

BACH, REICHE AND THE LEIPZIG COLLEGIA MUSICA

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To the memory of Arthur Mendel: Teacher, Colleague, Friend.

*Kannst du nicht allen gefallen
durch deine That und deine Kunstwerk,
Mach' es wenigen recht,
vielen gefallen ist schlimm.*

Johann Christoph Friedrich Schiller

What are the music-historical relationships between the composer, the performer and the venues of their operations? To what extent has the work of composers depended upon individual performers and/or performing ensembles and the places with which they were associated? In the writing of music history how much attention should be paid to particular places and performers as opposed to specific "schools" of composition and individual composers? Most music history books are strangely silent about these matters. The intertwined, indeed, inseparable historical relationships between places, performers and composers are frequently slighted in favor of the usual biographical sketches of composers, tabulations of their works, and sometimes less than historical, if relevant, discussions of musical forms, harmony and so-called styles. Music historiography, like historical writing in general, should depend, as Collingwood suggested, on the "re-enactment of past experiences in the mind of the present thinker," experiences that are "objective" or known to the historian "only because they are also subjective, or activities of his own."¹ Musical history is not something apart from history itself, from the historical knowledge of a given time, place and society responsible for musical works and their performance. Which brings us to the subject of the present essay. To better understand the music of a composer like Bach, his approach to orchestration and employment of specific instruments, it is useful to have a better perception of the circumstances of his musical performances and the careers of those to whom were entrusted the onerous task of reproducing his ideas. His best trumpet music was written at Leipzig and for one superlative player in particular. The purpose of this essay, therefore, is to examine some of the relationships of Bach and his principal trumpeter with one or another of the musical institutions at Leipzig with which both were

1. R.G. Collingwood, *The idea of history*, Oxford 1956 (1971), pp. 218 and 326.

intimately connected.²

By the turn of the 18th century, public, non ecclesiastically associated concerts had become fairly commonplace in many of the larger towns of Western Europe. At that time the public house was the principal venue for the gathering of musicians and performances of extra-liturgical music. Tavern concerts at London, for example, having begun modestly in the 17th century, became large-scale and (one assumes) profitable enterprises by the time of Handel. There were, of course, the several theaters and, especially in summer, the pleasure gardens, where professional music was performed, albeit mostly operatic or dance music. But the public houses afforded a variety of opportunities for both instrumentalists and singers to enjoy an intimate while at the same time convivial atmosphere in which to be heard, some for the first time before the London public, and by a generally sympathetic and discerning audience, earning thereby both extra money and the needed notoriety for bigger and better opportunities. During the Handelian era the Castle Tavern in Pater-noster-Row echoed frequently to the sounds of vocal and instrumental music, including such works as Handel's coronation anthems,³ which had been heard for the first time in Westminster Abbey on Oct. 11, 1727, for the coronation of George II. The Castle had been the meeting-place of the Philharmonica Club and lent its name to that organization when it became known as the Castle Society, sometime before transposing its activities to the King's Arms in Cornhill. But not just taverns. Many of London's public establishments devoted in the main to the imbibing of non-alcoholic beverages were also important places for performing music. There were, for example, Batson's Coffee House in Cornhill, Button's Coffee House in Russel Street near Covent Garden, Arthur's Chocolate House in St. James, Tom's Coffee House in Devereux Court, and Dick's Coffee House near Temple Bar. These places had their many counterparts on the continent, not the least famous of which were the establishments of Gottfried Zimmermann, whose Leipzig coffee house was apparently equalled only by another of his establishments at Dresden, about which modern historiography has little to say;⁴ Zimmermann's Leipzig premises were, nevertheless,

2. The author would like to express his gratitude to Hans-Joachim Schulze, co-editor of the *Bach-Jahrbuch*, in accepting a first-draft copy of this article for his inspection while we were together at Cambridge, Mass., in November, 1989.

3. Performed at the Castle Tavern on Monday, May 2, 1737. See *Händel-Handbuch*, iv, *Dokumente zu Leben und Schaffen*, Kassel 1985, p. 279. See also Otto Erich Deutsch, *Handel; a documentary biography*, 1955 (1974), p. 432.

4. Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, *Signatur* (shelf mark) H. Sax. J 616^d: *Königl. Poln. und Churfürstl. Sächsischer Hoff= und Staats=Calender Auf das Jahr 1729* [the first vol. appeared at Leipzig in 1728, additional vols. having been pub. for subsequent years, with some interruptions, until 1828]. The vol. for 1729 covers the period from the summer of 1727 until the autumn of 1729; it includes a description of the "berühmten Caffee-Hause des H[err]n Zimmermanns" (fol. 27 r) that once stood in the old market square of Dresden, which was completely destroyed by the firestorm on the night of Feb. 13, 1945. As the description indicates, Zimmermann's Dresden

far more celebrated by contemporary historians, and, it would seem, for more reasons than just the imbibing of coffee and the taking of other refreshments. For whatever might be said about the original design of such places, Zimmermann's famous coffee house and garden, as well as the other comparable establishments at Leipzig, appear to have had greater significance for the history of music than one might suppose from their advertised and originally intended purpose, or from reading any number of modern music history texts. As J. A. Hiller wrote, "Diese Häuser sind lange in Leipzig das Asylum der Musik gewesen" — "In Leipzig these establishments have long since been an asylum for music."⁵

In the first important and comprehensive encyclopaedia (which was published at Leipzig, not Paris) — Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* — there is the following entry (here translated):

A *Collegium Musicum* is an assemblage of certain musically knowledgeable persons, who, according to their individual training in vocal as well as in instrumental music, come together at a particular time, at a particular place, and under the supervision of a particular director in order to perform musical compositions. One comes across collegia of this sort in various places. Of all others at Leipzig the Bach Collegium Musicum is the most renowned.⁶

establishment was not only so suitably provisioned as to be able to serve his guests with tea, coffee, chocolate and tobacco, "sondern auch unten im Hause einen grossen Wein=Schanck, von allerhand Sorten auch Ungarischem treibet." One assumes that the Leipzig establishments were similarly disposed and appointed.

5. Johann Adam Hiller, *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*, Leipzig 1784 (1975), p. 60 (the biography of J.F. Fasch). With respect to the popularity and availability of public concerts in Western European cities during the first half of the 18th century, the historical facts appear to gainsay the comments of several modern writers on music in the Baroque era. Manfred Bukofzer, for example (*Music in the Baroque era*, New York 1947, p. 404) said that "The musical institutions of the baroque era can best be described negatively by the lack of the public concert hall and the concert audience. The distribution of music relied almost entirely on private circles [i.e. court musical establishments]; the few exceptions to the rule foretell the coming of the classic period." There was nothing private or exceptional about the *public* house concerts that were regularly heard all the way from New Castle-upon-Tyne to London, from Amsterdam to Breslau, and Hamburg to Leipzig during the 18th century and earlier.

6. Full title: *Großes vollständiges Universal Lexicon aller Wissenschaften und Künste*, edited by Johann Heinrich Zedler, Vol. 22, Leipzig 1739, col. 1488: "MUSICVM COLLEGIUM, ist eine Versammlung gewisser Musick=Verständigen, welche zu ihrer eigenen Übung [sic], sowol in der Vocal= als Instrumental=Musick, unter Aufsicht eines gewissen Directors zu gewissen Tagen und an gewissen Orten zusammen kommen, und musicalische Stücke aufführen. Dergleichen Collegia trifft man an verschiedenen Orten an. Zu Leipzig ist vor allen andern das Bachische Collegium Musicum berühmt."

This short and pithy statement in the world's first wide-ranging and still important encyclopaedia⁷ is noteworthy on two counts. First, it provides a clear and accurate definition for one of the principal means of musical performance during the Baroque era (though one rarely accounted for at present). Second, it identifies the most famous of the *collegia musica* with Johann Sebastian Bach, an observation as interesting as it is important for its far-reaching implications. That a number of municipalities in Europe during the 18th century had organizations of singers and instrumentalists devoted to the performing of musical compositions comes as no surprise to anyone well-versed in the history of musical performance. A number of these organizations evolved into the better known philharmonic societies for which many composers in the next century were to write some of their finest symphonies and oratorios. What is surprising, however, even to the most knowledgeable in the affairs of men and musicians, is that the best (or most famous) of these organizations was at Leipzig and, irrespective of the fact that it had been originally organized by Telemann, became synonymous with the name of Bach. Not incidentally, it was this ensemble that paved the way for one of Europe's most prestigious orchestras, one that would later have Felix Mendelssohn as its conductor.

Kuhnau said that the purpose of the *collegia musica* was, through diligent practice, "a continual improvement of the practitioners in their noble profession, while at the same time establishing between them a comparably agreeable harmony, which for such persons is usually wanting."⁸ Notwithstanding the verity of Kuhnau's proposition, the existence at any one time of two and sometimes even more *collegia musica* at Leipzig

7. For those inured to thinking that the progress of European civilization and France are somehow synonymous, it may be surprising to learn that, contrary to conventional wisdom, the first encyclopaedists were not French. And whatever may be the reasons, rational or otherwise, for an overly zealous Francophilia, notably in the United States, it should be noted that the first comprehensive and still important encyclopaedia was neither French nor English. Both Denis Diderot's *L'encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers...* (published in 38 vols., with supplements, tables and plates, at Paris and Amsterdam from 1751 to 1780) and the three-volume *Encyclopaedia Britannica; or, Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (London 1768-1771) not only drew heavily on but were rather late comers compared to the *Universal Lexicon*, edited by Zedler, which was published in 64 large volumes (with supplements) at Leipzig from 1732 to 1752. The scope and scholarly integrity of Zedler's enormous undertaking make it an extraordinary achievement. Many of the articles on music in this monumental work were written by Lorenz Mizler, a former pupil of J.S. Bach and founder of the first musicological society of any consequence. The serious student of 17th- and 18th-century history unfamiliar with Zedler's *Lexicon* would be well-advised to spend a concentrated period of time studying this work and its wide-ranging contents.

8. Johann Kuhnau, *Der musicalische Quacksalber*, Dresden 1700, p. 12: "...sich immer weiter in ihrer herrlichen Profession zu üben, und auch aus der angenehmen Harmonie eine gleichmäßige wohlklingende Übereinstimmung der Gemüther, welche bei dergleichen Leuten bisweilen am allermeisten vermißt wird, unter einander herzustellen."

clearly betokens what was at the time both a musically active and a musically literate community. The reasons for this were by no means accidental. Leipzig had long been the site of an Augustinian foundation, the *Augustiner-Chorherren*, established by imperial decree in the early 13th century and named after its patron, Saint Thomas the apostle.⁹ Long before the Protestant Reformation, the Augustinians had promulgated the time-honored classical values of music and ethos. Their teachings were to be of great consequence for Germany after the middle of the 16th century. Martin Luther, after all, had been an Augustinian priest. Like his order's founder, he too was adamant about the necessity for preserving the best values of music within the context of liturgy and education. It was no accident, therefore, that Leipzig became one of the foremost music capitals of Europe. What with a far-sighted and relatively democratic city government (doubtless as one result of an enlightened duchy and electorate), an established choir school, and what was once one of Europe's best universities, Leipzig was an obvious place for the further cultivation of music's highest values. Moreover, Leipzig had long been an important *Messestadt* and was to become a major center for book and music publishing. Given these estimable ingredients, it was only natural that the musically talented would gravitate to Central Europe's most important *Handelsstadt*. It was there that one could hope to meet and mix with like-minded people and listen to some of the best music made by many of the best musicians — and often under conditions that were both intellectually stimulating and musically propitious.

As tradition has it, the Leipzig (later "Bachische") Collegium Musicum was an independent society of university students and citizens, which had been founded by Telemann in 1702. Within the context of these basic facts, the story is essentially correct. It does, nonetheless, require some clarification, inasmuch as it creates the erroneous impression that Telemann had been responsible for establishing the first collegium musicum, and, what is more, in a city with an already long tradition of independent music societies. More precisely, there had been several *collegia musica* at Leipzig and well before the arrival of Telemann, including the one in which Kuhnau was a member after 1688 while he was organist of St. Thomas's church during the cantorship of Johann Schelle.¹⁰ As early as the 16th century there had been loosely organized groups of instrumentalists and singers, mostly students, who met in suitable accommodations to

9 . For the best and most appropriately documented (and illustrated) history of St. Thomas's Church, see Bernhard Knick, *St. Thomas zu Leipzig; Schule und Chor Stätte des Wirkens von Johann Sebastian Bach*, Wiesbaden 1963.

10 . It is not insignificant that the "Virtuosen Mitt-Gliede" of the "Collegium Musicum zu Leipzig" had written a panegyric "Glückwunsch" for their esteemed colleague Johann Kuhnau, which was published with his dissertation, *Divini numinis assistentia, ... Jura circa musicos ecclesiasticos...*, pub. at Leipzig in 1688.

play and sing, with any performances having been given either in churches or in one or more of the many public houses, *Keller* and *Biergarten*.¹¹

Some performers with the several Leipzig music collegia had been professional musicians: visiting (or itinerant) violinists and other professional players from distant towns or courts,¹² as well as local municipal musicians (*Stadtpfeifer* and *Kunstgeiger*), their assistants, and apprentices. It was the Leipzig corporation musicians and their *Beiständer* on whom the collegia could generally rely to play various brass and woodwind instruments. Other than the *Stadtpfeifer*, musically qualified trumpeters and trombonists were rather scarce in the majority of European cities before the middle of the 18th century. The fact that in some places there were a number of specific injunctions enforced against "unofficial trumpet playing" suggests that trumpets were often included among the instruments played by these musical societies.¹³ Recent research makes it reasonably clear that the Leipzig *Stadtpfeifer* in the 17th and especially the 18th

11. It was very likely the musical performances in those establishments where wine and beer had been served that elicited the specific imperial injunctions against "unofficial" trumpet playing by the *Kameradschaft-Trompeter*, as well as other mandates proscribing performances of "disgraceful" and "obscene" music with and the "ungodly" use of trumpets and the other musical instruments of the *Stadtpfeifer* in such places and anywhere else frequented by "jugglers, hangmen, bailiffs, gaolers, conjurers, rogues, or any other such low company." These prohibitions appeared variously, most notably as part of the two published lists of *Privilegien* that were issued under imperial decree at Regensburg by Kaiser Ferdinand III in 1653. The one and now more famous of the two proclamations was the *Käyserliche Privilegium die Trompeter und Heer=Paucker betreffend*, which was a reiteration of earlier court trumpeter privileges decreed in 1623 and 1630. (See, for example, Zedler's *Universal Lexicon*, vol. xlv, Leipzig 1745, cols. 1122-1131; or the facsimile from Anton Faber's *Europäischer Staats=Cantzley Vierter Theil...*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1700, reproduced in vol. ii of Detlef Altenburg's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete...*, Regensburg 1973, p. 103 ff. The present writer's translation of all 22 privileges was published in the *Galpin Society Journal*, xxiv, London 1971: Don L. Smithers, "The Habsburg imperial *Trompeter* and *Heerpaucker* privileges of 1653.")

The other and equally important but less well known privileges of the *Stadtpfeifer* were issued under the same imperial decree from Regensburg in 1653: *Kayserliche CONFIRMATION der Artickel deß Instrumental-Musicalischen Colegii in dem Ober- und Nieder-Sächsischen Crais [Kreis], und anderer interessirten Oerter*. An original publication of all 27 articles is preserved in the town archives of Mühlhausen; they are quoted in their entirety by Philipp Spitta in his *Johann Sebastian Bach*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1930 (1979) vol. i, pp. 142-149; they are also found in the English translation by Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller-Maitland of the same work published at London in 1889 and which was reprinted at New York in 1951/1952.

12. Several of the better-known musicians to have visited Leipzig and who are known to have played with one or another of the city's musical collegia are mentioned in various contexts below.

