

Introduction

In August 1730, in a lengthy and impassioned memo to the Leipzig town council, Johann Sebastian Bach complained bitterly about his working conditions. He depicted the musical skills of students at the St. Thomas's school, who sang during church services, in dire terms and indicated that stipends from the council to some University students would improve the level of music performed in the churches. Bach also complained of the high demands that the international style of modern music placed on German musicians, and lamented that the workload of musicians employed in cities, in contrast to those at court, kept the former from distinguishing themselves. In October of that year, Bach wrote to an old friend in Danzig asking for help in finding a job because of tense working conditions, authorities who were 'odd and little interested in music,' and the high cost of living in Leipzig. For their part, in meetings also held in August, city councilors complained that Bach 'shows little inclination to work,' was not performing his teaching duties at St. Thomas's school, and that he had left Leipzig without obtaining councilors' permission, as stipulated in his contract (Bach and his wife Anna Magdalena had gone to the nearby court of Weissenfels to perform for Duke Christian's birthday). Councilor Johann Job went as far as to claim that Bach was 'incorrigible.'¹

These complaints and the ongoing tensions that stood behind them have often been read as showing that Bach was an unappreciated genius whose colleagues and authorities stifled his creativity. Bach is better understood, though, in the context of the sprawling social, cultural, and political system that was the urban public religious arena of the Baroque era. Three intertwined, basic facets of that religious culture offer the key to understanding Bach's conflicts and his work in Leipzig more generally. They are the focus of this book. While they have mostly been examined separately, they need to be examined in relationship to one another in order to be fully understood.

First, religion was the main public arena in which ordinary people and elites, women and men, debated and negotiated fundamental issues on a regular basis. General social, cultural, and political changes were reproduced and contested through the many routines of everyday religious life. Most studies of early modern European religious life have focused on the period prior to about 1650; but religious life remained important well after that. This book follows its development to the

¹ Bach, 'Short but most necessary draft for a well-appointed church music' (*Entwurf*), 23 August 1730, *NBR*, 145–151; Bach to Georg Erdmann, 28 October 1730, *NBR*, 151–152; quote, 152; City council minutes of 2 and 25 August: *NBR*, 144–145; quotes, 145.

mid-18th century. It discusses important practices that have hardly been examined for any era, including those associated with the centerpoint of religious life, the worship service, asking how congregants experienced and contributed to the service, and how their experience was rooted in status and gender relations.

Second, Baroque music was embedded in religious culture, and at the same time structured that culture in important ways. The cantors were key civic appointees and they operated in a typically urban political environment. In his petition of 1730, Bach was writing as a client of the council, making a request for increased funds in a manner typical of council appointees. And when the councilors met, they were exercising their powers as the official patrons of religious life. Further, music was a major part of the religious experience, with congregants participating extensively in the worship service through it; but historians have for the most part ignored it. Musicologists' exploration of the social context of music in Baroque towns has also remained limited.

Third, conflict between Pietists and non-Pietists shook the entire religious system; it was the most serious religious conflict since the Reformation era.² Pietists functioned as loud and influential critics of mainstream practices to a greater extent than has been appreciated by historians who do not focus on Pietism. They articulated a coherent protest against the reproduction of secular status hierarchies, norms, and materialism in the religious arena. The Pietists formed groups called *collegia pietatis* that were not unlike modern Bible study groups. They also organized local and international networks that included people from all walks of life and partially overcame the hierarchies of their day. Leipzig and Saxony were key sites in the development of Pietism from the 1680s onward. Councilor Johann Job, who complained during the August 1730 council meeting that Bach was 'incurable,' was a leader of an informal network of Leipzig Pietists. His complaint about Bach reflects his impatience with the influence that secular music and the secular world were having on the cantor. His presence on the council also shows how Pietists became increasingly integrated into mainstream power structures. This book pays especial attention to the Pietist movement in relation to the religious culture surrounding it. Doing so helps us to understand how, when and why Pietism emerged as it did: it was in part a rejection of Baroque culture, including music.

² Pietist scholars often use the term 'Orthodox.' This theological term is appropriate in that mainstream clerics and political figures called themselves Orthodox, defended a specific Lutheran dogma and characterized dissenters, including Pietists, as heterodox. However, the term does not adequately describe the variety of beliefs, practices, and structures of the religious arena. For lack of a truly fitting term, 'mainstream,' 'non-Pietist,' and 'establishment' are used here; 'Orthodox' is used to refer to specific figures or debates. Note that 'mainstream' and 'establishment' do not always apply, since many Pietists can be considered mainstream in their beliefs and practices; by the same token, non-Pietists themselves were diverse. See also below, 10 ff.

The religious field

This book builds on three disciplinary areas: the social history of religion (with some sociology), musicology, and Pietist history. It is addressed to readers in each of these fields, who are asked to excuse the inclusion of some background that will seem obvious to them. Foremost are the approaches of social historians of religion, especially of the Reformation era, which can be fruitfully applied to the 17th and 18th centuries. These approaches also offer tools to integrate the other two themes of this book. In the 1960s and 1970s, historians such as Natalie Zemon Davis and Bob Scribner began to ask how social status and gender influenced participation in the religious arena, what the roles and agency of ordinary individuals were, and what form relationships between ordinary people and elites took.³ Since the publication of their pioneering works, historians have continued to develop new avenues of inquiry and new ways of working with sources in order to answer these questions. The examination of everyday practices, confessionalization and social discipline, and cultural production, often linked in individual studies, is particularly relevant here. Scholars have investigated a broad spectrum of everyday practices of public and private religious life, ranging from Marian devotion in Protestant Nuremberg to the raiding of monasteries in Henrician England.⁴ They have demonstrated that ordinary people played a major role in shaping religious life, and that actions in the religious sphere were inextricably intertwined with people's social and political interests. Also, changes in attitude, belief, and practice were incremental and piecemeal.⁵

An emphasis on confessional structures developed by Heinz Schilling and others became influential in the 1980s. Researchers have noted that when nobles, city councilors, and clerics attempted to impose order on their subjects, goals were often expressed through religious policies.⁶ Discussions of confessionalization have been closely tied to rulers' social disciplinary agendas. Schilling's concept of religion as a 'building block' of society, and his examination of rulers' social disciplinary and modernizing goals, has been a productive approach to studying the relationships of ordinary people to the elites, and the intersections of politics and religion. In addition, the confessionalization paradigm has inspired new research on the social

³ See Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975); Robert Scribner (1981), *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press).

⁴ See Lee Palmer Wandel (1995), *Voracious Idols and Violent Hands: Iconoclasm in Reformation Zurich, Basel, and Strasbourg* (New York: Cambridge University Press); Helen Parish & William G. Naphy, eds (2002), introduction, in idem, *Religion and Superstition in Reformation Europe* (New York: Manchester University Press), 1–22.

⁵ Ethan Shagan (2003), *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press); Parish & Naphy, eds (2002).

⁶ Heinz Schilling (1981), *Konfessionskonflikt und Staatsbildung. Eine Fallstudie über das Verhältnis von religiösem und sozialem Wandel in der Frühneuzeit am Beispiel der Grafschaft Lippe* (Gütersloh: Mohn); R. Po-Chia Hsia (1989), *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (New York: Routledge).

and political roles of clerics, which in turn has provided a differentiated view of relations among elite groups.⁷

However, the top-down perspective of the paradigm, its assumption that rulers' strategies were implemented, and its neglect of the perspectives of ordinary people have rightly been criticized.⁸ When actual practices and interactions between elites and ordinary people are examined, a more complex picture emerges: rulers and clerics were not a monolithic group; they often adjusted to popular practices; and major initiatives from above might fail. Clerics were sometimes at odds with rulers, aggressively pursuing agendas of their own. And while rulers aimed to control those they governed by manipulating religion, townspeople and peasants often evaded official policies or used them to their advantage. Also, the success of a given policy was usually contingent on some form of collaboration with the governed.

