surprise, as the text encapsulates the centre of the meaning of Christmas, the *inhabitatio Christi*.⁹⁰

In the analysis that follows, I consider Rathey’s claims in relation to the metaphor of farming and offer an alternative reading of how the doctrine of *inhabitatio* might have been experienced and embodied by performers and listeners.

The libretto for Bach’s alto aria “Schließe, mein Herze” and its preceding recitative are particularly relevant for my discussion of listening as heart-based agriculture. The tenor’s recitative is



(Left) **Figure 2.17:** Sermon scattered over congregation. Thomas Taylor, *The Parable of the Sower and of the Seed*, 3rd edition (London: Bartlet, 1634), title page. (Right) **Figure 2.18:** Bach’s crossed-out sketch on cover. Markus Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Christmas Oratorio: Music, Theology, Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), cover.

⁹⁰ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Christmas Oratorio*, 266.

about listening (Example 2.5). He gives an account of listening as a chain of experiences: the shepherds, who received the good news from an angel, tell Mary and Joseph how they came to know of the holy birth. Mary's act of listening is configured as a keeping of words in her heart:

Und sie kamen eilend und funden beide, Mariam und Joseph, dazu das Kind in der Krippe liegen. Da sie es aber gesehen hatten, breiteten sie das Wort aus, welches zu ihnen von diesem Kind gesaget war. Und alle, für die es kam, wunderten sich der Rede, die ihnen die Hirten gesaget hatten. Maria aber behielt alle diese Worte und bewegte sie in ihrem Herzen.

And they came with haste, and found Mary, and Joseph, and the babe lying in a manger. And when they had seen it, they made known abroad the saying which was told them concerning this child. And all they that heard it wondered at those things which were told them by the shepherds. But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart. (Luke 2:16–19)

Of course, the recitative was itself a vocal delivery that was aurally received by congregants. Kerala Snyder writes that the following aria, “Schließe, mein Herze”, seems to “flow naturally from the lips of Mary”.⁹¹ The sequence of listening that played out in the recitative can thus be interpreted as continuing to propagate through a performance of the aria.

In Rathey's analysis of the recitative, Bach's music highlights the heart-based narrative. The semiquaver motive and chromatic descent (b. 13–14) “depicts the movement as well as the heightened emotional state of the presence of the word in the heart”.⁹² This moment of inhabitation is foreshadowed. Rathey is particularly interested in the first two instances of the semiquaver motive (bars 4 and 8), moments which precede the text that he argues it represents. In these first two occurrences, the motive appears to be primarily ornamental—a simple link between the three sentences. But by the third iteration, Rathey argues that the motive corresponds to the words sung by the tenor and depicts the movement of the word in Mary's heart. He provides philological evidence to support his argument. The motives in bars 4 and 8, Rathey argues, were “added in retrospect, as a sort-of afterthought, probably as a reaction to its use in the final line of the recit”. Rathey therefore concludes that Bach “did indeed conceive the sixteenth-note motif [as] motivated by the final line of the text [...] the motif indeed stands in correspondence with the movement of the word in the heart; or to put it into seventeenth-century theological lingo, with the *inhabitatio Christi* in the heart of the faithful”.⁹³

⁹¹ Kerala J. Snyder, “Oratorio on Five Afternoons: From the Lübeck Abendmusiken to Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*”, *Bach Perspectives, Volume 8: J. S. Bach and the Oratorio Tradition*, ed. Daniel R. Melamed (Urbana, Chicago and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2011), 69–95 (83).

⁹² Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio*, 64.

⁹³ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio*, 66.

30. Evangelista
Recitativo

Tenore

Und sie ka-men ei-lend und fun-den bei-de, Ma-ri-am und Jo-seph,

Continuo (2x)
Organo (bez.)

Organo

da-zu das Kind in der Krip-pe lie-gen. Da sie es a-ber ge-se-hen hat-ten, brei-te-

ten sie das Wort aus, wel-ches zu ih-nen von die-sem Kind ge-sa-get

war. Und al-le, für die es kam, wun-der-ten sich der Re-de, die

ih-nen die Hir-ten ge-sa-get hat-ten. Ma-ri-a a-ber be-

hielt al-le die-se Wor-te und be-weg-te sie in ih-rem Her-zen.

Example 2.5: Semiquaver motives. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Und sie kamen eilend...”, *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248iii, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie II, Band 6, eds. Walter Blankenburg and Alfred Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1960), 109–142 (136), bb. 1–15.

Rather than building on the representational focus of Rathey’s reading, I explore Bach’s notation as having afforded specific performative and listening responses. As musical notation offered certain kinds of knowledge to those habituated in that notational style, there are some aspects of performance that we can presume to have taken place. Performers would have drawn in particular on these banks of embodied knowledge during busy parts of the liturgical year. Bach’s *Christmas Oratorio*

was composed for the Christmas season of 1734. Parts I to III were performed in immediate succession on the three Christmas feast days. Parts I and II were performed twice on their day of celebration, at both the Thomaskirche and the Nikolaikirche. Part III, which was performed in a morning service at the Nikolaikirche, followed those two particularly busy days. This presumably had consequences for Bach's performers. As Varwig writes, the "more skilled a practitioner became at manipulating these hand-y patterns, the more readily they could activate [...] autopilot mode".⁹⁴ Lynn Holding similarly draws on the language of machinery, writing that the violinist Itzhak Perlman has "logged" well over ten thousand practice hours:

[Perlman] possesses a motor program that runs on track like a well-oiled machine. Apparently, all he has to do is push the 'on' button [...] hours of practice seal it up in the vault of long-term memory [...] routine tasks can be marked 'done,' shelved, and stocked in the vault of the mind for retrieval at will. This stockpiling of simple tasks, it is thought, reduces cognitive load, leaving more mental real estate available for other cognitive tasks, like expressivity.⁹⁵

With such an influx of new music and a potentially hectic rehearsal and performing schedule, Bach's musicians relied on their accumulation of musical knowledge and embodied experience in navigating the material affordances of their instruments when reading their parts. In short, they counted on their ability for "autopilot" to kick in.

My mode of analytical *prima vista* is similar to what Elisabeth Le Guin describes in her work on Boccherini's cello sonatas. "Confronted with the necessity of executing the first part of a sonata, the performer will engage in a brief preliminary assessment of what she is about to do [...] this is at first a visual act", writes Le Guin. But underlying the visual act is something thoroughly corporeal:

For a prospective performer, 'the nature of that music' is also inescapably physical. On this level, perusal of the score becomes an anticipatory kinesthesia, a sub-verbal, sub-intellectual assessment of questions such as, What do I need to do in order to play this? Where will I put my hands, and how will I move them?⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Bettina Varwig (ed.), "Embodied Invention: Bach at the Keyboard", *Rethinking Bach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 115–140 (120).

⁹⁵ Lynn Holding, *The Musician's Mind: Teaching, Learning, and Performance in the Age of Brain Science* (London: Rowman & Littlefield, 2020), 151.

⁹⁶ Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 14–17.

For many performers, particularly those habituated in a particular kind of notational style, “anticipatory kinesthesia” moves beyond the purely mechanical into the interpretative. Looking at his part for the recitative “Und sie kamen eilend...” (Figure 2.19), Bach’s cellist would have been able immediately to recognise the moments of textural and melodic significance in bars 4, 8 and 13. His experience as a continuo player would have guided him towards a more soloistic approach for these bars. During these moments of rhythmic detail, it was likely that the singer was tacet or holding a long note. As the semiquavers begun after a tied note, the notation would have also suggested to Bach’s cellist a mode of interplay: he likely approached the semiquavers as rhythmically responsive to something sung on the beat. Held in his short-term memory from the last two days might have been his singular encounter with rhythmic quickness in a secco recitative. The recitative “Und es waren Hirten...” from the previous day (Example 2.6) employed a musical grammar replicated throughout the Leipzig cantatas. The semiquaver movement (b. 8) began upon textual stillness. Only once the singer had re-entered in rhythmically stable declamation (“und sie”) did the cellist pick up the semiquaver moment. From this recitative and many others, Bach’s cellist was well informed about interpreting similar passages in performance. He would have learnt that at such moments there was minimal interest in the vocal line and so there was little chance of overpowering the singer. Bach’s cellist probably embraced his role by emphasising the lively writing.

Even without reading from a score, then, Bach’s cellist was able to extract information from the notation of his part to create musical gestures. We can potentially go even further in imagining what these interpretative moves might have been. As each seven-note motive in the “Und sie kamen eilend...” recitative conjured a sense of progression, we can expect that these were exaggerated by a crescendo (if not in dynamic, then in gesture). The descent onto D-sharp (b. 4) and G-sharp (b. 14) would have been directed with particular intensity: the additional sign of an accidental conveyed to Bach’s cellist that this was a chord of heightened harmonic interest and was likely to contain a dissonance. This was a type of tonal grammar responded to by performers with little there-and-then thought. Rather, it involved an interaction with notation that had become embodied over time, part of a harmonic literacy that was responded to with different kinds of attack and dynamic gesture.

This somatic intuition, which for Le Guin occurs at the “sub-verbal, sub-intellectual” level, was perhaps enfolded within the conscious recognition of a larger recitative structure. The semiquaver motion did not occur at the end of the recitative as a blossoming into *arioso*, a common device throughout Bach’s cantatas. Rather, the semiquaver motion occurred at three points during the recitative (Example 2.5). Through this difference, and even without access to the libretto, Bach’s cellist was perhaps alert to a more narrative role of the semiquaver material and how it might have contributed to an experience of music penetrating deeper into a listener’s heart. Each iteration, which was crafted with its own “crescendo”, might have been emphasised more than the previous to create a larger trajectory of direction. This could have been achieved through attack, dynamic, timing, weight, or, more likely, a nuanced combination of these. In other words, a habituated response to the musical notation afforded a

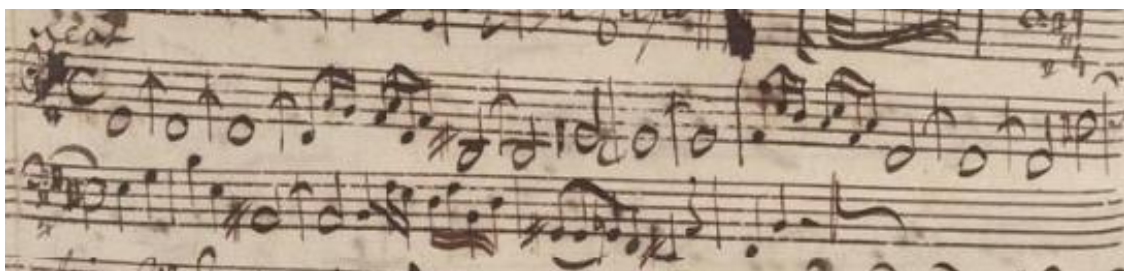


Figure 2.19: Moments of textural and melodic significance. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Und sie kamen eilend...”, *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248iii, Basso continuo part, bb. 1–15. Scribe: Rudolf Straube. D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 112 III, Faszikel 1 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

11. Evangelista
Recitativo

Tenore

Und es wa-ren Hir-ten in der-sel-ben Ge-gend auf dem Fel-de bei den Hür-den, die

hü - te - ten des Nachts ih - re Her - de. Und sie - he, des Her - ren En - gel trat zu

ih - nen, und die Klar-heit des Her - ren leuch-tet um sie, und sie furch - ten sich sehr.

Continuo (2x)
Organo (bez.)
Organo

Example 2.6: Secco recitative into arioso. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Und es waren Hirten...”, *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248ii, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie II, Band 6, eds. Walter Blankenburg and Alfred Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1960), 57–106 (65), bb. 1–10.

listening experience of increased depth. This was music that, regardless of a sequence that actually ascended in pitch, was heard and felt as it was getting deeper and deeper.

Since music, as we have seen, was understood in Lutheran Germany to travel not only to the ears but also to the bottom of the heart, Bach’s recitative perhaps afforded for listeners a fleshy experience indeed. As Bach’s cellist descended in thirds, the repetitive rhythm and trajectory of progress embodied a labour that could have been associated with agriculture. Listeners potentially experienced the sounds of the cellist’s bowing as a cultivation of their hearts—a making way for the descending materiality of the Word-seed. The seven-note motive, then, which in Rathey’s analysis worked to

represent the experiences of Mary, might also have brought about for congregants an aural experience of being farmed. It was not that Bach's cellist represented a farmer, and nor was it that his bowing resembled that of a labourer digging in the soil. Rather, I propose that the performance of this recitative engaged a mode of listening in which music could be felt materially to work on the heart-fields of congregants.

Viscosity and density

The intent behind Rathey's commentary on Bach's recitative only fully comes to light some chapters later in his analysis of "Schließe, mein Herze". Rathey explores Bach's initial and rejected attempts for the aria as evidence for the work's theology. The first sketch is an alto aria for strings, flutes, and continuo. From the 25 or so crossed-out bars, it is possible to see the exuberant, large-scale character of Bach's initial plans. Rathey traces Bach's process of reduction. At first, this is gradual: the second flute is eliminated after three bars ("Trav 2 tacet"). But Bach then abandoned the sketch altogether. Rathey presents this as evidence of Bach's "doubts" on the size of the orchestration which was "too massive to do justice to the intimate character of the text".⁹⁷ The next sketch (Figure 2.20) did not use flute at all; instead, Bach employs unison violins ("Violini unisoni"), which was then pared down further to just one violin ("solo" written over "unisoni").

Rathey's emphasis on Bach's compositional process of reduction is motivated by his theological reading. As the previous recitative depicted the sinking motion of the word into Mary's heart, the following aria is the moment of *inhabitatio*: the second advent in which Christ's spiritual arrival is realised through His entrance into the hearts of believers. Intimacy and closeness therefore dominate Rathey's analytical findings. Rathey interprets the unvirtuosic vocal declamation, which mostly consists of syllabic or short motives, as an attempt to underscore the intimacy of the text. Syncopation is "[c]onstitutive for the character of the aria". It gives the music a "certain degree of viscosity and density, making the clear rhythmic flow seem always a bit stagnant". Rathey argues this is particularly highlighted on the words "schließe", "selige" and "fest". The four moments of unison between the alto and the violin for the text "in deinem Glauben ein" (bb. 34–36, 56–58, 112–114, 125–126) also represent the *unio mystica*. In all, Bach's music "embodies the tightness with which the heart holds Christ [...] the viscosity of the music [is] a sonic representation of the metaphor of Jesus being 'glued' to the heart".⁹⁸

Rathey therefore presents any revisions that the composer made to the score as evidence for Bach's theologically driven construction. The conjunct descending scale (b. 4), which was originally a descending triad, is interpreted to add to the syncopation in the next bar, "which in turn creates a

⁹⁷ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio*, 257.

⁹⁸ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio*, 260.

rhythmic tension that drives the movement forward”. The syntactic separation (bb. 12–13, Figure 2.21) is also interpreted as theologically potent:

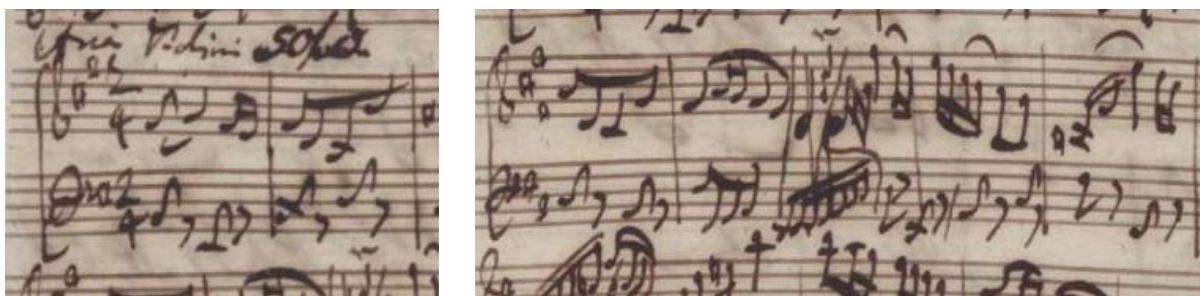
The f♯'', spatially and sonically disjunct from the previous note, might then be perceived as the first note of a new motif. By ending the previous phrase on d' in m. 12 and by beginning the following measure with the ascending gesture d'–a'–f♯'', Bach creates a motif that continues the syncopic energy of the first half of the ritornello; at the same time, it is a motif that expresses a feeling of longing (here for the coming of Christ).⁹⁹

While Rathey's precise handling of the manuscript score yields unique analytical insights with far-reaching implications, the direction from which he reaches his interpretation is problematic. Had Bach, for example, not added the moment of cadential respite for the violinist, Rathey would likely have interpreted this from the same theological stance—and such a gesture would arguably have been even greater in “syncopic energy”. Or what if Bach had opted for a melismatic setting? Rathey might have read this as an expression of viscosity. In other words, Rathey's analytical method works “backwards” from the theology: Bach's compositional process is understood to work towards as rich a representation of the doctrine of *inhabitatio* as possible. Caught in tautology, then, this hermeneutics of faith is expanded to incorporate revisions to the manuscript and parts. Theological meaning continues to be understood as something encrypted into the score and rigorous philology can help to unearth this.

And yet, many of Rathey's interpretations are captivating as well as convincing. His language (“viscosity”, “density”, and so on) is entirely resonant with the agential and tangible forms of agricultural listening I have uncovered. Yet while Rathey's responsiveness to the “energy” and “gesture” of Bach's notation might seem to engage the embodied aspects of music making I have sought to emphasise, his exploration is still wedded to the notion that meaning is contained within the pages of the musical score.¹⁰⁰ In the following paragraphs, I experiment with how the tactile experiences of Bach's violinist afforded listeners a sense of music digging deep into their hearts.

⁹⁹ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio*, 262.

¹⁰⁰ A similar issue colours Rathey's more recent analysis of Telemann's cantata for the second day of Christmas, *Gelobet seist du, Jesu Christ*, TVWV 1:612: “the idea of the divine dwelling place is tightly connected to the idea of Jesus's presence in the heart in the second coming. The excitement of the singer is captured in small gestures of two notes, which were typical for devotional songs in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries”. It is not entirely clear from this passage whether, for Rathey, excitement is something “captured” in performance by the singer who negotiates the two-note gestures, or whether excitement is something encoded by Telemann into the musical notes (or a dance between the two). Markus Rathey, “Body, Nature, and Emotion in Telemann's Christmas Cantatas”, *Telemann Studies*, eds. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Steven Zohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 179–198 (189).