13. That trumpets were used by the Leipzig collegia, see below and the remark attributed to Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel at note 79. As far as the various injunctions by the so-called *Kammeradschaft-Trompeter* (the court trumpeters) against "unofficial" trumpet playing, my conviction waxes daily that it was the court trumpeters, their pathetic attempts with their dubious *Vorrechte* to prevent those outside their privileged purview from playing the trumpet, as well as

centuries took part in performances with the *collegia musica* and often under circumstances that can only be described as convivial. One Leipzig *Stadtpeifer* in particular is known to have been a featured performer with the “große” collegium before 1734. This was Gottfried Reiche. He was not only one of the most famous *clarino* trumpet players, but a highly skilled violinist, cornetto and trombone player and, as *Senior-Stadtmusicus*, the leader of Leipzig’s town band. His influence on Bach’s Leipzig productions was considerable. In a recent study on the relationship of Bach’s Leipzig music and Reiche’s singular talents it is shown by the use of the most recent and scientifically derived Bach chronology just how many works with significant trumpet and/or horn parts Bach wrote (or revised) at Leipzig during his nearly 12-year association with the famous *Stadtpeifer*, how few were written before going to Leipzig, and the equally small number that were written after Reiche’s death.¹⁴

There is no doubt that Reiche’s reputation was well deserved. Bach’s trumpet parts are alone substantial evidence for this assertion. But there was also an extraordinary commission of a portrait from the studio of Elias Gottlob Haußmann, presumably paid for by the *Stadtbehörden* of Leipzig in 1726/27 (perhaps on the occasion of Reiche’s 60th birthday)¹⁵, and the equally extraordinary, if not entirely unique, presentation of a *Walzenkrug* (a large beer tankard), manufactured at Meißen in heavy porcelain¹⁶ (and doubtless at great expense), with a silver *Deckel* (a hinged lid) overlaid with gold, and a hand-painted polychrome design around the body of the piece, one that not only

their acknowledged hostility to musicians without the generally decadent precincts of their court patrons, who were largely responsible for the decline of the trumpet and trumpet playing during the second half of the 18th century. It was, in fact, the municipal musicians, not the least of whom were the *Stadtpeifer* trumpeters, who were far more responsible for the progress of music in the 17th and 18th centuries than their brethren in the courts, the excellent orchestras at such courts as Mannheim notwithstanding. The various European philharmonic societies evolved from civic musical organizations, not those of the courts, what with their inordinately expensive “spectacular shews,” operas, and all the rest of the apparatus of an increasingly decadent class.

14 . See Don L. Smithers, “Gottfried Reiche’s Ansehen und sein Einfluß auf die Musik Johann Sebastian Bachs,” *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 1987, pp. 113-150.

15 . The Haußmann portrait (see Fig. 1), from which the engraving by Christian Friedrich Rosbach was made in 1727 (see Fig. 2), hangs in the “Bachstube” of Leipzig’s Altrathaus. From hanging too long behind a large ceramic heating oven, the painting suffered some damage to its left side, damage which one might have hoped to have been more skillfully repaired than by the methods employed a few years ago. The incomparable portrait of one of history’s greatest trumpeters is in great need of a truly professional and scientific restoration, one worthy of the painter and his almost legendary subject.

16 . Now preserved in the Schloßmuseum der Stadt Aschaffenburg (Inv. Nr. P 121): “Meißen um 1732... Dekor als eine recht ungewöhnliche Leistung der Meissener Malerstube unter der Leitung von J.G. Höroldt” (quoted from Ernst Schneider, *Bildführer*, Aschaffenburg 1972, p. 38). See Figs. 3, 4a, 4b, and 4c. See also O. Walcha’s *Meißner Porzellan*. Dresden 1973, pl. 70.



Figure 1.

Elias Gottlob Haußmann, portrait of the Leipzig *Stadtpfeifer* Gottfried Reiche, circa 1726 (photograph taken in 1974). The painting measures 85 cm. (height) by 71 cm. (width) and is kept in the 'Bachstube' of the Altrathaus, Leipzig.



Figure 2.

Christian Friedrich Rosbach, engraving, 1727, after the portrait of Gottfried Reiche by E.G. Haußmann. Museum für Geschichte der Stadt Leipzig.

includes a familiar view of Leipzig¹⁷ and a number of identifiable musical instruments known to Reiche and his colleagues,¹⁸ but as true a reproduction as possible of the Haußmann/Rosbach likeness of Reiche with the instrument and *Abblasenstück* by which he was identified and with which all three artists took the trouble to carefully associate him and reproduce as accurately as possible.¹⁹

17. *Stadtansicht* of Leipzig from an engraving by Peter Schenk printed at Amsterdam in 1705.

18. The polychrome decoration of Reiche's *Walzenkrug* includes the figures of several instrumentalists who, from their oriental appearances, are obvious evidence of the *mode Chinoiserie* that was fashionable among painters, sculptors, and decorators in Saxony at the time, notably at the court of Dresden (see Figs. 4a and 4b). To the left of Reiche's likeness are two Chinese men blowing either so-called *Trompeten-Hörner* or widely coiled *trombe da caccia*, instruments very much like the matched pair of Steinmetz brass *litui* (hunting trumpets, sometimes referred to as *Waldhörner*), instruments with predominantly cylindrical bores, preserved in the music instrument collection of the Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz at Berlin. There are many specimens of such trumpets to be found in musical instrument collections in Europe and America. Unfortunately, the curators for some of these collections do not seem to know when a *tromba* is not a *cornò*. Note that the two widely-coiled trumpets are being played with the normal, twice-folded military type of *tromba lungha* (as in the Groschuff title page engraving cited in note 19 and reproduced in Fig. 6); note also the arms akimbo method of playing the trumpets, one entirely obviated by either hand-stopping or the specious method of performance employed by many Baroque trumpeters today who are addicted to the use of non-historical fingerholes. The stringed instrument on the right side of Reiche's portrait is normal for the *Kunstgeiger* at the time, while the appearance of the figures are another reflection of the *Chinoiserie* style that was popular in Saxony around the middle of the 18th century.

19. Reiche's instrument is an Italian *tromba da caccia*, or *Welschtrompete* (see Figs. 1, 2, and 3). The same instrument is shown being played (presumably by Reiche) in the title page engraving to Friedrich Groschuff's Lutheran hymn book, *Unfehlbare Engel=Freude*, pub. at Leipzig in 1710 (see Fig. 6). The *Abblasen* was recorded by this writer in the Chapel of New College, Oxford, in 1974 on a reproduction of Reiche's instrument; it begins and ends the program, *Bach's Trumpet*, on a gramophone record from Philips (no. 6500/925). The ideas promulgated by Kurt Janetzky and Bernhard Brüchle in *Das Horn* (Bern 1977, p. 26 *et passim*), that Reiche had to have his portrait painted with a coiled instrument and not the normal twice-folded, German military trumpet because he was a *Stadtpipeifer* and not a *Hofstrompeter*, are patently absurd. Moreover, the instrument carefully reproduced by Haußmann (in 1726/27, not "1723") and one with which Reiche was obviously associated, is not the "cornò da caccia" as Janetzky and Brüchle reported in the caption to the reproduction of Elias Gottlob (not "Gottlieb") Haußmann's incomparable picture. It is, as Altenburg and others said and as many contemporary musical sources specifically require, a *Welschtrompete* or *tromba da caccia*. Those who attempt, for whatever motives, to dismiss the importance, if reality, of this well-documented species of natural trumpet do themselves little credit and even less to the science and practice of music. The so-called "historic" copies made by the Leipzig firm of Friedbert Syhre supposedly in conformity to the peculiar theories of Herbert Heyde are less than an agreeable solution, certainly from the prima facie evidence of Syhre's own manufacture seen and heard at the international conference on "Natur Trompete, Natur Horn" at Basel in January-February 1990. If anything, the Heyde/Syhre "reproductions" of Reiche's *tromba da caccia* are but a first step (however notable) in attempting to manufacture an instrument comparable to the one presumably used by Reiche and with which he is depicted.



Figure 3

Porcelain *Walzenkrug* (beer tankard), Meissen circa 1732, with a reproduction of the E.G. Haußmann/C.F. Rosbach likeness of Gottfried Reiche. Schloßmuseum der Stadt Aschaffenburg (Inv. Nr. P 121). Height approx 17 cm.



Figure 4a

Figures 4a, 4b, 4c

Details from the left, middle, and right illustrated sections of Reiche's *Walzenkrug* shown in Fig. 3.



Figure 4b



Figure 4c

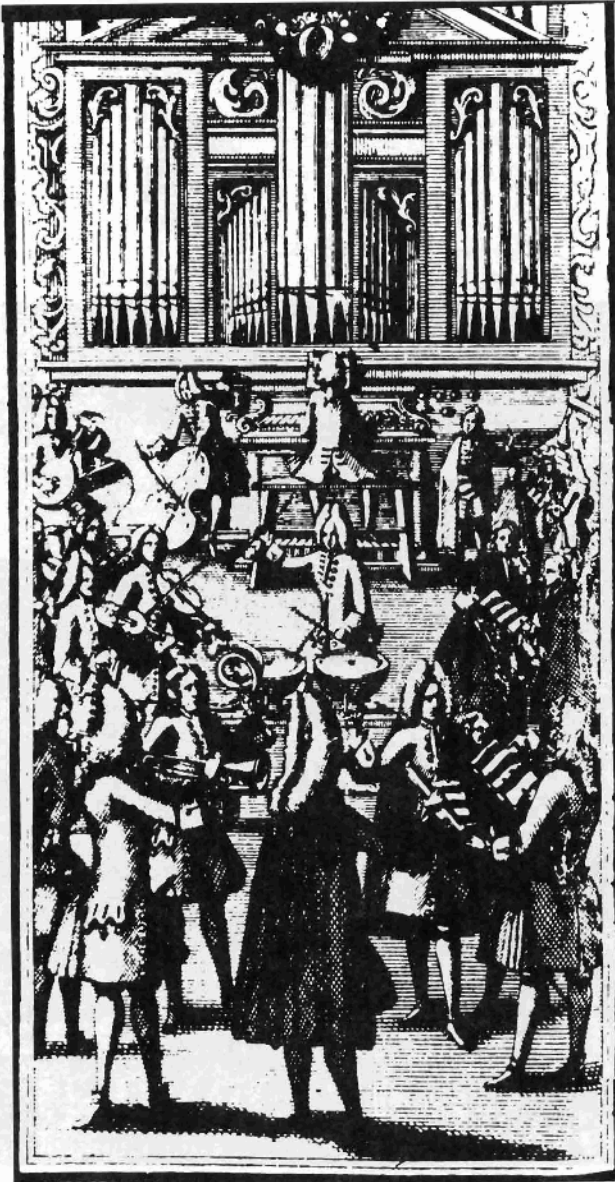


Figure 5

Title page engraving from Friedrich Groschuff's Lutheran hymn book, *Unfehlbare Engel=Freude*, pub. at Leipzig in 1710, showing the first choir and orchestra at Leipzig under the direction of Johann Kuhnau with a *tromba da caccia* supposedly being played by Gottfried Reiche. Universitätsbibliothek, Halle.

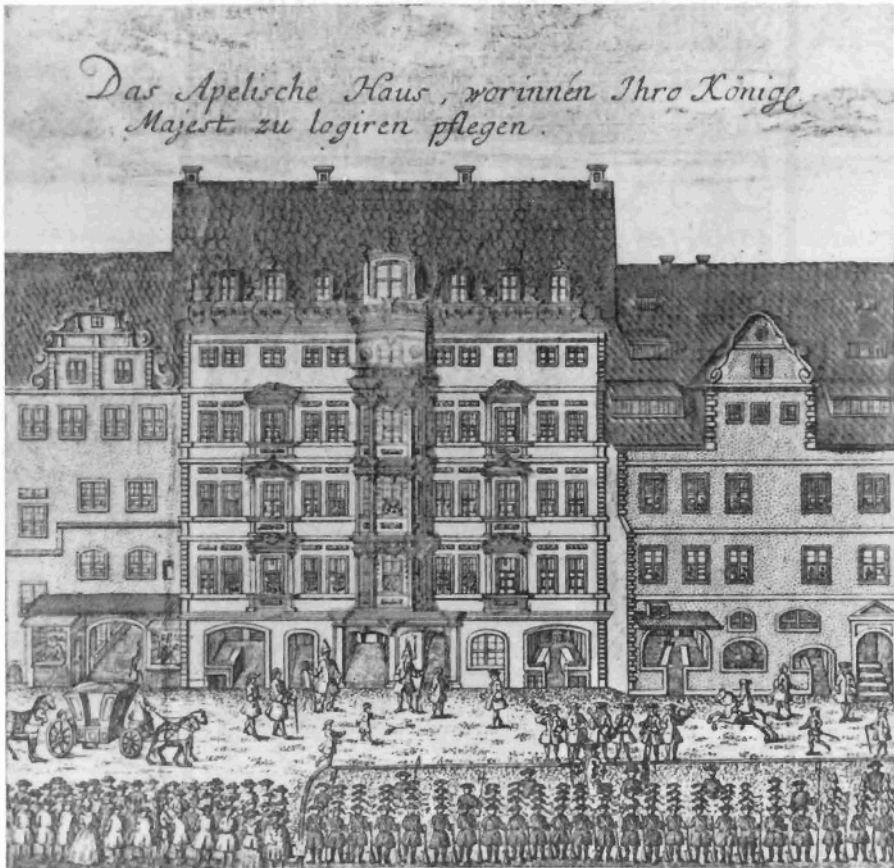


Figure 6

Anonymous engraving from 1720 or 1737 (see note 63) showing the front of the 'Apelische Haus' (or 'Königshaus') at Leipzig, which was the residence of the royal household of Saxony whenever the Dresden court visited Leipzig. From the source at the Tonkunst-Verlag Karl Merseburger, Darmstadt.

Reiche was born on Saturday, Feb. 5, 1667, at the court town of Weißenfels (a place with a long tradition of trumpet playing²⁰), where he presumably spent the first 21 years of his life.²¹ Published here for the first time, the entry for Reiche in the Weißenfels baptismal register notes that he was christened the day after his birth, attended by his father Hanß, a Weißenfels shoemaker, along with the three godparents (*Paten*): Andres Röder, a shoemaker, Miss Maria Michel Diezschens, the daughter of a shepherd, and Nicol Frazscher, a tailor.²² Reiche had at least one brother and a sister. His brother, Johann Paul, had six children and was a Lutheran pastor at Kirchscheidung, and his sister, Eva Maria, was the wife of Adam Seyffarth, another Weißenfels shoemaker.²³

20 . See Arno Werner's still important and highly relevant study, *Städtische und fürstliche Musikpflege in Weissenfels bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig 1911.

21 Reiche probably served his apprenticeship at Weißenfels sometime between 1680 and 1688. This was during a period of almost feverish musical activity at the court of Duke Johann Adolf, which is likely to have made some impression on Reiche while an apprentice, presumably under the Weißenfels *Stadtmusicus* Paul (?) Becker. If the position of Becker was anything like that of many *Stadtmusicus*, such as J.S. Bach's father and uncle, who were both *Stadtpeifer* as well as *Hofmusicus* (court trumpeters and violinists), then undoubtedly Reiche had been exposed to a number of opportunities at Weißenfels that combined the best of both court and town music-making. Knowing what the requirements of a trumpeter apprentice in the 17th century were (for both the town as well as for the court) and the fact that Reiche had been a *Kunstgeiger* at Leipzig before becoming a *Stadtpeifer*, it is certain that he was a well-trained and highly competent violinist. And, judging from a variety of other evidence, not the least of which is Reiche's *Vierundzwanzig neue Quatricinia* (Leipzig 1696) for cornetto and three trombones, there is little doubt that he played those instruments also, as well as the horn, *Zugtrompete* (slide trumpet, or *tromba da tirarsi*) and very probably the oboe and bassoon. As leader of the Leipzig municipal instrumental music, Reiche would have been called upon to play instruments other than the trumpet. We may easily conclude that he played the violin, if not one or more other instruments besides the trumpet, in performances of cantatas, passions and *Trauermusik* when the sounds of trumpets and comparable instruments more suitable for festive occasions were deemed inappropriate.

22 . *Taufregister* Weißenfels (1641-1679), p. 452:

6. Februar [Septuagesima Sunday] 1667 — Taufe [baptism] /

Hanß Reichen den Schuster ein Sohn Gottfried /

Paten [godparents]: Andres Röder Schuster, item Jgfr. Maria Michel Diezschens des Schäfers Tochter, Hr. Nicol Frazscher... Schneider.