Historians have often discussed culture as part of religion during the Baroque era, but there has been no systematic study of cultural production, especially in the Lutheran context. As Hartmut Lehmann has noted, the use of confessionalization as an organizing principle has led to a good understanding of some aspects of religious life, whereas the arts and other aspects have been neglected.⁹ Ronnie Hsia has argued that rulers and clerics used persuasive methods, especially culture. He has called for an examination of the production of culture in early modern religion, noting great gaps in knowledge. He has focused on Catholic theatre and worship, briefly discussing Luther hagiography, schools, and hymnals, but arguing that Lutheran worship services allowed for only limited cultural expression.¹⁰ Marc Forster discusses forms of Catholic religious culture such as pilgrimages, and the active participation of the laity in them.¹¹ A two-volume collection of essays on Baroque religiosity published in 1995 discusses intersections between religion, literature, and the arts, but it includes little focus on social history.¹²

Keeping in mind these contributions, the theory of fields as developed by Pierre Bourdieu and others provides tools to reconceptualize approaches to 17th and 18th century religion, and to examine cultural production. A good starting definition of a field is as an arena 'of production, circulation, and appropriation of goods, services,

⁷ For a summary, see Luise Schorn-Schütte (2000), 'Priest, Preacher, Pastor: Research on Clerical Office in Early Modern Europe,' *Central European History*, 33, 1–37.

⁸ John Headley et al., eds (2004), *Confessionalization in Europe, 1555–1700. Essays in Honor and Memory of Bodo Nischan* (Aldershot: Ashgate); Marc Forster (2001), *Catholic Revival in the Age of the Baroque: Religious Identity in Southwest Germany, 1550–1750* (New York: Cambridge University Press), esp. 12–16.

⁹ Hartmut Lehmann (1995), 'Zur Bedeutung von Religion und Religiosität im Barockzeitalter,' in Dieter Breuer, ed., *Religion und Religiosität im Zeitalter des Barock* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz), 3–22; 13.

¹⁰ Hsia (1989), *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550–1750* (New York: Routledge), esp. 1–9 and 89–121; Hsia (2005), *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540–1770* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 159–171.

¹¹ Forster (2001).

¹² Breuer (1995) et al., eds.

knowledge, or status, and the competitive positions held by actors ... [a] structured [space that is] organized around specific types of capital or combinations of capital.¹³ Bourdieu has discussed the religious field, building on Max Weber's sociology of religion; other fields include the legal, academic and artistic.¹⁴ The theory of fields has been formulated and applied mostly for the 20th century, but can be applied to the 17th and 18th centuries as well. One major difference is that early modern religious fields were less autonomous from politics and society than modern cultural fields such as the academy.¹⁵ Along these lines, it is difficult to discern a musical field in the Baroque era, since the appointment and regulation of musicians, and the performance and reception of music, were so thoroughly embedded in broader religious, urban and/or court structures.

Emphasizing relations among actors in a field allows for a more neutral assessment of the roles of various groups than does an emphasis on social discipline or professionalization. This does not mean that all groups have equal power. Thus, Bourdieu argues that relations of domination and subordination are central to the functioning of fields, an argument that holds in many ways for early modern religion. The Leipzig and Saxon elites – city councilors, Electors, clerics, and consistory members – established frameworks and held considerable institutional, social, economic, and cultural power. They did not hesitate to use that power to suppress activities they considered threatening. Also, almost all contemporaries seem to have accepted major inequalities of status and gender as appropriate. One dynamic to add to those that Bourdieu discusses is competition among elite groups. While the Saxon Electors might claim superior status, in practice the varied power bases of the individual elite groups gave them considerable leverage against incursion by others. Such competition could also work to diminish the power of all elite groups relative to ordinary people.

Relations among groups are negotiated through concrete practices. Throughout this book, everyday practices of pewholding, education, appointment, and the exercise of power are considered. Locating practices in the context of specific groups yields important insights into Baroque religious culture. The most important groups were property-owning Leipzig inhabitants (burghers), non-property owners, city councilors, clerics, musicians, Saxon Electors, and consistory officials. This book also compares the practices of Pietists and mainstream Lutherans. Ordinary people and authorities alike, with the partial exception of Pietists, made little effort to avoid secular categories of status, gender, property, and other forms of hierarchy,

¹³ David Swartz (1997), *Culture and Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 117.

¹⁴ Pierre Bourdieu (1991), *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. G. Raymond & M. Adamson (Cambridge: Polity); idem, 'Legitimation and Structural Interests in Weber's Sociology of Religion,' in S. Lash & S. Whimster, eds (1987), *Max Weber, Rationality and Modernity* (Boston: Allen & Unwin), 119–136. See also Craig Calhoun, et al., eds (1993), *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

¹⁵ Bourdieu posited that 'cultural fields progressively [develop] and [gain] autonomy from the political and economic fields.' Swartz (1997), 127.

which were openly carried over into the religious arena. Ordinary people competed to participate in the public religious arena, pursuing a variety of secular as well as religious interests there. The authorities worked hard to accommodate the interests of burghers and their families, roughly half the town's inhabitants. Baroque culture was thus formed in interaction among social groups.

Cultural capital held by actors in a field has value because people share a belief in the importance of that field and its defined ideals and interests, even if they disagree on many specifics. Bourdieu's concept of capital has been criticized and overhauled, but is still useful.¹⁶ Forms of capital in the early modern religious arena included concrete objects such as pews, a valued and scarce resource that was the basis for church attendance; and, more abstractly, being considered theologically legitimate. Concrete forms of capital held by individuals usually corresponded to their status in the religious arena, and that status corresponded to their social and economic status, as posited by Bourdieu.¹⁷ Pewholding patterns are a good example of this: the wealthy and members of groups such as the city council held the best pews, while the unpropertied held very few. More abstract notions such as theological legitimacy and superiority, though, could successfully be claimed by people from any social group; Pietists made especial use of such claims. It is also important to bear in mind that, as Bourdieu argues, there is no absolute correlation between status outside the religious field and status within it. Processes of social reproduction can mediate those relations. For example, clerics' education, and even to a limited degree pewholding, could raise an individual's status.

Philip Benedict has noted that 'the history of church institutions has rarely excited historians of early modern religious life.'¹⁸ However, Bourdieu and others have rightly emphasized the importance of institutions in attempting to maintain orthodoxy and social and political control.¹⁹ Institutions such as the consistories established the rules of everyday religious life. Further, city councilors, Electoral officials, clerics, and consistory members constantly engaged in turf wars. Foundational documents of the Reformation era such as the 1580 Electoral Saxon Church Ordinance, as well as customary routines, served as frequent points of reference.

Bourdieu's emphasis on the importance of the opposition 'between orthodoxy and heterodoxy,' and the ways in which this struggle relates to the 'maintenance or subversion of the symbolic order' among social classes²⁰ is relevant in two ways to Baroque religion. Firstly, the consistories, which were courts as well as arbiters of theological dispute, minutely regulated and often pronounced on what was orthodox. Secondly, the concept of the orthodox-heterodox dynamic helps integrate the Pietist-

¹⁶ See Francie Ostrower (1998), 'The Arts as Cultural Capital Among Elites: Bourdieu's Theory Reconsidered,' *Poetics*, 26, 43–53.

¹⁷ Swartz (1997), 129 ff.

¹⁸ Benedict (2002), *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed. A Social History of Calvinism* (New Haven: Yale University Press), xx.

¹⁹ Swartz (1997), 120 and passim.

²⁰ Swartz (1997), 132, citing Bourdieu and Loic Waquant (1992), *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 106.

Orthodox conflict into a social history of religion. This conflict was a classic case of struggle between an established set of institutions and a smaller group with young, charismatic leaders whose members interacted in ways that the establishment characterized as illegitimate. This conflict differs from the Bourdieuan model in that many Pietists were not social or political ‘outsiders,’ although they considered themselves a persecuted minority.

* * *

Explorations of 17th and 18th century music are a second important point of departure for this book. Musicologists’ long-standing inquiry into individual composers has generated important insights. In the field of Bach studies, for example, a powerful tradition of research has established the chronology of composition, revision, and performance of Bach’s monumental output, with an especial focus on his work in Leipzig. Scholars have painstakingly reconstructed the social and political context of Bach’s appointment as cantor in 1723, his working conditions until his death in 1750, the course of the liturgy, the church buildings and their ongoing renovations, and other Leipzig churches and musicians.²¹ Many of the insights of this book could not have been developed without this research.

