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Christoph Trautmann

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J. S. Bach: New Light on His Faith

CHRISTOPH TRAUTMANN

THE AUTHOR RELATES THE HISTORY OF THE CALOV BIBLE THAT JOHANN SEBASTIAN Bach had acquired at age 48 (now in the Concordia Seminary Library, St. Louis) and indicates the significance of the numerous marginal annotations Bach inscribed in that Bible. The article is taken from *Musik und Kirche*, vol. 39, no. 4 (1969), with the permission of the Bärenreiter-Verlag, Karl Vötterle KG. The translation was provided by Hilton Oswald, editor at Concordia Publishing House.

Friedrich Blume's trenchant questions¹ whether Bach's attitude to his church position was a matter of the heart or a necessary part of his (external) religious life have so far remained unanswered, at least in the depth demanded by Blume. His own answer is that there is no proof that it was a matter of personal conviction. This must be understood in a rhetorical way, to be sure. We have no right to conclude that Blume wants to deny that Bach had any close emotional attachment to the blessings of faith. Rather, convinced of the necessity of proceeding in a purely scholarly way, Blume felt that he would have to adduce theoretical and practical proofs before he could make such assertions about Bach.

I have no intention of continuing the debate that followed Blume's presentation, which became in part a bitter controversy.²

¹ See Friedrich Blume, "Unser Bach-Bild stimmt nicht mehr. Die Vorstellung vom 'Spielmann Gottes' wird von der Forschung in Frage gestellt," *Die Welt*, No. 144 (June 23, 1962), and "Umriss eines neuen Bach-Bildes," *Jahresgabe 1961* (Kassel: International Bach Society, 1962).

² See M. Mezger, "Ein 'neues' Bach-Bild? Eine Erwiderung," *Die Welt*, No. 162 (July 14, 1962); F. Smend, "Was bleibt? Zu Friedrich Blumes Bach-Bild," *Der Kirchenmusiker*, 13 (1962); H. Besch, "Streit um Bach. Der Thomaskantor: Legende und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit," *Sonntagsblatt*, No. 42 (Oct. 21, 1962).

But one must not neglect to remind himself that champions of Bach the convinced cantor were rather hard pressed when, except for the evidence of his creative work itself, none of the sources or proofs Blume had in mind was so far known and that such proofs were, humanly speaking, hardly to be expected. Who would think of saying or writing about himself that he is a confirmed Christian and, what is more, a faithful servant of God — and this in his profession! On the contrary, in the year 1730 Bach seems almost to have renounced his faith. On Aug. 23, 1730, he wrote his "Outline for a Well-Appointed Church Music,"³ and on Oct. 28 of the same year his much-quoted "Letter to School Comrade George Erdmann."⁴ Both documents indicate a certain "low," and yet it seemed unwarranted to generalize and to project over the whole life of Bach the statements found here in a few passages and to presume for all posterity to base a set of deductions about Bach's inner conviction on temporary complaints about the misfortunes of life and a possible decline in production.

³ *Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke*, Vol. 1 (Leipzig: Bach-Archiv, 1954).

⁴ *Faksimile-Reihe Bachscher Werke und Schriftstücke*, Vol. 3 (Leipzig: Bach-Archiv, 1960).

Meanwhile a source already known by name had not been dealt with completely until now. In his study on "Bach's Library"⁵ Hans Preuss found it necessary to draw the conclusion that none of the books listed in the official catalog of Bach's estate⁶ had been preserved, and about the missing items he wrote, "Where is the Bible, without which we cannot imagine Bach at all, and which was not lacking even in Rembrandt's sorry catalog?" For the first title in the booklist of this estate catalog Hans Preuss provided the note that he nowhere found a folio copy of Calov's *Works* listed. In the same year Charles Sanford Terry, in his own reproduction of the estate catalog, added the bibliographic explanation to this work: "*Biblia illustrata V. et N. Test.*, 5 Bde. (1719)."⁷ In 1935 Preuss made the first reference in Bach literature to these volumes from the Bach library which had reappeared in America:

Several years ago the three folio volumes of Calov's *Works* from Bach's library which have so far been unidentified were rediscovered in America. They bear his personal signature. These writings too are commentaries on the Bible!⁸

Preuss revealed neither source nor location; the times ruled out the obvious research required.