The *Bürgerbuch der Stadt Weißenfels* provides the names of Nicolaus Fratsche, Andreas Röder, and Hans Reiche, but there is no entry for the shepherd Diezschens. I have to thank Herr Bach at the Museum Weißenfels and Wolfgang Reich, director of the Music division of the Sächsische Landesbibliothek at Dresden for obtaining this hitherto unpublished information for me.

23 . For a number of other particulars concerning Reiche, his family and his effects, see Arnold Schering's "Zu Gottfried Reiches Leben und Kunst," *Bach-Jahrbuch*, Leipzig 1918.

Gottfried Reiche set out for Leipzig around 1688, becoming a *Stadtpeifer* assistant during the cantorate of Johann Schelle.²⁴ This was some seven years — not a very long time, either in the affairs of men or institutions — after the departure of the then famous Leipzig composer, trumpeter and *Senior Stadtmusicus*, Johann Pezel, who doubtless had left some impress on Leipzig and a number of his former apprentices and assistants with respect to the art of trumpet playing in *stilo clarino*.²⁵ Pezel's successor was Johann Christian Gentzmer, the father of Johann Cornelius "Genßmar" mentioned as second trumpet in Bach's "Entwurf" of 1730²⁶, and it is likely that the senior Gentzmer was Reiche's superior during the latter's term as assistant, before being appointed a *Kunstgeiger* in 1700. Reiche was subsequently promoted to *Stadtpeifer* in 1706 and became *Senior Stadtmusicus* upon the death of the elder Gentzmer in 1719. How long Reiche played with one or more of Leipzig's collegia musica is not known, but it is likely that he was an active participant soon after his arrival and during his time as a *Kunstgeiger*.

The idea of the collegium musicum at Leipzig seems to have taken on greater substance during the course of the 17th century, with groups organized on a more regular basis for rehearsing and performing both instrumental and vocal music. There was Caspar Ziegler's Collegium Gellianum, established in 1641; another collegium mu-

24. Johann Schelle's specific requirement of a "kleinen Italienischen Trompette" (in his cantata, *Salve solis orientis*, for the feast of St. John the Baptist), which was also known variously as *Welsch-Trompete*, *tromba da caccia*, or sometimes referred to as a *tromba piccola*, may have had something to do with the advent of Reiche and his evidential preference for that species of instrument. It is probably not insignificant that the composer-trumpeter, Pavel Josef Vejvanovský, used the part designation *tromba breve*, which very likely referred to the same kind of instrument defined by *tromba piccola* and its various correlative expressions found in a number of 17th- and 18th-century works with trumpet(s). Furthermore, the use of the Italian diminutive *trombetta* in the part designation to various works, as, for example, the two sonatas by Giovanni Viviani (1678), must bring to question the intended type of instrument and the reason(s) for its specific designation.

25. Without additional evidence there is no way of telling whether or not Reiche may have had some professional association with Pezel and/or one or more of his former assistants. There is no doubt, however, that Reiche would have known of Pezel's reputation and might well have visited Leipzig prior to Pezel's departure, before taking up residence there and assuming his duties as a *Stadtpeifer* assistant. Weißenfels, after all, lies only about 25 miles southwest of Leipzig. Pezel's reputation as a trumpeter would have certainly been known abroad, not only from reports of his playing but from what he published for the instrument. For if his own music for *clarino* is any evidence of his technical mastery, then such a piece as his sonata for solo clarino, fagotto and basso continuo (Leipzig 1675) presupposes a formidable trumpet technique, certainly before 1700.

26. *Bach-Dokumente* [hereafter referred to as *BD*], *herausgegeben vom Bach-Archiv Leipzig...* (3 vols., edited by Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, Leipzig, Basel, etc., 1963-1972: i, *Schriftstücke von der Hand Johann Sebastian Bachs*; ii, *Fremdschriftliche und gedruckte Dokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bach 1685-1750*; iii, *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750-1800*), vol. i, document 22 (pp. 60-66).

sicum was mentioned by Adam Krieger in 1657, which, according to Arnold Schering, was organized to perform mostly in church services;²⁷ and throughout the rest of the century there were references to various collegia musica, including one directed by Johann Pezel. By the turn of the 18th century, the association of these musical “academies” with the several coffee and other public houses of Leipzig was already a traditional one, with some establishments being able to provide first-rate musical performances (for an appropriate fee) during the three annual city fairs²⁸ on a regular

27. See Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs... von 1650 bis 1723* (vol. 2 in the three-vol. study by Wustmann and Schering), Leipzig 1926, p. 335.

28. We have to assume that the “Bachische Collegium” performed at its regular seasonal venue(s) during all three of the annual Leipzig *Messe* and not just, as Christoph Wolff has said, “during the weeks of the spring and autumn trade fairs” (see p. 168 of Prof. Wolff’s *Early Music* article cited below in note 46). There were indeed three annual mercantile fairs held at Leipzig, corresponding more or less to the times of the holy days and the celebrations of their solemn high *Messen* (masses), the latter being the reason why the mercantile *Messen* (fairs) were so named and wherefore each was held at the appropriate time of year. Drawing on the work of several eminent German historians, including Wabst, Vogel and Sicul, Zedler provided a vast amount of information in his encyclopaedia for the history of a number of towns and their institutions in Saxony and elsewhere in Germany before the second half of the 18th century. In the long and detailed articles on “Leipzig” (*Lexicon*, vol. 16, col. 1654 ff.) and “Messen=Recht” (*Lexicon* vol. 20, cols. 1153-1164) Zedler wrote that “Im Jahre 1458,” two centuries after *Marggraf* Albrecht had reconfirmed the privileges formerly granted to Leipzig by his father and grandfather for the city to hold two annual fairs over *Ostern* (Easter) and *Michaelis* (the Feast of St. Michael the archangel, i.e. Michaelmas, celebrated on Sept. 29), the *Chur=Fürst* Friedrich “benadigte die Stadt wegen ihrer getreuer Dienste” by granting to it the privilege of holding a third annual fair, the “Weyhnachts=Marckt,” which was held during the Christmas-New Year holy days. The “Meß=Privilegien” granted to Leipzig to hold three “freye offene Messen” were reconfirmed at various times by several successive emperors of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation: in 1497 and 1507 by Emperor Maximilian I; by Charles V in 1529 and 1547; by Ferdinand III in 1659; by Leopold I in 1706; and thereafter in the 18th century by Emperors Joseph I and Charles VI. Moreover and in the course of describing Leipzig and its many amenities, Zedler observed that one could be easily proud of the many *Gasthöfe* within and without the city which offered suitable accommodations to visitors “wegen derer drey jährlichen Messen.” These many inns and public houses were obvious places during the busy fair times for Leipzig’s visitors to enjoy music performed by the best hands and voices in the town. As Schering noted (*Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* p. 303), “Der Reichtum Leipzigs an Gasthöfen beförderte die Verbreitung solcher geselligen Musik.” And not just Leipzig performers. For as Schering also noted, “Zu allen drei Messen, heißt es, kämen immer viele Musici von Prag und andern fremden Orten, hielten sich acht Tage vor und vierzehn Tage nach den Messen hier auf....” The time of the winter fair included the “Twelve Days of Christmas” which was the traditional period for feasting and other convivial celebrations in many European courts and towns before the modern era, Twelfth-Night (the night of Epiphany) having been an especially joyous observance, with banquets and much suitable music to mark the occasion and bring the Christmas-New Year season to an appropriate close.

The musical importance of the three annual Leipzig fairs was attested to by Charles Burney. In the journal of his second grand musical tour of the continent (published as *The present state of music in Germany, the Netherlands, and United Provinces...*, London 1773, p. 73), Burney

basis of twice a week, and sometimes more often, at which time the customers could imbibe coffee and other beverages while listening to quality music performed by skilled and enthusiastic members of a particular collegium. Since the Lutheran schools had put so much emphasis on the study of music and inasmuch as the *Thomasschüler* were encouraged to learn how to play a variety of musical instruments, it is understandable that the older, pre-university alumni, or *Primanerkollegen* (first-form *Thomaner*) should have joined together to sing and play a less parochial repertory of music. There were, in those days, few other diversions. The day-to-day existence of a student during the 17th and 18th centuries offered but a modicum of entertainment and conviviality.

The collegium musicum organized by Telemann, which was initially under his direction, met twice a week for rehearsals, performing on a regular basis in the Neukirche and in one or another of Leipzig's coffee houses. In his "Lebens-Lauff mein Georg Philipp Telemanns...," dated Frankfurt am Main, Sept. 10, 1718, and published in Johann Mattheson's *Große General-Baß-Schule...* (Hamburg 1731, p. 160 ff.), Telemann says that his "noch jetzo florirende Collegium Musicum" (directed by Georg Melchior Hoffmann from 1704-c.1710, successively thereafter by Pisendel, Vogler and, until 1729, by G.B. Schott) had at the time of his direction a membership of up to 40 performers, largely students, and with many good singers.²⁹ Guest performers (or former Leipzig residents) included well-known musicians, like Pisendel, Böhm, Petzold, Vogler, the countertenor Schneider, and many others "die man jetzo unter die berühmtesten zehlet." Performances with this large ensemble were given under various circumstances: from time to time in one or another *Gasthaus*, or in the Ranstädter Schießhaus,³⁰ in the Neukirche (doubtless for special Sundays and high holy days) and sometimes for the

observed that the fairs were the occasions during which operas were regularly performed at Central Europe's renowned *Messestadt*: "At the end of the last century, and in the beginning of this, Italian operas very frequently made a part of the public amusements at Leipsic, during the three annual fairs, at New Year's tide, Easter, and Michaelmas..."

29 . As Telemann wrote, "Dieses Collegium, ob es zwar aus lauter Studiosis besteht / derer öftters biß 40. beysammen sind / ist nichts desto minder mit vielem Vergnügen anzuhören / und wird nicht leicht / derer mehrentheils darinnen befindlichen guten Sängler zu geschweigen / ein Instrument zu finden seyn / welches man nicht darbey antrifft. Es hat etliche mahl die Gnade gehabt / Se. Königliche Pohlnische Majestät / und andere grosse Fürsten zu divertiren. Sonst versiehet es die Music in der neuen Kirche...."

30 . The Ranstädter (or Rannstädter) Schießhaus (or Schießgraben) is mentioned by Hiller (see note 37), referred to by Christian Gottfried Thomas in his *Unpartheiische Kritik der vorzüglichsten, seit drei Jahren allhier zu Leipzig aufgeführten und fernerhin aufzuführenden Concerte und Opern insonderheit der Thomassischen, wie auch anderer die Musik betreffende Gegenstände...* (Leipzig 1798) and cited by way of an unattributed quotation in Schering's *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* (vol. iii, p. 161). This was apparently a large shooting gallery, over (or next to) which was a spacious *Saal* or banqueting hall that was not only a place for convivial feasting by various groups interested in and which met for musketry competitions but for concerts also. The halls of the Ranstädter Schießhaus and the Thomäischen Haus became the venues for a variety of musical

benefit of visiting nobility; Telemann does mention that from time to time it fell to his collegium “zu divertiren” his highness the king of Poland and elector of Saxony (August II, “the Strong”), as well as many other great princes. While Hoffmann was director of the “große ordinaire Collegium musicum,” as it was sometimes called, there were up to 50 and 60 performers, a size well approaching the proportions of a modern symphonic ensemble.³¹ This forces us to conclude that the large-scale orchestras noted at Berlin, Leipzig, London and elsewhere later in the 18th century did not materialize suddenly and without earlier paradigms. The notion that Baroque orchestral music was always performed by Lilliputian ensembles with but one player to a part is, of course, a fiction and the product of some very subjective thinking.³² In this regard it may be worth noting that the announcement for the resumption of the summertime concerts “von dem Bachischen *Collegio Musico*” in Zimmermann’s garden, beginning Wednesday, June 17, 1733, mentioned the introduction of “ein neuer *Clavicymbel*, dergleichen allhier noch

performances as both the sizes of groups and their audiences outgrew the smaller coffee and other public houses. But performances in these two larger rooms were gradually superseded by those in the historic Gewandhaus, or Draper’s Hall in the old city center which had been used for commercial exhibitions during periods of the three Leipzig fairs (see Alfred Dörrfel’s *Geschichte der Gewandhauskonzerte*, Leipzig 1884).

As far as the coincidence of target practice with guns and musical performances is concerned, the former was a favorite pastime for many “gentlemen” during the 18th century, with food, drink and music having been laid on as a convivial conclusion to a good afternoon’s “shoot.” It would seem that when such diversions were organized at court by high-ranking noblemen the sounds of trumpets and kettledrums announced the score advantage of one or another contestant. In many places the shooting of air guns was a preferred sport to the use of firearms. Such recreation was a favorite of the Mozart family, for example, who, with their friends, often got together for *Bözelschießen*. The Mozarts, as well as other members of the Salzburg *Schützencompagnie*, met at different places, usually on a Sunday afternoon, to enjoy such shooting matches. In letters of both Leopold as well as Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart there are references to these matches and the money that was won (and lost) betting at them. It should not go unmentioned that some manufacturers of air guns were also trumpet makers. William Bull’s trade card, for example, mentions that he not only made “All Sorts of Trumpetts and Kettle Drums[,] ffrrench Hornes, Speaking Trumpetts, Hearing Hornes for Deafe people &c;,” but “also Wind Gunes....”

31 . On p. 117 of Johann Mattheson’s *Ehrenpforte* (see note 60) there is a quotation from G. H. Stölzel, who, while a student at Leipzig University, had a number of opportunities to hear the “große” collegium under Melchior Hoffmann’s direction. Stölzel not only recalled the large size of the collegium (“In allen bestunds wohl aus 40. Personen.”) but noted just how splendid it sounded to him: “Das *Collegium musicum*, welches er [Hoffmann] dirigitte, zog mich, gleich in den ersten Tagen meiner Ankunft in Leipzig, zu ihm. Dieses war nicht allein sehr starck besetzt, sondern ließ sich auch vortreflich wohl hören.”

32 . The one evidential anomaly in the otherwise historically verifiable claim that many Baroque ensembles were large — and with many stringed instrument players — is the quantity of individual performing parts that survive. But the fact notwithstanding that surviving sets of what are assumed

nicht gehört worden.”³³ This may well have been a much larger, two-manual instrument than audiences in Leipzig were accustomed to hearing, one capable of sounding at a dynamic level commensurate with the volume of sound from increasingly larger ensembles of wind and stringed instruments.

In 1708, another collegium musicum was founded by Johann Friedrich Fasch. In his “Lebenslauff” published in Marburg’s *Beyträge*, Fasch said that it had been formed after his matriculation at the University of Leipzig:

...thus, on [a] Sunday, at the conclusion of the church services, I put together in my living quarters a collegium musicum which was made up of students and gradually reached a strength of up to 20 players; and in no time thereafter, just prior to the occasion of the mayor’s birthday, at that time *Bürgermeister* Rivinus [the father of Johann Florens Rivinus?], who had been honored with an evening serenade, my collegium musicum moved to Lehmann’s coffee house, its numbers having been appreciably strengthened, all of which made me responsible for the composition [of the music].³⁴

Like the ensemble organized by Telemann, the “zweite ordinaire Collegium

to have been original performing parts (the vast majority of which have few, if any, marks, corrections, bar numbers and the like) often have but one written part per instrument (though in the case of the surviving parts to Bach’s cantatas, there are usually two parts each for the first and second violins), the many descriptions of Baroque musical ensembles belie the conclusions to be drawn merely from what has come down to us of the performance material. (For some of the perplexing anomalies in the surviving parts to Bach’s cantatas which might lead one to conclude that they had never been used for performance, see Alfred Dürr, *Die Kantaten von Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. i, Kassel 1971, pp. 65-68.) In the first place, not enough is known at present as to the manner in which performance materials were prepared and used at the time. Secondly, there is the entirely relevant issue of how performers learned their parts. The role of *memory* and the methods of *memorization* for musicians before the modern era has been too long ignored and, worse, confounded by present day methods of teaching which put little, if any, importance on learning poetry, much less music, by memory. From my own childhood experiences in one of New York’s large but now extinct choir schools, I recall quite vividly how quickly one learned to sing entire services, anthems, hymns and the like all by memory; even complete Latin texts were committed to memory in very little time. To assume that the performing forces of Bach’s large-scale cantatas and other comparable works, especially those written for the annual high holy days at a place like Leipzig, are to be equated with the sparse number of surviving performing parts does little justice to and takes no account of the often accurate and entirely credible contemporary eyewitness descriptions and other historical records that gainsay such evidence.