(Left) [Figure 2.20](#): Reducing “Violini unisoni” to “Violin[i] solo” (bb. 1–2); (Right) [Figure 2.21](#): Insertion to heighten syncopic energy (bb. 10–15). Johann Sebastian Bach, “Schließe, mein Herze”, *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248iii, Score, bb. 10–15. Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 32 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Depth

Bach’s detailed articulation marks presented an additional layer of notational instruction to his violinist. In performing the articulation markings, the violinist engaged a specific mode of touch against the gut strings of his instrument and the wooden stick of his bow. As we saw from writings by Müller, Herberger, and others above, words penetrated deeper into the heart when they were attached to music. Achieving depth was vital if the Word-seed was to come to fruition. A soundworld of depth and embeddedness conjured by Bach’s violinist thus potentially heightened a listener’s experience of scripture reaching deeper into their heart.

The opening phrase of the instrumental ritornello (Example 2.7) was characterised by three melodic figures: a two-note rising figure joined by a slur (bb. 1, 3, 6, 8), a descending scale also under a slur (bb. 4, 7, 11), and an inversion of the two-note figure as a slurred sigh-figure or *appoggiatura* (bb. 10, 12). These slurred figures encouraged a specific bowed approach to performing the music. In shaping the slurs as was expected in the performing tradition of the time, Bach’s violinist would have employed a slow and dense bow stroke. Slurs notated a decrescendo to the bowed shapes. This was particularly the case for *appoggiaturas*. Quantz instructed that long *appoggiaturas* “must be so bowed as to increase in volume, without accentuation, and must be slurred gently to the following notes, so that the *appoggiaturas* sound a little stronger than the notes that follow them”.¹⁰¹ Writing in 1756, Leopold Mozart similarly directed that the stress must “always be on the *appoggiatura* itself, the softer tone falling on the melody note”. The *appoggiatura* was a gesture of fluidity:

¹⁰¹ “Die langen Vorschläge, so ihre Zeit mit der folgenden Noten theilen, muß man im Adagio, ohne sie zu markiren, mit dem Bogen an der Stärke wachsen lassen, und die folgende Note sachte dran schleifen, so daß die Vorschläge etwas stärker, als die darauf folgenden Noten, klingen.” Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 197. Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 227.

[T]his must be carried out with a pleasant moderating of the stroke. Also the accent must have a softer tone preceding it. In the long appoggiatura, of which we speak here, it is quite easy to accent somewhat gently, letting the tone grow rapidly in strength and arriving at the greatest volume of tone in the middle of the appoggiatura; but then so diminishing the strength, that finally the chief note is slurred on to it quite *piano*. In particular, however, beware of the after-pressure of the bow on the chief note. *Only the finger with which the appoggiatura is made is to be lifted, while the bow is allowed to move smoothly on its way.*¹⁰²

In specifying that it was only the pitch-changing finger that was “to be lifted”, Mozart emphasised that the bow was to sustain contact with the string while it shaped a decrescendo. By employing this kind of bowed gesture for the slurred figures—the majority of the aria’s melodic material—Bach’s violinist embodied a tactile closeness and contact with the violin strings via his bow. This smoothness and gestural shape also applied to rising slurred figures. Mozart described that these must be “slurred smoothly [...] there must be no after-pressure of the bow on the principal note”.¹⁰³ The staccato dots in Bach’s notation featured as a moment of brief contrast. Nestled between two slurs (bb. 6–7, 9–11, 17–22 etc.), they heightened the shape of the slurs and the embodiment of sustained yet graded touch.

From these and other treatises, we learn that slurred notation not only instructed eighteenth-century string players how many notes should be joined under a single bow stroke. Rather, slurs also indicated a style or touch of playing. Slurs could specify how the right hand made contact with the bow for it to be drawn across the gut in a specific way. Quantz recognised this attentiveness to touch and contact as fundamental to good string playing. A violinist “must know not only the correct distribution of the bow-strokes and the proper time for a strong or weak pressure of the bow upon the strings, but

¹⁰² My emphasis. “Zweytens muß die Stärke des Tones bey den langen und längern Vorschlägen allezeit auf den Vorschlag; die Schwäche aber auf die Note fallen. Es muß aber mit einer angenehmen Mässigung des Bogenstriches geschehen. Auch die Stärke muß eine Schwäche vor sich haben. Man kann einen langen Vorschlag, von denen hier die Rede ist, gar leicht etwas weich anstossen, den Ton an der Stärke geschwind wachsen lassen, in der Mitte des Vorschlags die größte Stärke anbringen, und alsdann die Stärke so verliehren, dass' letztlich die Hauptnote ganz *piano* darein schleist. Absonderlich aber hüte man sich bey der Hauptnote mit dem Bogen nachzudrücken. Man muß nur den Finger, mit dem der Vorschlag gemacht wird, aufheben, den Bogen aber gelind fortgehen lassen.” Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Johann Jacob Lotter, 1756), 199. Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 171.

¹⁰³ “Auf diese Art fällt die Stärke auf die erste Note des Vorschlags, und wird die Hauptnote gelind und so daran geschlieffen ... ist gelehret worden. Man muß aber auch hier bey der Grundnote mit dem Geigebogen nicht nachdrücken.” Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, 201. Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 173.

also the place where the bow should touch the strings, and the weight which each part of the stroke must have”.¹⁰⁴

The semitonal movement, which characterised much of the aria’s slurred material, reminded Bach’s violinist to emphasise these gestural shapes. Quantz instructed that when “semitones are intermingled in the air, the notes raised by sharp or natural signs must be heard a little more strongly than the others; on stringed instruments this may be accomplished by a stronger pressure of the bow on the strings”.¹⁰⁵ In other words, multiple notational parameters worked simultaneously to indicate to a violinist habituated in Bach’s notation to conjure a soundworld of depth. Sharps were not only an indication of pitch or harmony—a place to put your fingers, so to speak—but also gestured towards a tactile approach coordinated between the wood of a bow and the instrument’s strings. The “viscosity and density” that Rathey argues is represented by Bach’s figurations might therefore be found elsewhere, too. Bach’s musical notation engaged the embodied touch of his violinist to create a specific colour or soundworld.

This embodiment of density was distributed through different performing components of a violinist’s body. The key of B minor had significant implications for how Bach’s violinist fingered the melodic material. The configuration of finger patterns was largely defined by his execution of the A-sharps (bb. 3, 4, 15, 18, 20). In the instances of the lower octave on the G string, the A-sharp would have been played with a raised first finger (as opposed to a lowered finger on “B-flat”), while the higher A-sharp would have been played with a lowered first finger on the A string (“lowered” because the hand would have stayed in first position and not moved into half position) or with an extended fourth finger on the D string (again, with the hand in an “opened” first position) depending on the direction of the melodic movement. In other words, the left hand of Bach’s violinist was configured in a way in which the first finger often “slid” against the gut string. The chromatic movement from A-sharp to B (bb. 3, 101), E to D sharp (bb. 20–21, 68–69), and E-sharp to F-sharp (bb. 47, 63) heightened these sensations. The semitonal movement was likely to have been manoeuvred with the same finger (the first finger for both notes) as opposed to adjacent fingers (the first and second fingers).

¹⁰⁴ “Nicht allein die richtige Eintheilung der Bogenstriche; nichth allein das zu rechter Zeit zu brauchende starke oder schwache Ausdrücken des Bogens auf die Seyten; sondern auch der Ort an welchem die Seyten damit berührt werden müssen, und was ein jeder Theil des Bogens für Kraft habe, ist denenjenigen zu wissen nöthig, die den Bogen recht führen, und damit gute Wirkungen hervorbringen wollen.” Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 202. Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 232–233.

¹⁰⁵ “Wenn im langsamen Zeitmaße kleine halbe Töne unter den Gesang vermischt sind ... so müssen diejenigen, so durch ein Kreuz oder Wiederherstellungs-Zeichen erhöht sind, etwas stärker als die übrigen gehöret werden; welches durch stärkeres Aufdrücken des Bogens, bey Seyteninstrumenten, bey dem Singen und den Blasinstrumenten aber, durch Verstärkung des Windes bewerkstelliget werden kann.” Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 195. Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 225.

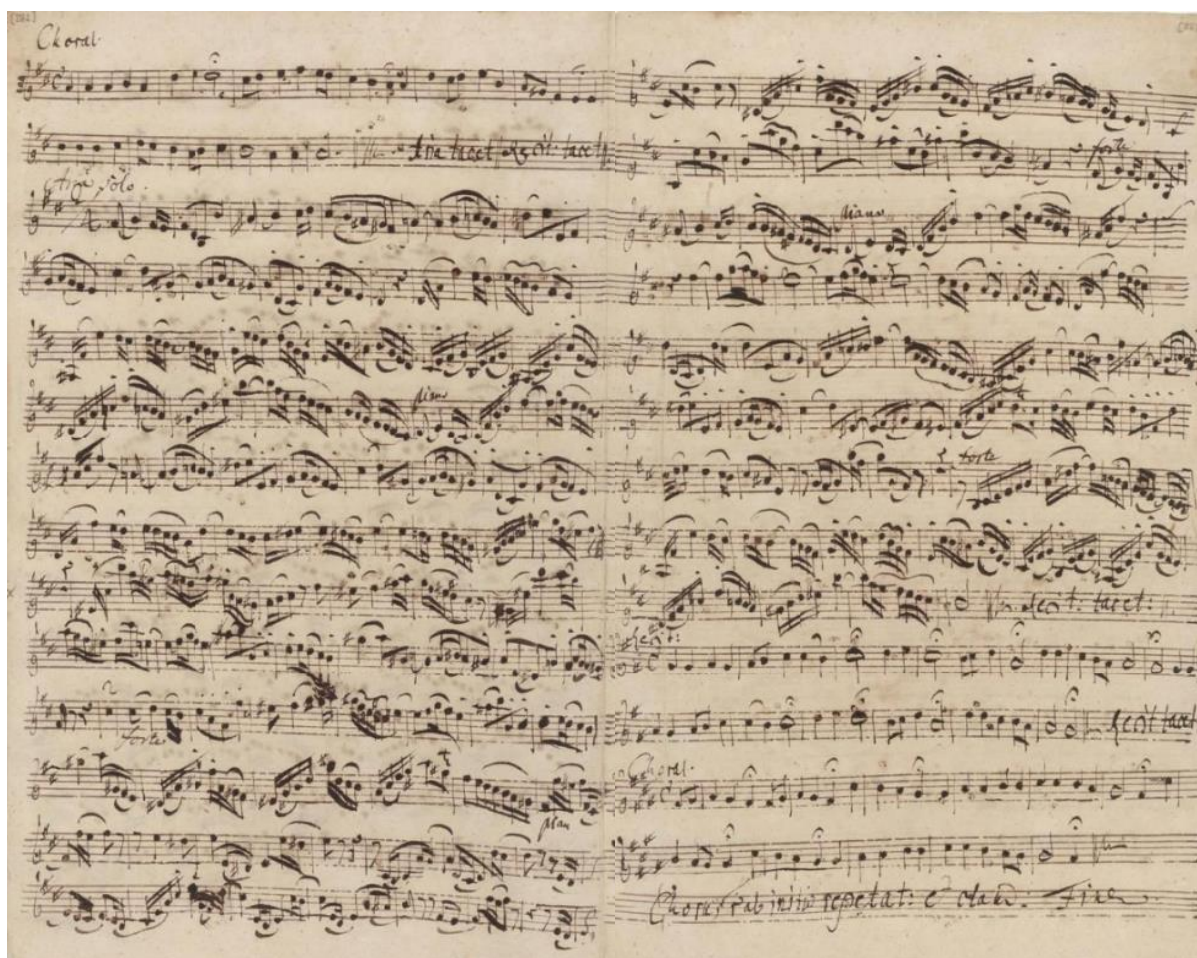


Figure 2.22: Johann Sebastian Bach, “Schließe, mein Herze”, *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248iii, Violine I part. Scribe: Rudolf Straube. D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 112 III, Faszikel 1 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

The melodic figures in Bach’s writing, in particular the rising chromatic appoggiatura, thus created the same mode of tactile contact in both left first finger against the string as well as right hand and bow against the string. Mozart’s instruction that “only the finger with which the appoggiatura is made is to be lifted, while the bow is allowed to move smoothly on its way” is therefore particularly striking in this scenario of B minor: neither finger nor bow lifted from the string in the slurred rising appoggiatura from A-sharp to B. Both maintained an impression against the string. In short, Bach’s musical notation was embodied by his violinist as an embeddedness of touch.

These sensations of finger sliding against gut string were perhaps not only personally experienced by Bach’s violinist, but also audible to congregants as a kind of tactile embeddedness. At three points of the violin part (Figures 2.23a–c), Bach drew a wiggly slur to join a descending scale.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ John Butt is one scholar to have explored the meanings of Bach’s “curious wavy line”. See John Butt, *Bach Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 84.

31. Aria

Violino solo

Alto

Continuo (2*)
Organo (*bez.*)

8

16

22

piano

Schlie - ße, mein Her - ze, dies se - li - ge Wun - der

piano

Example 2.7: Opening phrase. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Schließe, mein Herze”, *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248iii, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie II, Band 6, eds. Walter Blankenburg and Alfred Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1960), 109–142 (137), bb. 1–28.



(Clockwise from top left) Figures 2.23a–c: Wiggly slurs. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Schließe, mein Herze”, *Christmas Oratorio*, BWV 248iii, Violine I part, bb. 13–14; bb. 43–45; bb. 63–65. Scribe: Rudolf Straube. D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 112 III, Faszikel 1 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

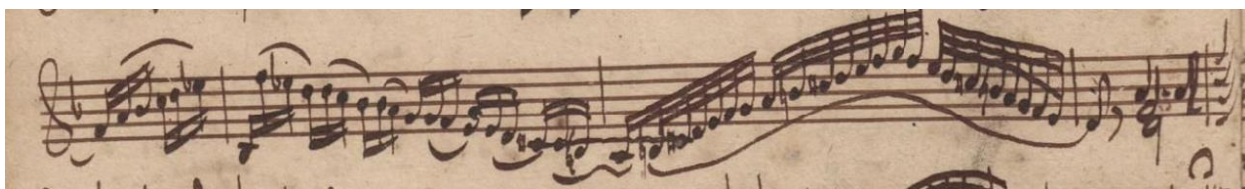


Figure 2.24a: Long wiggly slur. Johann Sebastian Bach, *Ciaccona*, Partita in D minor, BWV 1004, bb. 246–248.

Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 967– Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

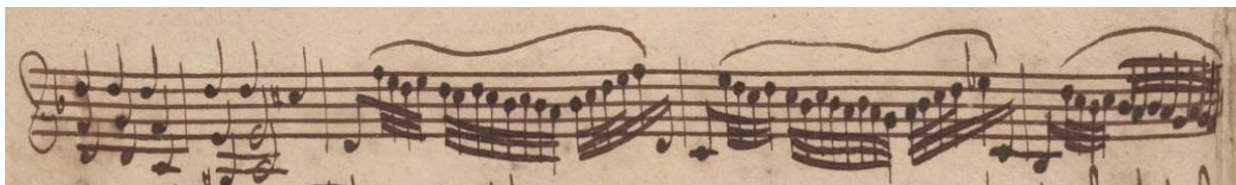


Figure 2.24b: Sequential wiggly slurs. Johann Sebastian Bach, *Ciaccona*, Partita in D minor, BWV 1004, bb.

118–122. Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 967 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.



Figure 2.25a: Wiggly slur in small amount of space. Johann Sebastian Bach, *Adagio*, Sonata in G minor, BWV

1001, bb. 6–10. Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 967 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.



Figure 2.25b: Wiggly slur drawn in ample space. Johann Sebastian Bach, *Adagio*, Sonata in G minor, BWV

1001, bb. 8–11. Scribe: Anna Magdalena Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 268 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

It is likely that Bach's wiggly slurs in bars 14 and 64 were corrections: a joining together of two couplet slurs. This nonetheless does not prevent the new notation from possessing some kind of additional performative instruction. Bach also used a wiggly slur in his music for solo violin. It was a rare marking and represented a clear notational alternative to slurs of an unwiggly contour. They occurred at moments of sudden outpour, such as in bar 247 of the "Ciaccona" from Bach's *Partita in D minor*, BWV 1004 (Figure 2.24a). Significantly, the wiggly slur was a marking that was not solely guided by pragmatism of page space. In bar 10 of Bach's manuscript of the "Adagio" from the *Sonata in G minor*, BWV 1001 (Figure 2.25a), the wiggly slur would at first seem to indicate his avoidance of the A with two ledger lines in the system above (b. 8). The copy by Anna Magdalena Bach (Figure 2.25b), however, has ample room between the staves. She nonetheless copied Bach's wiggly slur. Such instances of this beguiling notation would suggest that these markings conveyed to Bach's string players more information than simply how many notes should be slurred. They seem to have evoked a gestural way of playing the music that was perhaps manifested through stress, rubato, or flow. In a performance of "Schließe, mein Herze", then, the wiggly slurs seem to have notated a way in which the sensations of embeddedness might be translated to other parameters as to be particularly audible or evocatively felt by listeners. These sounds of density, contact, stress, and impression afforded Lutherans participating in acts of agricultural listening the feelings of music cultivating their hearts.

In my exploration of music and the metaphor of farming in Lutheran Germany, I have emphasised music's role in the deep planting of the Word-seed. By doing so, I have inadvertently reproduced a mode of interpretation from traditional Bach studies: the prioritisation of text and the idea that music served theology. Yet while there is undeniably a veneration of the Word in Lutheran doctrine, the agential materiality of music – a gift from God that rushed through the passageways of bodies, moved thick liquids, and cultivated flesh – seems to complicate this narrative. Early modern commentators recognised this messiness, too. When discussing the combination of a church hymn tune with the text of a drinking song, Raupach alluded to Jesus' "Parable of the Weeds", the prescribed reading on the Fifth Sunday after Epiphany discussed above. "The devil can also to a certain extent endure a piece of music that is in itself pleasant", Raupach wrote, "as long as, like wheat, it is thoroughly mixed up with the tares of misuse".¹⁰⁷ For Raupach, a musical composition was more akin to a field containing both wheat and weeds. Composers, in their collaborative acts with librettists, were placed in the role of sower, and the ears of listeners were reconfigured as the agriculture tools used to separate come the harvest. The hybrid and shifting nature of the farming metaphor frays the edges of any fixed interpretative readings of Bach's music. By analysing music in a way that participates in the mellifluousness and multiplicity of the farming metaphor, we begin to see how for Bach's listeners,

¹⁰⁷ "Der Teufel kan auch gewisser massen eine an sich wolkingende Music vertragen, so fern sie, wie der Weitzen, mit dem Unkraut des Mißbrauchs starck vermischet ist." Raupach, *Veritophili*, 54–55. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, 51.

music took on a life of its own. It could spring up like grass in meadows, tumble out of cornucopias, and penetrate rocky, thorny hearts. Music, like seed, contained the potential for life itself.