⁵ See Hans Preuss, "Bachs Bibliothek," *Zahn-Festgabe* (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 105—29 (also offprint).

⁶ See Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, trans. Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland (New York: Dover Publications, 1951 [reprint]), III, 351—60 (catalog of the Bach estate), 265—67 (explanation).

⁷ Charles Sanford Terry, *Johann Sebastian Bach. A Biography* (London: 1928), p. 273.

⁸ See Hans Preuss, *Johann Sebastian Bach, der Lutheraner* (Erlangen, 1935), p. 15; (Erlangen, 1936), p. 16.

Unfortunately, World War II then broke all contacts with America. But Bach research in the postwar years dealt with questions about Bach's library a number of times. Again and again—in part because of Bach's own mention of Calov's *Teutsche Bibel* on an autograph receipt of Sept. 1742 for a German edition of Luther that he had purchased—the conjecture was made⁹ that the three folios contained *Die Heilige Bibel* in German and not the Latin *Biblia illustrata*, which had appeared in Frankfurt between 1672 and 1676 in four volumes and after Calov's death in 1686 had once more been published in 1719 in Leipzig and in Dresden in five volumes. The location of the folios was never mentioned in all of these discussions.

In connection with preparations for an international exhibit at a Bach festival in 1969, *EX LIBRIS BACHIANIS—Eine Kantate Johann Sebastian Bachs im Spiegel seiner Bibliothek*,¹⁰ an inquiry launched via the United States Cultural Mission in Berlin and addressed to the Information Agency for Libraries in Washington in the spring of 1968, again yielded information about the *Biblia illustrata*, but this time also the location was given—Concordia Seminary Library in St. Louis, Mo. Through the writer's personal connection with The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, which owns and operates Concordia Seminary,

⁹ See Hans Besch, "Eine Auktionsquittung J. S. Bachs," *Festschrift für Friedrich Smend zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1963), pp. 74—79.

¹⁰ Christoph Trautmann, *EX LIBRIS BACHIANIS—Eine Kantate Johann Sebastian Bachs im Spiegel seiner Bibliothek* (Zurich, 1969), a catalog for an international exhibit for the 44th German Bach Festival of the Neue Bachgesellschaft, Heidelberg, June 25—30, 1969.

an agreement for a loan of the books was quickly and graciously made. On the night of Oct. 2—3, 1968, the three folios were brought across the Atlantic on a turbulent flight in the personal custody of Dr. Alfred O. Fuerbringer, who was then president of Concordia Seminary. After more than 120 years the only books so far recovered from the official estate of Bach arrived in their homeland again — on loan. Some difficulties arose because of the titles of the work, since the certificate exempting the books from duty and specifying the purpose of their shipment had originally been issued for the *Biblia illustrata*. The actual title turned out to be the following:

The Holy Bible / according to blessed Dr. Martin Luther's / German translation / and exposition / on the strength of the Holy Spirit's / accurate introduction of the context and the complete treatment of each and every passage / in the original version / also comparison of similar passages / individual content and meaning / plus an orderly division of each book and chapter / and consideration of the emphatic words / and expressions in the sacred language / but especially of the evangelical truth, which alone can save / thoroughly and clearly set forth / . . . and edited by Dr. Abraham Calov / . . . 1681. . . . Wittenberg / . . . printed . . . at Christian Schrödter's / printer to the university (Folio I)

The writings of the Old Testament / first / the holy prophets' / books / inspired by God / and divine beyond doubt. Then also / the secondary writings of the Bible . . . (Vol. 1)

The second part of the holy and divine books / in which are contained the poetical books of the Bible / . . . namely, The Book of Job / The Book of the Psalms / The Books of Solomon / namely, /

Proverbs / Ecclesiastes / The Song of Songs . . . / expounded by Dr. Abraham Calov / printed at Christian Schrödter's / . . . (Vol. 2)

The Second Folio of the divine Writings of the Old Testament / in which are contained the prophets / major / and minor . . . by . . . Dr. Abraham Calov . . . / . . . 1682 / printed in Wittenberg by Christian Schrödter / printer to the university (Folio II, Vol. 3)