33 . BD ii/ doc. 331: “...a new *clavicembalo*, the likes of which has not yet been heard here.”

34 . Friedrich W. Marburg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, vol. 3, “zweytes Stück,” Berlin 1757, p. 124 (from the autobiographical sketch of J.F. Fasch): “...so legte ich Sonntag nach Endigung der Gottesdienste, in meinem Quartiere ein *Collegiummusicum* an, welches sich von Studiosis nach und nach bis auf 20 Personen verstärkete, und da nach einiger Zeit der einfallende Geburtstag des damahligen Bürgermeisters Rivini mit einer Abendmusik beehret werden sollte, ich aber mein *Collegium musicum* einige Zeit vorher auf das Lehmannische Caffeehaus verleget, solches auch sich an der Zahl merklich verstärket hatte, so wurde mir von solcher die Composition aufgetragen....”

musicum” had several interim directors after Fasch’s departure and up to the time when Bach was installed as the new Thomas-Cantor and *Director Chori Musici Lipsiensis*. For a brief period in 1709, Johann David Heinichen had led Fasch’s collegium; he was in turn succeeded by Johann Samuel Endler, who several years later became director of music at Darmstadt and composed of a number of trumpet overtures and *sinfonie* (some requiring up to five kettledrums³⁵). In 1723, around the time of Bach’s arrival, the Fasch ensemble was taken over by Johann Gottlieb Görner, organist of the Paulinerkirche from 1716-1721, of the Nicolaikirche from 1721-1729, and thereafter until 1756 at St. Thomas’s. He remained director of the “other” collegium musicum (which became known as “Das Görnersche”) from 1723 until the outbreak of the Seven Years’ War in 1756, at which time his ensemble was disbanded. Though there appears to have developed some rivalry between Bach and Görner (a natural state of affairs, in light of each having become the leader of Leipzig’s only two musical societies of any consequence), there does not seem to have been any enmity. Perhaps after 1738 Bach and Görner had an even better relationship, inasmuch as they then had a common enemy: Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-1776). The year before Scheibe published his attack on Bach he had surreptitiously accused Görner of being “completely possessed by conceit and rudeness,” so much so “that through the first he does not know himself, and through the second asserts his pre-eminence among a large number of his equals.”³⁶ What is usually lost in the rhetoric over Scheibe’s so-called “reasonable” criticisms of Bach’s music is the fact that he once had been a student of Bach and was passed over by his former mentor in favor of Görner for the organist’s post at St. Thomas in 1729. No doubt Scheibe had harbored some resentment for each, which spilled over in 1737 and 1738.

We do not know how Görner got along with Bach, but the fact that he was organist, first of St. Nicolai and then St. Thomas, while Bach was cantor with no evidence of friction between them, would seem to indicate a working relationship at the least. It is not insignificant that Görner was appointed guardian of Bach’s four under-age children after the latter’s death in July, 1750, and is reputed to have assisted Anna Magdalena “greatly” with the problems of distributing Bach’s property. Under his direction “Das Görnersche” not only flourished, but appears to have provided musical programs of nearly the same scope and quality as the “Bachische Collegium.” It is not difficult to

Johann Florens Rivinus (b. Leipzig July 27, 1681, d. Leipzig Dec. 31, 1755) was professor of law and eventually rector of Leipzig University. He was one of the three *Paten* (godparents) at the christening of Johann Christian Bach in St. Thomas’s Church on Sept. 7, 1735. The “Bürgermeister Rivini” mentioned by Fasch was probably the father of Johann Florens.

35. See, for example, J.S. Endler’s *Sinfonia* in F major, dated “16 April 1748” for 2 *clarini*, 2 flutes, strings, basso continuo and five kettledrums (*timpani* “à 5: F.G.A.B. [i.e. B flat] C.”) preserved with Endler’s other music at Darmstadt: Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. Mus. 1231/2.

36. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der Critischer Musicus, Neue... Auflage*, Leipzig 1745, p. 60.

imagine that a number of players performed with both ensembles, the *Stadtpfeifer* in particular.

After the interim directorships of Hoffmann, Pisendel³⁷ and Vogler, the more famous collegium musicum founded by Telemann maintained its former reputation under the direction of Georg Balthasar Schott, who, in one sense, was an obvious choice as its conductor, having been the organist of the Neukirche and likely to have been the keyboard continuo player with Telemann's ensemble.³⁸ Upon his resignation from the Neukirche post in the winter of 1729 to take up his duties as *Stadtkantor* at Gotha, Schott was succeeded as organist (and with Bach's recommendation) by Carl Gotthelf Gerlach, Bach having assumed the directorship of the "große" collegium musicum as Schott's successor. Bach continued as director until the winter or spring of 1740/41; he was succeeded in turn by Gerlach, who probably had served as Bach's principal continuo player, as he doubtless had done under Schott. Gerlach had already substituted for Bach as an interim director of the "Bachische Collegium" from the summer of 1737 until August, 1739, during which time Bach was preoccupied with a number of personal and professional responsibilities, not the least of which were the misconduct and death of his son Johann Gottfried Bernhard,³⁹ the dragged-out difficulties with the Rector Ernesti over the choice of choir prefects, the criticisms of Scheibe, and a number of extra-

37. Concerning Pisendel's association with the Leipzig collegium musicum, Johann Adam Hiller (*Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit*, Leipzig 1784/1979, p. 184 ff.) included the following in his biographical essay:

Als Pisendel, kurz nach seiner Ankunft in Leipzig, sich das erstmal im Collegio musico daselbst wollte hören lassen, sah ihn ein damaliges Mitglied dieses Collegiums, Götze ... welcher nach der Zeit sein beständiger guter Freund gewesen ist. ... Pisendel legte indeß sein Concert auf, welches von seinem Meister Corelli war, und kaum hatte er das erste Solo zu spielen angefangen. ... Als im Jahre 1710 ... nahm Pisendel die Anführung, nicht allein der Musik in der neuen Kirche und im Collegio musico, welches damals im Ranstädter Schießhause gehalten wurde, sondern auch in den damaligen Leipziger Opern über sich, und verwaltete alles mit dem größten Ruhme.

38. Along with Graupner and Bach (after Telemann had withdrawn his candidacy), Schott had been one of the applicants considered for the post of *Thomascantor*, which had been made vacant by the death of Kuhnau in 1722 (vide *BD ii/ doc. 119, 122-4*).

39. Johann Gottfried Bernhard Bach (b. 1715) was the third son of Johann Sebastian. He had held an organist's post at Mühlhausen (the town in Thüringen where Bach himself had enjoyed no small measure of success during the year of his second post as an organist and where his first work was published, BWV 71, "Gott ist mein König," a cantata that also includes three significant trumpet parts). He was a source of consternation to his father, having, as Terry says, "wrung his father's heart-strings" by accumulating a number of bad debts and, unbeknownst to his father and employers, absconding from a recently contracted appointment as organist at Sangerhausen (which his father had taken some pains to secure for him) in order to surreptitiously matriculate at the University of Jena, where he died of a fever on May 27, 1739.

liturgical compositional commitments, including the preparation for publication of the formidable third part of the *Clavierübung*, some *Huldigungskantaten*, and a possible revision for performance of the *Matthäus-Passion*. Yet, despite the vicissitudes of this period in Bach's life, he did not absent himself entirely from engagements with the collegium musicum. There were the performances of the *Huldigungskantaten* referred to previously, the performance of a "Passions-Music" on Good Friday, April 4, 1738,⁴⁰ and, assuming no slight involvement of the collegium musicum with ecclesiastical matters, the regular schedule of musical performances for the two principal churches of Leipzig.⁴¹

By the early autumn of 1739 Bach was again directing the collegium musicum on a regular basis in the Zimmermann coffee house concerts. In a letter of Monday, Sept. 28, 1739, Johann Elias Bach (Bach's first cousin, sometime private secretary and *Hauslehrer*) wrote that J.S. Bach was to begin the collegium musicum "this next Friday," which would suggest Oct. 2, and that he was to perform some music in the first week of the coming fair (*Messe*) "auf den Geburtstag Ihres Königlichen Majestät."⁴² The

40 . *BD* ii/ doc. 416.

41 . Concerning Bach's duties at the two principal churches of St. Thomas and St. Nicolai, see the references in notes 66 and 84.

42 . *BD* ii/ doc. 455. When members of the ruling household of Saxony paid visits to Leipzig, especially the electors (who, from 1697 to 1763, were also the kings of Poland), it is entirely logical to assume that they were accompanied by their household trumpeters. The question remains, therefore, whether or not there had been any difficulties between the Dresden *Hoftrumpeter* and the Leipzig *Stadtpfeifer*, particularly when the latter played trumpets at times and places that had nothing apparently to do in any official capacity with either the church or the city — the collegia musica concerts at Zimmermann's coffee house and elsewhere, for example. From time to time we read of fanciful stories about serious altercations between the two classes of players, or the need for *Stadtpfeifer* trumpeters to have instruments that did not look like the military type regularly used by the *Hoftrumpeter* (see note 19 above). Most of these accounts and the theories that arise from them are based on the one historical report of what was apparently a *Stadtpfeifer* trumpeter having had his teeth knocked out by several court trumpeters who broke into his house. This was reported in the fourth part of Faber's *Europäischer Staats=Cantzley* mentioned in note 82 below. But this barbarous act took place at Nürnberg, and there are virtually no other historical reports of such brutal displays of prerogatives having been exercised elsewhere, certainly not at Leipzig, the imperial trumpeter privileges notwithstanding. Leipzig, moreover, was a very different place and, on account of its special relationship with the court at Dresden, subject to rather different rules and codes of behavior. As already mentioned, the city was an official *Residenzstadt* and when members of the Saxon royal household stayed in Leipzig they were often entertained by one or another of the city's musical organizations, such as on the occasion of the visit of Friedrich August II (King August III) in October, 1734, at which time he and his family were entertained by the "allerunterthänigste Abend Music mit Trompeten und Paucken" in a performance of Bach's secular cantata (*Dramma per Musica*), BWV 215, "Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen," on account of which performance Reiche is reported to have become so ill that he died the next day (see below and note 73).

work is unknown but was probably a *dramma per musica* and performed “unter Trompeten und Paucken schall.”⁴³ In the Friday, Oct. 2, issue of the *Leipziger Zeitungen* there was an advertisement announcing that “der Königl Poln. und Churfürstl. Sächsische Hof-Compositeur Bach die *Direction des Colegii Musici* im Zimmermannischen Caffee-Hause wieder übernommen,” and that its first concert would be given on Oct. 2 and would continue thereafter on the usual days (Tuesdays and Fridays) from eight until ten in the evening.⁴⁴ During the times of the Leipzig fairs Görner’s collegium met on Mondays and Thursdays at the same hours as the Bach collegium had on Tuesdays and Fridays, either in Richter’s coffee house or in the “Schellhaferischen Hause.”⁴⁵

43 . See, for example, the mention in Riemer’s Leipzig chronicle (see note 73) for Jan. 17, 1734, of a performance by Bach’s “*Collegio Musico*,” “so unter Trompeten und Paucken Schall gehalten wurde,” (probably BWV 205a) to celebrate the coronation of August III as king of Poland, on which occasion there was also “eine herrliche *Illumination*,” presumably fireworks. (See *BD ii/ doc. 346*.) See also the notice which appeared in the “*EXTRACT*” of the 40th installment of the “eingelauffenen NOUVELLEN” (“*Leipziger Zeitungen*”) on Saturday, Oct. 6, 1738, announcing a performance the next day (Sunday) of a “solenne Music unter Trompeten und Paucken” in Zimmermann’s “Coffe-Hause” by the “*Bachische Collegium Musicum*” to honor Friedrich August II (King August III) on his birthday, Oct. 7. (See *BD ii/ doc. 386*.) As Neumann and Schulze suggest, the cantata on that occasion might well have been BWV 206, “Schleicht, spielende Wellen,” which includes parts for three trumpets and kettledrums. A similar *Glückwunschkantate* by Bach was performed “in dem *Collegio Musico*” to celebrate the birthday of the Saxon electress and queen of Poland, Maria Josepha, on Dec. 8, 1733. This was the *Dramma per musica*, BWV 214, “Tönet, ihr Pauken! Erschallet, Trompeten!” which includes a number of sections parodied in the *Weihnachts-Oratorium* (Christmas Oratorio), not the least of which is the latter’s opening chorus, “Jauchzet, frohlocket, auf, preiset die Tage” and the aria “Großer Herr, o starcker König,” both of which include some of the finest trumpet music ever to have been written.

44 . *BD ii/ doc. 457*.

45 . On the face of it, entries in *Das jetzt lebende und jetzt florirende Leipzig, welches die Nahmen, Characteren, Chargen, Professionen und Wohnungen... alhier zu finden* (published at Leipzig by J.T. Boetii in various editions, viz. 1723, 1732 and 1736) would appear to gainsay the times and places where the two Leipzig collegia met for their weekly performances. In the editions of 1732 and 1736 (on pp. 57 and 58, respectively) — under the heading “X. Der ordinären Collegiorum Musicorum sind zwey:” — the Bach collegium is said to have met in the summertime in Zimmermann’s garden on Wednesdays from 4 until 6 p.m., while in the winter it met on Fridays in Zimmermann’s coffee house from 8 to 10 p.m.; Görner’s ensemble is said to have met on Thursdays from 8 to 10 p.m. in the “Schellhaferischen Hause” (presumably the establishment of Johann Schellhafer, a Leipzig wine merchant). According to Neumann and Schulze this latter entry was qualified by a notice in the so-called “*Leipziger Adreßbüchern*” of 1732 and 1736, that the Görner ensemble met in the winter from 8 to 10 p.m. at Enoch Richter’s coffee house on the market place in a building which belonged to Dr. Christian Gregorius Altner (see *BD ii/ doc. 326*, pp. 234-235). But none of this information mentions the additional meetings of both collegia during the times of the Leipzig fairs, information which is provided by others, notably by Lorenz Mizler in his *Musikalische Bibliothek* (see note 62 below).

Bach supposedly resigned his directorship of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum as a consequence of the death of its manager, Gottfried Zimmermann, who died on May 30, 1741. But doubtless his music continued to be performed by the reorganized ensemble, which had been started up anew by Carl Gotthelf Gerlach. Zedler's *Universal Lexicon* noted that the *Bachische Collegium Musicum* was the most famous and finest of its kind. It is not insignificant, then, that the organization begun by Telemann and so ably directed by Bach for more than a decade had prepared the way for the coming of one of Europe's first and foremost symphonic ensembles, the Leipzig Gewandhaus Orchester.

Recent research into music at Köthen during the period of Bach's tenure there as court composer (from 1717 until the spring of 1723) underscores the need to reappraise the "almost mechanical listing" of Bach's instrumental works of supposed Köthen origin by Schmieder, Terry, Spitta, and others. In Christoph Wolff's New York Lincoln Center lecture and elsewhere⁴⁶ it was noted that there were many musical and other problems at Köthen by 1720, ergo the preponderant production by Bach of keyboard music, solo sonatas, etc., *not* the alleged number of concertos, orchestral suites, and other works for instrumental ensembles extravagantly (and erroneously) attributed to Bach during the time while he was the resident *Kapellmeister* to *Fürst* Leopold.⁴⁷ Having reputedly married an *amusa*, the prince seems to have forsaken his faithful mistress *Frau Musica* altogether after 1721, nearly two years before Bach finally left for Leipzig. There was, therefore, probably little, if anything, left of the Köthen musical establishment after Bach's departure in the summer of 1723. It is not surprising, then, that most (if not all) of the performers at the prince's memorial service four months after his death in November, 1728, did not come from Köthen. Bach's elaborate setting of the *Trauermusik für Fürst Leopold*, "Klagt, Kinder, klagt es aller Welt" (BWV 244a),⁴⁸ was performed at the memorial service in Köthen's St. Jacobskirche on March 24, 1729, the day after the "Beysetzung" of Prince Leopold's remains alongside those of his noble ancestors. The performing forces for this work included "Musicis" engaged from Halle, Merseburg, Zerbst, Deßau and Güsten, together with J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena, "und Sohne" (probably Wilhelm Friedemann) from Leipzig, all of whom collectively received "zur abfertigung, inschießlich Kostgeldes" 230 *Thaler*.⁴⁹

46. Christoph Wolff, public lecture, "Bach's Collegium Musicum — the chamber music society of Leipzig," given at the Bruno Walter Auditorium, Lincoln Center, New York on Sept. 12, 1984. A revised version of his lecture was published as "Bach's Leipzig chamber music" in *Early Music*, vol. 13, May 1985, pp. 165-175.