Chapter 3: Wind

Wind brings together and blows apart, it flows onward and changes direction; in a word, wind is dynamic, capricious, unpredictable. And due to this unpredictability, it embodies an exceptional hermeneutics of association, freedom and the unexpected. But is an iconology of such quintessential capriciousness at all imaginable? Is it in any way possible to capture pictorially a natural phenomenon that surrounds and pervades us, that penetrates into and escapes from our own bodies?¹

Barbara Baert, *Wild is the Wind*

In her essay “Wild is the Wind”, the art historian Barbara Baert imagines what an iconology of “quintessential capriciousness” might be. As the wind is invisible, detected “merely indirectly, by the movement of things”, it is represented in the visual medium as effects as well as affects. Baert identifies wind in paintings through things that “exist by the grace” of the wind: swaying trees, rippling water, fluttering textiles.² This method would likely have been endorsed by the German physician Friedrich Hoffmann, who in 1716 described the wind through its effects, as when the “strongest trees are torn from the earth with their roots, and houses that are not properly protected are thrown to the ground, and the strongest waves are stirred up in the sea”.³ The poet Georg Philipp Harsdörffer also emphasised the status of the wind as perceptible destruction: it “tears down walls, breaks down towers, uproots trees, shatters buildings”.⁴ Bach set similar sentiments in his cantata *Zerreiet, zersprenget, zertrmmert die Gruft*, BWV 205, first performed on 3 August 1725. Aeolus, a role sung by a bass, raises a chorus of winds to wreak havoc:

¹ Barbara Baert, “Wild is the Wind. *Pathosformel* and Iconology of a Quintessence”, *Antwerp Royal Museum Annual* (2010), 9–47 (11).

² Baert, “Wild is the Wind”, 15.

³ “Es ist auch gantz handgreifflich, da der Wind eine Bewegung der Luft seyn msse, indem dieselbige manchmal so hefftig gehet, da davon die strksten Bume aus der Erden mit ihren Wurtzeln logerissen, auch wohl Huser, die nicht recht verwahret sind, zu Boden gestrztet, und im Meer die hefftigsten Wellen erregt werden.” Friedrich Hoffmann, *Grndliche Anweisung Wie ein Mensch Seine Gesundheit erhalten, und vor allerhand Kranckheiten, Durch ordentliche Lebens-Art, sich verwahren knne*, Vol. 2 (Halle: Renger, 1716), 470–471.

⁴ “Im Gegenstand reisset er auch wol die Mauren nieder, zerbrichet die Thrne, zerstucket die Baumen, zerschttet die Gebue...” Georg Philipp Harsdrffer, *Poetischer Trichter* (Nrnberg: Endter, 1650), 489.

Ich geb euch Macht,	I give you power
Die Zedern umzuschmeißen	To knock down the cedars
Und Bergegipfel aufzureißen.	And tear open the mountain peaks.
Ich geb euch Macht,	I give you power
Die ungestümen Meeresfluten	To raise the tumultuous waves of the sea
Durch euren Nachdruck zu erhöh[n] [...]	Through your force [...]
Wie will ich lustig lachen,	How merrily I will laugh
Wenn alles durcheinandergeht!	When all is thrown into confusion!
Wenn selbst der Fels nicht sicher steht...	When even rock does not stay secure...

Identifying the wind as a violent force in relation to visible and tangible things formed a common trope in early eighteenth-century Germany.

The paintings studied by Baert depict wind and gesture to its effects. Music, however, was thought to be made of wind's essence. Where, then, in a Bach cantata could wind be found? In this chapter, I explore early modern Lutheran listening as an experience of the wind. In bringing together various historical materials, I demonstrate that early modern Lutherans did not make neat or absolute distinctions between wind, the Holy Spirit, and music. Whilst such experiences of wind, Holy Spirit, and music were not fully interchangeable, they were overlapping and mutually explanatory.

The wind shaped musical life. From cleansing the environment to regulating the economy, the wind influenced the practicalities of music making as well as the nature and frequency of musical performances. Wind made listeners astute to their very status *as listeners*: it affected the hearing, as well as announced its presence through sound. As different winds were distinguished by how they sounded, the winds also set listeners apart from one another: detecting a spiritual wind required a spiritual kind of listening. Similar to the liquid pouring in Chapter 1 or the scattering of seed in Chapter 2, here I reconstruct a relationship between God and believers that was conceived as different kinds of wind. Loud church organs swooshed, bellowed and boomed, while song and sighs of prayer drifted heavenwards.⁵ These vaporous sonic utterances were reciprocated by the grace-delivering gusts of the Holy Spirit. Wind permeated acts of devotion, and a cantata performance was enmeshed in God-directed gales. Inspired by Truman Capote, whose *The Grass Harp* describes the wind as a gathering of "all our voices", I have suffused this chapter with quotation.⁶ Johann Sebastian Bach is, of course, another voice

⁵ German Lutherans did not use incense. For the Lutheran musical tradition of *Seufftzer*, see Thomas Marks, *Sighs of the German People: An Emotional History of Musical Sigh-Compositions during the Thirty Years War (1618–1648)*, Ph.D dissertation, The Graduate Center, City University of New York (2019).

⁶ "The wind is us—it gathers and remembers all our voices, then sends them talking and telling through the leaves and the fields—I've heard Papa as clear as day." Truman Capote, *The Grass Harp* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 21.

in this windy mix. My analysis of the introductory Sonata to *Himmelskönig, sei willkommen*, BWV 182, explores how Bach's cantata afforded congregants an experience of the Holy Spirit moving through the church's space and entering their bodies as a kind of wind.

Moving air

According to the Roman Jesuit Athanasius Kircher, whose *Musurgia universalis* was partially translated into German in 1662, music was "harmonious air" (*der harmonische Luft*).⁷ But to unleash this sonic capacity, this air had to be in motion:

For if there were no motion in this visible world, there would be no collision of bodies, no movement of the air, absolutely no sound or noise. Everything would be immobile and condemned to remain in an eternal, entirely unnatural silence.⁸

The Lutheran theologian Caspar Calvör puzzled over the nature of this movement. Was sound a "spirit that lies in the air and sleeps and therefore wakes up when the air is moved by external instruments"? Or was it a touching of the "naturally inbred air in the ear, which awakens the auditory instruments when they are moved by the external air"?⁹ For the Lutheran theologian Theophil Großgebauer, whose treatises were widely cited in Bach's time, all sound "moves people internally [...] because the spirits

⁷ Athanasius Kircher, *Philosophischer Extract und Auszug, aus ... Musurgia Universali*, trans. and ed. Andreas Hirsch (Schwäbisch Hall: Laidig, 1662), 196.

⁸ "dann wann gantz keine Bewegung wäre in diser sichtbaren Welt, so wäre auch gantz keine Zusammenstossung der Leiber, wäre gantz keine Bewegung deß Lufts, gantz kein sonus noch schall, wäre alles unbeweglich, alles müste mit einem ewigen, der Natur gantz widrigen Stillschweigen versitzen und verdammet seyn". Kircher, *Musurgia Universali*, 1. Bettina Varwig, "Early Modern Voices", *The Oxford Handbook of Timbre*, eds. Emily I. Dolan and Alexander Rehding (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 249–267 (251).

⁹ "Nein, sage mit doch, was ist den der Sonus oder Schall, der hier gleichsam aus dem Tode lebendig wird, für ein Ding? Ist es etwas ein Geist, der da in der Lufft liegt und schläfft, und dahero, wenn die Lufft durch die äusserliche Instrumenta bewegt und beunruhiget wird, aufwachet, und auf das, was der Musicant ihn gleichsam durch die Rührung seiner Stimme oder Instruments fraget, antwortet? Oder ists ewa, wie kurz zuvor erwehnet, eine blossse Touchir-Berühr- und Pulsirung des Nervi acustici, oder auch der von der Natur eingeschaftenen Ohrlufft, welche Instrumenta Auditoria, wann Sie von der außwendigen Lufft gerühret ...?" Caspar Calvör, "Vorrede," in Christoph Albert Sinn, *Musicalische Temperatura Practica* (Wernigerode: Struck, 1717), unpaginated. Bettina Varwig, *Music in the Flesh: An Early Modern Musical Physiology* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, forthcoming).

that work within the heart bring the trembling and bouncing air into the breast”.¹⁰ Writing in 1747, Johann Mattheson grounded his explanation of the impact of sound in felt experience: “heavily occupied opera stages shake and quake somewhat from the intense movement of the vibrating air that is stirred up by the music”.¹¹ Whether music was moving air or something that stirred the air into motion, these interpretations reveal how listening to music in early modern Germany was understood and felt as material experiences of moving air.

Wind in early modern Germany was defined in an almost identical fashion. In a sermon from 1690, the Lutheran pastor Johann Feinler wrote that the “wind is nothing other than *aër Fluens* or *aëris fluxus*, a movement of the air”.¹² Johann Heinrich Zedler’s *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste* – the largest German encyclopaedia of the eighteenth century, prepared in Leipzig during the last two decades of Bach’s life – summarised this simplicity: the wind is “nothing other than a sensitive movement of the air [...] one can also say more succinctly: the wind is a moving air”.¹³ Writing in 1716, Hoffmann similarly commented that as the wind was “nothing other than a noticeable movement and passage of the air”, it was possible to “generate a wind yourself” such as with a hand-held fan or bellows.¹⁴

Exhalation was an even more obvious way in which wind was brought into being by the body. In the opening of *Orbis Sensualium Pictus*, a picture textbook by the Czech educator John Amos Comenius first published in Nuremberg in 1657, children were taught to mimic the blowing of the wind, “der Wind wehet”, to produce the sound of the letter “f”. The breath from their own mouths, “der Mund

¹⁰ “Das Gethöne oder der Schall bewaget innerlich den Menschen ... Daher, daß die Lebens-Geisterlein, so im Herten arbeiten, die zitternde und hüpfende Luft in die Brust führen...” Theophil Grossgebauer, *Drey Geistreiche Schrifften* (Frankfurt und Leipzig: Bild, 1667), 192–193. Varwig, “Early Modern Voices”, 258.

¹¹ “Wie es denn auch ferner was sehr natürliches und gar nichts wunderbares ist, daß stark besetzte Singe-Bühnen, von heftiger Bewegung, der durch den Klang erregten zitternden Luft, durch gewirbelte Pauken-Schläge, tiefe Bässe x. einigermaßen beben und erschüttern.” Johann Mattheson, *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* (Hamburg: Herold, 1747), 110. Joyce Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven in Lutheran Church Music Tradition: Johann Mattheson and Christoph Raupach on Music in Time and Eternity* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2015), 121.

¹² “So ist der Wind nichts anders als *aër Fluens* oder *aëris fluxus*, eine Bewegung der Luft”. Johann Feinler, *Gottes Wind-Posaune* (Jena: Brandes, 1690), 13–14.

¹³ “Wind ... ist nichts anders, als eine empfindliche Bewegung der Luft, oder ein ungestumer Stoß [...] Nach der erstern Erklärung kan man auch kürztzer sagen: Der Wind ist eine bewegete Luft.” Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Großes vollständiges Universal-Lexicon Aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, 68 vols., Bd. 57, S. 311 (Halle and Leipzig: Zedler, 1732–54), 596.

¹⁴ “DAß der Wind nichts anders, als eine merckliche Bewegung und Fortgang der Luft sey; lässet sich daher genungsam erkennen, weil man nach seinem Gefallen jederzeit selbst einen Wind erregen kan, wenn man einen Blasebalg oder Sonnen-Fächer zur Hand hat.” Hoffmann, *Gründliche Anweisung Wie ein Mensch Seine Gesundheit erhalten*, 470.

hauchet”, produced an “h” (Figure 3.1). From their earliest experiences of making sound, early modern Germans learned to move the air by embodying the wind.

But what of moving air was wind, and what of moving air was music: were the two distinguished? For the Lübeck cantor Caspar Ruetz, there was seemingly little difference:

Should the great God, who previously revealed Himself to the prophets in a gentle swooshing, who, accompanied by a mighty wind on the day of Pentecost, equipped the messengers of the Saviour with extraordinary gifts [...] should this same God, I say, not be able to effect air that is moved by a pleasant and devotional music [...]?¹⁵

Moving air, as both music and wind, was therefore anything but a neutral materiality. A spiritually impregnated wind, such as that which blew on Pentecost, produced a specific kind of sound. Similarly, devotional music was air in a specific type of motion that could also be divinely impregnated.

A shared vocabulary attests to the blurring of wind and music in early modern Germany. Großgebauer described noisy church music made by organists, cantors, brass players, and other



Figure 3.1: Practising the alphabet. John Amos Comenius, *Die sichtbare Welt* (Noribergae: Endteri, 1698), frontmatter.

¹⁵ “Solte der grosse GOtt, der ehedessen sich dem Propheten in einem sanften Sausen geoffenbaret, der in Begleitung eines gewaltigen Windes am Pfingst-Tage die Bothen des Heylandes mit ausserordentlichen Amtsgaben ausgerüstet, der das gemeine Wasser zum Bade der Wiedergeburch seegnet, solte derselbige GOtt, sage ich, auch nicht die von einer angenehmen und andächtigen Music bewegte Luft, die gleichfals nach den Begriffen der Naturkündiger in einem seinen flüßigen Wesen bestehet, würcken, und einen Seegen damit verknüpfen können?” Caspar Ruetz, *Widerlegte Vorurtheile von der Wirkung der Kirchenmusic* (Rostock und Wismar: Berger und Boedner, 1753), 71.

musicians as a “swishing, bellowing and booming (*sausen, thönen und brausen*), but you do not know what it means”.¹⁶ Organ music, according to Großgebauer, was a confusing “roaring and sounding” (*Sausen und Gethön*).¹⁷ Christian Gerber in his *Historie der Kirchen Ceremonien in Sachsen* (1732) similarly complained that big church organs created such a “loud sounding and roaring” (*starck Gethöne und Brausen*) that a listener sometimes wished they were deaf.¹⁸ But for Ruetz writing in 1753, these were the properties of a good church instrument: an organ “must be strong enough to outshout the entire congregation and maintain it in the correct key”.¹⁹ An organ was supposed to be able to overwhelm its listeners. Congregants were confronted with such volume and power that they had no choice but to submit to church music. Bending like a branch in the breeze, Lutheran listeners surrendered to the windy gusts of an organ.

The mechanics of organ playing cemented these correspondences. An organ required air to be blown through it to produce sound. In his report on the Johann Scheibe Organ of St Paul’s Church in Leipzig dated 17 December 1717, Bach made the following observations:

The usual principal parts of an organ—namely, the wind chests (*Windladen*), bellows, pipes, roller boards, and other items—are well and carefully made, and there is nothing further to be said about them except that the wind (*der Wind*) must be made equal throughout, to forestall occasional sudden blasts of wind (*Windstoßen*). The roller boards should, indeed, be enclosed in frames, so as to avoid any howling in bad weather [...] the window, i.e., that part of it which extends behind the organ, should be shielded on the inside by a little wall, or by a heavy piece of sheet iron, to avoid further threatened damage from the weather.²⁰

¹⁶ “Das sausen, thönen und brausen hörest du; weist aber nicht, was es ist, ob du dich zum Streitrüsten solst, oder ob du solst abziehen.” Theophil Großgebauer, *Drey Geistreiche Schrifften* (Frankfurt: Wilde, 1682), 208. Bettina Varwig, *Histories of Heinrich Schütz* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 38–40.

¹⁷ “Da sitzt der Organist, spielet unnd zeiger seine Kunst [...] Etliche wolten gerne beten, werden aber durch das Sausen und Gethön so eingenommen und verwirret, daß sie nicht können.” Großgebauer, *Drey Geistreiche Schrifften*, 209.

¹⁸ “Wenn aber auf sehr grosse Orgel-Wercke sehr viel Geld gewendet wird, und die Organisten auf denenselben ein solch starck Gethöne und Brausen in der Kirchen machen, daß man möchte taub werden, und vor dem Klange der Pfeiffen der Gesang wenig oder gar nicht, wie es bisweilen geschiehet, kan verstanden werden, so ist das allerdings ein Mißbrauch der unterbleiben sollte.” Christian Gerber, *Historie der Kirchen Ceremonien in Sachsen* (Dresden und Leipzig: Sauereßig, 1732), 280.

¹⁹ “Eine Organ muß von der Stärcke seyn, daß sie die gantze Gemeine überschreyen und im rechten Ton erhalten kan.” Ruetz, *Widerlegte Vorurtheile von der Wirkung der Kirchenmusic*, 140.

²⁰ “Die gewöhnlichen Hauptpartes einer Orgel, als Windladen, Bälge, Pfeiffen, Wellen-Breter und übrigen Stücke sind mit gutem Fleiße verfertiget, und ist dabey nichts zu erinnern, als daß der Wind durchgehends *oequaler*

Much like the porous skin of the early modern body as described by Christoph Raupach, then, an organ was “full of holes” and could be permeated by the weather.²¹ The early modern anthropomorphisation of the organ reinforced this parallel.²² As musicologist Joyce Irwin has explored, a sermon by the Lutheran pastor Christoph Friedrich Bucher from 1678 drew on a verse from Psalm 150 (“Alles, was Odem hat, lobe den HERRN! Halleluja!”). Bucher allegorised the church organ as a human body: with bellows for lungs, windchest its heart, keys its teeth, and pedals for feet, an organ was configured as a body caught in gusts of praise.²³ David Yearsley notes that in Bach’s time, many organs were divided horizontally just above the organist’s head: below the *Hauptwerk* was the “*Brustwerk* (“division in the breast”), since it nestled in the living, breathing chest of the anthropomorphized instrument”.²⁴ Organs in Lutheran Germany were therefore not only experienced as producing sounds similar to those of the wind—that swooshing and roaring—but also required moving air or wind to animate them into devotional praise.

Sausen und Brausen

The shared vocabulary and material convergences of moving air, wind and sound might suggest a nebulousness that rendered these concepts indistinguishable. Yet an astute Lutheran would have striven to distinguish different aerated combinations. Different winds harboured different moral implications, and these could be detected by believers through how a wind sounded. In his meditation on the wind, the Lutheran writer Christian Sriver noted how “it is either completely quiet, or rushes and roars so

gemacht werden muß, damit dem etwanigen Windstoßen abgeholfen werden möge, die Wellen Breter solten zwar in Rahmen gefaßet seyn, um alles Geheule bey schlimmen Witterungen zu vermeiden [...] Nun kan schließlichen nicht ohnerinnert laßen, daß 1.) das Fenster, so weit es nehmlich hinter der Orgel in die Höhe steigt vermittelt einer kleinen Mauer, oder eines starck eisernen Bleches von inwendig verwahret, und dadurch der noch mehr zu besorgende Wetter-Schade verhütet werden möchte.” *Bach-Dokumente*, Vol. 1, ed. Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig and Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963), 164–165. NBR, 84–85.

²¹ “Der Klang der Music [...] Er durchdringet auch die festen Körper, aber vielmehr unsere menschliche Körper, als welche sehr lockericht und voll von Poris sind”. Christoph Raupach, *Veritophili Deutliche Beweis-Gründe* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1717), 19.