Since the 1980s representatives of the ‘new musicology,’ as well as some historians and sociologists, have challenged some of the core assumptions of traditional musicology, and offer models for integrating music into a social history of religion. They have increasingly emphasized social context, and have become eclectic in their methodological inspiration. They are showing that what 20th century scholars and music lovers conceived as a ‘high’ culture that transcended the societies around it was actually bound in numerous ways to those societies, and that music was an important part of general public discourse.²² Further, as Tia DeNora and other sociologists argue, music does not merely reflect social relations. It also ‘comes

²¹ Günther Stiller (1984), *Johann Sebastian Bach and Liturgical Life in Leipzig* (St. Louis: Concordia; German original, 1970); Ulrich Siegele (1997), ‘Bach and the Domestic Politics of Electoral Saxony,’ in John Butt, ed., *Cambridge Companion to Bach* (New York: Cambridge University Press), 17–34; Ernst-Heinz Lemper (1954), *Die Thomaskirche zu Leipzig* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang); Andreas Glöckner (1990), *Die Musikpflege an der Leipziger Neukirche zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs*, = *BzBf*, 8; Robin A. Leaver (1997), ‘The Mature Vocal Works and Their Theological and Liturgical Context,’ in Butt, ed., 86–122; Christoph Wolff (2000), *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (New York: Norton).

²² Alexander Fisher (2004), *Music and Religious Identity in Counter-Reformation Augsburg, 1580–1630* (Aldershot: Ashgate); David Gramit (2002), *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (University of California Press); William Weber, ed. (2004), *The Musician as Entrepreneur, 1700–1914: Managers, Charlatans, and Idealists* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press); James Van Horn Melton (2004), ‘School, Stage, Salon: Musical Cultures in Haydn’s Vienna,’ *Journal of Modern History*, 76, 251–279.

to serve (in ways that can be documented and specified spatially/temporally) as a constitutive medium of social life ... music can be understood as a medium through which social relations are forged.²³ In line with these arguments, historians have begun to explore the various social functions of musical events. James Johnson has shown that 18th century Parisian opera and theatre audiences' late arrival, wandering about, and conversing during performances helped make going to the opera an important social occasion.²⁴ William Weber has shown that in secular concerts and opera houses, different groups within the audience had different goals in attending, and that their etiquette during performances varied.²⁵

Conceptualizing the Baroque worship service as a performance by congregants as well as clerics and musicians as they moved through a specifically structured time and space helps us better understand relations among those groups more generally. Since large portions of the service were sung or chanted, congregants were actually active throughout much of the service. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that congregants sang with the chorale movements of cantatas and Lenten passions, including those of Bach. In addition, some congregants' selective reception of the rest of the cantata, organ preludes and postludes, and the hymns, Kyrie, etc., and their socializing with other congregants, show that people pursued their own goals in the course of the service, rather than merely conforming to the goals of clerics, musicians, and councilors.

Shifts in music were also integral to broader cultural change in the Baroque era, as at other times. Cantata and passion style was innovative and somewhat contested throughout the Baroque period, especially to the 1720s, and it was closely linked to the expansion of secular life and luxury consumption. Performance and reception were thus 'about' more than musical style. Some Leipzig city councilors, for example, expended considerable energy in appointing and supporting Bach and his music, while others were less supportive.

The concept of the adiaphora structured much of the Baroque debate on cultural change. Adiaphora have mostly been discussed in a theological context,²⁶ but they had important social dimensions. They were defined as technically neutral, but potentially either beneficial or harmful cultural and/or liturgical activities, both secular and religious. Which activities came under this heading? At issue, for example, was playing cards, dancing, and wearing liturgical vestments. But music, and activities associated with it, such as dancing, were the most-discussed adiaphora. Music could play this role because it was the Baroque art form which most pervaded

²³ Tia DeNora (2002), 'Music into Action: Performing Gender on the Viennese Concert Stage, 1790–1810,' *Poetics*, 30, 19–33. See also DeNora (2004), 'Historical Perspectives in Music Sociology,' *Poetics*, 32, 211–221; Timothy Dowd (2002), 'Introduction: Explorations in the Sociology of Music,' *Poetics*, 30, 1–3.

²⁴ Johnson (1995), *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

²⁵ Weber (1997), 'Did People Listen in the 18th Century?,' *Early Music*, 25, 678–691.

²⁶ See Joyce Irwin (1993), *Neither Voice nor Heart Alone. German Lutheran Theology of Music in the Age of the Baroque* (New York: Lang).

everyday life, and in which the broadest social range of people actively participated. The debate was carried out beginning in the 1690s. Pietists emphasized the potential of secular music and modern church music to morally corrupt listeners. Orthodox writers, including musicians, defended musical activities to varying degrees, while the music of some composers, including Bach, did not conform to any one position in the debate.

A reconstruction of the structures and practices of urban Baroque musical culture at their height is needed. Many musicologists as well as historians remain uneasy with the performance contexts of Baroque music. The idea that audiences did not pay full attention to musicians such as J.S. Bach or G.P. Telemann continues to elicit a snicker or a sigh. The traditional view of ‘occasional’ as opposed to ‘absolute’ music, inculcated in countless music history courses and textbooks, continues to exercise its hold. In this view, the public subscription concerts that emerged in the late 18th century, and at which non-representational, ‘abstract’ music was the primary focus, are depicted as a distinct improvement over earlier contexts such as church services, banquets, or royal processions, where music was one activity among many.²⁷ Also, in their specific studies, musicologists, historians, and sociologists have continued in a traditional emphasis on the genesis and development of Classical and Romantic style and its patrons, critics, and audiences. The time up to about 1770 or even later still often serves as a negative backdrop, a time when more traditional patronage forms and other features of Baroque culture declined, and new secular genres, concert venues, and audiences began to arise.

Present-day codes of audience behavior in the classical music world, including arrival before the beginning of a concert, silence during a performance, and applause at the conclusion of a piece, have also contributed to the naturalization of expectations about performance contexts, although these codes, along with the classical canon itself, were only slowly established in the course of the 19th century.²⁸ In addition, while the early music movement and its musician-scholars have added greatly to an understanding of Baroque performance practices, a conundrum emerges from their work. Most modern-day early-music performances are polished, well-rehearsed interpretations of works that were composed well over two hundred years ago; performers have become expert on historical scores, instruments, and techniques. But when Telemann, Heinichen, Fasch, and others led performances of their works during the Baroque era itself, those works were often brand new, and scholars are also finding that performances were often relatively ad hoc and under-rehearsed.²⁹

²⁷ James Johnson (1995) characterizes the music of the French Baroque theatre, with its dance interludes and audiences which socialized and occasionally interrupted performances, as ripe for reform, and contrasts those audiences to the rapt ones of the Romantic era: 23, 26, 57, 69, 257 ff. See also John Walter Hill (2005), *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe 1580–1750* (New York: Norton), 491; on social context, see 112 ff.; 297 ff.; 305 ff.

²⁸ William Weber (1992), *The Rise of Musical Classics in Eighteenth-Century England: A Study in Canon, Ritual, and Ideology* (New York: Oxford).

²⁹ See Ulrich Leisinger, ed. (2002), *Bach in Leipzig – Bach und Leipzig. Konferenzbericht Leipzig 2000* (Hildesheim: Olms).

Finally, this study shows that the sources and approaches of social historians, which may initially seem to have no bearing on music, can illuminate musical life in ways that traditional musicological sources cannot. For example, the sources on pewholding allow for a reconstruction of the audiences of church music; sources on the appointment of clerics provide a point of reference and comparison to the appointments of musicians; and councilors' roles as patrons of the non-musical aspects of religious life provide essential context for their patronage of musical life. In contrast, sources that are directly related to music or a particular musician, such as scores, music treatises and criticism, correspondence, diaries, and appointment and payment records, while essential, usually provide limited insight into the broader social context of music.

* * *

The third point of departure for this book, a major research tradition on Pietism, has expanded well beyond an earlier focus on theology.³⁰ The ideas, interests, and roles of ordinary Pietists are beginning to be explored in detail.³¹ Scholars are emphasizing the importance to the movement of innovative forms of sociability such as correspondence networks and collegia. Lay people worked closely with Pietist theology students and clerics. The previous, caricatured depiction of mainstream religion as an out-of-touch and oppressive 'Orthodoxy' is also being revised.³²

³⁰ For a summary, see Jonathan Strom (2002), 'Problems and Promises of Pietism Research,' *Church History*, 71, 536–554. A multi-volume update of Pietist historiography: Martin Brecht et al., eds (1993–2004), *GdP*. See also articles in the journal *Pietismus und Neuzeit*.