47. See Wolff's article, "Probleme und Neuansätze der Bach Biographik," in *Bericht über das Bachfest-Symposium 1978 der Philipps-Universität Marburg*. Marburg 1978, p. 25 ff.

48. This work contained a number of movements which were parodies of Bach's music from both the *Matthäus-Passion* (BWV 244) and the lost *Markus-Passion* (BWV 247).

49. *BD* ii/ doc. 259, pp. 190-1.

Regardless of the real (or imagined) output of instrumental music by Bach during his Köthen years, the other and probably more musically significant affiliation with his Leipzig collegium musicum, one largely overlooked by Bach scholars in the past, has only recently been evaluated correctly. Perhaps this oversight was one consequence of an exaggerated emphasis on Bach's duties as *Director Chori Musici Lipsiensis* and Cantor of St. Thomas's church. Terry's biography, for example, gives very short shrift to the Bach collegium musicum, with but three perfunctory references to it in his text and none in the index. Even the great biography of Bach by Spitta fails to integrate the facts about Bach's associations with the Leipzig collegia musica and their impress on his activities as both a composer and conductor. Only Schering's discourse on the history of music at Leipzig puts the proper emphasis on the city's musical societies and their wider historical significance.⁵⁰ Although with respect to Bach's involvement with at least the one ensemble, even Schering missed an opportunity to draw the necessary conclusions from the standpoint of Bach's principal duties as director of Leipzig's municipal music.

Whatever the reasons for these oversights, we may deduce that Bach's activities as the director of and composer for one of Europe's most significant proto-philharmonic societies had much wider musical and historical ramifications than are accounted for in earlier estimates and chronological arrangements of his music, notably with respect to his instrumental productions. His associations with one or another of Leipzig's collegia musica probably had more to do with the composition and performance of his instrumental music than any of the other affiliations he had had previous to his appointment as Thomascantor. Moreover, it is now realized to what extent the Leipzig musical societies also figured in the genesis and performance of a considerable number of Bach's compositions with voices as well as instruments. But more of this in a moment.

Modern Bach scholarship forces us to conclude that a great deal of Bach's chamber music has been lost — probably an even greater percentage of individual compositions from his total instrumental output than music lost from the vocal repertory. Much of his known (and lost) instrumental ensemble music was very likely to have formed the bulk of the repertory for the one Leipzig collegium musicum, perhaps even before Bach's assumption of its directorship in 1729. Doubtless, too, there was sufficient music by other composers to be performed by Bach's ensemble. In a place like Leipzig there would have been no want of manuscript and printed music for various combinations of instruments and/or voices. Furthermore, there was always the availability of music by composers from without the city. Wolff has suggested that Bach's subscription in 1738 to Telemann's *Nouveaux QUATUORS EN Six Suites A une Flûte Traversiere....*, the so-called *Pariser Quartette*,⁵¹ may have been for the purpose of their being performed by

50 . See, for example, Schering's *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* ii, pp. 86, 118, et passim, and iii, p. 131 ff.

51 . See *BD* ii/doc. 425.

the Leipzig collegium musicum.⁵² But as Wolff and others have said, it is very likely that Bach supplied most of the music that was performed by the collegium musicum himself, as for example, the orchestral suites (BWV 1066-69), the Concerto in D minor for two violins (BWV 1043), and its c minor parody for two harpsichords (BWV 1062), as well as a number of other keyboard concertos, some of which appear to have been played by Bach and two of his sons, Wilhelm Friedemann and Carl Philipp Emanuel;⁵³ students like Johann Ludwig Krebs were also given opportunities to perform with Bach's Leipzig orchestra.⁵⁴ There is, therefore, no slight connection between Bach's Leipzig ensemble and a number of his compositions, both instrumental works,⁵⁵ as well as instrumentally

52. Christoph Wolff, 1984 lecture, op. cit.

53. Writing to his son from St. Petersburg in 1784, the historian Jacob von Stählin recalled his stay in Leipzig from 1732 until 1735, during which time he took part in performances with the "Bachische Collegium" and says that he had heard Bach's sons perform. In particular he noted that Carl Philipp Emanuel had played "ein Solo oder Konzert im Musikkolleg seines Vaters" and that Wilhelm Friedemann's playing had been "etwas affektierten Elegant herausgekehrt." See *BD* iii/doc. 902.

54. See *BD* iii/doc. 950, p. 478, which includes the biographical sketch of Krebs given in Gerber's *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (vol. i, Leipzig 1790, col. 758), where it is mentioned that Krebs not only had the good fortune to have been able to study with Bach for nine years, but the opportunity to have performed in Bach's "*Collegio Musico* als Cembalist."

55. Inasmuch as a considerable amount of Bach's instrumental music is thought to have been lost, one might well suppose that such works as the composer's orchestral suites, or *Ouvertüren* (BWV 1066-1069), a number of keyboard and violin concertos (e.g. BWV 1041-1045, 1052-1065, etc.), as well as the Brandenburg concertos (BWV 1046-1051) were only a portion of the total repertory of pieces that were performed by the "Bachische Collegium" at Leipzig. Concerning the latter, i.e. the Brandenburg concertos, there is evidence that these works were known at Leipzig and may well have been part of the repertory of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum directed by Bach. For while Bach did make a very handsome score copy of all six works during the time he was at Köthen which he dedicated in March, 1721, and sent off to Ludwig Christian, the margrave of Brandenburg, he undoubtedly had kept the performing parts, and one assumes the composing scores also. This material must have been with him at Leipzig, inasmuch as copies and/or arrangements of all six works were made at Leipzig by Friedrich Penzel, who would not have had access to the score copied at Köthen which had long since been in the possession of the margrave of Brandenburg. There are discrepancies between Penzel's copies and the Köthen/Brandenburg score. (See Don Smithers, "Bizarre Brandenburgs," in *Music and Musicians*, April 1971, pp. 24-28.) But the fact that Penzel had had access at Leipzig to sources of all six concertos, irrespective of whatever disparities there may have been between them and the Köthen/Brandenburg source, does urge us to conclude that these pieces had been played by Bach's collegium musicum. The fact that Penzel's copy of the second concerto in F major (BWV 1047) has the designation on the trumpet part *Tromba ô vero Corno da Caccia* does not suggest that the solo trumpet was played an octave lower on a horn of 16-foot pitch. (It should be noted that Penzel's score, like the heading to the same concerto in the Köthen/Brandenburg score, has the specific designation Tromba only.) Very likely, Penzel's use of "Corno da caccia" in the part designation was his way of specifying the *Italiänische Trompete* (*Welsch Trompete*, or *tromba da caccia*), the kind of trumpet that Reiche

accompanied sacred and secular vocal music.⁵⁶ Moreover, the enrichment (to borrow from Wolff) of a number of earlier and leaner pieces in their Leipzig parodies, e.g. BWV 1006/1 29/1 (= 120a/4), or 1048/1 174/1 is, as Wolff concludes, another manifestation of the opportunities afforded Bach by the size and disposition of his Leipzig orchestra.⁵⁷

Excepting the many *gratulatoria* performances by the “Bachische Collegium,” principally for members of the royal household of Saxony during their visits to Leipzig, there is little surviving evidence for the program content of the numerous other occasions when this ensemble performed. If there had been printed programs for the coffee house concerts, none seem to have survived. Yet, this does not prevent us from having a reasonably good estimate of the kinds of programs the “große-Bachische Collegium” played for Leipzig’s *Kenner und Liebhaber*. We must, of course, rely on a certain amount of secondary evidence and draw conclusions based on the most logical assumptions. We have already seen that Bach’s sons and his regular pupils performed keyboard concertos, for the composition of which Bach appears to have been entirely innovative.⁵⁸ There are also references to the *drammi per musica*, which were invariably advertised as being performed “mit Trompeten und Paucken.” There is a communication from Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel that refers to the time he was a resident in Prague in which he describes

seems to have preferred and one with which he was depicted. We may reasonably suppose that Reiche did, in fact, play the second Brandenburg concerto under Bach’s direction with the collegium musicum at one or another of the venues where he is known to have performed with that ensemble. Moreover, it is not beyond the bounds of reason to suppose that Christoph Ruhe, Reiche’s successor, may have played the same work with the same ensemble sometime after Reiche’s death in October, 1734.

56 . For some of the vocal works accompanied by Bach’s Leipzig Collegium Musicum, see note 61 and Tables I and II.

57 . Christoph Wolff, 1984 lecture, op. cit. Wolff’s discussion of the “enrichment” of Bach’s earlier pieces in his rearrangements for the larger performing forces of the Leipzig Collegium Musicum urges us to reconsider the former (and mistaken) view that in these expanded versions Bach had somehow “run out of ideas,” or was so “pressed for time” that he resorted to rearranging earlier music. Wolff may be mistaken, however, when he suggests that the larger version of an earlier work, as, for example, BWV 1006/1 expanded into the *Sinfonia* to BWV 29, “clarifies” the formal design of the first setting by the use of solo vs. tutti; that the orchestral version appears to be the more sophisticated one. There are many who would argue that the elegant simplicity of the earlier settings was not much improved by the heavier and more elaborate orchestrations of the later parodies. Bach’s genius and the observations of Wolff notwithstanding, the gilding of lilies rarely improves upon their pristine condition.

58 . Although the music history books do not usually credit J.S. Bach with many, if any, musical innovations, it should not go unnoticed that in the composition of instrumental ensemble music with solo keyboard he was entirely innovative. The first of his several concertos with solo keyboard is, of course, BWV 1050, i.e. the Brandenburg concerto no. 5 in D major. For the opportunities afforded Bach to compose a number of his other keyboard concertos, it would appear that the Leipzig Collegium Musicum played no insignificant part.

performances given there by the “wöchentliche Zusammenkünffte” directed by the Freiherr von Hartig that could easily have been a description of programs he heard and in which he himself sometimes took part that had been performed by one or another of the Leipzig collegia musica: “These concerts began with the performance of an overture; after which concertos and, alternatively, vocal pieces or solos were heard there as well; to conclude there was [the performance] of a large symphony.”⁵⁹ During his three-year study at Leipzig University he had, as he says, a number of occasions to hear his own music performed, “so wohl im *Collegio musico* [directed at that time by Melchior Hoffmann], als bey andern Vorfällen....”⁶⁰ Whatever appropriateness to performances by the later Leipzig collegia musica notwithstanding, Stölzel’s observations could just as well have been an apt description of any number of concert programs at London, Vienna and elsewhere which have been reasonably well documented. The practice of intermixing vocal and instrumental pieces on 18th-century concert programs was entirely normal and persisted well into the 19th century. Most symphonic programs before the 20th century were, in fact, a potpourri of vocal and instrumental solos interspersed between larger orchestral works; Richard Wagner even performed his own orchestral arrangement of Renaissance vocal music, namely an eight-part double motet by Palestrina. Such arrangements were part of the symphony programs featuring his own music as well as compositions by Beethoven and other masters.

As several pieces of evidence reveal, the Leipzig collegium musicum appears to have been a principal determinant for the scoring and performance requirements of a number of Bach’s secular or *gratulatoria* cantatas composed and performed at Leipzig, mainly for the benefit of visiting members of the royal Saxon household from Dresden. Many, if not most, of these works have significant trumpet and woodwind parts. Furthermore, it is now thought that the new structure (again, to borrow from Wolff) of the musical forces afforded by the collegium musicum most likely accounts for the genesis and execution of such large-scale vocal works with orchestra as the St. Matthew

59. Quotation “ex liter[is G.H.] Stölzel” on p. 102 in Mattheson’s *Ehrenpforte* (see note 60) and quoted in Arnold Schering’s *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, ii, pp. 341-2: “Der Anfang [of these concerts] wurde mit einer Ouvertüre gemacht; hierauf wurden Concerte gespielet, und auch wechselsweise darunter gesungen oder Solo gehört. Den Schluß aber machte eine starke Symphonie” — and, apropos of what Mizler said of meetings of the “Bachische Collegium” (see note 62), Stölzel concluded, “Fremde und durchreisende Musici hatten hier die beste Gelegenheit, sich nicht nur hören zu lassen, sondern auch bekannt zu machen.”

60. From a biographical statement, “ex autogr[aphus].” Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel, published in Johann Mattheson’s *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, Hamburg 1740 (ed. Berlin 1910/Graz 1969, p. 344).

Passion and the Christmas Oratorio.⁶¹

The “Bachische Collegium” is said to have been a “heterogeneous” organization, suggesting a music society made up of a number of professional musicians and competent amateurs. Sometimes, as in previous years, there were guest musicians, visitors to Leipzig who, from time to time, took part in performances, including the Hasses, S.L. Weiß and others from Dresden. In his *Musikalische Bibliothek*..., Lorenz Mizler provided the following entry for October, 1736, which not only mentions the activities of the two Leipzig collegia musica (the one directed by Bach, the other by Görner), but makes note of the kind of performers that were to be heard in them and the sort of *Publicum* that listened:

Both of the public musical concerts or meetings that are held here weekly are still continuing to flourish. One of them is conducted by Mr. Johann Sebastian Bach, the Illustrious Weissenfels *Capellmeister* and Director of Music at the churches of St. Thomas and St. Nicolai in this place, and, with the exception of the time of the Leipzig Fair, meets once a week in Zimmermann’s coffee-house in the Cather-Strasse: on Friday evenings from 8 to 10 o’clock; during the Fair, however, twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays at the same hour. Mr. Johann Gottlieb Görner, *Musik-Direktor* at the Pauliner-Kirche [university church] and Organist at the Thomas-Kirche conducts the other ensemble. It likewise meets once each week on Thursdays from 8 to 10 o’clock in the Schellhafer Hall in the Kloostergasse; at the time of the fair, however, it meets twice a week, namely on Mondays and Thursdays at the same hour.

Those who perform at these musical meetings are mostly students from here, among whom are always fine musicians, so that often after a time, as is well known, they grow to be famous virtuosos. Every

61 . The following vocal works are known or likely to have been accompanied by the *Bachische Collegium Musicum* at Leipzig:

Secular vocal music:

BWV 193a, 201, 205a, 206, 207a, 208a, 210a, 211, 213, 214, 215, 216/216a, Anh. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 18, 19, et al.

Church music:

BWV 11 (*Himmelfahrts-Oratorium*), 29, 119, 120b, 232^{III} (*Sanctus* from the *B minor Mass*), 243 (Magnificat in D), 244 (*Matthäus-Passion*), 248^{I-VI} (*Weihnachts-Oratorium*), 249 (*Oster-Oratorium*), Anh. 4/4a. We may speculate that many, if not most, of Bach’s large-scale feast day *Kirchenstücke* (church cantatas) that were performed by his *erster Chor* in the two principal churches of Leipzig were accompanied by members of his collegium musicum. If this was, in fact, the case, then it is possible to add many more works to this list, not the least of which would be the remaining cantatas Bach composed for the three great church festivals (see Table I).

musician is allowed to make himself be heard in public at these musical meetings, which are also attended mostly by such listeners who know how to judge a qualified musician.⁶²

Not all of the performers gave of their time and talents *gratis*, leastways in the “Bachische Collegium Musicum.” There is evidence that some of the members were paid for specific engagements. There was, for example, a performance of an *Abendmusik* by the Bachische Collegium Musicum of Bach’s *Huldigungskantate*, BWV Anh. 13, “Willkommen! Ihr herrschenden Götter der Erden,” on the evening of April 28, 1738, which was performed “unter Trompeten und Paucken Schall vor dem Apelischen Hause am Marckte” for the Saxon elector and king of Poland, his queen and the eldest princess of Saxony.⁶³ The sum of 50 *Reichsthaler* was paid to Bach (presumably for his own

62. Lorenz Mizler, *Musikalische Bibliothek*, Part I, Leipzig 1736 (Hilversum 1967), p. 63 ff. (see also *BD* ii, doc. 387, pp. 277-8).