²² See Lucinde Braun, “Die Orgelpredigt: Überlegungen zu einer Gattung zwischen Musik und Theologie”, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 71 (2014), 247–281.

²³ Christoph Friedrich Bucher, *Gott und Gnug* (Meissen: Günther, 1681), 12–15. See Joyce Irwin, “Preaching About Pipes and Praise: Lutheran Organ Sermons of the Seventeenth Century”, *Yale Journal of Music and Religion* 1/2 (2015), 21–34 (27–28).

²⁴ David Yearsley, *Bach’s Feet: The Organ Pedals in European Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 72.

that we recognise it with shock and horror”.²⁵ It could be sonically subtle, too. In theological contexts, *Brausen* and *Sausen* indicated a spiritually impregnated wind. For the mystical theologian Christian Hoburg, *Sausen* signalled the presence and work of the Holy Spirit:

The wind is recognised by swooshing; when you hear it, one can say that it is a wind: Thus, dear soul, this wind [the Holy Spirit] is also recognised by swooshing. Oh soul, how often do you hear it swooshing in you! How often it swooshes so strongly in you! [...] So this wind swooshes so that the soul, which hears and feels this, is thereby enlivened and refreshed. O heavenly wind, swoosh within me so that I hear it within and feel it in my hearing...²⁶

For the Lutheran pastor Benedictus Teupitz, these sounds heralded the entrance of the Holy Spirit at important moments in Christian history. At Pentecost, the wind arrived with “great swooshing and roaring” (*mit grossen sausen und brausen*). These sounds prepared Lutherans for the Lord’s Day which “will also come with a great swooshing and roaring”.²⁷ Feinler made this roaring explicitly musical. He reconfigured the “great voice” of Revelation 1:10 (“Ich war im Geist an des HERRN Tag und hörte hinter mir eine große Stimme wie einer Posaune”) as a “wind-trumpet” (*Wind-Posaune*).²⁸ God performs on this instrument, according to the full title of Feinler’s text, to blow out (*ausbläset*) wisdom and grace across creation. In a sermon for Pentecost, the Lutheran pastor Friedrich Fischer argued that just as one is able to “feel the presence of the wind through its swooshing, turning and blowing (*sausen, drehen und wehen*), works and effects”, so too the “presence of the heavenly wind, the presence of God through the Holy Spirit can be recognised and noted by its powerful action and movement in the hearts

²⁵ “Der Wind hat seinen grossen Nutzen [...] und entweder gar still ist, oder also sauset und brauset, daß wirs mit Schrecken und Schaden, auch seinethalben Gottes Güte und Ernst erkennen.” Christian Scriver, *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten vier Hundert* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1737), 431.

²⁶ “Am Sausen wird der Wind erkant, wenn man das höret, so kan man sagen, das ist ein Wind: Also liebe Seele, wird dieser Wind auch am Sausen erkant. O Seele, wie oft hörestu sein Sausen in dir! Wie oft sauset er so starck in dir! [...] So sauset dieser Wind, daß die Seele, die dieß höret und empfindet, dadurch lebendig gemacht und erquicket wird. O Himmlischer Wind, sause so in mir, daß ich es inwendig höre, und in dem Hören empfinde”. Christian Hoburg, *Postilla Evangeliorum Mystica* (Nürnberg: Gerhard, 1680), 313–314.

²⁷ “Der Wind pflegt mit grossen sausen und brausen zukommen; Also wird des Herrn Tag mit grossem saussen und brausen angehen.” Benedictus Teupitz, *Wind-Predigt* (Wittenberg: Henckel, 1661), 22–23.

²⁸ Feinler also seems to be drawing on Matthew 24:31: “Und er wird senden seine Engel mit hellen Posaunen, und sie werden sammeln seine Auserwählten von den vier Winden, von einem Ende des Himmels zu dem anderen.” I have translated *Posaune* as “trumpet” even though it is typically thought to mean “trombone”. See Graham Nicholson, “The unnatural trumpet”, *Performing Bach, Early Music* 38/2 (2010), 193–202.

of believers”.²⁹ For these Lutheran thinkers, the wind was a kind of music. Listening involved an awareness of the presence and entrance of the Holy Spirit into a believer’s heart.

These authors were drawing on the vocabulary of scripture. *Sausen* and *Brausen* feature in the readings for Pentecost (Acts 2:1–36) and Trinity Sunday (John 3:1–15), two key passages used by early modern Lutheran theologians to elucidate the relationship between wind and the Holy Spirit:

And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all with one accord in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven (*ein Brausen vom Himmel*) as of a rushing mighty wind, and it filled all the house where they were sitting.

Acts 2:1–2, KJV.³⁰

The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound (*sein Sausen*) thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit.

John 3:8, KJV.³¹

Luther’s exegetical commentaries on these readings, such as in his *Hauß-Postilla* reprinted in Leipzig in 1702, reinforce the spiritual specificity of these terms. On the Pentecostal wind, Luther commented that when the Holy Spirit comes with “its swooshing and roaring (*Sausen und Brausen*), and blows on them, it makes their hearts so joyful”.³² In his exegesis on the account of Jesus teaching Nicodemus in John 3, Luther encouraged Christians to abandon reason and submit to the sound of the roaring wind. Much like the congregants in churches with loud organs, then, they were to surrender to *Brausen*:

Therefore, as I have told you, you will not be able to grasp or learn anything about this spiritual birth, therefore you put away your old head and your five senses, and simply believe the Word

²⁹ “Gleich wie wir aber gleichwol des Windes gegenwart empfinden, durch sein sausen, drehen und wehen, Wercke und wirckunge: Also kan auch des himlischen Windes, Gottes des heiligen Geistes *praesentz* erkand und vermercket werden, an seiner krefftigen wirckung und bewegung in den Hertzen der Gleubigen, und an andern Wercken, die er bey den Creaturen verrichtet.” Friedrich Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten* (Leipzig: Schürer, 1617), 135.

³⁰ “Und als der Tag der Pfingsten erfüllt war, waren sie alle einmütig beieinander. Und es geschah schnell ein Brausen vom Himmel wie eines gewaltigen Windes und erfüllte das ganze Haus, da sie saßen.” Apostelgeschichte 2:1–2, Luther 1545.

³¹ “Der Wind bläst, wo er will, und du hörst sein Sausen wohl; aber du weißt nicht, woher er kommt und wohin er fährt. Also ist ein jeglicher, der aus dem Geist geboren ist.” Johannes 3:8, Luther 1545.

³² “Aber heut zu Tag, da der Heil. Geist kömmt mit seinem Sausen und Brausen, und wehet sie an, macht er ihnen das Hertz so freudig”. Martin Luther, *Hauß-Postilla, über alle Sonntags- und fürnehmsten Fest-Evangelien durchs ganze Jahr, Sommer Theil* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1702), 95.

that I preach to you. But I want to tell you truly what the Holy Spirit's breath and roar is, just listen to me. If the Holy Spirit rightly roars, so he roars [...] That is the true roar of the Holy Spirit. When you hear this roaring Nicodemus, says Christ, and believe the Word, the Holy Spirit will come and make a new person of you, torn from death and hell, into God's kingdom and eternal life, born as a new-born Child of God.³³

One might even imagine the homiletic delivery of Luther's onomatopoeic repetition to have created a kind of wind felt by congregants.³⁴ The plosive (*Br-*) and aspirated (*H-*) repetition, as well as the diphthonged assonance (*-au*), exaggerated the different sounds of air flow. Just as Comenius's young readers sought to emulate the wind while practising their fricatives, the rhetoric of Luther's sermon made different types of windiness audible.

In the context of the present discussion, could Bach's changes to the libretto of his cantata *Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn*, BWV 92 have been theologically oriented? In the bass aria of the cantata, Bach repeatedly changed "Das *Stürmen* von den rauhen Winden" to "Das *Brausen* von den rauhen Winden" in the bass singer's original performing part (Figure 3.2).³⁵ By altering the libretto, Bach distanced the winds from the noise of Satan's raging storms (*rasen*, *krachen*) described in the tenor aria, and instead aligned them with the breeze of the Holy Spirit. This theological interpretation of Bach's alterations is reinforced by the libretto of the following movement, which draws upon the tenth verse of Paul Gerhardt's 1647 hymn, "Ei nun, mein Gott, so fall ich dir / Getrost in deine Hände." The reference to God's hands, which Lutheran theologians such as Scriver clarified meant the Holy Spirit, continued or intensified the wind's touch.³⁶ This connection is made explicit by a quatrain and engraving

³³ "Darum wie ich dir gesagt habe, wirstu von dieser geistlichen Geburt nichts fassen noch lernen können, du thust denn deinen alten Kopff und deine fünff Sinne weg, unn gläubest stracks dem Wort, das ich dir predige. Ich will dir aber recht sagen, was des H. Geists Hauchen und Brausen ist, höre mir nur zu. Wenn der H. Geist recht brauset, so brauset er also [...] Das ist das rechte Brausen des H. Geistes. Wenn du Nicodeme, spricht Christus, nu solch Brausen hörst, und dem Wort gläubest, so kömmt der heilige Geist, und macht einen neuen Menschen aus dir, der aus dem Tod und Hölle gerissen, zu GOTTes Reich und ewigem Leben, als ein neu gebohren GOTTes-Kind, gebohren wird." Luther, *Hauß-Postilla ... Sommer Theil*, 133.

³⁴ For the vigorous rhetoric of sermonising, see *Preaching, Sermon and Cultural Change in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joris van Eijnatten (Leiden: Brill, 2009) and *Preachers and People in the Reformations and Early Modern Period*, ed. Larissa Taylor (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

³⁵ The conductor Masaaki Suzuki suggests that Bach made these changes to "avoid a long coloratura passage on the vowel 'ü'". Masaaki Suzuki, "Production notes", *Johann Sebastian Bach: Cantatas 33, Leipzig 1725*, BIS-SACD-1541 (2006), 8–9 (9).

³⁶ In one such passage, Scriver compares scripture to a well-tuned lute and describes God's finger, the Holy Spirit, to stir the Bible's pages into melodious agreement: "Dencket aber hierbey, was vor Lebens-Krafft in dem Worte

by Melchior Haffner (Figure 3.3). Haffner's image, which features in Heinrich Müller's *Göttliches Liebes=Flamme*, a copy of which Bach owned, depicts a heavenly hand lifting a Christian out of darkness ("Kompt auß der Finsternus zum Liecht"). The hand is part of windy deliverance: four winds blow the Christian towards grace ("Kompt alle her zu Gnaden") and call him to come ("Venite"). Each wind has a trumpet. Much like Feinler's *Wind-Posaune* discussed above, then, Haffner's winds guided the Christian in an aerated mixture of wind, voice, and music.

Hearing and feeling the wind

The intermingling discourses of wind, music and the Holy Spirit in Lutheran Germany establish the potential for Bach's listeners to have experienced a cantata as an experience of the Holy Spirit entering their bodies. Aside from its roaring and swooshing, the wind was an important factor in musical listening. Kircher described how, as a general rule, a dry wind (whether cold or warm) is "always more comfortable for music making" than a damp wind.³⁷ A 1734 anatomical treatise by Johann Julius Hecker, which in the previous chapter we saw was stamped with the agricultural colophon of the *Hallesches Waisenhaus*, instructed how familiarity with the four cardinal winds could improve one's hearing:

[T]he south winds make hearing difficult and eyes cloudy, weigh down the head and make the whole body sluggish and slow [...] As much as possible, seek to protect yourself from the south wind; especially if you are of a weak physical constitution: for those it harms first and most easily. [...] On the contrary, the north wind [...] maintains a person's fresh and lively colour, strengthens the hearing and refreshes the body in every way...³⁸

Gottes stecket, welches ich billig einer wohlgestimmten Laute vergleiche, weil das Alte mit dem Neuen Testament, und ein iedwedes Buch mit sich selbst und andern so eigentlich einstimmt, ein iedwedes Capitel, ein iedweder Spruch ist eine wohlklingende Saitte, vom Finger Gottes, dem Heiligen Geist, geregt. Wohl dem, der diese Hertzens-Music beliebt, und ihrem kräftigen Schall im Geist vernimmt!" Scriver, *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten vier Hundert*, 124.

³⁷ "Da in anderen Ländern andere klimatische Verhältnisse herrschen, führt er als allgemeine Regel an, dass ein kalter oder warmer trockener Wind (ein kält- und trückener, oder wärm- und trückener Wind) allezeit zur Music bequemer ist als warmer oder kalter feuchter Wind." See Dagmar Glüxam, „*Aus der Seele muß man spielen...*“: *Über die Affekttheorie in der Musik des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts und ihre Auswirkung auf die Interpretation* (Vienna: Hollitzer, 2020), 75.

³⁸ "... die Südwinde machen ein schweres Gehör und trübe Augen, beschweren das Haupt und machen den gantzen Leib träge und langsam. Und in seinem Buch *de humoribus* redet er fast eben also: die Südwinde verursachen dem Gehör allerhand Ungelegenheit, machen trübe und neblichte Augen, ein schweres Haupt, wie auch schwache,



Figure 3.2: “Das ~~Stürmen~~ Brausen...”. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Das Brausen von den rauhen Winden”, *Ich hab in Gottes Herz und Sinn*, BWV 92, Bass part, bb. 1–12. Scribe: Johann Andreas Kuhnau. Corrections by Johann Sebastian Bach. D-LEB Thomana 92 (Depositum im Bach-Archiv) – Bibliothek der Thomasschule, Leipzig.



Figure 3.3: Four winds call “Venite”. Heinrich Müller, *Göttliche Liebes=Flamme* (Frankfurt am Mayn: Wust, 1676), Plate 7.

träge und ermüdete Glieder. Woraus man sich diese Regel nehmen mag: So viel als möglich, suche dich für den Südwind zu bewahren; insonderheit wenn du von einer schwachen Leibes-Constitution bist: denn solchen pflegt er am ersten und leichtesten zu schaden [...] daß der Nordwind die Leiber veste und dauerhaft, dabey auch hurtig und geschickt zur Bewegung mache, einen Menschen bey einer frischen und lebhaften Farbe erhalte, das Gehör stärke und auf alle Weise den leib erquickte”. Johann Julius Hecker, *Betrachtung des menschlichen Körpers* (Halle: Wäysen-Haus, 1734), 531–532.

Knowledge about the wind was advantageous for a Lutheran seeking to position themselves virtuously within acts of devotion.

It is perhaps no coincidence, therefore, that Bach's librettist Picander banished the winds for a musical competition between Phoebus and Pan. For *Geschwinde, Ihr wirbelnden Winde*, BWV 201, a secular cantata thought to be first performed in 1729, Picander drew on a literary model from Greek mythology. In the cantata, the winds are exiled ("Geschwinde, Ihr wirbelnden Winde, Auf einmal zusammen zur Höhle hinein!"). Yet throughout the singing competition, references to the winds are repeatedly made. Pan describes his singing as a kind of wind:

Sobald mein Ton die Luft erfüllt,	As soon as my notes fill the air,
So hüpfen die Berge, so tanzet das Wild,	The hills leap, the wild beast dances,
So müssen sich die Zweige biegen...	The branches must bend...

Pan's branch-bending song, which Hoffmann and Harsdörffer identified above as an effect of the invisible wind, filled the air. In response to Pan's confidence, Momus mockingly calls it a load of hot air: "Patron, das macht der Wind." Without the winds present, Phoebus and Pan were seemingly forced to compete on more neutral ground. Not only was the hearing of listeners kept uniform – not suddenly refreshed by the north wind, for instance – but also the singers had to stir the air into motion of their own accord. By banishing the winds from the outset, Picander set the stage for a musical competition that could be fairly judged.

A strengthened and clarified hearing also benefited a spiritual kind of listening. Hoburg described that "often you cannot hear this powerful and lovely swooshing [of the Holy Spirit] against the whirring and roaring of the world-wind in your heart".³⁹ Worldly desires created a noise that blocked out the music of the Holy Spirit:

Just as one cannot hear or understand any lovely music when one is in turmoil and unrest: so too, O soul, your heart, through your own fault cannot hear this sweet, lovely whisper of the Holy wind of the Spirit at all when it is still full of the world-roar (*Welt-brausen*) [...] But if you want, dear soul, to hear with sensitivity the lovely rustling of this sweet wind (*liebliche Sausen dieses süssen Windes*), and to follow it thereafter, you must turn your heart away from the storm and roar of the world-wind, all the storm winds and roar of all superfluous worldly things, such as clothes, food and drink, building, buying and selling: all this, which is like a

³⁹ "Doch, oft kanstu dieß sein kräftig und lieblich Sausen nicht hören, vor dem Sausen und Brausen des Weltwindes in deinem Hertzen: Dieß Brausen des Weltwindes von Ehr, Geld und Gut, Zimmern, Bawen, Kauffen, und Verkauffen, das brauset oft so starck in den Hertz, daß du das liebliche Sausen des süssen Windes des Geistes nicht kanst hören." Hoburg, *Postilla Evangeliorum Mystica*, 313.

strong roar in your heart, must be dampened, otherwise this world-wind will roar so that you will neither hear nor be able to feel the lovely rustling of this wind [of the Holy Spirit].⁴⁰

Listening to the Holy Spirit in this way prepared a believer for the kind of listening afforded by the purity of heavenly air. Citing the authority of the Lutheran theologian Philipp Nicolai, Mattheson described the “new, purer air” (*eine neue, reinere Luft*) in which heavenly Christians would be “purified and cleansed of all poisonous vapours and fogs, of all storms and unhealthy winds”.⁴¹ Listening to the Holy Spirit even provided a foretaste of heavenly music making. According to Mattheson, earthly forms of music making would hide themselves in deference—the “strings of our instruments will break in amazement, no valves will hold air (*Wind*) anymore”.⁴² Celestial music was so wonderful because it sounded through the vibrations of undefiled air.

The air of heaven represented a purity sought by Lutherans on earth. Hecker warned his readers of particles that were harmful to one’s health: “one has to be very careful about the air that brings up all sorts of poisonous fumes from deep, swampy caves: one must likewise avoid places which are close to muddy rivers, stagnant lakes or ponds, which raise a lot of fog, which causes the air to be thick and filled with many foreign particles”.⁴³ Knowledge of the air is necessary, Hecker argued, if “one wants

⁴⁰ “Eben wie man keine liebliche Music kan hören noch verstehen, wenn man im Tumult und Unruhe ist: Also, O Seele, kan dein Hertz, wenn es noch von dem Welt-brausen voll ist [...] Willstu aber, liebe Seele, dieß liebliche Sausen dieses süßen Windes recht empfindlich hören, und dem hernach folgen, mustu dein Hertz von dem Sturm und Brausen des Welt-windes abwenden, alle Sturmwinde und Brausen von allem Überflüssigen Weltwesen, in Kleidern, in Speiß und Tranck, in Bawen, in Kauffen und Verkauffen: dieß alles, das wie ein starckes Brausen in deinem Hertzen ist, mustu dempfen, sonst wird dieser Welt-wind so brausen, daß du dafür das liebliche Sausen dieses Windes nicht wirst hören, noch empfinden können.” Hoburg, *Postilla Evangeliorum Mystica*, 313.