³¹ Hartmut Lehmann (1995), 'Vorüberlegungen zu einer Sozialgeschichte des Pietismus im 17./18. Jahrhundert,' *PuN*, 21, 69–83; idem (2001), 'Grenzüberschreitungen und Grenzziehungen im Pietismus,' *PuN*, 27, 11–18; idem (2004), introduction, in *GdP*, vol. IV, 1–18; Ryoko Mori (2004), *Begeisterung und Ernüchterung in christlicher Vollkommenheit. Pietistische Selbst- und Weltwahrnehmungen im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: Niemeyer); Lucinda Martin (2003), 'Female Reformers as the Gate Keepers of Pietism: The Example of Johanna Eleonora Merlau and William Penn,' *Monatshefte*, 95, 33–58 and (2003), 'Möglichkeiten und Grenzen geistlicher Rede von Frauen in Halle und Herrnhut,' *PuN*, 29, 80–90; Jonathan Strom (2001), 'Early Conventicles in Lübeck,' *PuN*, 27, 19–52; Ulrike Witt (1996), *Bekehrung, Bildung und Biographie: Frauen im Umkreis des Halleschen Pietismus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer); Johannes Wallmann (1992), 'Erfurt und der Pietismus im 17. Jahrhundert,' in Ulman Weiss, ed., *Erfurt 742–1992. Stadtgeschichte, Universitätsgeschichte* (Weimar: Böhlau), 403–422.

³² Udo Sträter, ed. (2003), *Zur Rechtfertigungslehre in der Lutherischen Orthodoxie. Beiträge des sechsten Wittenberger Symposiums zur Lutherischen Orthodoxie* (Leipzig: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt); Jonathan Strom (1999), *Orthodoxy and Reform: The Clergy in Seventeenth Century Rostock* (Tübingen: Mohr); Monika Hagenmaier (1989), *Predigt und Policey. Der gesellschaftspolitische Diskurs zwischen Kirche und Obrigkeit in Ulm 1614–1639* (Baden-Baden: Nomos); Wolfgang Sommer (1988), *Gottesfurcht und Fürstenherrschaft. Studien zum Obrigkeitsverständnis Johann Arndts und lutherischer Hofprediger zur Zeit der*

However, as Hartmut Lehmann has recently noted, the exploration of the social dimensions of the Pietist movement is still in its infancy.³³ Pietists have also not been fully placed into the religious context from which they emerged and with which they continued to interact.

Historians to date have also not offered a convincing explanation for why Pietism arose as a social movement when it did. They have emphasized the difficult conditions following the Thirty Years' War, as well as ongoing epidemics and economic instability throughout the 17th century.³⁴ These crises were one root of Pietism, influencing individuals in the 1660s and 1670s. Even the plague epidemic of 1680 was a formative experience for some Leipzig Pietists. Further, some Pietists feared returning crises: their critique of contemporary cultural consumption was linked to citations of Old Testament prophecies of divine vengeance, and to New Testamentarian apocalyptic thought.

However, as we will see below, by the time Pietism became a broad social movement in the late 1680s, northern and central German trade centers such as Hamburg and Leipzig were experiencing an economic boom. Pietism was thus a complex response to social and cultural change. Any explanation for the rise of that movement should take into account the flourishing of Baroque culture from the 1680s onward in the context of increased prosperity for broad sections of the urban population. From the very beginning of the collegia movement (and even before), as noted by most historians of Pietism, a major theme for ordinary Pietists as well as student and clerical leaders was the condemnation of much secular culture and modern church music.³⁵ This critique actually attests to the fact that individuals had more disposable income to attend the opera, dances, and other festivities. Likewise, the authorities had more money to invest in church music. It should also be noted, though, that Pietists developed a strong and innovative culture of hymn composition, publication, and performance.³⁶ Further, they embraced some aspects of change, innovating in their communication networks and publication strategies.

This book also stresses the importance of the Saxon context of the Pietist movement.³⁷ Saxony has generally, and correctly, been regarded as a stronghold

altprotestantischen Orthodoxie (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht); Sabine Holtz (1993), *Theologie und Alltag. Lehre und Leben in den Predigten der Tübinger Theologen 1550–1750* (Tübingen: Mohr).

³³ Lehmann (2004), 13–14 and passim.

³⁴ Mori (2004), 5–6, 92 ff.; Hartmut Lehmann (1980), *Das Zeitalter des Absolutismus. Gottesgnadentum und Kriegsnot* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer), 61–93, 105–169; idem (2003), 'Engerer, weiterer und erweiterter Pietismusbegriff,' *PuN*, 29, 18–36: 23–24.

³⁵ Mori (2004), 39, 59, 62 ff., 93, 256; Wallmann (1992), 415–416.

³⁶ See Christian Bunnens, 'Gesangbuch' and 'Musik,' in *GdP*, vol. IV, 122–142, 430–455; Irwin (1993); Gudrun Busch & Wolfgang Miersemann, eds (1997), *'Geist-Reicher' Gesang. Halle und das pietistische Lied* (Tübingen: Niemeyer); idem, eds (2002), *Pietismus und Liedkultur* (Tübingen: Niemeyer).

³⁷ The present study combines elements of Johannes Wallmann's and other historians' 'narrower' definition of Pietism, and Hans Leube's 'narrowest' definition. Like the 'narrower'

of Orthodox Lutheran confessional structures and theology. However, it was also the site of dramatic breaks with the established system, and of the development of Pietism itself. Events in Saxony between 1686 and 1691 marked a crucial transition from a reform movement that was integrated into the mainstream, and that was welcomed by many later opponents of Pietism, to a movement in intense conflict with much of the mainstream. Those events also point to the importance of elite clerics and officials in leading to a broader Pietist movement. Philipp Jacob Spener, Senior Court Chaplain in Dresden from 1686 to 1691, was initially welcomed in Saxony. As senior cleric in Frankfurt, he had organized prayer meetings (*collegia pietatis*) from 1670, and published a widely read reform program, *Pia Desideria*, in 1675. These had generated some conflict, but many Orthodox theologians supported them.³⁸

By 1688, though, Spener was feuding with the Elector on lifestyle issues and with Orthodox clerics on other matters. He was close to Leipzig student August Hermann Francke, who held *collegia pietatis* which came to include town inhabitants as well as students by 1689, a key shift. Both Spener and Francke were close to philosopher Christian Thomasius, who was attacking the Saxon consistories and ecclesiastical law. By 1690, Francke, Thomasius, and their fellows had been forced to leave Leipzig; by 1691, Spener had left Dresden for Berlin, all the departures following intense conflict with Orthodox Saxon clerics and political figures. Ryoko Mori has coined the term ‘second wave’ to describe the emergence of Pietism as a broad social movement after Pietist students dispersed from Leipzig to towns around central Germany in 1690.³⁹ Spener, Francke and Thomasius were part of a network of intellectuals and officials with ties to Saxony, including Samuel Pufendorf and Veit Ludwig von Seckendorff. It seems that these men initially thought Spener’s position at the Dresden court provided a good opportunity to reform the Saxon ecclesiastical system from within. In the 1680s they did not anticipate that they would be able to develop a strong institutional base in Brandenburg-Prussia; they began to do this only after Spener’s arrival in Berlin.

* * *

definition, it emphasizes the importance of sociability in *collegia* and the role of Spener; like the ‘narrowest,’ it considers intense conflict with non-Pietists, and events in Leipzig, to be key. The ‘broad’ definition argued especially by Martin Brecht, which considers Lutheran figures from the early 17th century onward such as Johann Arndt to be Pietists, is less useful for social history purposes. See Strom (2002), 538–542; Martin Brecht (1993), introduction, in *GdP*, vol. I, 1–10; Lehmann (2003); Johannes Wallmann (2002), ‘Eine alternative Geschichte des Pietismus. Zur gegenwärtigen Diskussion um den Pietismusbegriff,’ *PuN*, 28, 30–71; idem (2004), ‘Pietismus – ein Epochenbegriff oder ein typologischer Begriff?’, *PuN*, 30, 191–224.

³⁸ Martin Brecht (1993), ‘Philipp Jakob Spener, sein Programm und dessen Auswirkungen,’ in *GdP*, vol. I, 281–389; Wallmann (1992).