Die beyden öffentlichen Musikalischen Concerten, oder Zusammenkünffte, so hier wöchentlich gehalten werden, sind noch in beständigen Flor. Eines dirigirt der Hochfürstl. Weissenfelsische Capell-Meister und Musik-Direktor in der Thomas und Nikels-Kirchen allhier, Herr Johann Sebastian Bach, und wird ausser der Messe alle Wochen einmahl, auf dem Zimmermannischen Caffé-Hauß in der Cather-Strasse Freytags Abends von 8 biß 10 Uhr, in der Messe aber die Woche zweymahl, Dienstags und Freytags zu eben der Zeit gehalten. Das andere dirigirt Herr Johann Gottlieb Gömer, Musik-Direktor in der Pauliner Kirche, und Organist in der Thomas Kirche. Es wird gleichfals alle Wochen einmahl auf dem Schellhaferischen Saal in der Closter-Gasse, Donnerstags Abends von 8 biß 10, in der Messe aber die Woche zweymahl, nemlich Montags und Donnerstags, um eben diese Zeit gehalten.

Die Glieder, so diese Musikalischen Concerten ausmachen, bestehen mehrentheils aus den allhier Herrn Studirenden, und sind immer gute Musici unter ihnen, so daß öffters, wie bekandt, nach der Zeit berühmte Virtuosen aus ihnen erwachsen. Es ist jedem Musico vergönnet, sich in diesen Musikalischen Concerten öffentlich hören zu lassen, und sind auch mehrentheils solche Zuhörer vorhanden, die den Werth eines geschickten Musici zu beurtheilen wissen.

Compare the translation here with that in Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, *The Bach Reader*, p. 149, or the one in the Bell and Fuller-Maitland edition of Spitta’s biography of Bach (vol. ii, London 1889/New York 1951, p. 674).

63. See *BD* ii/documents 424 and [424a], pp. 326-328. See also *The Bach Reader*, p. 159. The “Apelische Haus am Marckt” (sometimes referred to as the “Königshaus”), named after its first owner, Andreas Dietrich Apel, became the traditional residence of the electors of Saxony and kings of Poland during their visits to Leipzig. It was the site of evening serenades by the voices and instruments of the “Bachische Collegium,” who, in the street (or gardens) below and by the light of numerous torches and other illuminations, entertained Leipzig’s royal visitors who heard the performances from the windows and balconies of the Baroque residence. As the one report for the performance of BWV 215 (see below) noted, their majesties the king, queen and “Königlichen Printzen” listened attentively, “so lange die *Music* gedauert, nicht von Fenster weggegangen,

services and for disbursement to his collegium musicians), with a separate payment of 8 Reichsthaler to the *Stadtpeifer*, the first trumpeter at that time having been Christoph Ruhe.⁶⁴ Fifty Thaler had been paid previously for the performance on Oct. 5, 1734, of BWV 215, the *Dramma per Musica*, "Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen," which is discussed below;⁶⁵ there is no mention on that occasion, however, of an additional payment to the *Stadtpeifer*.

While there is as yet no directly corroborating evidence, it was probably Bach's custom to regularly engage instrumentalists from the *collegia musica* for performances of the *Figuralmusik* (cantatas) with the *erster Chor* in the two principal churches of Leipzig, notably on musically important holy days. There could have been a tacit agreement between Bach and some of his collegium musicians that participation in the paid coffee house and other concerts meant contributing their services for the large-scale performances in the two principal churches of St. Thomas and St. Nicolai.⁶⁶ Bach did

sondern haben solche gnädigst angehört, und Ihr. *Majestät* hertzlich wohlgefallen." (From *BD* ii/ doc. 352.) There is a unique 18th-century engraving of "Das Apelische Haus, worinnen Ihre Könige Majest. zu logiren pflegen." According to Neumann (*BD* iv, pp. 288 and 388), the anonymous engraving was made in 1720. Bernhard Knick (op. cit. — see note 9), on the other hand, notes in the caption to his reproduction of a contemporary hand-colored edition of the same engraving (facing p. 176) that it dates from 1737. The unique iconographic source shows the front of the "Apelische Haus," obviously during one of the many evening entertainments described by the surviving documents, inasmuch as there are numerous persons seen without, not the least of whom are several playing various wind instruments — including two figures shown blowing upraised *trombe da caccia*, presumably being played by members of the Leipzig *Stadtmusicorum*, i.e. the *Stadtpeifer*. (see Figs. 6 and 7).

64 . *BD* i/ doc. 122. For some hitherto unpublished information about Ruhe see note 78.

65 . *BD* i/ doc. 119.

66 . When it was suggested to some well-known Bach scholars a few years ago that Bach's high-feast-day *Figuralmusik* at Leipzig had been performed twice on each of the first two days for every three-day feast of the three great Lutheran church festivals (Christmas, Easter and Pentecost), and twice on the one day for each of the 10 lesser church festivals (see Tables I and II), there was no slight incredulity at my observations. But the evidence is quite real and conclusive. Bach himself said that in carrying out his *Festtägigen* musical responsibilities the works to be performed by the first choir, "which are mostly of my own composition," had to be conducted by him in the two principal churches of St. Thomas and St. Nicolai, consequently he had to be in both places "at almost the same time" (see *BD* i/ documents 12, p. 35, and 34, pp. 87-88). But notwithstanding Bach's own testimony or that of the 18th-century Leipzig historian Christoph Ernst Sicul (see note 95 below), the most conclusive evidence consists of the many libretti, or word books, that were published for the various festivals of the church year and which contain the texts to the cantatas by Bach (and other composers) that were sung in the two *Hauptkirchen* of St. Nicolai and St. Thomas. One representative example of these word books which clearly specifies the venue of performance for each setting of a particular cantata is that to Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, the *ORATORIUM, / Welches/ Die heilige Weyhnacht/ über/ In beyden/ Haupt Kirchen/ zu/ Leipzig/ musiciret wurde/ Anno 1734*. See Table I.) For the first feast day of Christmas ("Am 1^{sten} Heil.

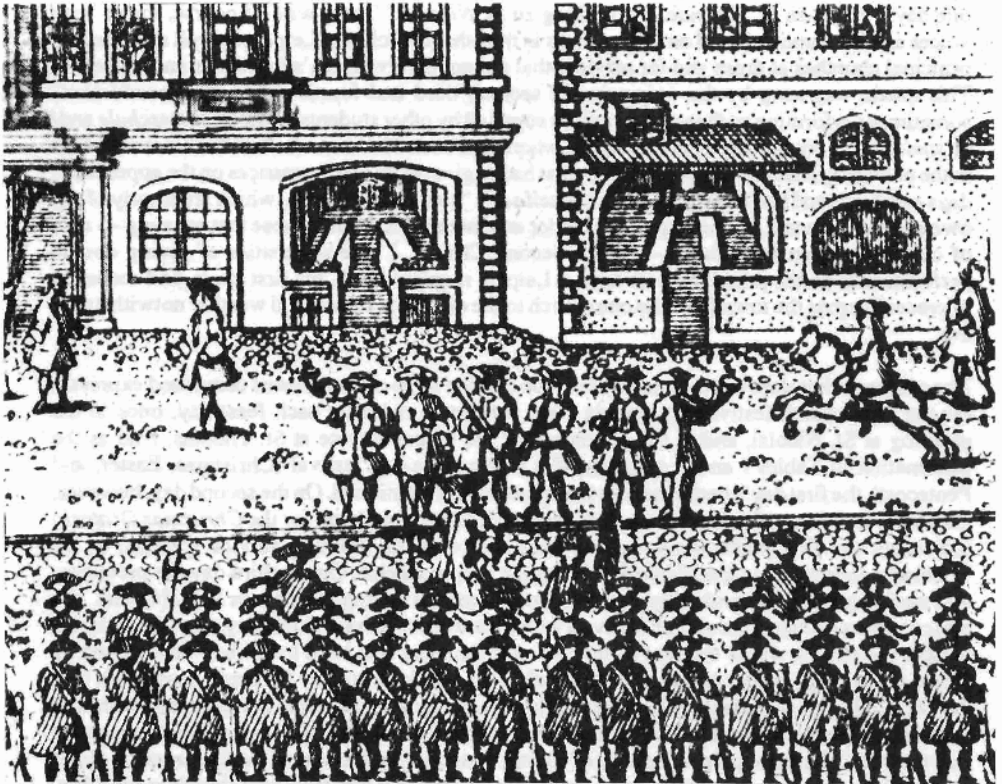


Figure 7

Detail from Fig. 6 showing the ensemble with two *trombe da caccia* in the foreground of the 'Apelische Haus' at Leipzig.

say that the university *studiosi* had given of their time and talents “*gratis und ohne*

Weyhnacht=Feyertage”), i.e. Dec. 25, the first cantata of the *Christmas Oratorio* was performed “Frühe zu *St. Nicolai* und Nachmittage zu *St. Thomae*.” For the second feast day (Dec. 26) the second cantata was performed “Frühe zu *St. Thomae*, Nachmittage zu *St. Nicolai*.” On the third feast day (Dec. 27), the appropriate cantata was performed only once, “Zu *St. Nicolai*.” The next cantata of the *Christmas Oratorio* (Part Four) was the appropriate feast day music “Aufs Fest der Beschneidung Christi,” i.e. for the Feast of the Circumcision or New Year’s Day (Jan. 1) — one of the 10 lesser feasts, and was therefore performed “Frühe zu *St. Thomae*; Nachmittage zu *St. Nicolai*.” Part Five of the *Christmas Oratorio* was performed only once (“In der Kirche zu *St. Nicolai*”), inasmuch as the particular day for its performance was the first Sunday after New Year’s Day (in 1735 it fell on Jan. 4) and not a feast day. The last part of the *Christmas Oratorio* (Part Six), however, was the proper music “Am Feste der Offenbahrung Christi” (the Feast of the Epiphany on Jan. 6) and, being one of the 10 lesser feasts, was therefore performed twice on the one day, “Frühe zu *St. Thomae*. Nachmittag zu *St. Nicolai*.” There was, of course, music with voices and instruments heard on festival days in the other churches of Leipzig as well as in the two principal churches at times and for services that did not involve Bach’s first choir and orchestra. This music was sung by the voices in the second, third and fourth choirs, the second choir sometimes performing with instrumentalists supplied by other students of the *Thomasschule* and/or *studiosi* of Leipzig University (many of whom had been *Thomaner* before their matriculation in the university). But it was the first choir that had to give double performances on the appropriate days and times and had to sing, as Bach himself said, “concerted pieces ... which are mostly of my own composition and are incomparably harder and more intricate than those that are sung — and, of course, only on feast days — by the Second Choir. ...” The necessities of giving double performances on the principal feast days at Leipzig required Bach, his first choir, and orchestra to proceed across the town from the one church to the other, the season and weather notwithstanding.

The evidence therefore compels us to conclude that the large-scale cantatas composed expressly for the high church festivals at Leipzig were performed twice on each feast day, once in the morning at *St. Nicolai*, and in the afternoon for the vesper service at *St. Thomas*. And as the information in Tables I and II suggests, if it was a three-day festival (Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost), the first day’s performances took place as just mentioned. On the second day, however, the places and times of performance were reversed (as the word book for the *Christmas Oratorio* indicates), the first performance having taken place at the morning service (matins) in *St. Thomas*’s church and in the *Nicolaikirche* for the vesper service. On the third day the procedure was again reversed, but with only a performance at matins having been given in *St. Nicolai*. For performances on any of the church festivals which were observed on a single day only (the 10 lesser feasts), the church where the first of the two performances had been heard was determined by where the principal music had been performed on the previous Sunday (or single feast day): if in the *Thomaskirche*, then Bach had to direct the high feast day music with his first choir and orchestra in *St. Nicolai* for matins and in *St. Thomas* for the vespers; if in the *Nicolaikirche*, then the opposite was the case. The same procedure was, of course, observed for the annual performance on Good Friday of the passion music, alternating from year to year, as it did, from one church to the other. For a detailed examination of these musical traditions, see the present author’s forthcoming essay, “The original circumstances in the performance of Bach’s Leipzig church cantatas, ‘wegen seiner Sonn- und Festtägigen Amts-Verichtungen’” referred to in note 84.

Entgeld zu bestellen," certainly before 1729.⁶⁷ What arrangements Bach made with his instrumentalists after assuming the directorship of the "große" collegium musicum is difficult to say. In his "Entwurf" of 1730 he observed that as the few slight "beneficia" formerly available to the university students had been withdrawn (presumably by the town council) there was an attendant decline in the students' willingness to contribute their services.⁶⁸ There is no mention at that time of a collegium musicum.⁶⁹ Yet the

67. *BD i/ doc. 12*, p. 38, Bach's third petition of 1725 to Friedrich August I (King August II), dated Dec. 31, requesting a redress of grievances over the frustration of prerogatives and the withholding of fees owed him by the church consistory of Leipzig. For a translation of Bach's "complaints," see *The Bach Reader*, pp. 98-105.

68. As early as December, 1725, Bach had reason to declare that it was necessary for him to rely on the university *Studiosi* to "regularly take part in both the vocal and instrumental music" under his personal direction and that up to that time they had done so "gratis and without compensation" (*BD i/ doc. 12*, p. 38; English translation in *The Bach Reader*, p. 103). But in his well-known "Entwurf einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music" written to the Town Council of Leipzig in August, 1730 (*BD i/ doc. 22*, p. 60 ff.), Bach complained that "the few slight *beneficia* formerly devoted to the *Chorum musicum*" had been "successively taken away," so as a consequence "the willingness of the *Studiosorum* had been lost also"; for, as Bach rightly asked, "who would work or give of their services for nothing?" (*BD i/ doc. 22* p. 62; English translation in *The Bach Reader*, p. 122). In a testimonial Bach wrote on behalf of C. G. Wecker in March, 1729, he mentioned that inasmuch as Georg Balthazar Schott had taken a post at Gotha, he was willing to take over the collegium musicum, which he did, with some interruptions, from 1729 until at least 1741 (*BD i/ doc. 20*). We may suppose that from that time on he was able to count on members of his collegium to assist in performances of at least the large feast day cantatas. In a testimonial for B. D. Ludewig written in March, 1737, Bach wrote that the applicant had not only well acquitted himself in his theological studies, but had over some years diligently frequented the collegium musicum, having given his untiring assistance performing on various instruments (*BD i/ doc. 73*, p. 141). As the comparatively recent studies of such scholars as Werner Braun, Werner Neumann and Hans-Joachim Schulze have shown, Bach was able to count on a number of individuals to assist him with the collegium musicum in performances of his large vocal works.