⁴¹ “In jener Luft, schreibt Ph. Nicolai, unter dem materiellen Himmel, werden nirgend mehr böse Geister herrschen: denn es wird die neue Luft gereinigt und gefeget seyn von allen giftigen Dünsten und Nebeln, von allem Ungewitter und ungesunden Winden.” Mattheson, *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik*, 76.

⁴² “Unsere barmhertzigigen Künste werden sich ja wohl verstecken, der besten Sänger und Sängerinnen Mund wird vermuthlich gerne verstummen, alle Sayten unsrer Instrumenten werden für Erstaunen springen, kein *Ventil* wird mehr Wind halten können, und unser 32. Füßiges *Principal* wird, nebst der Posaune, sich alles Ansprechens gerne und willig begeben, wenn unsere Ohren dereinst hören werden, wie GOtt im Himmel will gelobet seyn.” Johann Mattheson, *Beschütze Orchestre* (Hamburg: Schiller, 1717), 478. Irwin, *Foretastes of Heaven*, xxxii.

⁴³ “Man hat Ursache sich sehr in acht zu nehmen für die Luft, welche aus tieffen sumpfigten Höhlen allerhand giftige Dünste heraufführet: imgleichen muß man solche Oerter meiden, welche nahe an schlammigten Flüssen, stehenden Seen oder Teichen liegen, als welche vielen Nebel erwecken, wodurch die Luft dick gemacht und mit vielen fremden Theilgen erfüllet wird.” Hecker, *Betrachtung des menschlichen Körpers*, 533.

to live healthily”.⁴⁴ Feinler similarly recognised that wherever the air is still, it becomes “putrid, stinking and harmful, and could cause plague and other toxic diseases”.⁴⁵ The wind stopped this from happening. Among its many “great benefits”, Scriver listed that the wind “purifies the air”.⁴⁶ According to Fischer, God created the winds so as not to “let the air stink or get foul, but instead make it pure, clean and curative by constantly blowing [...] just as the wind consumes and expels all poisonous air vapours, this is exactly what the Holy Spirit does with a person by driving deadly sin-poison from the soul”.⁴⁷

This cleansing of the body and soul by the Holy Spirit was experienced by early modern Lutherans as a kind of breathability. In his sermon of 1617, Fischer described worldly vices as a “slime of sin” that pressed against hearts “so hard as if to suffocate them”. When the Son of God “weaves his divine wind” through the voice of the Gospel, however, these hearts become unburdened and able to breathe.⁴⁸ Feinler’s prayer similarly asked that the Holy Spirit blow into their hearts:

O true God of life! who through the gentle blowing
Of your worthy spirit, without end and without measure
Breathes into the hearts of your true children
In this mortality [i.e. On this earth], art, truth, and pure faith.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ “DER Luft kann niemand entbehren, indem ohne derselben das natürliche Leben nicht kann erhalten werden. Weil aber dieselbe nicht allenthalben einerley, sondern an einem Orte dicker oder dünner ist als an dem andern: so muß man wissen, wie die Luft beschaffen seyn soll, worinnen man gesund zu leben verlanget.” Hecker, *Betrachtung des menschlichen Körpers*, 528.

⁴⁵ “Reinigen sie mit ihrer Bewegung die Luft, da sie sonst, wo sie stets stille stünde, faul stinckend und schädlich würde, dadurch Pest und andere giftige Kranckheiten erregt werden könnten.” Feinler, *Gottes Wind-Posaune*, 16.

⁴⁶ “Der Wind hat seinen grossen Nutzen, er reiniget die Luft...” Scriver, *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten vier Hundert*, 431.

⁴⁷ “Die ander Wirckung des Windes ist die Krafft zu purgieren. Der Wind pflegt die böse Luft zu saubern und zu reinigen [...] daß Gott unter andern auch darumb die Winde erschaffen [...] Daß sie die Luft nicht liessen stincken oder faul werden, sondern sie durch stetiges wehen, rein, sauber und heilsam macheten. [...] Gleich wie nun der Wind alle giftige Luft Dunste verzehret und abtreibet: Eben also wo der H. Geist bey einem Menschen ist, pfleget er der Seelen tödtliche Sündengift außzutreiben”. Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 139–140.

⁴⁸ “Eine solche gelegenheit hat es auch mit allen sündhafftigen Menschen, denen sich der Sündenschleim gleichsam umbs Hertze legt, und sie so hefftig drücket, als wenn er sie gar ersticken wolte. Wenn nun der Sohn Gottes seinen göttlichen Wind den heiligen Geist von seinem Angesicht webet [sic], durch die liebliche Stimm des tröstlichen Evangelii, so machet er ihm damit gleich Luft zum Hertzen, daß er in solcher Noth und Beschwerung nicht verzwaset noch umbkommt.” Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 147.

⁴⁹ “O wahrer Lebens-Gott! der durch das sanffte Blasen /Des werthen Geistes dein, ohn’ End und ohne Massen, /Ein Hauchest in das Hertz der wahren Kinder dein, /In dieser Sterblichkeit, Kunst, lahr und Glauben rein.” Feinler, *Gottes Wind-Posaune*, 24

The constant blowing of the Holy Spirit, “without end and without measure”, created an unpolluted environment. Fischer contended that frequent visits from the “heavenly wind of grace” (*himmlischen Gnadenwind*) and “penetrating purging breeze” (*durchdringendes Purgierlüfftlein*) helped maintain a state of cleanliness.⁵⁰ Through the analogy of a dove, the figure through which Lutherans believed the Holy Spirit appeared on the Jordan River at the baptism of Christ, Fischer instructed Lutherans to keep their heart clean:

The first quality of a dove is purity [...] It does not feed itself on the rotten, stinking carrion like the nasty ravens and vultures, but it picks the pure, clean grains; it also likes to live in clean places, and cannot stay long where it senses and notices smell and filth [...] The Spirit of the Lord is also a pure Holy Spirit [...] He also likes to live in Christian hearts that have been cleansed and purged by Christ’s blood; but where the hearts are stinking and filthy with sin he does not stay and reside long, but instead withdraws...⁵¹

Lutherans were taught to “cleanse the dovecote of your hearts”.⁵² Given the environmental purity of heavenly air, this expulsion of worldly values and poisonous particles from a believer’s heart can also be understood in musical terms. Cleansing one’s heart made room for the Holy Spirit to fill its space

⁵⁰ “Darumb lasset solch ewer gottloses beginnen fahren, fahet den himmlischen Gnadenwind auff mit begierigen Hertenzen, ruffet ihn an umb sein durchdringendes Purgierlüfftlein, betet fleissig [...] Schaff in mir Gott ein reines Hertz und gib mir einen newen gewissen Geist.” Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 141.

⁵¹ “Die erste Eigenschafft einer Taube, ist Reinigkeit, eine Taube wird für ein reines Thier erkandt von Gott den HErrn selbst im alten Testament, der hats darumb erleubt dem Menschen zu essen, wie dann auch im alten Testament zum Offern zugebrauchen. Sie nehret sich nicht von den faulen stinckenden Aassen, wie die garstigen Raben und Geyer, sondern sie lieset auff die reinen saubern Körnlein, sie wohnet auch gern an saubern örtern, und kan nicht lange tawren, wo sie gestanck unnd unflat wittert und vermercket [...] Eben also ist auch der Geist des Herren ein reiner heiliger Geist, daher er auch in unserm Evangelischen Texte, und anderswo dieser gemeinen zunahmen führet, und desto öffter anders nicht alß der heilige Geist und der Geist der heiligung genennet wird, Sintemal Er seinen Wesen nach ist ohn alle Sünde und unrecht, gantz rein, Gerecht und heilig. Er wohnet auch gerne in gesauberten unnd durch Christi Blut purgirt Christhertenzen, wo man aber mit gestanck und unflat der Sünden umb sich reuchert, da bleibet und hauset er nicht lange, Sondern weicht auß...” Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 114–115.

⁵² “Diese Art des heiligen Geistes mercket ir meine liebe Zuhörer, und reiniget demnach den Taubenschlag ewrer Hertenzen durch den Glauben an Christum, behaltet Christum in ewren hertze...” Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 116.

and “swoosh within”. Freed from the suffocation of sin and filled with the sounds of the Holy Spirit, then, a Lutheran’s heart resembled something closer to the unpolluted soundscape of heaven.

The capacity for wind to cleanse both environment and body had implications for Lutheran musicians. In his 1731 collection, Scriver included a prayer by “L. B. T.” for healthy air (*Gebeth für das Element der gesunden Lufft*):

Merciful GOD! You who fulfill everything and are present in all places [...] Because you are with us everywhere, and nowhere do you leave us alone, protect us also from poisonous plagues, as a result of which people, cattle and fruits are infected and spoiled. And give us pure air so that we can live in good health and give you praise and thanks with a joyful mouth, Amen.⁵³

Just one year earlier, Bach penned a letter using a similar phrase. Writing to his schoolfriend Georg Erdmann on 28 October 1730, Bach complained about the negative economic impact of the wind:

My present post amounts to about 700 thaler, and when there are rather more funerals than usual, the fees rise in proportion; but when a healthy wind (*eine gesunde Lufft*) blows, they fall accordingly, as for example last year, when I lost fees that would ordinarily come in from funerals to an amount of more than 100 thaler.⁵⁴

Without a healthy wind blowing through it, Leipzig experienced more deaths. A healthy wind made for fewer funerals at which Bach and his musicians could make extra income. The wind was thus not only of a similar material nature to music, the rushing and roaring sounds and feelings of which were often conflated. By regulating the environment, the wind also controlled a sonic economy: what was heard, as well as how well it was heard, was governed by the wind.

⁵³ “Barmhertziger GOTT! der du alles erfülltest, und an allen Orten zugegen bist, ach gib, daß uns solche deine Allgegenwart von Sünden abhalte, und auch in Trübsalen uns aufmuntere. Dieweil du allenthalben bey uns bist, und uns nirgends alleine bleiben lässest, bewahre uns auch für giftiger Seuche, dadurch Menschen, Vieh und Früchte angestecket und verderbet werden. Und beschere uns eine reine Lufft, auf daß wir in guter Gesundheit leben und dir mit frölichem Munde Lob und Danck sagen können, Amen.” Christian Scriver, *Einer gläubigen und andächtigen Seelen vermehrtes tägliches Bet-, Buß-, Lob- und Danck-Opffer* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1731), 662.

⁵⁴ “Meine itzige station belaufet sich etwa auf 700 rthl., und wenn es etwas mehrere, als ordinairement, Leichen gibt, so steigen auch nach proportion die accidentia; ist aber eine gesunde Lufft, so fallen hingegen auch solche, wie denn voriges Jahr an ordinairn Leichen accidentia über 100 rthl.” NBR, 152.

Father, Son and Holy Wind

How the wind moved was understood to reveal its nature and purpose. Fischer distinguished between winds that blow through a space or fill it; the latter indicated that the wind was of a spiritual sort:

...we can infer from its effects that this wind was not a natural but a supernatural wind and a sign of the grace-rich presence of the Holy Spirit; because it filled the whole house in which the apostles sat; otherwise the wind's nature is not to fill, but rather to travel through, to empty, to throw down and to overturn.⁵⁵

As we saw above in the Pentecost reading from Acts, the Holy Spirit was a wind that filled the whole house ("Und es geschah schnell ein Brausen vom Himmel wie eines gewaltigen Windes und *erfüllte* das ganze Haus, da sie saßen"). Indeed, using their *Leipziger Gesangbuch* printed in 1706, Bach's congregants called for the Holy Spirit to come and fill their bodies on Pentecost: "Komm heiliger Geist, HErr GOTT, *erfüll* mit deiner gnaden gut deiner gläubigen Hertz, Muth und sinn". Music shared this capacity to fill space. We have already noted how Pan's song filled the air ("Sobald mein Ton die Luft erfüllt"), and Bach's libretti repeatedly referenced this characteristic. In the cantata performed on 8 December 1733, Bach's choir called the drums, trumpets and strings to fill the air ("Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten! / Klingende Saiten, erfüllet die Luft!"). Music, as described by Bach and his librettists, occupied space in a similar way to the Holy Spirit.

This commonality gestures to a central theme in Bach studies. As Renate Steiger, Markus Rathey, Eric Chafe and many others have discussed, the "presence of grace" or *Gnadengegenwart* was understood by eighteenth-century Lutherans as the substantial and real presence of Christ in a believer's heart (as mediated by the Word, sacrament, and music).⁵⁶ Bach used the term when annotating his so-called Calov Bible, writing next to the text of 2 Chronicles 5:13—itself a verse about a vaporous substance most often translated as "fog" (*Nebel*) filling the house of God—that "NB. With a devotional

⁵⁵ "Zum dritten, daß dieser Wind nicht ein natürlicher, sondern ein ubernatürlicher Wind und Zeichen der Gnadenreichen gegenwart des heiligen Geistes gewesen sey, kan man auch schliessen aus seiner Wirkung, weil er das gantze Hauß, darinnen die Apostel gesessen, erfüllet het, da sonsten des Windes Natur nicht ist erfüllen, sondern durchreisen, außleeren, darnieder werffen und umbstürzten." Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 134.

⁵⁶ See Renate Steiger, *Gnadengegenwart: Johann Sebastian Bach im Kontext lutherischer Orthodoxie und Frömmigkeit* (Stuttgart: Frommann-Holzboog, 2002); Markus Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio: Music, Theology, Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016); Eric Chafe, *Tears into Wine: J. S. Bach's Cantata 21 in its Musical and Theological Contexts* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015).

music God is always in his presence of grace.”⁵⁷ Bach believed that music mediated God’s presence: a cantata could be heard and felt by congregants to facilitate a tangible spiritual presence.

At the beginning of this chapter, I posed the question: where in a Bach cantata could wind be found? Providing an answer for this was never going to be as simple as identifying a bending branch in a painting. Yet in light of the material I have presented, perhaps it was not the best question to ask. As Baert describes, wind is a “natural phenomenon that surrounds and pervades us, that penetrates into and escapes from our own bodies”. How could wind be separated from the inhaling and exhaling singers and instrumentalists that brought a cantata into being? From the composer whose pen was steered by the grace-directed blows of the Holy Spirit? From instruments requiring wind to fill their lungs and pipes, chests and hearts? From listeners whose very ability to hear was at the mercy of the wind’s direction? Musicking in Lutheran Germany involved navigating different sorts of wind.

This interconnectedness suggests that music could have been experienced as wind in the sense that music was felt as a spiritually charged movement of air. Bach’s interpretation of *Gnadengegenwart*, as well as the more general theological understanding of music as a gift from God, becomes the basis for a broader claim: *any* sacred cantata possessed the potential to act as a tangible instantiation of the Holy Spirit. In other words, the metaphor of wind becomes meaningful not only in relation to specific cantatas performed at specific points of the liturgical year, such as Pentecost. Rather, metaphor formed a way of entering different modes of devotional listening. To test out this theory, I resist the temptation to grab for low-hanging fruit such as *Nach dir, Herr, verlangst mich*, BWV 150, the cantata mentioned above for its vivid representation of the wind overturning cedars. Rather, I have chosen to analyse a movement seemingly not about wind: the (textless) Sonata of Bach’s Annunciation cantata *Himmelskönig, sei willkommen*, BWV 182. In looking for experiences of wind in less likely places, I emphasise the agency of Lutheran congregants to adopt different modes of listening.

We might, however, be able to be more precise about how experiences of wind potentially played out in specific musical moments. While any Bach cantata might have afforded an experience of spiritual wind, perhaps certain kinds of musical patterns foregrounded, thematised or emboldened such an experience. In Momus’s mocking aria from *Geschwinde, geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde*, BWV 201, the secular cantata discussed above, the text “Wind, Wind, Wind” is separated by rests (Example 3.1), a rhythmic pattern that occurred six times in the first performance of the *da capo* aria. This repetition functioned dramatically as the rhetoric of ridicule. But Bach also seems to be gesturing to the ambiguity of where the wind was at these points. Was it the sung word that stirred the air into sounded

⁵⁷ “NB. Bei einer andächtiger Musik ist allezeit Gott mit seiner Gnaden Gegenwart.” See Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach’s Christmas Oratorio*, 82. 2 Chronicles 5:13: “Und es war, als wäre es einer, der drommetet, und sunge, als höret man eine Stimme zu loben und zu dancken dem HErrn. Und da die Stimme sich erhob von den Drommeten, Cymbaln und andern Seitenspielen, und von dem (würcklichen) loben des HErrn, daß er gütig ist, und seine Barmhertzigkeit ewig wäret [...] da ward das Hauß des HErrn erfüllet mit einem Nebel”.

motion, or did it dwell in and fill the empty, invisible, unimpeded space of rests? As Fischer described, the wind “cannot be seen or touched by anyone”.⁵⁸ Yet perhaps a clear distinction between note and rest was not possible, and wind was found in the stuff of both: resonance, vibration, and echo.

In the following analysis, I explore how Bach’s cantata for the Feast of the Annunciation could afford an experience of the Holy Spirit’s presence by conjuring its movement through the “empty” space of a musical structure. Unlike in iconography, in which, according to Baert, wind is depicted through its effects on visible objects – bending branches, rippling water, and so on – music could gesture to the wind-filled spaces between those objects. By way of structuring notes and rests, music offered a unique way of thematising the relationship between the tangible and intangible. Music could simulate the physical spaces through which wind blew, as well as evoke the bodies and objects upon which wind acted. In other words, my musical analysis explores how Bach’s rests structured sonic space to afford for listeners an experience of the Holy Spirit’s approach and entrance into their bodies.



Example 3.1: Johann Sebastian Bach, “Patron, das macht der Wind”, *Geschwinde, geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde*, BWV 201, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 40, ed. Werner Neumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1969), 119–192 (145), bb. 26–27.

“Komm herein”

In their analyses of the Sonata to *Himmelskönig, sei willkommen*, BWV 182, neither Eric Chafe nor Alfred Dürr use the word “rest” once.⁵⁹ This is somewhat remarkable given their abundance. In the first 15 bars of the Sonata’s score, Bach notated a total of 261 quaver rests in black and red ink for the

⁵⁸ “Seinen Eigenschafften nach, ist der Wind unsichtbar, er bleset auch wo er wil, *Spiritus ubi vult, spirat*, wie Christus sagt, und mag von niemand gesehen oder ergriffen? werden. Also ist der heilige Geist der himlische und göttliche *Flatus* oder Wind eines unsichtbaren freywilligen und unbegreiflichen wesens, der einem jeglichen seine Gaben zutheilet nach dem er wil.” Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 135.