³⁹ Mori (2004), 2 ff., 25 ff.

Some definition is in order here. This book uses the term ‘Baroque’ to refer to musical and other creative styles between about the 1580s and 1750. The religious practices and urban patronage structures that were associated with and helped to produce these styles are discussed as part of the Baroque era, but are not ascribed specifically ‘Baroque’ features. It seems that the term, originally Portuguese for an irregularly shaped pearl, was first applied to the arts in France in the 1730s in a discussion of music.⁴⁰ It thus became a descriptor toward the end of the era to which it refers, and it was a negative one. In France, Germany, and beyond, critics (although not all contemporaries) came to associate the dominant style of the day in music, art, architecture, theatre, and literature with heaviness, over-ornamentation, ‘artifice,’ and pedantry. By contrast, until the 1730s contemporaries had no one name for their artistic styles, although they did recognize specific, evolving characteristics of the arts, architecture, and literature that were shared (with regional variation) across Europe. Beginning in the late 16th century, for example, musicians referred to their style as the *stile moderno*, as opposed to the *stile antico* of the Renaissance, as a *stylus luxurians* in contrast to an earlier *stylus gravis*, and to a *seconda prattica* that followed a Renaissance *prima prattica*. From the 1720s, composers such as Telemann, Vivaldi, and Handel, who would now be labeled as Baroque, defined their musical style as ‘galant;’ implicit in this term was a rejection of what was perceived as an outdated style among many contemporaries.⁴¹ Musicologists began to use the term ‘Baroque’ in the early 20th century. Currently, most art and music historians would agree that it can be used as a starting point for examining a variety of artistic developments.⁴² Historians of early modern Germany have begun using the term to designate the post-Reformation era.⁴³ In addition, some historians of Spain, Italy, and France have argued that there was a more general Baroque culture, society, politics, and general sensibility.⁴⁴ These scholars have largely focused on the 17th century and its upheavals, and have not focused on music.

* * *

⁴⁰ Claude Palisca (2001), ‘Baroque,’ in *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edition, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. II, 749–756 (New York: Macmillan), 749.

⁴¹ Daniel Hertz (2003), *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style 1720–1780* (New York: Norton), 16 ff.

⁴² A thoughtful rejection of the term as indicative of any stylistic feature, on the grounds that styles were so diverse: George Buelow (2004), *A History of Baroque Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press), Introduction, 1 ff.

⁴³ Forster (2001); Lyndal Roper (2004), *Witch Craze: Terror and Fantasy in Baroque Germany* (New Haven: Yale University Press).

⁴⁴ See Rosario Villari (1995), Introduction, *Baroque Personae*, ed. Villari, 1–8 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; trans. Lydia Cochrane), 1–8; Jose Antonio Maravall (1986), *Culture of the Baroque: Analysis of a Historical Structure* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, Spanish original, 1975; trans. Terry Cochran); Evonne Levy (2004), *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley: University of California Press). See also Timothy Hampton, ed. (1991), *Baroque Topographies: Literature/History/Philosophy*, = *Yale French Studies*, 80.

In the chapters that follow, the three themes of public religious life, music and Pietism are interwoven, as they were for contemporaries. The first two chapters explore congregants' perspectives. Chapter One reconstructs the experience of the main Sunday morning worship service, focusing on the various roles of congregants, social uses of the service, participation in and reception of music, and the reception of the sermon. Chapter Two discusses the culture and practices surrounding pew-holding, which reached their high point during the Baroque era. Social relations were negotiated and reproduced in the religious arena most prominently through pewholding practices. Pews were a much sought-after commodity. Social status was reflected in where people sat in church, and in what type of pew they held.

The next three chapters examine the producers of public religious life. Chapter Three looks at city councilors, clerics, and their interactions with ordinary inhabitants. Councilors were the main patrons of urban religious life. That patronage was central to council governance in both theory and practice. Inhabitants claimed specific rights on the basis of the council's covenant theory of governance. Clerics were firmly embedded in urban society through their education, tutoring and living arrangements while they were students, through the appointment process by councilors, and through their pastoral duties once they were appointed.

Chapter Four examines the Saxon territorial dimensions of Leipzig's religious life: the Saxon Electoral court and the consistories. Councilors and clerics in Leipzig interacted often with the court at Dresden, which was at the height of its cultural and political influence in the 17th and 18th centuries. The roles of the Electors in religion shifted considerably during this time: Johann George III (ruled 1680–91) entered into major conflict with Philipp Jacob Spener, and Frederick August II, 'the Strong,' (ruled 1694–1733) converted to Catholicism. The consistories, although largely ignored by historians, were crucial to everyday religious life. They integrated local religion and territorial policies, and exemplified the blending of the religious and the secular in governance. Not least, they help to explain the longevity of the confessional regulation of religious life. This chapter also discusses Thomasius's attack on the consistories and ecclesiastical law.

Chapter Five examines Leipzig's cantors, especially J.S. Bach and his predecessor, Johann Kuhnau. The cantors' status illuminates some of the complexities of urban society. Cantors did not fit neatly into the major urban groupings of elite, burgher, and sub-burgher. Bach, for example, was internationally famed as a composer and performer, but his income and wealth placed him at the lower end of middling groups. City councilors appointed the cantors and closely regulated their teaching and compositional activities. This chapter also discusses the adiaphora debate and J.S. Bach's position relative to Pietism.

Chapters Six and Seven reconstruct the social history of Pietists in Leipzig. Chapter Six discusses the social dimensions of the collegia led by the young August Hermann Francke, especially the close cooperation among students and burghers. The Leipzig and Saxon authorities launched a major investigation and suppressed the meetings, demonstrating the limits on ordinary people's religious activities. Especially problematic to the authorities was the crossing of customary status,

gender, and religious boundaries among participants. Chapter Seven reconstructs the shadowy Leipzig Pietist network that flourished from 1690 through at least the 1730s. It shows how Pietists responded to and themselves contributed to rapid social and cultural change. The Leipzig Pietists, mostly lay people, were close to Francke but were not limited to interactions with Halle Pietists.

One of the strengths of the Baroque religious arena was its ability to respond to social change. Chapter Eight examines how social and stylistic change influenced a wave of church construction and renovation beginning in 1699. A growing population placed pressure on church seating. City councilors and University professors organized the expansion, while burgher demand for pews largely funded it. Two styles were cultivated in the new spaces. One, influenced by and parallel to Pietism, emphasized simplicity, work with the poor, and inspirational preaching. The other was high Baroque style. Music was an important part of the latter: students including Telemann, Pisendel, Heinichen, Fasch, and possibly Handel, were active at two of the new churches, making Leipzig an incubator of galant style.

Leipzig during the Baroque era

In one sense, this book is a product of the fall of the Berlin Wall. While there was a robust tradition of Saxon social and cultural history within East Germany during the Cold War, Anglo-American and West German historians largely focused on towns in the North, South, and Southwest of the Holy Roman Empire, especially on Imperial towns such as Augsburg and Nuremberg.⁴⁵ Since 1990, easier access to sources has led to a dramatic resurgence of interest in Saxony by English-speaking historians and those from the former West Germany, although much of the research has focused on the 19th and 20th centuries.⁴⁶ Research on Pietism has also blossomed, with the archives of the Franckesche Stiftungen in Halle an important resource. Musicians and musicologists were able to bridge the East–West divide more effectively. Bach scholars in particular managed to communicate, with the Leipzig Bach-Archiv and the Neue Bach-Gesellschaft serving as important centers for research, publication, and meetings. But those interactions have been facilitated by the fall of the Wall, as access to libraries and archives has become easier. The extraordinarily rich sources in the archives and libraries of Leipzig, Dresden, and Halle illuminate everyday religious life from many angles. Sources include pew allotment records, letters by

⁴⁵ Important exceptions include Gerald Strauss (1978), *Luther's House of Learning. Indoctrination of the Young in Reformation Germany* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press) and Susan Karant-Nunn (1987), *Zwickau in Transition, 1500–1547: The Reformation as an Agent of Change* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press). Anglo-American historians neglected Leipzig and Saxony even before the Cold War.