The minor prophets . . . exposition of the 12 prophets . . . by Dr. Abraham Calov . . . 1682 / printed in Wittenberg . . . by Christian Schrödter / printer to the university (Vol. 4)

The New Testament . . . presented by Dr. Abraham Calov . . . / Wittenberg / printed by Christian Schrödter / printer to the university / 1682 (Folio III, Vol. 5)

The second and epistolary part of the New Testament, in which are contained the holy letters inspired by God . . . plus the third prophetic part of the New Testament / the secret Revelation of St. John . . . prepared by Dr. Abraham Calov . . . / Wittenberg / printed at August Brüningken's / 1682 (Vol. 6)

It is safe to say that the bibliographic identification *Biblia illustrata* originated with Terry's biography of Bach, the only English-language work that mentions this title.¹¹ In any case, Concordia Seminary Library accessioned the folios as *Biblia illustrata*, and in 1961 all three folios were displayed under this label in the reading room of the library.¹² In 1962 a new li-

¹¹ See note 7 above.

¹² See M. Frick, "Three Volumes of Bach's Library Featured," *Quad*, 10 (Nov. 16, 1961).

ED. NOTE: The *Quad* was a newspaper published by the Student Association of Concordia Seminary, St. Louis.

brary building was erected in St. Louis, and the dedication program contained the note:

Nevertheless, some extremely significant books were added, such as the three volumes of A. Calov's *Biblia illustrata*, which came from J. S. Bach's library.¹³

With the clarification of the bibliographic identification certain other facts concerning the acquisition of the volumes were revealed. On the inside of the front cover of each folio a sheet of seminary stationery was pasted in, bearing the following typewritten text in German:

This valuable work was presented to our library by Mr. Leonhard Reichle of Frankenmuth, Michigan. It is of special interest also for this reason, that it was at one time the property of Johann Sebastian Bach, as the title page of each volume shows. In his article about Bach's library in the *Festschrift für Theodor Zahn*, pages 103 to 129, Prof. Dr. Hans Preuss mentions this work, but he was not able to specify what kind of work by Calov was meant and what ever happened to it. Through correspondence with him it has been established that this copy was actually in Bach's possession and that the signature is genuine. It is no longer possible to determine how this work came to America. The father of our Mr. Leonhard Reichle, Ludwig Reichle, came to America in 1836 and lived in Philadelphia at first. Presumably he bought the folios here. In 1848 he moved to Frankenmuth, Michigan, became a faithful member of the congregation there, and, as his son testifies, diligently read this Bible version.

¹³ See "Ludwig Fuerbringer Hall — Concordia Seminary Library," St. Louis, Mo., Sept. 30, 1962 (a pamphlet for the occasion of dedication of the new library building), p. 7, and Errata, p. 7, lines 25 ff.

After his death in 1878 it became the property of the son named above, and because of its rarity and historical interest he presented it to our seminary library in October 1938.

According to reports in newspapers in Detroit¹⁴ and St. Louis,¹⁵ a District conference of The Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod was held in Frankenmuth, Mich., in 1933, exactly 200 years after Bach had written his name into the three folios. One of the pastors, C. G. Riedel of Detroit, was lodged at the house of farmer



Leonhard Reichle. One evening Reichle showed Riedel an old Bible which he said his father, Ludwig Michael Reichle, had bought in Philadelphia in 1847. What the Reichle family had so far overlooked was now discovered by Pastor Riedel—signatures in Bach's own handwriting. Riedel enlisted the interest of his friend Pastor Paul Sauer, the president of the Chicago Bach Chorus. Together they made copies of the signatures and sent these to Hans Preuss in Erlangen for an appraisal. Preuss declared the signatures genuine on the basis of the copies and in his study *Johann Sebastian Bach—Der Lutheraner*¹⁶ made brief mention of the set of books from Bach's library thus rediscovered. The oral report that Ludwig Michael Reichle acquired this edition of the Bible in Philadelphia in 1847 is now supported by a uniform entry made years ago in all three

¹⁴ See H. G. Hoch, "Lost Volume of Bach Found in Thumb Home," *Detroit News* (Nov. 2, 1935).