⁵⁹ Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 474–480; Alfred Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach: With Their Librettos in German-English Parallel Text*, trans. Richard D. P. Jones (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 259–261. Chafe does, however, note Bach’s rests in the tenor aria: “Throughout the entire passage Bach pays close attention to the meaning of individual words, such as ‘nicht’ (rests) and ‘fliehen’ (sixteenth-note roulades) making their more-or-less-standard pictorial dimensions subordinate to the overall meaning”. Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 494.

accompanying parts (Figure 3.4).⁶⁰ The two ink colours used by Bach represent two stages of composition. The cantata was first performed in Weimar on 25 March 1714, three weeks after the appointment of Bach as *Konzertmeister* was announced, and then was adapted for at least two performances in Leipzig (25 March 1724 and 21 March 1728).⁶¹ The rhythmic alternation between quaver note and quaver rest was a considerable notational effort and specificity on Bach's part, as well as a concept sustained over many years.

While both scholars are interested in the literal and representational spaces of Bach's Sonata, neither consider how rests contributed to constructing and demarcating these spaces in a listener's experience of the music. For Chafe, the "punctuating chords" provide an "indication of the majestic processional style for Jesus's royal entry into Jerusalem" on a donkey.⁶² The regularity of the "pizzicato eighth-note chords in the three lower string parts, one per beat" depicts the procession of footsteps through a specific historical landscape. Dürr likewise recognised the dotted rhythms of the soloists to indicate a majestic procession:

The introductory Sonata depicts the approach of the heavenly King as He enters Jerusalem. Its ceremonial dotted rhythms have associations with the French *ouverture*, during which the king was accustomed to enter his royal box (this association is still more evident in Cantata 61 for the First Sunday in Advent, when the same Gospel account was read: its first movement literally takes the form of a French overture).⁶³

Dürr mapped Bach's music onto spaces in both the historical present—Weimar's Himmelsburg as entered by royals such as the Duke Wilhelm Ernst—and the historical past of Jerusalem.

Dürr's reading resonates with the "four senses of scripture", a theological framework which Chafe also draws upon in his analysis. In addition to the literal-historical Jerusalem entrance, Chafe constructs a reading that also captures allegorical, tropological and eschatological entrances. He connects the Sonata's pizzicato rhythmic pattern with the "device that Bach would introduce eight months later for the biblical dictum of *Nun komm, der Heiden Heiland*, BWV 61 to represent knocking: 'Siehe, ich stehe vor der Tür und klopfe an.'" So although there is no door mentioned in the Sonata,

⁶⁰ The term "Sonata" is used in the vocal and string parts from 1714 (D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 47) and 1724 (D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 47a). It does not feature in Bach's score (D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 103), which instead labels it a "Concerto".

⁶¹ The performance history of the cantata, particularly its 1724 performance, is disputed. See Joshua Rifkin, "Review: The Bach Compendium", *Early Music* 17/1 (1989), 79–88.

⁶² Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 478.

⁶³ Dürr, *The Cantatas of J.S. Bach*, 261.

textless as it is, Chafe argues that Bach's rhythmic device grounds both cantatas in the same "incarnational frame of reference":

If anything of the association of Jesus's knocking on the door of the human heart links the two movements, then we probably should view the movement in an incarnational frame of reference [...] the primary meaning of the Sonata is of Jesus's entrance into Jerusalem, whose multiple meanings, shared with Cantata 61, include the Incarnation in historical and tropological terms.⁶⁴

This tropological reading of the Sonata accounts for why Chafe interprets the pizzicato chords in the recitative of BWV 61 to depict a "heartbeat effect as well".⁶⁵ For Chafe, the Sonata's procession rhythm gestures towards an incarnation that took place during the performance of Bach's cantata in church that Sunday: the entrance of the Holy Spirit into the hearts of listeners.

It is not always clear who or what was felt to be inhabiting Lutheran hearts. While images in popular devotional manuals such as the heart emblems in Johann Rittmeyer's *Himmliches Freuden=Mahl* (1655) depicted the heart's guest as a child Jesus (see Figures 1.1, 1.6, 2.6), Chafe clarifies that in BWV 61 the language turns to "that of the indwelling of God in the believer through the Holy Spirit, the event that is commemorated at Pentecost as Jesus's spiritual incarnation".⁶⁶ Indeed, Rathey writes that in the context of Trinitarian seventeenth-century theology, the "concepts of Jesus' presence in the heart or the presence of the Holy Spirit are [...] interchangeable".⁶⁷ Writing in 1730,

⁶⁴ Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 478.

⁶⁵ Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 435. This heartbeat effect was also employed by Christoph Graupner in his 1712 setting of *Mein Herze schwimmt im Blut*, a cantata which Evan Cortens argues Bach drew on for his setting of the same text. David Schulenberg compares Graupner's representation of heartbeats with "Bach's own imitation during the same period of Jesus knocking at the door (in BWV 61) and of funeral bells in other works". Bettina Varwig also recognises this pictorial element of Graupner's aria, in which the pizzicato chords form a "stagnating heartbeat, pulsating in the instrumental accompaniment". More recently, Schulenberg has compared BWV 61 with Telemann's setting of the same text, TVWV 1:1175: Bach was "more painterly than Telemann in depicting Jesus knocking at the door of the believer's soul, in a solo dictum movement. But in both passages the musical imagery, consisting of short repeated notes separated by rests, is similar; it is close to what both Bach and Telemann also used to represent funeral bells." See Evan Cortens, "'Durch die Music gleichsam lebendig vorgestellt': Graupner, Bach, and *Mein Herz schwimmt im Blut*", *BACH Journal* 46/1 (2015), 74–110; David Schulenberg, *Bach* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 125–126; Bettina Varwig, "Heartfelt Musicking: The Physiology of a Bach Cantata", *Representations* 143/1 (2018), 36–62 (55–56); David Schulenberg, "Telemann as 'General Capellmeister' to the Bach Family", *Telemann Studies*, eds. Wolfgang Hirschmann and Steven Zohn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 215–233 (225–226).

⁶⁶ Chafe, *Tears into Wine*, 435.

⁶⁷ Rathey, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Christmas Oratorio*, 79.

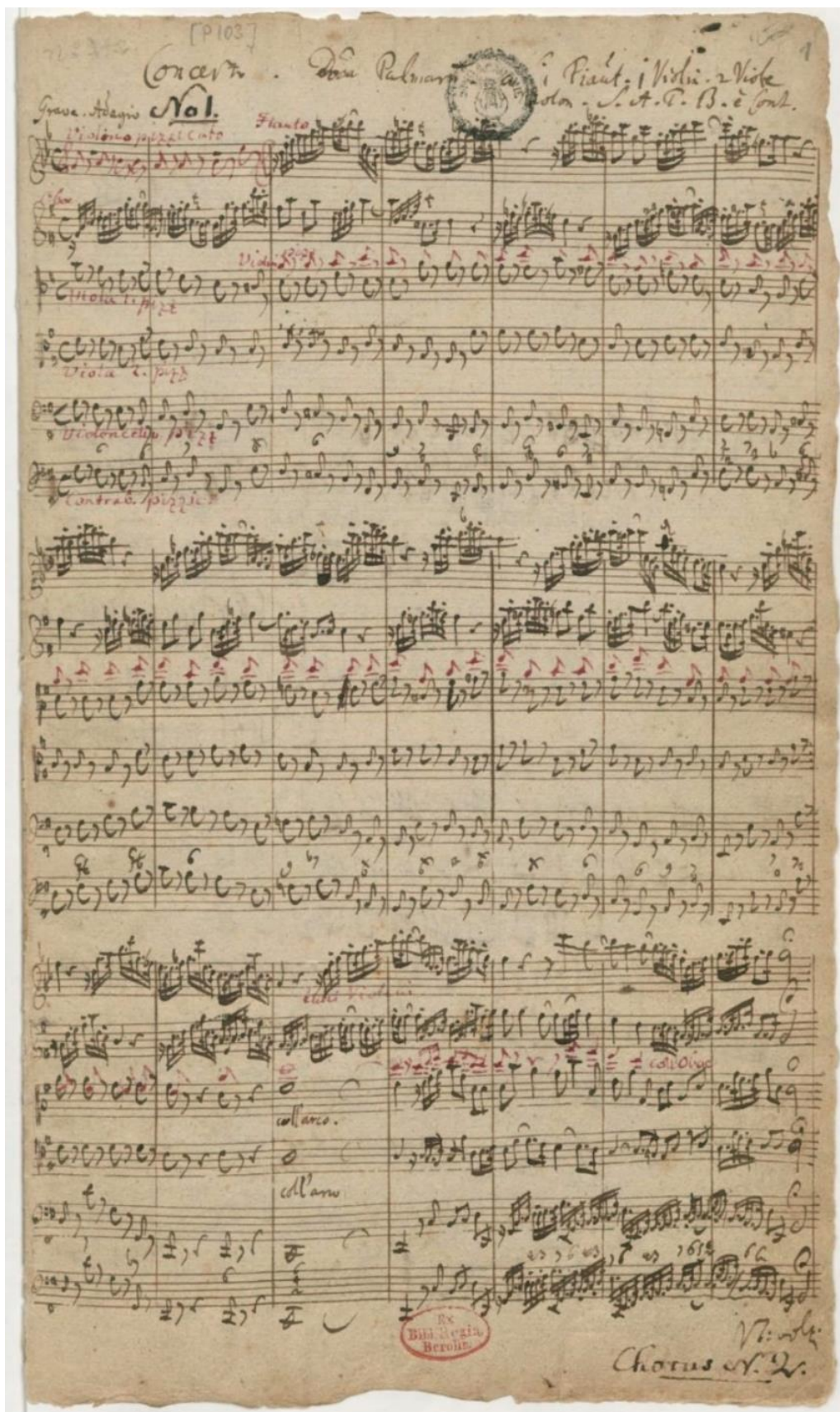


Figure 3.4: Abundance of notated rests. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Sonata”, *Himmelskönig, sei willkommen*, BWV 182, Score, bb. 1–21. Scribe: Johann Sebastian Bach. D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 103 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Gottlieb Benjamin Frommann petitioned that the “Holy Spirit not only knocks on the locked door of the heart, but also pushes the bolt away and begins to penetrate it”.⁶⁸ Drawing on Revelation 3:20, the same text Bach would set to pizzicato strings in BWV 61, Frommann portrayed the blowing of the Holy Spirit as a kind of knocking:

But if one realises that the Holy Spirit is blowing on us and wants to work in us, then one should be careful not to resist it wilfully [...] one should only submit to his graceful effects and only let him do his work, then one blowing after the other will follow, and he will always bring his work increasingly to completion. If the Lord stands at the door and knocks, you only hear his voice, and open it, he will come in and sup with us.⁶⁹

Fischer similarly encouraged his congregation not to “stiffen your heart” when the mighty wind of the Holy Spirit rushes, but rather to “open gates and doors to it [...] and you will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit”.⁷⁰ Alongside the other agents in procession, then, was a spiritual wind imagined to move through the Sonata’s space like a king or Jesus on a donkey? If the “primary meaning” of the Sonata, as Chafe has argued, is of “Jesus’s entrance into Jerusalem, whose multiple meanings [...] include the Incarnation in historical and tropological terms”, the approach, entrance and indwelling of the Holy Spirit in a Lutheran’s heart should surely feature in a theologically oriented reading.

Where, then, was all the *Brausen* and *Sausen*? As discussed above, the Holy Spirit signalled its presence through sound, and different winds were differentiated by astute Lutheran listeners. Yet Bach’s Sonata is bereft of any musical representations of swooshing and roaring, such as the swirling

⁶⁸ “Der Heil. Geist klopft nicht allein an die verriegelte Thüre des Hertzens, sondern schiebet auch selbst den Riegel für derselben hinweg, und beginnet hinein zu dringen”. Gottlieb Benjamin Frommann, *Schule des Heil. Geistes. Das ist, Eine deutliche Beschreibung der Gnaden-Wirckungen des H. Geistes, nach welchen er sich an der Seele des Menschen offenbaret* (Züllichow: Verlegung des Wäysenhauses, 1730), 36.

⁶⁹ “Mercket man aber, daß der H. Geist uns anbläset, und in uns wircken will, so hüte man sich ja, daß man ihm nicht muthwillig widerstrebe. Reget sich das Fleisch dawider durch Trägheit oder Widerwillen, so seuftze man darüber zu GOtt, daß er alle solche Widersetzlichkeit brechen, und seinen H. Geist nicht von uns nehmen wolle: und unterwerfe sich dabey nur lediglich seinen Gnaden-Wirckungen, und lasse ihn nur wircken, so wird ein Blasen nach dem andern folgen, und er wird sein Werck immermehr zum Stande bringen. Stehet der HErr an der Thüre und klopft an, so höre man nur seine Stimme, und thue ihm auf, so wird er eingehen, und das Abendmahl mit uns halten. Offenb. 3,20.” Frommann, *Schule des Heil. Geistes*, 48–49.

⁷⁰ “Darumb lieben Christen, wenn dieser gewaltige Wind mit seinem Evangelio gesauset und geprauset kompt, und strafft euch umb die Sünde, so verstocket ewer Hertze nicht, widerstreibet ihm nicht mit muthwilligen Sünden, sondern thut ihm Thore und Thür auff, nehmet das Wort an mit Sanfftmuth, thut Busse gehorchet seinen Lehrern und folget ihnen, so werdet ihr empfangen die Gabe des heiligen Geistes.” Fischer, *Sieben FestPredigten*, 138.



Figure 3.5: Swirled in cloud. *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* (Leipzig: Groschuff, 1710), Plate 6.

triplets of *Geschwinde, ihr wirbelnden Winde*, BWV 201, or the *moto perpetuo* continuo line in “Zedern müssen von den Winden” from BWV 150. Neither are there any trilling trumpets to stir the air into windy motion, to make the church floor “shake and quake”. Instrumental as it is, the Sonata also does not feature an alto singer—the voice part that, according to Ernst Koch, was identified in seventeenth-century Germany to represent the Holy Spirit.⁷¹ And neither are there any rhetorical signifiers, such as *circulatio* figures which Marcel Samuël Zwitser among others cites as representing the Holy Spirit in the opening movement of the *St John Passion*.⁷²

Without these musical features, could Bach’s listeners have detected the Holy Spirit’s entrance? Surely, the Holy Spirit was not imagined to travel with the same processional footsteps of a donkey carrying a king? In an engraving in the *Leipziger Kirchen=Staat* of 1710, the dove of the Holy Spirit

⁷¹ Ernst Koch, “Die Stimme des Heiligen Geistes: Theologische Hintergründe der solistischen Altpartien in der Kirchenmusik Johann Sebastian Bachs”, *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1995), 61–81.

⁷² Marcel Samuël Zwitser, *Göttliche Liebes-Flamme. De lutherse leer van de Heilige Geest en haar invloed op Johann Sebastian Bach* [“Divine Flame of Love. The Lutheran Doctrine of the Holy Spirit and its Influence on Johann Sebastian Bach.”], Ph.D dissertation, University of Utrecht (2012), 47.

descends on those gathered, swirling them in cloud (Figure 3.5). There is a sense of ungroundedness to the Holy Spirit's arrival and presence: it does not walk. Bach's notation of rests, through their abundance and specificity, flags up for this musicologist a way to access a mode of listening—music as a spiritual wind—that would have been habitual among Lutheran congregants. This notation, as well as what congregants heard without being privy to what this notation looked like, heightened a general experience of music as wind. By structuring a pattern that alternated between plucked note and rest, Bach delineated between more tangible sound “objects” and the airy space around those objects. Bach's rests potentially intensified an experience of aerated resonance. Just as Hoffmann, Harsdörffer, and Bach's librettists described the wind through its effects on visible, tangible objects, Bach's pizzicati provided the solidity that allowed the wind to be heard and felt.

After all, Bach was capable of filling in such gaps. The rhythmic and textural pattern of quaver pizzicato followed by quaver rest was not unique in Bach's cantata output. In the alto recitative of *Komm, du süße Todesstunde*, BWV 161, Bach employed a similar alternating pattern in the violins and violas to depict the inevitable ticking of time towards death (“So schlage doch, du letzter Stundenschlag”). The quaver rests, however, were filled by pizzicato quavers in the cello (Example 3.2). A recorder additionally supplied constant semiquavers, creating the next level of note division. The continuo in the alto aria in *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*, BWV 33, similarly filled in the gaps between pizzicato footsteps – “Wie furchtsam wankten meine Schritte” – to form shapes of ascending arpeggios (Example 3.3). In other words, pizzicato textures in Bach's writing were not uncommon, particularly so in moments of musical representation. However, the Sonata (BWV 182) and recitative (BWV 61) gesture to Bach's extreme approach towards *not* filling in gaps dedicated to pizzicato resonance in the accompanying parts.

The resonance of pizzicati was deemed important in eighteenth-century string playing. Johann Joachim Quantz, pedagogue and court musician with Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach for Prince Frederick of Prussia, set out instructions for a good pizzicato technique. In his treatise of 1752, he expected that a “good violinist should know how to [pluck the strings with the thumb] in an agreeable manner, and with such moderation that you do not notice the rebound of the strings upon the fingerboard”. Quantz recognised that not all violinists possessed this same skill. He thus recommended that pizzicato be carried out with the forefinger:

Do not grasp the string from below, but from the side, so that its fluctuation is in that direction, and not backward upon the fingerboard. This renders the tone much fuller and more natural than if the string is plucked with the thumb. The thumb, because of its breadth, occupies a larger

22

So brich her-ein, du fro-her To - des - tag, so schla-ge doch, schla-ge doch,

pizzicato

pizzicato

pizzicato

pizzicato

24

du letz - - ter Stun - den - schlag, so schla-ge doch, schla-ge doch,

pizzicato

Example 3.2: Ticking. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Der Schluß ist schon gemacht”, *Komm, du süße Todesstunde*, BWV 161, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 23, ed. Helmuth Osthoff (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1982), 1–32 (20–21), bb. 22–25.

3. Aria

col sordino

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Alto

pizzicato

pizzicato

pizzicato (Cont.)

Continuo (teilw. bez.)
Organo (bez.)

Organo

staccato (Org.)