⁴⁶ James Retalleck, ed. (2000), *Saxony in German History: Culture, Society, and Politics, 1830–1933* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press); Robert Beachy (2005), *The Soul of Commerce: Credit, Property, and Politics in Leipzig, 1750–1840* (Boston: Brill); Uwe Schirmer, ed. (1998), *Sachsen im 17. Jahrhundert. Krise, Krieg und Neubeginn* (Beucha: Sax).

ordinary Pietists, consistory correspondence, city council records, and the original protocols of interrogations of Pietists. Printed works such as ordinances, hymnals, sermons, cantata libretti, debate tracts, local chronicles, and autobiographies add further perspective.

Leipzig was a major early modern political, cultural, and economic center.⁴⁷ The city and its people shared many characteristics with other towns in the Holy Roman Empire. Leipzig's inhabitants had in common with other Saxons an accent (with variations), rulers, political celebrations and other observances, pressures of wartime, and a body of law. They shared a Lutheran identity and (also with variations) a worship style with people around Northern and Central Europe. Clerics fostered this identity by cultivating networks of correspondence, employment, and education. Leipzigers were also part of regional and more far-flung networks: many were born in, traded with, and visited other Saxon and Thuringian towns and villages, and to a lesser extent towns around the Holy Roman Empire. Leipzig merchants, artisans, councilors, and innkeepers were closely in touch with the inhabitants of other large Protestant north and central German trade centers, especially Imperial towns such as Hamburg and Frankfurt, as well as with those of towns like Dresden, Breslau, and Berlin; they also had contact with their peers in smaller central German towns like Jena, Grimma, and Eisenach, for whom Leipzig was a cosmopolitan center.

Leipzig had a magnified impact on the society and culture of early modern Germany due to its position as a university town, site of law courts, and trade center. Jurists, clerics, and musicians around Saxony, Thuringia, and beyond obtained degrees from the University (although many musicians, including J.S. Bach, did not attend university). The musicians, who included future cantors, organists, and court musicians, usually studied law, but were active in musical life during their studies. Merchants, printers and publishers, and nobles from around Europe converged on the city during the trade fairs. Individuals from around Saxony came to Leipzig for trials at the Saxon High Court and the Leipzig Consistory. And individuals from around the Empire submitted problems and read the opinions of professors in the four faculties of theology, law, philosophy, and medicine. Not least, figures whose activities were well known around Europe, including Francke and J.S. Bach, were active in the city.

Leipzig's location in a larger territory and its constant interactions with the court at Dresden distinguished it in some ways from the Imperial towns. For example, the Electors could take Leipzig into a war. However, in governance, religious practice, relations between councilors and ordinary inhabitants, the relative roles of trade and manufacture, and social structure, Leipzig was more similar to, say, Frankfurt than it was to smaller Saxon towns such as Gera or Zwickau. The wealth and status of Leipzig's merchant and jurist elites also provided considerable leverage against

⁴⁷ See Beachy (2005); George Stauffer (1993), 'Leipzig: A Cosmopolitan Trade Centre,' in George Buelow, ed., *The Late Baroque Era: From the 1680s to 1740* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall), 254–295; Wolfgang Martens, ed. (1990), *Leipzig: Aufklärung und Bürgerlichkeit* (Heidelberg: Schneider).



Leipzig: view of the city from the southeast, engraving by I.G. Ringlin, c. 1720 (Bach-Archiv Leipzig. Graph. Slg. 12/15, reproduced by permission).

incursions by the court, and relations between the city and court were symbiotic in many ways. By the same token, the Imperial towns were forced to deal constantly not only with the Emperors, but also with the large territories near them: Hamburg with Denmark, Augsburg with Bavaria.

* * *

The stories told here are bookended by several events. In 1650 Swedish occupying forces left Leipzig, returning local authority to the city council and marking the end of the Thirty Years' War era. This withdrawal marked the beginning of a prolonged period of relative peace in Saxony, the longest in the entire late medieval and early modern eras. Although the Electors participated in several financially draining wars, there was little military conflict in Saxony itself until 1756, when Prussia sparked the Seven Years' War by invading Saxony.⁴⁸ Much of the rest of the northern and central Holy Roman Empire was similarly at relative peace during this time, although the southwest, and by 1740 much of the Empire, faced turmoil. The Seven Years' War would inaugurate another era of more general turbulent political and military activity, as well as a dramatic shift in cultural tastes. J.S. Bach's death a few years earlier, in 1750, is often used as an end point in Baroque music chronologies.

The Baroque era is more often associated with Catholic than with Protestant areas. The movement crossed confessional boundaries, though, with Leipzig and other northern and central German towns emerging as centers of a late flourishing of Baroque culture from the 1680s onward. Nobles around Protestant Germany, notably the Saxon ruling house, the Wettins, also developed a sparkling Baroque culture. Political stability provided the framework for economic expansion and a steady accumulation of wealth, and for the eventual flourishing of high Baroque culture. The economic, political, and cultural parallels between German towns during the Baroque era, and Italian towns during the Renaissance as found by Richard Goldthwaite are striking.⁴⁹ In both cases, wealth was concentrated in large urban centers whose merchant elites were benefiting from an increase in trade. After periods of upheaval, urban and territorial political elites had consolidated power and achieved stability. Wealth was distributed relatively widely in the towns, and there was considerable social mobility. In this context, there was a major, renewable increase in demand for a wide range of goods, including art, both secular and sacred. Lay demand for liturgical services also led to an expansion of religious life.

⁴⁸ Karl Czok, ed. (1989), *Geschichte Sachsens* (Weimar: Böhlau), 208–287. There was a brief Swedish occupation in 1706 during the Great Northern War, and a Prussian occupation in 1744 during the Second Silesian War.

⁴⁹ Goldthwaite (1993), *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300–1600* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press). He argues (p. 45) that similar structural changes took place in England and France in the 18th century; these changes also took place in parts of Germany.

That is not to say that signs in 1650 indicated a prosperous future. On the contrary, Leipzig, like many other cities, had been hard hit during the Thirty Years' War.⁵⁰ Beginning in 1631, when Saxony entered the war, Leipzig was besieged five times; three major battles, including those of Lützen and Breitenfeld, were fought near the city; and the Swedish army occupied the city for eight years beginning in 1642. Severe financial pressure was placed on inhabitants by the Electors and by troops quartered in the city. Many buildings were damaged or destroyed by bombardments, and the 'suburbs' outside the town walls were completely destroyed. Thousands of refugees from the surrounding countryside streamed into the city when armies approached. The trade fairs barely functioned. Almost constant epidemics, high food prices, and periods of starvation accompanied all these phenomena.

In the aftermath of the war, recovery was slow. The population began to grow immediately after reaching a post-war low of 14,000, down from over 16,000 in the early 17th century. However, the population and birth and marriage rates reached their pre-war levels only in the 1670s.⁵¹ The 1650s saw some rebuilding, but continuing subsistence crises. Recovery was probably slowed by unusually heavy flooding in 1651, 1655, and 1661, which destroyed crops and infrastructure around Saxony.⁵² Epidemics of the plague hit the city, the last, in 1680, claiming over 2000 lives. Artisanal production remained very low; in 1656, for example, Leipzig tanners complained that their numbers had decreased from ninety to thirty since the beginning of the war, and that many of these were leaving the city for lack of a workshop or living space.⁵³ More money became available for construction projects in the 1660s. Whereas the best public works gestures the council had been able to make immediately after the war were to repair a bridge and a fountain, by 1663 the council was able to repair major damage from bombardments to the roof and walls of St. Nicholas's, one of the city's two main churches.⁵⁴ A replica of an Imperial 'fireball' that had fallen through the roof of the church in 1633 was suspended from the ceiling and remained as a memento of the war until at least 1750.⁵⁵ From 1668 to

⁵⁰ Detlef Döring (1984), 'Das Leben in Leipzig in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges. Dargestellt anhand der Annalen des Zacharias Schneider,' *Leipzig: Aus Vergangenheit und Gegenwart. Beiträge zur Stadtgeschichte*, 3, 151–175.

⁵¹ F.G. Leonhardi (1790), *Erdbeschreibung der Churfürstlich- und Herzoglich-Sächsischen Lande*, vol. II (Leipzig: Barth), 61–62.

⁵² Stefan Miltitzer (1998), 'Sachsen – Klimatatsachen und Umriss von Klimawirkungen im 17. Jahrhundert,' in Schirmer, ed. (1998), 69–100.