69. Bach may well have had occasion to work with one or another of Leipzig's collegia musica before his assuming the directorship of the "große Collegium" in 1729. On the May 30, the First Sunday after Trinity in 1723, Bach performed in the *Nicolaikirche* his first cantata as Leipzig's new musical director. His inaugural cantata was BWV 75, a work which includes some remarkable writing for trumpet.* The occasion was referred to in the *Bericht* printed in the *ACTA LIPSIENSIIUM ACADEMICA...* for 1723 where Bach's music was mentioned as having been received with "guten applausu." But the same report refers to Bach as the new Cantor and "*Colegii Music Direct[or]*." Was this merely a euphemism for what Neumann and Schulze say (*BD ii*, p. [104], doc. 139) was Bach's more usual title as *Director Chori Musici* (which is how he is described in a comparable announcement printed in the Hamburg *RELATIONSCOURIER* for Thursday, June 10, 1723)? The mention of Bach as "Director of the Collegium Musicum" at the very outset of his career at Leipzig should not be too quickly dismissed as merely a euphemism or a slip of the pen. The accompaniment of one or another Leipzig collegium musicum for festive church music was, as already mentioned, a practice known to the *Bürger* of Leipzig in the previous century. Bach, therefore, is likely to have had various associations with one or more of the Leipzig collegia musica in his

evidence urges us to consider that the students had been members of one or another of Leipzig's musical collegia and that these ensembles had been a likely source of instrumentalists for Bach's church performances, all the more so in light of the fact that the one collegium musicum under Bach's leadership did take part in performing many of his own concerted vocal compositions. As Werner Neumann rightly observed, "Als Reservoir für die kirchliche Figuralmusik hat das Collegium in Zukunft [after the spring of 1729] wohl beiden gleicherweise gedient."⁷⁰

Of course, the *Stadtpeifer* (Reiche, *et al.*) took part in both the church and collegium musicum performances, any proscriptions of the latter by the *Hoftrumpeter* privileges notwithstanding.⁷¹ It was, ironically, one consequence of a strenuous performance with the "Bachische Collegium Musicum" of the "allerunterhänigste Abend *Music* mit *Trompeten* und *Paucken*" on the evening of Tuesday, Oct. 5, 1734, that Gottfried Reiche is reported to have become so seriously ill from inhaling the dense smoke given off by all the numerous torches and other lights (see the account from Riemer's chronicle quoted below). This was on the occasion of the visit to Leipzig of Friedrich August II (August III), the king of Poland and elector of Saxony, his consort, and all his train, who witnessed the performance from the open windows of the royal residence in the "Apelischen Hause" which stood on the south side of the market place.⁷² The very next day Reiche suffered a stroke and dropped dead in the street near his home. The music

earliest years as *Thomas-Cantor* and may as a consequence have been aptly referred to in the one report of his first appearance as the city's new director of music.

* An appropriate word about BWV 75. The cantata includes a *sinfonia*-cum-choral prelude on the hymn "Was Gott tut, das ist wohlgetan," Bach's only known setting of its kind for instrumental ensemble, one in which the *tromba* plays the chorale in juxtaposition to a remarkable contrapuntal accompaniment for strings and continuo. By a judicious use of the technique that I have referred to in various places as "note bending," a technique with which Reiche was well acquainted (Reiche was undoubtedly the trumpeter for the first performance), the several non-harmonic tones in this piece can be played on a fixed-pitch instrument at one or another tuning. The trumpet part is to be played not, as is sometimes and erroneously said, an octave higher but in the soprano register of the chorale itself, thereby integrating the melody with the accompanying stringed instruments, a procedure Bach follows in the majority of his *Choralvorspiele*.

70 . Werner Neumann, "Das 'Bachische Collegium Musicum'," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 1960, p. 12. Neumann continued: "Bach hatte allerdings schon im folgenden Jahre Anlaß, sich über die abnehmende 'Willfähigkeit der Studiosorum' infolge Entzugs 'einiger Ergötzlichkeit' und der 'wenigen beneficia' beim Rate zu beklagen, und Gerlach bemühte sich, offenbar aus gleichen Erfahrungen, um Festanstellung eines kleinen Musikerstamms für seine kirchenmusikalischen Aufführungen."

71 . Concerning any alleged difficulties between the Leipzig *Stadtpeifer* trumpeters and those of the court, see note 42 above.

72 . See note 63.

on the evening of the fifth had included a performance of Bach's *Huldigungskantate*, the *Dramma per Musica* "Preise dein Glücke, gesegnetes Sachsen" (BWV 215). This is the secular cantata with the extraordinary trumpet writing that Bach later parodied in the "Osanna" from the B minor Mass (BWV 232). Johann Salomon Riemer (1702-1771), the Leipzig University beadle ("bulldog"), sometime performer, music copyist, and chronicler, made the following unhappy entry in his journal for that fateful Wednesday, Oct. 6, 1734:

On precisely this day the highly skilled and most artistic musician and *Stadtpfeifer*, Herr Gottfried Reiche, the *Leucopetra-Misnicus* and senior member of the municipal company of musicians in this place, suffered a stroke as he was going home and dropped dead in the *Stadtpfeifer-Allee* not far from his house where he was taken. The reason for this was on account of the enormous strain he suffered the night before while blowing [the trumpet] for the royal music, his condition having been greatly aggravated from the smoke given off by all the torch-lights.⁷³

We may conclude that the "große strapazzen" Reiche suffered from playing the trumpet the night of Oct. 5 was not entirely due to Bach's *Dramma per Musica* and all the smoke given off by the numerous torches. It is reasonable to assume that there had

73. From Johann Salomon Riemer's Ms. *Chronik* preserved in the Stadtarchiv, Leipzig (vol. i, p. 107): "An eben diesem Tage wurde der Wohlerfahrne und Kunstreiche Musicus u. Stadtpfeiffer Herr Gottfried Reiche Leucopetra-Misn[icus]. und Senior der Mus[icalische]: Stadt Compagnie alhier, als er nach Hause gehen wollen im Stadtpfeiffer Gäßgen ohnweit seiner Wohnung vom Schlag gerühret, daß er niedergesunken, und todt in seine Wohnung gebracht worden. Und dieses soll daher kommen seyn, weil er Tages vorher bey der Königlichen Musique wegen des Blasens große strapazzen gehabt, und auch der Fackel Rauch ihm sehr beschwerlich gewesen." See *BD ii*/doc. 352, pp. 250-251.

The meaning of Reiche's title *Leucopetra-Misnicus* is, as the editorial note to my 1987 *Bach-Jahrbuch* article (p. 139, note 93) suggests, an elegantly old-fashioned, if classical, reference to Weißenfels, Reiche's place of birth — *leucopetra* being a classically derived descriptive allusion to the promontory (*Burg*) upon which the castle of Weißenfels is situated, while *misnicus* refers to its ancient political jurisdiction, i.e. to the *meißnischen Nation*. Reiche's Latin title is not only mentioned by Riemer, but also in the biographical sketch of Reiche in Mattheson's *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, op. cit. (see note 60 above), p. 290. It also appears with the *Inscription* to Rosbach's 1727 engraving: "Gottfried Reiche./ Leucopetra-Misnicus./ natus d[ie]. v [5th] Februari. MDCLXVII. Musicorum Senatus Lipsiensis Senior." (Reproduced in *Bilddokumente zur Lebensgeschichte Johann Sebastian Bachs...* (vol. IV of the *Bach Dokumente*), ed. Werner Neumann, Kassel, etc. 1979, fig. 397, p. 234. See Fig. 6 in the accompanying reproductions of the three known sources of Reiche's likenesses.

been other music with trumpets and kettledrums also, not in the least a number of *Abblasenstücke*, probably of Reiche's own composition, which, under the circumstances, had to be played with a suitably royal pomp and stentorian sonority.⁷⁴ The description of Reiche's effects after his death did include more than 122 "Abblase=Stückgen," which, along with his other music and instruments, were last heard of in 1748.⁷⁵ Fortunately, his magnificent *Walzenkrug* has survived, preserved today in the Schloßmuseum at Aschaffenburg.⁷⁶

Who were the other trumpeters that joined Reiche in the performance of Leipzig's extra-liturgical music? Other than the few available (and qualified) *Stadtpfeifer* and *Kunstgeiger* (Gentzmer, Gleditsch, Rother, and possibly Meyer, Caroli and Kornagel), we must assume that there were a number of *Beiständer* who, as journeymen, had in all probability taken leave of their respective masters elsewhere to polish their talents as assistants to Reiche and his colleagues at Leipzig.⁷⁷ Christoph Ruhe, for example, appears to have been one of these assistants, and with such qualifications that almost

74 . See, for example, *BD ii/ doc. 220*, pp. 165-7, being an account of the birthday celebrations for Friedrich August I (King August II) at Leipzig on May 12, 1727 (for which there was a performance of Bach's *Geburtstagskantate*, BWV Anh. 9), during which at some point one heard "währenden *Marches*, mit Trompeten und Pauken." Or, from *BD ii/ doc. 352*, p. 250, which describes the ceremonies of homage to Friedrich August II at Leipzig on the evening of Oct. 5, 1734, during which Reiche played the first trumpet part in the performance of Bach's *Huldigungskantate*, BWV 215. As the royal procession made its way into the Catharinen Straße toward the king's residence (the "Apelische Haus") it was accompanied by "derselben *Trompeten und Pauken*" that had been heard in the performance of Bach's cantata and the other music that was performed during the ceremonies.

75 . See Schering's article on Reiche referred to in note 23.

76 . See note 16 and Figs. 3, 4a, 4b, and 4c.

77 . In present-day reckonings of musicians and their performances during the 17th and 18th centuries one entire group of performers is frequently overlooked. Any calculations of performing forces at the time must include the *Stadtpfeifer* (and *Hofmusici*) assistants. The *Stadtpfeifer Privilegien*, for example, frequently mention assistants and the need for them to serve "other famous masters" after the mandatory period of a five-year apprenticeship. It is therefore important not to overlook their presence and participation in performances of instrumental music. For despite their not being accounted for in such surviving documents as payment records and employment rosters, they were the "other" performers whose services were often indispensable in meeting a composer's musical demands. We have to assume that a deservedly famous musician like Reiche always had several *Beiständer* (besides the requisite number of apprentices) who were able to play several instruments.

immediately upon Reiche's death he became a *Stadtppfeifer*.⁷⁸ What is not at all clear is the situation regarding the number and identity of the trumpeters in Görner's collegium. It is unlikely that the "Görnersche" collegium had no regular trumpets. Performances of his own *Huldigungskantaten* in the *St. Paulikirche* (university church) are often reported to have sounded "unter Trompeten und Paucken." There is no reason why the appropriately qualified *Stadtppfeifer* and their assistants could not have performed with his ensemble as well as the "Bachische Collegium." There is the remark (of G.H. Stölzel?) quoted without attribution by Schering, that all sections of the "große Collegium musicum" were duly appointed, including the winds, "whereby neither trumpets nor flutes are

78 . While commenting on a question raised during one of my lectures in the "Gohlische Schlößchen" at Leipzig in the winter of 1982, Hans-Joachim Schulze mooted that Reiche's *Nachfolger*, Ruhe, came from Dresden. Unfortunately, all such pertinent documents at Dresden which might have provided any baptismal or other information on Ruhe's origins seem to have perished during the firestorm of 1945. There are, however, the following marriage and baptism entries in the appropriate registers from the *Nicolaikirche* at Leipzig which are now kept in the city's *Kirchenbuch Amt* and which I was able to look at. The following information is published here for the first time.

Traungsbuch St. Nicolai (the marriage register for St. Nicolai),
1732-1752:

p. 222 Sonntag ist den 11. Maij 1738 [*Rogate*, or Rogation Sunday, the 5th Sunday after Easter]
 von Magister Christoph Wollen
 Hora 4. pomerid. [4 o'clock in the afternoon] copulirt worden.

Herr Ulrich Heinrich Christoph Ruhe eines Edlen Hochweisen Raths alhier gestallter
Kirchen und Stadt Musicus:
Sie/ Jungfrau Florentina Anna Sophia
Herrn Heinrich Jacob Niemeyers Schulcollegens und Organistens an der St. Johannes
Kirchen in Halberstadt, ehelich Tochter.

Ruhe and his wife had seven children, all of whom were baptized in the church of St. Nicolai:

Heinrich Paul, baptized March 22, 1739

Christiana Florentina, bap. Nov. 12, 1741

Andreas Ludwig, bap. March 4, 1740

Ulrica Charlotte, bap. July 5, 1745

Friederica Henriette, bap. April 16, 1748

Johann Wilhelm and Johanna Rosina (twins), bap. Oct. 1, 1750. The one *Pate*
(godfather) for Johann Wilhelm was "Herr [Johann] Gottlob Herre [sic, i.e.
Harrer], Thomaskantor," J.S. Bach's immediate successor.

Although Ruhe was a *Stadtppfeifer* trumpeter, it is significant that not many years after succeeding Reiche he appears to have spent most of his time as a violinist, the principal trumpet eventually being played by Carl Friedrich Pfaffe, for whose *Stadtppfeifer Probe* J.S. Bach made his favorable report in July, 1745 (see *BD* i/ doc. 80, pp. 147-148).

wanting.”⁷⁹ Trumpeters and kettledrummers have been by long tradition free-lance players, being engaged by different ensembles on an *ad hoc* basis just prior to a performance. The situation at Leipzig cannot have been so different than that at London, for example, where one discovers in any particular era that some of the same trumpeters’ names are found among those of the performers for several different musical organizations. What cannot be ruled out, of course, is the participation of students, either those who were allowed under the regulations to take lessons with individual *Stadtipeifer*, or others, possibly university students, who had acquired some ability for playing brass instruments on their own. If they had maintained an amateur status, it is unlikely that they would have run afoul of the prerogatives and mandates that sanctioned unofficial trumpet playing.⁸⁰ University students elsewhere played trumpets, despite whatever privileges had been granted to military and municipal trumpeters.⁸¹ In the previous century such infringements would have been unthinkable, but in the 18th century the old privileges of the court trumpeters seem to have gradually passed into desuetude. Furthermore, and given their relatively unthreatening and probably unremunerated status, it is unlikely that students who might have played the trumpet in the service of the city and for state occasions had any difficulties with the professionals. The city of Leipzig was too often host to royal dignitaries from the court at Dresden, and what with many of them patronizing the collegium musicum concerts, there would have been little

79 . Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs* ii, pp. 338-9: “...wobei weder Trompeten noch Flöten fehlten.”

80 . For those who may be unaware that the *Stadtipeifer* enjoyed similar rights and had been granted comparable imperial privileges as the *Hoftrumpeter*, see the references cited above in note 11.

81 . In *The life and times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by himself* (Andrew Clark ed., 5 vols., Oxford 1891-1900) we learn that students at Oxford University, for example, were able to play the trumpet. We may conclude from what Wood had to say about the use of trumpets in Oxford that the trumpeters could as easily have been those from the university as others from the company of city waits or the lieutenant of the county (or the earl of Abingdon, for that matter). Around the time of King James’s accession, for example, Wood mentions the “training and bearing of armes of the scholars of the Universitie of Oxon in ... Anno 1685.” He notes that among the various payments for arms, ammunition and fees for transporting “gunnes,” etc., there was a requisition for payment to “Mr. chancellor Alworth what he had given to the trumpeters of the University troope, £2. 3s. ...” — the cost to the university for the bearing of arms in June-July 1685 was over £150 (Wood, vol. iv, Addenda, p. 80). Various payment records and such historical accounts as those of Wood and others indicate that there were groups of waits and trumpeters for both the university and the town of Oxford, a condition which may have been the same at Cambridge also, as well as at a number of other universities on the continent.

patience with court trumpeters for the kind of outrageous behavior reported elsewhere.⁸²

It is by now fairly evident that a day in the life of a *Stadtpfeifer* like Reiche, especially during periods of the high church festivals, was a dawn-to-dusk affair of almost unceasing activity. There were many such days from 1723 and for the next eleven years. As some recent studies have shown, the musical content of the high feast days was of sufficient scope to have required several hours of a performer's time and talents; this was one consequence of the principal music (the feast day cantata) having been performed twice, once in each of the two principal churches of Leipzig.⁸³ But the demands on Reiche were by no means restricted to performances of Bach's *Kirchenstücke*. There were the morning and evening *Abblasen* from the tower of one or the other of the two principal churches; the midday *Sonaten* from the *Pfeiferstuhl* of the town hall; wedding ceremonies, which, from time to time, not only had *Figuralmusik* but additional *Abblasen* from the church towers; lessons with apprentices; rehearsals and performances with the collegium musicum, and frequent occasions and ceremonies of state, which required the attendance of the entire *Stadt-Musicorum* in performances of music by various composers.

In another study by this writer there is an overview of Bach's cantatas within the context of the Leipzig Lutheran liturgy, with some necessary observations on the original circumstances of their performance.⁸⁴ Let the reader bear in mind that much, if not most, of this music was written with the specific performing forces of Leipzig as a prerequisite for the compositional process. Without the extraordinary gifts of Gottfried Reiche, for example, it is likely that many of Bach's best works would have been composed rather differently (if at all). These works are not only a memorial to the

82. Testimony in the form of a cross-examination concerning the assault of a *Stadtpfeifer* trumpeter by some court trumpeters, entitled "Von der Trompeter und Stadt=Thürner Differenzien," was published in the "Fasciculus III." of Anton Faber's *Europäischer Staats=Cantzley Vierter Theil...*, Frankfurt and Leipzig 1700, p. 840 ff. A facsimile of it will be found in Detlef Altenburg's *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Trompete...*, vol. ii, Regensburg 1973, p. 95 ff. See also the present writer's *The music and history of the Baroque trumpet before 1721*, London 1973 and Buren (The Netherlands) 1988 where information is given about other but less serious altercations between town and court musicians.