Example 3.3: Pizzicato footsteps. Johann Sebastian Bach, “Wie furchtsam wankten meine Schritte”, *Allein zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*, BWV 33, *Neue Bach-Ausgabe*, Serie I, Band 21, ed. Werner Neumann (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1958), 23–56 (43), bb. 1–3.

portion of the strings and, because of its strength, strains them [...] In a small chamber ensemble the strings must not be plucked too strongly or the effect will be disagreeable.⁷³

Leopold Mozart, in his popular *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* first published in 1756, shared these ideas. Mozart argued that the string must “never be plucked from underneath, but always pulled sideways; as otherwise they will strike the finger-board in the rebound and rattle, and so at once lose their tone”. Though “[m]any pluck always with the thumb”, it is better to use the index finger because the thumb “by reason of its fleshiness, damps the tone”.⁷⁴

Mozart’s ideas were disseminated in Saxony by the German music pedagogue Georg Simon Löhlein, who worked in Leipzig from 1763 to 1781, and whose *Anweisung zum Violinspielen* was published in 1774. Echoing Mozart, Löhlein instructed that pizzicato should not be played with the thumb but instead “with the index finger [...] one grips the string and pulls it to produce the note”.⁷⁵

⁷³ “Die Stelle des Bogens vertreten zuweilen die Finger, durch das Reissen oder Kneipen der Seyten, welches das sogenannte Pizzicato ist. Dieses machen die meisten mehrentheils mit dem Daumen. Ich will nicht in Abrede seyn, daß ein guter Violinist, solches nicht auf eine angenehme Art zu machen, und so zu mäßigen wissen sollte, daß man das Aufschalgen der Seyte auf das Griffbret nicht bemerke. Weil aber nicht ein jeder hierinne eben dieselbe Geschicklichkeit besitzt; indem man öfters wahrnimmt, daß er von manchen sehr hart klingt, und die darunter gesuchte Wirkung nicht allezeit erfolgt: so befinde ich für nöthig, meine Meynung hierüber zu entdecken. [...] Ich befinde also für besser, wenn es nicht mit dem Daumen, sondern mit der Spitze des Zeigefingers geschieht. Man fasse die Seyte nicht von unten, sondern seitwärts, damit sie ihren Schwung eben so, und nicht rückwärts auf das Griffbret nehme. Hierdurch wird der Ton viel natürlicher und dicker, als wenn man die Seyte mit dem Daumen reisset. Denn derselbe nimmt, wegen seiner Breite, einen größern Theil der Seyte ein, und übertreibt durch seine Stärcke absonderlich die dünnen Seyten: wie die Erfahrung zeigen wird, sofern man beyde Arten gegen einander versuchen will. [...] Bey einer kleinen Musik in der Kammer, dürfen die Seyten nicht zu stark gerissen werden, wenn es nicht unangenehm klingen soll.” Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen* (Berlin: Voß, 1752), 203–204. Johann Joachim Quantz, *On Playing the Flute: The Classic of Baroque Music Instruction*, trans. Edward R. Reilly (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2001), 234.

⁷⁴ “Man muß aber die Seyte, wenn man sie schnellet, niemals unten; sondern allezeit nach der Seite fassen: sonst schlägt sie bey dem Zurückprellen auf das Griffbrett und schnarret oder verliethet gleich den Ton. [...] Viele kneipen allezeit mit dem Daume; doch ist hierzu der Zeigefinger besser: weil der Daume durch das viele Fleish den Ton der Seyten dämpfet.” Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1756), 51. Leopold Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, trans. Editha Knocker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 52.

⁷⁵ “Die Töne sollen also bey diesem Worte nicht mit dem Bogen gestrichen, sondern mit dem Finger gerissen werden. Dieses wird am besten auf folgende Art ausgeübt: man läst die Violin in ihrer Lage, nimmt den Daumen, der den Bogen hält, und legt ihn unten an die Seite des Griffbrettes bey der G Saite; mit dem Zeigefinger der frey

The pursuit of pure plucked resonance perhaps also contributed to why Löhlein instructed performers never to play violin pizzicato *à la guitare*.⁷⁶ Similarly, in his *Ueber die Pflichten des Ripien-violinisten* published in Leipzig in 1776, the German composer Johann Friedrich Reichardt wrote that it is wrong to take the violin under the right arm while plucking as it “presses, often accidentally, on the fingerboard and the strings get out of tune from the greater extension”.⁷⁷ Instead, the violinist was to use their index finger to pluck, all the while being careful not to lift the string too much for this creates a “hard, unpleasant sound and pulls [the string] out of tune”.⁷⁸

These accounts suggest that in the decades following Bach’s death, eighteenth-century string players sought to avoid any extraneous percussive sounds to create as resonant a pizzicato as possible. By visually emphasising the space around each quaver, Bach’s notation potentially flagged up these concerns to his players working in the first half of the century, too. Instead of functioning exclusively as an indication of rhythm—a good pizzicato was resonant and “exceeded” its plucked immediacy, after all—the quaver rests potentially functioned to focus his performers’ attention on how their pizzicati vibrated in the air. Perhaps, even, Bach’s notation carried an implicit instruction to emphasise these resonant spaces through a flourishing visual gesture, as if the players’ hands pushed this vibrating air further out into the congregational space, propelling a wind already set in motion.

By encouraging a shift in focus from the sound-object of pizzicato to a follow-through of resonance, Bach’s notation engaged his string players in the materiality of their cantata performance. Rather than solely representing in sound a literal-historical space such as the road leading to Jerusalem, a performance of the Sonata thematised the air that filled Bach’s church that Sunday. In this sense, air was not merely a medium through which the cantata performance took place—a materiality plucked into vibrating motion. Rather, Bach’s notation encouraged an approach that incorporated air as part of

bleiben muß, faßt man die Saite und reißt sie, daß sie einen Ton giebt.” Georg Simon Löhlein, *Anweisung zum violinspielen, mit practischen Beyspielen und zur Uebung mit vier und zwanzig kleien Duetten erläutert* (Leipzig und Züllichau: Waysenhaus and Frommann, 1774), 96.

⁷⁶ Löhlein, *Anweisung zum violinspielen*, 97.

⁷⁷ “Das Wort *pizzicato* ist allgemein bekannt, über die Art es auszuüben nur ein paar Worte. Zuerst ist es falsch, daß man die Violine unter den rechten Arm nimmt, während daß man die Noten mit der rechten Hand abreißt, und zwar daher, der Arm drückt, oft zufälliger Weise, auf das Saitenbrett, und die Saiten werden durch die stärkere Ausdehnung verstimmt. Auch ist der Steg in Gefahr.” Johann Friedrich Reichardt, *Ueber die Pflichten des Ripien-violinisten* (Berlin und Leipzig: Decker, 1776), 83.

⁷⁸ “Man thut also besser, man behält die Violine am Halse und knüpft die Noten mit der Fläche des zweyten Fingers der rechten Hand nahe am Griffbrette ab. Mit dem zweyten Finger, weil der Bogen ohne ihn bequem in der Hand gehalten werden kann, und er dennoch seine Gelenkigkeit behält. Mit der Fläche desselben, weil die Rundung des Fingers, die Saite zu sehr hebt, ihr dadurch einen harten widrigen Ton giebt, und sie verstimmt.” Reichardt, *Ueber die Pflichten des Ripien-violinisten*, 83–84.

the musical material. The air that filled Bach's church, and in particular how this air could be felt to blow and swoosh as a spiritual wind, was integrated as part of the cantata performance.⁷⁹

Bach's changes to the Sonata's scoring potentially attest to the composer trying to figure out the windiest solution. As Dürr explained, Bach "gradually transformed [the] chamber-music conception [of BWV 182] into a richly scored Leipzig cantata".⁸⁰ Changes were also made to the scoring of the solo instruments in the Sonata. For its first performance in Weimar, these were violin and recorder. For the performances in Leipzig, Bach replaced the solo violin with an oboe. What were the effects of this new pairing? Perhaps greater contrast was created between the two woodwind soloists and the pizzicato accompaniment, thus providing listeners with a more palpable framework to experience the sensation of moving air? The larger space of Leipzig's Thomaskirche might also have steered Bach's decision to re-score the Sonata.⁸¹

Answers to such questions, obviously, remain speculative. Yet both combinations of instruments thematised the wind. While the sound of Bach's violinist did not consist of exhaled breath in the same way as his oboist's would have, air was nonetheless integrated as part of the mechanics of string playing. The dotted rhythms of the violin part involved a specific kind of bowing technique (Figure 3.6). Mozart's treatise instructed that a violinist was to play such rhythmic patterns with a "down-up-down-up" (*her. hin. her. hin*) bowing.

If four notes come together in a crotchet, be it the first or second, the third or fourth crotchet; and if the first and third note be dotted, each note is played separately and with a special stroke,

⁷⁹ Nina Sun Eidsheim's study of the underwater vocal practice of the performance artist and soprano Juliana Snapper (b. 1972) reflects on what happens when we no longer view "air as the natural medium through which sound materialises [...] by recognising instead that airborne sound partakes of air's distinctive features, we come to appreciate the process of sound as a dynamic, interactive coming into being". Experiencing an underwater opera meant that the "listening body, including the head, must be immersed in the material through which the sound flows". Nina Sun Eidsheim, *Sensing Sound: Singing and Listening as Vibrational Practice* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2015), 23 and 41.

⁸⁰ Dürr, *The Cantatas of J. S. Bach*, 260.

⁸¹ It is possible that the cantata was performed twice in one day at both the Thomaskirche and the Nikolaikirche. See Don L. Smithers, "The Original Circumstances in the Performance of Bach's Leipzig Church Cantatas, "Wegen Seiner Sonn- Und Festtägigen Amts-Verrichtungen"", *Bach* 26/1/2 (1995), 28–47. For an "archaeoacoustical" study of the Thomaskirche, see Braxton B. Boren, "Acoustic simulation of J.S. Bach's Thomaskirche in 1723 and 1539", *Acta Acustica* 5 (2021), Article 14 (1–11).

in such manner that the three-stroked notes [demisemiquavers] are played very late and the following note played immediately after it with a swift change of bow.⁸²

In other words, Bach's violinist carried out retakes with his bow and arm between each dotted couplet. Mozart specified that in "quick pieces the bow is lifted at each dot: therefore each note is separated from the other and performed in a springing style". For certain passages in slow pieces, such as the *Adagio* excerpt Mozart provided (Figure 3.7), the dot "must be held rather longer than the aforementioned rule demands". As Bach's score and parts were titled "Grave. Adagio", his instrumentalists were likely to have responded to the dotted rhythms in the fashion as encouraged by Mozart:

[I]f the dot were held its usual length it would sound very languid and sleepy. In such cases dotted notes must be held somewhat longer, but the time taken up by the extended must be, so to speak, stolen from the note standing after the dot.⁸³



Figure 3.6: Bowing dotted rhythms. Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1756), 75.

⁸² "Wenn 4 Noten in ein Viertel zusammen kommen; es sey hernach das erste oder zweyte, das dritte oder vierte Viertel: so wird, wenn die erste und dritte Note punctiert sind, jede Note mit ihrem besondern Striche, doch abgesondert und also vorgetragen: daß die dreymal gestrichene ganz spät ergriffen, die darauf folgende aber mit geschwinder Abänderung des Striches gleich daran gespielt wird." Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, 75. Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 77.

⁸³ "§.10. In geschwinden Stücken wird der Geigebogen bey iedem Punkte aufgehoben; folglich jede Note von der andern abgesondert und springend vorgetragen. Z. E. [...] §.11. Es giebt in langsamen Stücken gewisse Passagen, wo der Punct noch etwas länger gehalten werden muß, als die bereits vorgeschriebene Regel erfordert: wenn anders der Vortrag nicht zu schläferig ausfallen soll. Z. E. wenn hier [...] der Punct in seiner gewöhnlichen Länge gehalten würde, würde es einmal zu faul und recht schläferig klingen. In solchem Falle nun muß man die punctirte Note etwas länger aushalten; die Zeit des längern Aushalten aber muß man der nach dem Puncte folgenden Note, so zu reden, abstehlen." Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, 39. Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 41.



Figure 3.7: Dotted rhythms in an *Adagio*. Leopold Mozart, *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule* (Augsburg: Lotter, 1756), 39.

This elongation of the dotted notes and extra “stolen” time from the following notes in an *Adagio* movement meant that the bow retakes of Bach’s violinist were exaggeratedly large and swift. Reichardt supported this practice: “When dotted notes occur one after the other, the shorter notes should be taken as short as possible to give more emphasis to the longer notes”.⁸⁴ Quantz, too, instructed a separation between dotted and undotted note:

The dotted note is played with emphasis, and the bow is detached during the dot. All dotted notes are treated in the same manner if time allows; and if three or more demisemiquavers follow a dot or a rest, they are not always played with their literal value, especially in slow pieces, but are executed at the extreme end of the time allotted to them, and with the greatest possible speed, as is frequently the case in overtures, entrées, and furies. Each of these quick notes must receive its separate bow-stroke, and slurring is rarely used.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ “Sind sie eine um die andere punctirt w. z. B. so hat man dabey nur besonders zu mercken, daß die verkürzte Note so kurz als möglich vorgetragen werden muß, um der längeren destomehr Gewicht zu geben.” *Ueber die Pflichten des Ripien-violinisten* (Berlin und Leipzig: Decker, 1776), 20–21. Sect ii. See also Frederick Neumann “The Overdotting Syndrome: Anatomy of a Delusion”, *The Musical Quarterly* 67/3 (1981), 305–347.

⁸⁵ “Die Note mit dem Puncte wird mit Nachdruck markiret, und unter dem Puncte der Bogen abgesetzt. Eben so verfährt man mit allen punctirten Noten, wenn es anders die Zeit leidet: und soferne nach einem Puncte oder einer Pause drey oder mehr dreygeschwänzte Noten folgen; so werden solche, besonders in langsamen Stücken, nicht allemal nach ihrer Geltung, sondern am äußersten Ende der ihnen bestimmten Zeit, und in der größten Geschwindigkeit gespielt; wie solches in Ouvertüren, Entreen, und Furien öfters vorkömmt. Es muß aber jede von diesen geschwinden Noten ihren besondern Bogenstrich bekommen: und findet das Schleisen wenig statt.” Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 270. Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 290–291.

The same detachedness and separateness was prescribed for wind players. “Very slow dotted semiquavers may easily become distasteful to the ear”, Quantz wrote, instructing wind players to “allow the notes that are dotted, and thus which are heard the longest, to grow in volume, but [to] moderate your breath during the dot. The note after the dot must always be very short.”⁸⁶ This was achieved through a differentiated tonguing pattern:

Tiri is indispensable for dotted notes; it expresses them in a much sharper and livelier fashion than is possible with any other kind of tonguing [...] the *ri* must always be used for the note on the downbeat, and the *ti* for the note on the upbeat.⁸⁷

If performed in this way, Bach’s dotted rhythms exaggerated the snatched air between notes. While rests were not notated as part of the rhythm of the solo lines, they were integrated as part of the mechanics of string and wind playing. Like the pizzicato chords, then, Bach’s solo instruments thematised the resonance of vibrating air with their tongued breath and retaking bow-arms. Pockets of “harmonious air” perforated the musical texture of both melody and accompaniment, affording listeners an experience of different kinds of windiness.

Then, at bar 18, everything changed. With the turn to arco in the accompaniment, this moment would have been particularly striking. The previous bar prepared this transformation: the four-per-bar regularity of the pizzicato chords “halved”. The effect of this harmonic augmentation was that even more space in the playing out of the music was given over to resonance. Bach’s string players then held an arco chord for 5 beats (bb. 17–18), which given performance practice was likely to have been shaped by *messa di voce*.⁸⁸ The moment of timbral change was therefore enhanced by a blossoming or ballooning of sound. The solo instruments also turned to longer notes in a chain of suspensions (bb. 19–20), a rhythmic pattern that involved no bow-retakes or differentiated tonguing. Listeners thus experienced something totally different to the punctuating immediacy and the naturally decaying resonance of pizzicato: the arco chord and suspensions were sustained sounds that developed in

⁸⁶ “Sehr langsame Sechzehnteile mit Puncten, können dem Gehöre leicht verdrüßlich fallen [...] Man muß nämlich die Note, hinter welcher ein Punct steht, und welche folglich am längsten gehöret wird, an der Stärke wachsen lassen; unter dem Puncte aber den Athem mäßigen. Die Note nach dem Puncte muß allezeit sehr kurz seyn.” Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 133. Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 158.

⁸⁷ “Bey Noten mit Puncten ist dieses tiri unentbehrlich; denn es drückt die punctirten noten viel schärfer und lebhafter aus, als keine andere Art des Zungengebrauches vermögend ist.” Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, 66. Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 76.

⁸⁸ Mozart, *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principles of Violin Playing*, 97; Quantz, *On Playing the Flute*, 165–166.

dynamic shape. Like the winds in BWV 205, the vibrating air that existed between the edges of tangible objects—pizzicato and dotted rhythmic patterns—were banished.

If all these different kinds of windiness afforded for listeners a tropological experience of the Holy Spirit, the arco chord marked a shift in how this might have been felt. There were no more “gaps” in the musical texture. Instead, the syncopations and tied material of the descending sequence created a gluey density that enveloped even the dotted rhythms in the cello and double bass. With the Holy Spirit no longer being felt to fill the spaces between musical notes, where was it now? One mode of experiencing the change to arco might have been as the precise moment of *inhabitatio*. After all, Lutherans were prepared for the Holy Spirit to fill their bodies. As discussed above, theologians instructed Lutherans to open the doors of their hearts to the Holy Spirit, and these believers called for this spiritual wind to fill them in prayer and song—“Komm heiliger Geist, HERre GOtt, erfüll mit deiner gnaden gut deiner gläubigen Hertz, Muth und sinn”. The playing out of Bach’s Sonata thus not only created a state of affairs in which the Holy Spirit could be heard to be there, swooshing through the church. Its textural sequence also played out a narrative of *Gnadengegenwart* as something felt: music steered the congregational experiences of wind both approaching and becoming part of the bodies of listeners.

Perhaps this is the very historical grounding for Suzanne Cusick’s experience of wind-buoyed “grace” discussed in the Introduction. Cusick described the moment in her performance of the chorale prelude on “Aus tiefer Not” from Bach’s *Clavierübung*, Part III, BWV 686 as when “one might as well be floating in mid-air, so confused and constantly shifting is the body’s centre of gravity”.⁸⁹ We might imagine Cusick’s experience at the organ bench to resemble something of the wind-swept suspension depicted in Haffner’s engraving discussed above. The “state of grace” that comes to the organist from the dance-like bassline, in this sense, finds a correlate in God’s hand, which offers the Lutheran stability and refuge. As explored in my Introduction, Cusick has also framed these sensations of bodily disorientation in terms of her “lesbian relationship” with music:

[T]he moments wherein I have felt most fully alive, most fully myself, have been when I have become the music [...] a great deal of my pleasure derives from the jumbling of who’s on top—am I playing ‘Vom Himmel hoch,’ or is she playing me? In all performances that give me joy, the answer is unclear—we are both on top, both on our backs, both wholly ourselves and wholly

⁸⁹ Suzanne Cusick, “Feminist Theory, Music Theory, and the Mind/Body Problem”, *Perspectives of New Music* 32/1 (1994), 8–27 (18).

mingled with each other. Power circulates freely across porous boundaries; the categories player and played, lover and beloved, dissolve.⁹⁰

In other words, the metaphor of wind might offer a historical basis for Cusick's sensation of "floating in mid-air" and her desire to enter and be entered by music as lovers in "jumbling" circulation. Cusick's analyses present situations in which even without a theological grounding, a musician and listener might feel to be buffeted and ultimately inhabited by the wind.