⁵³ Karl Czok (1990), 'Leipzig nach dem "grossen Krieg" und im augusteischen Zeitalter (1648–1763),' in Klaus Sohl, ed., *Neues Leipziger Geschichts-Buch* (Leipzig: Fachbuchverlag Leipzig), 100–131; 102.

⁵⁴ Vogel (1714 & 1756), *Leipziger Geschicht-Buch oder Annales* (Leipzig: Lanckish), 649 and 714.

⁵⁵ Iccander (J.C. Crell) (1725), *Das in gantz Europa berühmte, galante und sehenswürdige Königliche Leipzig in Sachsen ...* (Leipzig: Martini), 36 ff.; pew chart of St. Nicholas's, fourth balcony level, 1750 (SAL, RRA, 250).

1671 the council built a combination orphanage, prison, and asylum, St. George's, to replace a building burned by the Swedish army in 1631.

Many southern German towns, including centers like Nuremberg and Augsburg, never fully recovered from the war; they also suffered from shifts within Europe of dominant trade routes and increasing rural production.⁵⁶ In contrast, numerous northern and central European trade centers prospered, including Hamburg, Frankfurt, Breslau, and Danzig as well as Leipzig, with the 1680s marking the beginning of a dramatic upswing in the economy. Merchants' and councilors' structural reforms and fiscal innovations combined with a world-wide expansion of trade to produce an economic boom in the city.⁵⁷ Building on the city's traditional position as an East–West crossroads, the Leipzig fairs, held three times a year for two or three weeks each, overtook Frankfurt's as the preeminent central European trade fairs. Increasingly integrated into the booming economy of the Atlantic world, Leipzig became the second leading German center for the distribution of colonial goods, after Hamburg.⁵⁸ Long-distance merchants like the Wincklers, Boses (godparents for the Bach family), and Richters specialized in gold and silver products, in silk, Dutch, English and Italian textiles, in luxury goods from the East Indies, and in commissions from merchants around Europe.⁵⁹

Along with the economy, both secular and religious culture blossomed, modernized, and became more cosmopolitan. Architecture was one important element of that culture. A major wave of construction between 1690 and 1730 gave Leipzig a high-Baroque architectural profile. Several dozen leading merchants newly constructed or renovated imposing homes in the center of the city. A few built enormous formal gardens open to the public. These were located just beyond the former ramparts and moats surrounding the town wall, which were dried and filled in 1702–03 and turned into public promenades. The gardens and homes were admired by visitors from around Europe for their sheer size as well as their style. Councilors also presided over a number of public works projects: they updated the existing churches inside and out, newly built or reconstructed three additional ones between 1699 and 1713, and completed several major secular projects, including a bourse in 1678–79, street lighting in 1701, and a new and much larger house of St. George's between 1701 and 1704. Councilors modeled the Bourse directly on the Roman Capitol, or Senators' Palace, designed by Michelangelo: a fitting model of

⁵⁶ Terence McIntosh (1997), *Urban Decline in Early Modern Germany: Schwäbisch Hall and its Region, 1650–1750* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press).

⁵⁷ Robert Beachy (1999), 'Reforming Interregional Commerce: The Leipzig Trade Fairs and Saxony's Recovery from the Thirty Years' War,' *Central European History*, 32, 431–452; idem (2005), 22 ff. & 32 ff.

⁵⁸ Karl Heinrich Kaufhold (1996), 'Messen und Wirtschaftsausstellungen von 1650 bis 1914' and Karlheinz Blashke (1996), 'Die Stadt Leipzig und ihre Messen,' both in P. Johannek & Heinz Stoob, eds, *Europäische Messen und Märktesysteme in Mittelalter und Neuzeit* (Cologne: Böhlau), 239–294 and 295–304.

⁵⁹ Herbert Helbig (1980), *Die Vertrauten 1680-1980. Eine Vereinigung Leipziger Kaufleute* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann), esp. 27–31.

urban authority.⁶⁰ Leading individual councilors served as directors of the projects, in some cases even serving as architects.⁶¹

Architects, masons, sculptors, and painters from the Dresden court, Bohemia, Italy, Brandenburg, and elsewhere visited and were consulted and did some planning and building. Local professionals did the majority of the architectural design and construction, though, demonstrating superior design and workmanship early on and developing a distinctive local style.⁶² These buildings dominated the city for decades. As late as 1811, Goethe wrote, ‘Leipzig does not call the viewer back to a distant past; rather, these monuments attest to a recently passed era of trade, prosperity, and wealth.’⁶³

Hamburg, Dresden, Frankfurt, and other large Protestant towns experienced a similar flourishing of Baroque architecture. Burghers built grandiose homes and gardens, councilors funded secular public buildings and new churches, and a combination of council and burgher contributions funded the Frauenkirche in Dresden, the Michaeliskirche in Hamburg, and St. Katherine’s in Frankfurt.⁶⁴ On a lesser scale, Baroque burgher homes, town halls, and churches were also built in smaller towns around Saxony, Thuringia, and northern Germany, as well as in villages surrounding the major cities, where big-city councilors or minor nobles in touch with current styles served as patrons.⁶⁵

From the 1680s onward, the culture of church-going attained a high point. The churches became steadily more crowded, with the council utilizing every possible space to add more pews, as well as adding churches. The interiors were not adorned nearly as abundantly with gilt, ceiling paintings, statues, multiple altars and chapels, and other details, as Catholic churches were. However, contemporaries could find visual plenty. Attention would be drawn to the occupants of special status pews such as those for brides and grooms, and to the truly ostentatious Electoral balcony or pew built in St. Thomas’s in 1684, which the Electors and their families used on their occasional visits to Leipzig. Clerics’ and altarists’ green, white, red, and violet vestments, donated over the years by merchants and councilors, were made of precious silks, satins, and velvets, and trimmed and embroidered with gold and silver thread. Balconies were adorned with large statues and paintings on Biblical subjects, and painted representations of Scriptural passages. The shutters of the organs also

⁶⁰ Kathrin Reeckmann (2000), *Anfänge der Barockarchitektur in Sachsen. Johann Georg Starcke und seine Zeit* (Cologne: Böhlau), 219 ff.

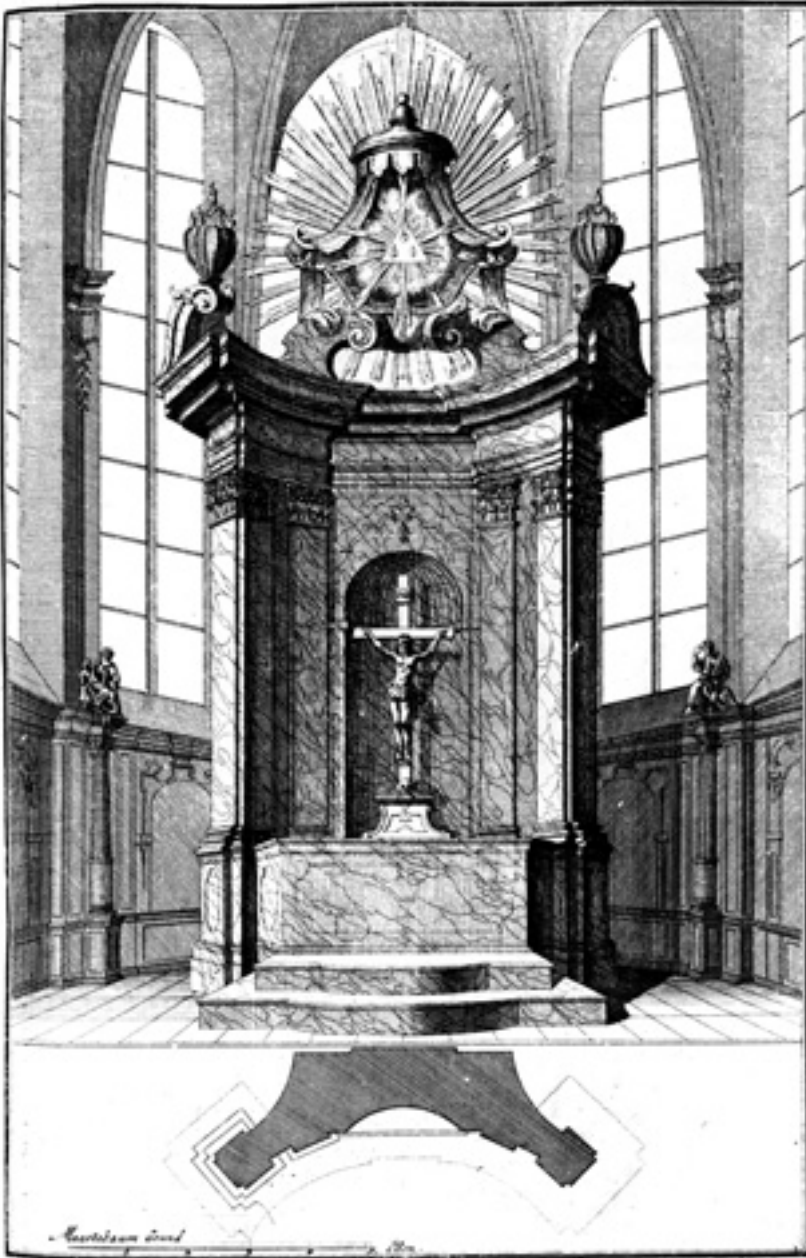
⁶¹ Nikolaus Pevsner (1928), *Leipziger Barock. Die Baukunst der Barockzeit in Leipzig* (Dresden: Jess, R [1990], Leipzig: Seemann), 34 ff.