83. For some of the particulars concerning double performances of the *Figuralmusik* (the cantata) by Bach's *erster Chor* and orchestra for matins and vespers in the two principal churches at Leipzig on the high feast days, see note 66 above, the reference cited in note 84, and Tables I and II.

84. Don L. Smithers, "The original circumstances in the performance of Bach's Leipzig church cantatas, 'wegen seiner Sonn- und Festtägigen Amts-Verrichtungen'," published in the proceedings of the 1985 International Bach Conference at Hofstra University with the title, *Johann Sebastian Bach: A tercentenary celebration* (Westport, 1991, pp. 155-181). The subject of this essay will be given a broader treatment in my forthcoming treatise on the music, history, manufacture and use of the classic trumpet.

greatest musical mind "of all times and people,"⁸⁵ but a living tribute to those for whom they were written to be performed in the first instance. To perform them now with understanding it is necessary, indeed, *a priori*, to remember why they were written, and, just as important, certainly for today's musicians, to reflect on the lives and circumstances of all them whose lot it was to have been there first and foremost.

TABLE I

The times and places of double performances of cantatas in the two principal churches of Leipzig during Bach's *Amt*, as noted from the surviving word books for the following years.⁸⁶

1724⁸⁷

Wed. Feb. 2	BWV 83	"Am Fest der Reinigung Mariä./Früh in der Kirche zu <i>St. Nicolai</i> und in der Vesper/ zu <i>St. Thomae</i> ."
Sat. March 25	No known setting; music probably by Bach. ⁸⁸	"Am Fest der Verkündigung Mariä./Früh in der Kirche zu <i>St. Thomae</i> und in / der Vesper zu <i>St. Nicolai</i> ."

The text for the first movement (presumably a chorus) is from the Prophet Isaiah (VII, 14): "Siehe, eine Jungfrau ist schwanger und wird einen Sohn gebären, den wird sie heissen Immanuel."

85 A paraphrase of the *Ankündigung* for the first publication of Bach's *B minor Mass* — "...des größten musikalischen Kunstwerks aller Zeiten und Völker" — by Hans Georg Nägeli, the Zürich musicologist, publisher, and friend of Beethoven.

86 . There are not many surviving word books. It is assumed, however, that word books were published every year from some time during Kuhnau's tenure as *Cantor* until after Bach's death. What word books there are represent but a fraction of those that were published. It can be safely assumed, therefore, that the same formulae and procedures noted from the few surviving word books were observed for all the Sundays and feast days in the course of the other church years. For the most up to date bibliographic, chronological and other "philological" information about these and Bach's other concerted vocal compositions, see the first four volumes of the recently published *Bach Compendium; analytisch-bibliographisches Repertorium der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* by Hans-Joachim Schulze and Christoph Wolff, 7 vols., Leipzig, Dresden, Frankfurt am Main, etc., 1985-.

87 . Full title page: *Texte/ Zur Leipziger/ Kirchen=Music./ Auf den/ Andern, dritten, vierdten Sonntage/ nach der Erscheinung Christi [Epiphany],/ Das/ Fest Mariä Reinigung,/ Und die Sonntage/ Septuagesimae, Sexagesimae, / Estomihi, / Ingleichen/ Auf das Fest/ der Verkündigung Mariä, / 1724. / Leipzig, / Gedruckt bey Immanuel Tietzen. See the *Sämtliche von Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte* edited by Werner Neumann, Leipzig 1974, p. 422 ff.*

88 . There are several works accounted for in the word books for which there are no known musical

1724⁸⁹

Sun. April 9	BWV 31	“Auf den ersten Heil[igen]. Oster=Tag./ Frühe in der Kirche zu St. Nicolai, und in der Vesper/ zu St. Thomä.”
Mon. April 10	BWV 66	“Auf den andern Heiligen Oster=/ Tag./ Frühe in der Kirche zu St. Thomä, und in der Vesper/ In der Kirche zu St. Nicolai.”

1725⁹⁰

Sun. June 24	Text only: music prob. by Bach.	“ <i>Festo St. Johannis.</i> / Früh zu St. Thomä, nachmittag zu St. Nicol[ai].”
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The text to the first movement (presumably for chorus) is taken from the Gospel of St. Luke, I, 68, the “Lobgesang des Zacharias”: “Gelobet sey der Herr, der Gott Israel, denn er hat besucht und erlöst sein Volck.”

Mon. July 2	Text only: music prob. by Bach.	“ <i>Festo Visit[ationis]. Maria</i> [sic]./ Früh zu St. Thomä, nachmittag zu St. Nicol[ai].”
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The text to the first movement (for chorus), which is repeated at the conclusion of the work (according to the direction following the last line of printed text, “*Chorus repetatur ab initio*”), is the first line from Luther’s translation of the *Magnificat* (Luke I,46ff.): “Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn, und mein Geist freuet sich Gottes meines Heylandes.”

settings. It is more than likely that these were composed by Bach. Alfred Dürr (*Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J.S. Bachs*, Basel 1976) has used the expression “höchstwahrscheinlich von Bach” to settle the question of attribution.

89. Full title: *Texte/Zur Leipziger/Kirchen=Music./ Auf die/H[eiligen]. Oster=Feyertage./ Und die beyden folgenden/ Sonntage Quasimodogeniti/ und Misericordias Domini./ 1724./ Leipzig./ Gedruckt bey Immanuel Tietzen. See Neumann 1974, p. 428 ff.*

90. Full title page: *Texte/Zur Leipziger/Kirchen=Music./ Auf den/Dritten Sonntag nach Trinitatis./ Das/ Fest Joha[n]is des Täuffers./ Ingleichen/ Den fünfften Sonntag/ Trinitatis./ Das Fest der Heimsuchung Mariä./ Und/ Den sechsten Sonntag Trinitatis./ 1725./ Leipzig./ Gedruckt bey Immanuel Tietzen. See Neumann 1974, p. 432 ff.*

1731⁹¹

- Sun. March 25 BWV 31 "Am ersten/ Heiligen Oster=Tage/ frühe
zu *S. Nicolai*, Nachmittags/ zu
S. Thomae."
- Mon. March 26 BWV 66 "Am andern/ Heiligen Oster=Tage/ frühe
zu *S. Thomae*, Nachmittags/ zu
S. Nicolai."

1731⁹²

- Sun. May 13 BWV 172 "Am ersten/ H[eiligen].
Pfingst=Feyertage./ Frühe zu
St. Nicolai, Nachmittags zu/
St. Thomae."
- Mon. May 14 BWV 173 "Am andern /H[eiligen].
Pfingst=Feyertage./ Frühe zu
St. Thomae, Nachmittags/
zu *St. Nicolai*."
- Sun. May 20 BWV 194 "Am Fest=Tage der H. Heil./
Dreyfaltigkeit. [Trinity Sunday]/Frühe zu
St. Thomae, Nachmittags/zu *St. Nicolai*."

1734/1735

ORATORIUM,/Welches/ Die heilige Weyhnacht/ über/ In beyden/ Haupt=Kirchen/ zu
Leipzig/ *musiciret* wurde./ Anno 1734.⁹³

91 . Full title of word book: *Texte/ Zur Leipziger/ Kirchen=MUSIC,/ Auf das/ Heil[igen]. Oster=Fest,/ Und/ Die beyden/ Nachfolgenden Sonntage./ Anno 1731*. See Neumann 1974, p. 438 ff.

92 . Full title of word book: *Texte/ Zur/ Leipziger/ Kirchen=MUSIC,/ Auf die/ Heiligen/ Pfingst=Feyertage,/ Und/ Das Fest/ Der/ H. H. Dreyfaltigkeit./ Anno 1731*. See Neumann 1974, p. 444 ff.

93 . Title of the original word book to BWV 248^{I-VI} preserved in the Bach-Archiv, Leipzig. See Neumann 1974, pp. 448-455.

BWV 248 ^I	“Am Isten Heil. Weyhnacht=/Feyertage./ Frühe zu <i>St. Nicolai</i> und Nachmit=tage zu <i>St. Thomae</i> .” (Friday, Dec. 25, 1734)
BWV 248 ^{II}	“Am 2. Heil. Weyhnachts=/Feyertage./ Frühe zu <i>St. Thomae</i> . Nachmittage/zu <i>St. Nicolai</i> .” (Saturday, Dec. 26, 1734)
BWV 248 ^{IV}	“Aufs Fest der Beschneidung/ Christi [i.e. Jan. 1, New Year’s Day, which is the Feast of the Circumcision]/ Frühe zu <i>St. Thomae</i> ; Nachmittage/zu <i>St. Nicolai</i> .” (Friday, Jan. 1, 1735)
BWV 248 ^{VI}	“Am Feste der Offenbahrung/ Christi. [i.e. Drei Könige, or Feast of the Epiphany]/ Frühe zu <i>St. Thomae</i> . Nachmittag/ zu <i>St. Nicolai</i> .” (Wednesday, Jan. 6, 1735)

TABLE II

The Lutheran church festivals as celebrated at Leipzig during the cantorship of Johann Sebastian Bach, with a list of the appropriate cantatas by Bach performed in various years during his Leipzig *Amt* with his *erster Chor* and orchestra.⁹⁴

A. **The Three Great Feasts**, each celebrated on three successive festival days, each day having had concerted vocal music performed by Bach’s *erster Chor* and orchestra, the first two days with repeat performances in the afternoon vesper service at one or the other of the two Leipzig *Hauptkirchen* than that for the morning *Hauptgottesdienst* (the first morning service being at *St. Nicolai*).⁹⁵

94 . For specific details of dating, original title-page information, and a number of other pertinent aspects concerned with Bach’s cantatas, see the recent work of Schulze and Wolff cited in note 86 above.

95 . Concerning the alternation of performances by the *erster Chor* in the two *Hauptkirchen* of Leipzig on the principal Sundays and/or holy days during the year, see the comments of Christoph Ernst Sicul in his *Annales Lipsienses* for 1717, vol. I, Leipzig 1715-19. See also notes 66 and 84 above.

1. *Nativitas Christi / Weihnachten*, Christmas

A fixed feast, always on Dec. 25, 26 and 27

Feria 1 Nativitatis Christi / Am ersten Heiligen Weyhnachts=Feyertage, Dec. 25

Morning service (the *Hauptgottesdienst*, matins) St. Nicolai

Afternoon service (vespers) St. Thomas

BWV 63, 91, 110, 191, 197a, 248^I

Feria 2 Nativitatis Christi / Am andern [2nd] Heiligen Weyhnachts=Feyertage, Dec.

26

Morning service St. Thomas

Afternoon St. Nicolai

BWV 40, 57, 121, 248^{II}

Feria 3 Nativitatis Christi / Am dritten Heiligen Weyhnachts=Feyertage, Dec. 27

Morning service only St. Nicolai

BWV 64, 133, 151, 248^{III}

2. *Pascha / Oster*, Easter

A movable feast, but always beginning on a Sunday, the date of which is determined by the first full (paschal) moon after the spring equinox

Feria 1 Paschatos / Am ersten Heiligen Oster=Tage, Easter Sunday

Morning service St. Nicolai

Afternoon service St. Thomas

BWV 4, 31, 249

Feria 2 Paschatos / Am andern [2nd] Heiligen Oster=Tage, Easter Monday

Morning service St. Thomas

Afternoon service St. Nicolai

BWV 6, 66, *Bach Compendium A 58/Neumann VI* (fragment)

Feria 3 Paschatos / Am dritten Heiligen Oster=Tage, Easter Tuesday
Morning service only St. Nicolai

BWV 134, 145, 158

3. *Pentecostes / Pfingsten*, Whitsuntide

A movable feast, the first day being the 50th day or 7th Sunday after Easter

Feria 1 Pentecostes / Am ersten Heiligen Pfingst=Feyertage, Whitsunday
Morning service St. Nicolai
Afternoon service St. Thomas

BWV 34, 59, 74, 172

Feria 2 Pentecostes / Am andern Heiligen Pfingst=Feyertage, Whitmonday
Morning service St. Thomas
Afternoon service St. Nicolai

BWV 68, 173, 174

Feria 3 Pentecostes / Am dritten Heiligen Pfingst=Feyertage, Whit-Tuesday
Morning service St. Nicolai

BWV 175, 184

B. The Ten Lesser Feasts, each with double performances of concerted vocal and instrumental music performed only on the day of the festival by the *erster Chor* in one and then the other (morning and afternoon) of the two *Hauptkirchen* of St. Thomas and St. Nicolai⁹⁶ (the church chosen for the morning service was, by a process of alternation,

96 . The number of festivals for which there were double performances in the two Leipzig *Hauptkirchen* of St. Thomas and St. Nicolai is not correctly given by Spitta. In his biography of Bach (Fünftes Buch, p. 15) he states that the lesser feasts requiring the *erster Chor* to sing in both churches were "Neujahr-, Epiphaniens-, Himmelfahrts- und Trinitatis-Tage, desgleichen am Tage Mariä Verkündigung...." The surviving text books and a number of other historical sources make

dependent upon the church in which the previous morning service had been held):⁹⁷

1. *Festo Circumcisionis Christi / Fest der Beschneidung Christi*, Feast of the Circumcision, being New Year's Day, Jan. 1

BWV 16, 41, 143, 171, 190, 248^{IV}

2. *Festo Epiphaniæ Christi / Feste der Offenbarung (or Erscheinung) Christi*, i.e. Epiphany (sometimes referred to as *Drei Könige Fest*, or Feast of the Three Kings — the Magi), Jan. 6

BWV 65, 123, 248^{VI}

3. *Festo Purificationis Mariæ / Mariæ Reinigung*, Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary (sometimes referred to as *Lichtmeß* or Candlemas), Feb. 2

BWV 82, 83, 125, 157, (158)

4. *Festo Mariæ Annunciationis / Mariæ Verkündigung*, Feast of the Annunciation (commemorating, as recounted in the Gospel of Luke, the appearance of the Archangel Gabriel to Mary, announcing to her that she was to conceive by the Holy Spirit and bear a son, Jesus), March 25

BWV 1, (182)

5. *Festo Ascensionis Christi / Himmelfahrt Christi*, Feast of the Ascension (or Holy Thursday), a movable feast, being the 40th day, or 5th Thursday, after Easter

BWV 11, 37, 43, 128

6. *Festo S.S. Trinitatis / Fest=Tag der H. Heil. Dreyfaltigkeit*, Trinity Sunday, a

it clear that all 10 of the lesser feasts required a performance by the *erster Chor* in both churches, morning and afternoon, on the same day.

⁹⁷ . See note 95 with the heading to Table IIA above.

movable feast, being the Sunday next after Whitsunday, i.e. the octave of Pentecost
BWV 129, 165, 176, (194)

7. *Festo St. Johannis Baptistae / Johannistag*, Feast of St. John the Baptist, June 24
BWV 7, 30, 167

8. *Festo Visitationis Mariae / Mariae Heimsuchung*, Feast of the Visitation, commemorating the visit of the Blessed Virgin Mary to her cousin Elizabeth, who was pregnant with St. John the Baptist,
July 2

BWV 10, 147

9. *Festo S. Michaelis Archangeli / Michaelistag*, Feast of St. Michael the Archangel,
Sept. 29

BWV 19, (50?), 130, 149, *Bach Compendium A 182/Neumann XXXI* (a so-called *Kantatenentwurf*)

10. *Festo Reformationis / Reformationsfest*, Reformation Day (a festival commemorating the beginning of the Protestant Reformation on the anniversary of that day in 1517 when Martin Luther nailed to the door of the *Schloßkirche* at Wittenberg his 95 theses challenging the Church of Rome's practice of indulgences), Oct. 31

BWV (76), 79, 80, (192?)

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