⁹⁰ Suzanne Cusick, "On a Lesbian Relationship With Music: A Serious Effort Not to Think Straight", *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, eds. Phillip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, Gary C Thomas, 2nd edition (New York: Routledge, 2006), 67–83 (77–78).

Conclusion

When Gotthold left church with his friend one Sunday, so the Lutheran pastor Christian Scriver mused in 1667, his friend remarked that the large number of congregants could only be a good thing: the noble seed of the divine Word would have made it to fruition in many hearts. Gotthold, however, was not so optimistic:

Most listeners are like oil-soaked paper to which no writing will cling. Their hearts are filled with worldly thoughts and domineering sins; how are they to be brought the heavenly life-juice? We are accustomed to going to the sermon, but are also used to not paying attention to the Word that is preached. We have witnessed both of these since we were young and we remain this way. How can a boy efficiently learn when he sits in school for a few hours out of obligation and with reluctance, but then, when he is released, throws his books in a corner and follows his wantonness all day? And how can a man learn the mysteries of the Kingdom of Christ in the school of the Holy Spirit if he goes to church only out of habit, reluctantly, listens with a sleepy heart, and spends all day long (as is common on the Sabbath) in opulence and sins? If we assume that a spark of divine fire falls into the hearts of a few through the Word, how can it become light and flame when it is immediately drowned out with constant pouring of beer and wine? I once heard from a zealous teacher that the greatest sins – against which adultery, robbery, stealing count for nothing – are committed in church. Many were taken aback by this and thought it was a harsh and unfounded speech, but he explained it: going to church, without devotion, without fear, without good intentions, without improvement, indeed with hypocrisy and assurance, with a persistent desire to sin, was nothing but a mockery of God, a real sacrilegious sin, a terrible wickedness. By sitting down to hear God's Word, but not resolving to act on it: so the ear is devoted to God for an hour, but the heart is dedicated and concedes to the devil the whole day...¹

¹ "Als Gotthold mit einem gottseligen Freunde aus der Kirchen kam, sagte dieser: Er hätte sich heute über die grosse Menge der Zuhörer müssen wundern und erfreuen, weiln er Hoffnung hätte, daß unter einer so Volkreichen Versammlung, der edle Saame göttliches Wortes doch etliche seine Hertzen müste antreffen, darinnen er zur Frucht gedeyen könnte. [...] Die meisten Zuhörer sind dem mit Oel geträncktem Papier gleich, darauf keine Schrifft haften will; Ihre Hertzen sind mit weltlichen Gedancken und beherrschenden Sünden eingenommen, wie soll man ihnen denn den himmlischen Lebens-Safft beybringen? Wir sind gewohnt in die Predigt zu gehen, aber auch das gepredigte Wort nicht zu achten: Beydes haben wir von Jugend auf gesehen, und bleiben dabey. Wie kan ein Knabe was tüchtiges lernen, der aus Zwang, und mit Widerwillen, ein paar Stunden in der Schulen sitzt, hernach aber, wann er erlassen wird, die Bücher in einem Winckel wirfft, und seinem Muthwillen den gantzen Tag folget? Und wie kan ein Mensch in der Schule des Heiligen Geistes die Geheimniß des Reichs Christi lernen,

Many things can be taken from this passage, not least Scriver's lovely use of metaphor. Scriver reminds us that Bach's churches were full of different kinds of listener. Each of these listeners listened differently each time they came to church. From our historically distanced position, the patterns of Lutheran liturgy and the large sweeping structures of Bach's cantata cycles might suggest a certain kind of repetition or predictability experienced by his listeners. Yet, as Nicholas Cook reflected, when you "listen for the nth time to a recording that is etched into your memory, the experience can never be quite the same as last time, because the world constantly changes and we change with it".² The listening practices of Bach's listeners constantly changed because they constantly changed.

Some Sundays, some congregants would have been spiritually engaged. They would have arrived at church with their bodies and souls washed clean in water and song, eager for music to wipe away any blemishes that remained. Other Sundays, they would have neglected such preparations, and their souls and bodies would not have been in a disposition to receive music as cleansing flows. Some Sundays, some congregants would have been diligent and alert. Their ears and hearts would have been well-prepared and cultivated to receive the sermon and cantata, to absorb and keep God's Word. Other Sundays, exhausted from the previous day's labour, some congregants slept throughout a cantata performance. Their snores would have distracted their neighbours. Instead of receiving God's Word and planting it deep in fleshy farmland, these congregants would have left church with hearts replete with evil seeds sown by the devil. Some Sundays, some congregants would have arrived with hearts so full of the roar of worldly pleasures that they were not able to hear the gentle breeze of the Holy Spirit. For these listeners, a cantata performance was unlikely to simulate an experience of the Holy Spirit, and they would not have acknowledged music as the windy presence of grace. Yet there would have been others there in church who in their spiritual confusion and desolation were desperate for the guiding touch of the Holy Spirit. They would have listened with attentive ears for sonic gusts to deliver them

wann er aus Gewohnheit, mit Unlust zur Kirchen gehet, mit schläfferigen Hertzen zugehöret, und hernach den ganzen Tag, (wie gemeinlich am heiligen Ruhe-Tag des HERRR geschiehet) in Uppigkeit und Sünden zubringet? Gesetz, daß manchen ein Füncklein des göttlichen Feuers durchs Wort ins Hertz gefallen ist, wie kan es zum Licht und Flamme werden, da es mit stetigen Bier- und Weingiessen, so fort ersäuffet wird? Ich habe einmahl von einem eyffrigen Lehrer gehöret, es geschehen die grösten Sünden, gegen welche Ehebruch, Raub, Stehlen und gergleichen, nicht zu achten, in der Kirchen; Es erschrack mancher darüber, und meynete, es wäre eine harte und unerweißliche Rede, allein er erklärte sie, das Kirchen-Gehen, ohne Andacht, ohne Furcht, ohne guten Vorsatz, ohne Besserung, ja mit Heucheley und Sicherheit, mit beharrlicher Lust zur Sünde, wäre nichts anders als ein Gespött GOTTes, eine rechte Frevel-Sünde, eine schreckliche Boßheit: Indem man sich zwar hinsetzet, GOTTes Wort zu hören, doch aber ihm vornimmt, nicht darnach zu thun: So wird zwar das Ohr auf eine Stunde GOTT, das Hertz aber den ganzen Tag dem Teuffel gewidmet und eingeräümet". Christian Scriver, "Die Zuhörer", *Gottholds zufälliger Andachten vier Hundert* (Leipzig: Gleditsch, 1737), 866–868.

² Nicholas Cook, *Music as Creative Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 192.

from sin. This understanding of listening as something multiple and infinitely varied, determined by what John Butt calls “flexibility of viewpoint”, has guided my metaphor-structured thesis.³

This emphasis on multiplicity of listening experiences and the positionality of different congregants has been in many ways an exercise in decentring Bach in Bach studies. Yet throughout this thesis, I have referred to the man himself. Moreover, I have identified others in relation to him: I have written of “Bach’s listeners”, “Bach’s performers”, and various more specific versions (“Bach’s ensemble”, “Bach’s choir”, “Bach’s tenor”, “Bach’s cellist”, “Bach’s violinist”, and so on). What does it mean to write like this? What might happen if instead of Bach’s violinist, I was to write of the *violinist’s* composer? In the case of the Weimar performance of *Himmelskönig, sei willkommen*, BWV 182, Bach’s violinist was likely to be the composer himself – the appointment of Bach as *Konzertmeister* was announced three weeks prior. Even beyond this very specific example, the possessive “Bach’s” does not quite ring true. Upon taking up the job of *Thomaskantor*, Bach pledged to design music that would “incite the listeners to devotion”: he was as much their cantor as they were his listeners.⁴ He was duty-bound to *them*.⁵

Or what would happen if we were take the theological worldview of early eighteenth-century Germany even more seriously? Lutheran church music was ultimately intended for the glory of God. As countless commentaries emphasise, Bach wrote the initials “S. D. G.” – *Soli Deo gloria* (“Glory to God alone”) – at the end of many of his cantatas. As Stephen Rose notes, such markings potentially arose out of genuine fear: music was considered a God-given talent and, as such, it could be taken away.

[Composers were] to acknowledge the divine source of their talent. As [Johann] Kuhnau advised in his 1700 code of conduct, the virtuous musician ‘should thank God and attribute the honour to Him if he notices something in himself that elevates him above others. Otherwise God might take the loaned talent from him, and make him one of the unluckiest and most confused creatures’. Kuhnau’s advice suggests that musicians may have included the ‘JJ’ and ‘SDG’ markings as an insurance policy to ensure the continuation of their God-given talent.⁶

³ John Butt, “Bach’s Works and the Listener’s Viewpoint”, *Rethinking Bach*, ed. Bettina Varwig (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021), 251–267 (251).

⁴ “... die *Music* dergestalt einrichten, daß [...] sie nicht *opernhafftig* herauskommen, sondern die Zuhörer vielmehr zur Andacht aufmuntere”. NBR, 105.

⁵ The thoughts contained in this paragraph and the next are indebted to my viva examiner Tomás McAuley.

⁶ Stephen Rose, *Musical Authorship from Schütz to Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 23–24. “Er dancke vielmehr seinem GOtt, und schreibe ihm die Ehre zu, wo er etwas an sich mercket, das ihn über andere erhebet. Sonsten kan ihm dieser Herr das geliehene Pfund bald wieder nehmen, und ihn zur aller unglücklichsten, und im Verstande gantz verwirreten Creatur machen”. Johann Kuhnau, *Der musicalische Quack-Salber* (Dresden: Miethen und Zimmermann, 1700), 522.

Rather than writing of “Bach’s performers”, then, it might make more sense to talk of “God’s performers”—indeed, “God’s worshippers”. The notion of music as something lent to humans on earth is not dissimilar to Rick Marschall’s assertion:

... the Creator God allowed His humble servant Johann Sebastian Bach the privilege of transcribing *His music* for a brief season [... Many] people behold Bach’s vast lifetime accomplishments as those of a man who took musical dictation from the Lord.⁷

While Michael Marissen characterises this as a “bizarre” if not “blasphemous” claim – as well as warning us that “nearly every page of [Marschall’s] book contains serious factual errors and interpretive lapses” – there is something in Marschall’s sentiment that latches onto the devotional authenticity of how eighteenth-century musicians were supposed to conceive their role in Lutheran society.⁸ Music was both for and from God. This theological reframing shifts the significance sought in this thesis from congregational listening to present God as the ultimate listener. Back in Chapter 1, I discussed an engraving in Christian Gottlieb Kern’s *Geistliche Safft- Und Andachts-Quelle Jesum-liebender Seelen* (1705) in which God is configured as an omniscient vessel ready to receive the liquid-like flows of prayer and song (Figure 1.3). But in another engraving featured by Kern, God is represented by an ear: He is a listener (Figure 4.1). If the ostensible subjects of this thesis are “Bach’s listeners”, it is important to recognise that these people did not wholly conceive of themselves this way.

As listening embodied a mode of worship geared towards God as listener, to listen as a devout Lutheran was also to be listened *to*. Perhaps this reciprocity motivated the setting of Scriver’s passage cited above: Gotthold and his friend only begun their discussion once they had left church. Surrounded by the idle and inattentive, it would have been tempting for the pair to complain there and then, in their pews, about their distracting neighbours and their sinful hearts. But they didn’t: they waited till the sermon was over and they were beyond the church walls. This exercise in “practising what you preach” meant that the seed of the Divine Word had a chance of coming to fruition in their hearts. Their attentive listening to the sermon, in this sense, continued even after the sermon had ended. Scriver’s account thus highlights the porousness and diffuseness that underpin this project: listening to a Bach cantata did not just take place during the performance of a Bach cantata. By exploring the metaphorical imaginations of early modern Lutherans, this thesis reconfigures listening in the early eighteenth century as a much broader set of acts that went beyond the sounds of a specific musical performance.

⁷ My emphasis. Rick Marschall, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2011), 120–121.

⁸ Michael Marissen, *Bach & God* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1.



Figure 4.1: God as listener. Christian Gottlieb Kern, *Geistliche Safft- Und Andachts-Quelle Jesum-liebender Seelen* (Nürnberg: Otto, 1705), Plate I.

It is an approach that builds on Christopher Small’s “musicking”, an event-based paradigm in which music is “not a thing at all but an activity, something that people do”.⁹ Small widens the circle for the subjects musicologists should seek to study, drawing attention to “what the person is doing who takes the tickets at the door or the hefty men who shift the piano and the drums or the roadies who set up the instruments and carry out the sound checks or the cleaners who clean up after everyone else has gone”.¹⁰ A shift towards understanding music as performance has claimed such broadness, too. As we saw in Chapter 1, Cook recognised “no such distinction” between Michelangeli wiping his sweaty brow

⁹ Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 2.

¹⁰ Small, *Musicking*, 9.

with his handkerchief and the first note he played on the piano in what constituted the musical performance.¹¹ As John Rink argues, more than musical notes are at play:

[W]hen we go, say, to the Royal Festival Hall to hear Mitsuko Uchida's Schoenberg or Marin Alsop's Beethoven, 'the music' we encounter is not limited to notes on the page made into sounds in the air: rather, 'the music' is potentially defined by our entire experience of what is happening, encompassing everything that hits our senses.¹²

Writing on Debussy's *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un faune*, Jessica Wiskus similarly approaches musical performance as a transformation rather than a thing with a clear beginning:

Surely it does not begin with a C#. The opening melody—a monophonic line in the flute—does unfold from that note, yet to identify that note as the beginning of the piece would be inadequate. On the one hand, it would be inadequate because that note is of the flute—is in fact of the breath. Before the sounding of the pitch, then, comes the breath, silently establishing a rhythm that will underlie the entire piece. This rhythm—the relationship between inhalation and exhalation—bears no resemblance yet to the metre or bar lines marked in the score. What one senses in the opening—in the silence that transitions to the motion of duple and triple divisions—is the life of the external world transformed, through breath, into the deep silver notes of the flute; what one hears is the summoning and shaping of wind into columns of resonance, alignment, and amplification. It is as if the air itself has coalesced into a voice.¹³

Presumably, though, Rink and Wiskus are referring to “the air” inside the concert hall in which music by Debussy, Schoenberg, or Beethoven is being performed. As Small emphasised, it does “not matter too much” where a symphony orchestra is taking place: “It might be taking place in New York, London, Tokyo, Wellington, Taipei, Minsk, Reykjavik, or Denton, Texas [...] there we shall find symphony concerts taking place and concert halls built to house them”.¹⁴

But what about the air outside of the concert hall? Whenever I go to the Royal Festival Hall, either as a performer or concertgoer, I get off the Northern Line at Waterloo. I push pass the crowds, grab a copy of the *Evening Standard*, and make my way through the pollution and noise of Waterloo

¹¹ Nicholas Cook, *Beyond the Score: Music as Performance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 325.

¹² John Rink, “Response”, *Music Theory Online* 22 (2016)

<https://mtosmt.org/issues/mto.16.22.2/mto.16.22.2.rink.html> Accessed 9 May 2022.

¹³ Jessica Wiskus, *The Rhythm of Thought: Art, Literature, and Music after Merleau-Ponty* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 41–42.

¹⁴ Small, *Musicking*, 14[...]18

Road. After the concert, however, I do not retrace my route. Instead, I walk over Hungerford Bridge, breathing in the faintly fishy air as I approach Embankment station. Crossing the Thames, I leave the lights of the Southbank Centre behind me, and I return into the world feeling more transformed than I would have had I walked immediately into the chaos of Waterloo.

While musicologists have frayed the temporal edges of musical performance and widened the circle of people considered to take part in it, the same capaciousness has not been applied to musical listening. Musical listening continues to be presented in the musicological literature as wholly taking place during a specific musical performance. It is given outer limits: it begins when a C# is sounded, and ends with an E major pizzicato chord. Rarely is musical listening described to mingle with the air outside a concert hall. Yet these borders, too, are arbitrary. The COVID-19 pandemic—as concert halls were closed—has drawn attention to this. As the violinist Hilary Hahn described in a video posted on Instagram:

I was speaking with an owner of an espresso shop near the hall [...] He said that he was staying open extra long [tonight] because it's the first big concert back after the pandemic. He had to close his shop for eight months. He was just really happy that things are happening. So it seems like here in Torino: I'm excited for the concert, and other people are as well for other reasons. I think sometimes when we do concerts we feel like the people who notice the concert are the ones that come to the concert and the ones that perform, and sometimes it feels like the hall is where the concert happens. But actually, it extends quite a bit beyond the concert hall.¹⁵

Hahn describes a situation in which her concert—the first note of which had not yet been played—was already being listened to. It was an important event for people beyond the concert hall walls and shaped their preparations for that day. So while the coffee shop owner did not step into the concert hall, he was listening to the concert. He responded in counterpoint to the social habits of concertgoers and performers (and ticket collectors, roadies, and cleaners). His actions were being tuned by the economy, and his motives resonated with the needs of customers. Moreover, he was performing the notion that musical listening transgresses borders. As people gathered post-concert for *digestivi*, discussing Hahn's vibrato or tempo choices, were they still listening? When did their listening stop?

As I have shown in this thesis, listening to a cantata in early modern Germany was something dispersed. It took place in the fields, in washrooms, and in organ lofts. It influenced how people moved between spaces, too, whether they took routes to avoid putrid swamps or stayed indoors when the south winds blew. It determined when a Christian woke up and where they slept (or should not sleep). It could bring forth rain and snow, destroy the harvest, or dry the heart. It could cultivate neighbourliness,

¹⁵ Hilary Hahn [@violincase], “A little story from 🇮🇹”, *Instagram* (21 October 2021)

<https://www.instagram.com/violincase/?hl=en> Accessed 27 October 2021.

patience, and industry. To borrow a phrase from Willian Cheng, music was not “just vibrations”, but could offer a way to a more ethical, “just” world.¹⁶ Lutheran listening, in this sense, was a way of life. It exceeded the engagement with a cantata’s sonic content to shape a Lutheran’s very being.

The porousness and flux of early modern Lutheran Germany, in this sense, guides not only an approach towards a specific repertoire, but also invites us to reassess listening at large. As this project has shown, listening is diffuse, plural, and pervasive. The metaphors of early modern Germany remind us of this: listening, too, can flow, grow, and blow.

¹⁶ William Cheng, *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

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BWV 92

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BWV 182

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BWV 245

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BWV 248ii

D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 112 II, Faszikel 1 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
<https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00002453>

BWV 248iii

D-B Mus.ms. Bach St 112 III, Faszikel 1 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
<https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00002455>

BWV 1001

D-B Mus.ms. Bach P 967 – Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
<<https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht/?PPN=PPN862413133>>
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