⁶² Pevsner (1928), 34 ff., passim.

⁶³ In *Dichtung und Wahrheit*; cited in Pevsner (1928), 4–5.

⁶⁴ See Lutz Rosenpflanzler (2002), *Barocke Bürgerhäuser in Dresden* (Dresden: Verlag der Künste); Volker Plagemann, ed. (2001), *Die Kunst des protestantischen Barock in Hamburg* (Hamburg: Döllinger & Galitz); Reinhold Wex (1984), *Ordnung und Unfriede. Raumprobleme des protestantischen Kirchenbaus im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in Deutschland* (Marburg: Jonas), 17 & 130.

⁶⁵ Pevsner (1928), passim.



'The New Marble Altar in the Church of St. Thomas in Leipzig,' print by J.C. Weigel, from J.S. Riemer, *Continuatio annalium Lipsiensium Vogelii*, ms., 1714–71 (Stadtarchiv Leipzig, reproduced by permission).

had paintings on them, and these became most prominent when the shutters were closed during Lent. In 1721 a new, high Baroque altar replaced the late Renaissance altar in St. Thomas's. Made of black, red, and white marble donated by the Saxon Elector, with a large Gloria (sun) with gilded rays above it, the altar was designed and built by the Dresden court marble sculptor and silversmith. A family of Leipzig jurists and city councilors, the Borns, donated 3000 thaler, and the council donated 1000 thaler toward this showpiece.⁶⁶ Cantor Kuhnau composed a special cantata for the occasion.⁶⁷

A rich and increasingly multifaceted Baroque culture developed not only in these churches, but also in pleasure gardens, coffee houses, and other locations. The expansion of trade was closely linked to the emergence of new forms of association like the coffee house, which are usually claimed by historians of the Enlightenment, but were equally sites of Baroque culture. The first Leipzig coffee house opened in 1694; by 1725, there were eight. A guide to the city written that year emphasized the activities and the mixing of people there: the coffee houses 'amuse those from Leipzig and elsewhere, those of high and low estate, and both men and women.' They were also

famous on account of their elegance, view, and comfort, and the large assemblies that take place in them daily; and especially since all those who go there, whether to read periodicals or history books, or to play various witty and permissible chess, board, ladies' and billiard games, find very pleasant entertainment.⁶⁸

Starting around 1700, the coffee houses and pleasure gardens also hosted performances of secular music by *collegia musica*, groups of amateurs consisting, in Leipzig, mostly of University students. By the 1710s two *collegia* were performing regularly. From 1729 one, led by J.S. Bach, performed Friday evenings from 8:00 to 10:00 pm; another, led by Johann Gottlieb Görner, played Thursdays at the same time. Bach's played to audiences of up to 150.⁶⁹ The *collegia* concerts were the first regular, public secular music performances in the city. The fairs generated other cultural activity. Merchants, book dealers, nobles, and many others, interested in the latest in culture as well as in trade goods, descended on the city, providing a large and cosmopolitan audience. The Leipzig Opera, which operated from 1693 to 1720, staged performances only during the fairs. The *collegia* added one performance a week during the fairs, and individual local performers, itinerant musicians, theatre troupes, and others added to the mix.

The consumption of new goods like coffee and tobacco also increased dramatically in Leipzig and other large German towns. Elites, members of intermediary groups

⁶⁶ Herbert Stiehl (1984), 'Das Innere der Thomaskirche zur Amtszeit Johann Sebastian Bachs,' = *BzBf*, 3, 19–20.

⁶⁷ SAL, J.S. Riemer, *Continuatio annalium Lipsiensium Vogelii*, ms., 1714–1771, 82–84.

⁶⁸ Iccander (1725), 87–88.

⁶⁹ Wolff (2000), 352–353.

like shopkeepers, and many artisans now studied and mastered a new repertoire of fashionable gestures to accompany that consumption. Women as well as men took and offered snuff, an elaborate and ritualized activity.⁷⁰ Men smoked a pipe of tobacco in groups after a meal, holding conversation appropriate to the occasion. Men and women drank tea and coffee from porcelain or stoneware sets, holding their fingers properly. Most middling and wealthy homes owned a set by mid-century for use in gatherings of family and friends. At home and in coffee houses, they followed protocol for maintaining polite conversation.⁷¹ Servants and artisans as well as wealthier inhabitants stayed up-to-date in their wigs, hats, clothing, and shoes.⁷²

In pursuing these new modes of consumption and socializing, Leipzigers, like townspeople elsewhere in Europe, were caught between the imperative of appearing galant in a newly cosmopolitan world, and an older, still vigorously preached view that luxury and many secular activities were sins that invited divine punishment. People in Leipzig had enjoyed luxury goods and secular entertainment before the high Baroque, and threats of divine vengeance as a consequence of high living had been a staple of religious rhetoric since antiquity. But the two worlds collided especially severely in the late 17th and early to mid-18th centuries. The rate at which new goods were introduced was fast, and followed hard times abruptly. Scholars have shown for England and France that intense debates (not necessarily religious) accompanied increased luxury consumption and secular sociability.⁷³ The same was true of the German towns. In Leipzig, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Breslau, and elsewhere, Pietists took the lead in criticizing consumption trends, and an extended debate on the adiaphora took place. Pietists were all the more critical since religious life moved in tandem with secular change. People wore their best clothes to attend church as well as secular festivities. In 1742, councilors discussed how to avoid injuries for women, wearing the popular *Reifrock*, who were falling off the baptismal font because their skirts were too wide.⁷⁴ In 1725, Enlightener Johann Christoph Gottsched's journal *The Reasonable Tatleresses* satirized a young woman who took snuff as well as offering it to her male admirers from her pew.⁷⁵ The inventory of the Bach household

⁷⁰ Wolfgang Schivelbusch (1992), *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Pantheon; German original, 1980; trans. David Jacobson), 132.

⁷¹ Schivelbusch (1992), 167 ff.

⁷² Beachy (2005), 25 ff.

⁷³ Maxine Berg & Elizabeth Eger (2003), 'The Rise and Fall of the Luxury Debates,' in Berg & Eger, eds, *Luxury in the Eighteenth Century: Debates, Desires and Delectable Goods* (Houndmills: Palgrave), 7–25; John Brewer (1997), *The Pleasures of the Imagination. English Culture in the 18th Century* (New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux).

⁷⁴ *Kirche zu St. Nicolaus Verordnungen und Nachrichten ... 1740–1783*. SAL, Stift IX.B.4, report of 8 August 1742, 45–45a.

⁷⁵ Gottsched, ed. (1725–26), *Die vernünfftigen Tadlerinnen* (R [1993], Hildesheim: Olms) vol. I, no. 33, 28 August 1725, 257–264; 264.

in 1750 included tea and coffee sets.⁷⁶ The same musicians played in both church and coffee house, and the style of the cantata was deeply influenced by secular styles.

Baroque religious as well as secular culture thus emerged in a context of dynamic social, economic, and cultural change. The new secular venues were soon to be associated with more far-reaching cultural change. For the time being, though, most cultural change developed and was contested in well-established public religious frameworks.

⁷⁶ *NBR*, 251.