¹⁵ See note 12 above.

¹⁶ See note 8 above.

folios and subsequently erased but now recovered by means of electronic probe and assumed to be the bookseller's coded price mark. From the history of American book-selling¹⁷ we learn that well-organized bookbuyers conducted a thriving business of persuading immigrants at dockside to sell at ridiculously low prices the books they had brought along and that Philadelphia was one of the largest centers of secondhand dealers in the United States. The continuing efforts of the University of Pennsylvania Library to identify the writer of the presumed price mark have so far been unsuccessful. If the dealer who entered it were identified, a clue might be given for the search for additional books from the Bach library which could possibly have arrived in the United States from Anna Magdalena's inheritance¹⁸ together with the Calov Bible.

Obviously this edition of the Bible has so far been appreciated more as an interesting historical exhibit and not as a possible source for positive information. But Bach reveals himself as the owner with many other autographs beside the signatures: (1) He entered candid personal notes, (2) supplied missing Bible texts, (3) amplified or commented on the commentary, and (4) corrected typographical errors in the Bible text and the commentary. In addition he provided many *nota benes* and underlined texts of both the Bible and the commentary or marked

¹⁷ See H. Lehmann-Haupt, *The Book in America* (New York: Bowker, 1951).

¹⁸ See note 6 above.

them in the margin, sometimes with red ink, sometimes with black. (Illustrative tables appeared in the original German text and should be consulted by those who wish to study this point in greater detail.)

Anyone who reads carefully between the lines of the Preuss report could almost conclude that Preuss had some doubts whether Bach left a Bible. However, annotated Bible editions of the 17th and 18th centuries (Preuss calls them "expositions of the Bible") almost always printed the complete text of the Bible (so also in a further edition by Johann Olearius with the title *Biblische Erklärung*, which is entered as *Band 3* under No. 10 in the estate catalog¹⁹). Furthermore, the Calov Bible, with Bach's handwritten insertions of missing Bible texts, is proof of at least one more Bible version in Bach's possession. Since comparisons rule out the Olearius edition, it is unquestionable that Bach worked with at least three editions of the Bible, one of which is completely unidentified to this day.

Johann Abraham Calov was one of the most important Lutheran theologians of his time, a noble but belligerent defender of the Augsburg Confession. To match Bach's autograph entries and markings in the Calov Bible with the texts of his vocal compositions according to content and form is to open up a vast field of theological study. Many associations will perhaps never become clear in this process, but the discovery of a few instances that indicate a possible influence on the spiritual content of texts he set to music could materially brighten our picture of Bach. Although most of the entries at first glance seem to be characteristic of an eager reader

¹⁹ See note 10 above.

of the Bible or of Bach's professional work with the Bible, a number of them do not show Bach at work, but reveal his purely personal stance as a Christian and as a servant of the Word. In contrast to many of his works, these entries by themselves were not intended for posterity. Written with the finest penpoint in a most diminutive script, these entries (Nos. 17, 37, 38, 39 in Table 1) reveal the conviction of Bach the Lutheran cantor that his office claimed the whole man and the whole artist as one indivisible unit.

Not until 1733, years after the transport of at least three complete cycles of cantatas between 1723 and 1727 and years after the "low" of 1730, did Bach, at age 48, acquire the Calov Bible and with a clean flourish enter his name in the three folios in a beautiful monogram of the letters *JSB*. He must have been delighted to own the volumes, and their acquisition must surely have been the result of his own resolve. Even though the sequence of the entries as such cannot be established, one could surmise from the fact that Bach undertook the transfer of the errata from the list at the end of the work into the text itself that this and other entries in red ink may have been made immediately after the acquisition, in the first flush of the pride of ownership.

Several of the entries have an immediate connection with music, in fact, a stated connection with "devotional" music, or church music. Bach followed the Lutheran tradition in finding the origin of church music in the Old Testament, especially with King David. When Luther wrote about music, he frequently pointed to David — for example, in the Preface to All

Good Hymnals; in the Preface to *Geistlich Gesangbüchlein* (Wittenberg, 1524); in the Foreword to Georg Rhau's collection *Symphoniae iucundae* (Wittenberg, 1538); in the *Preface to the Harmony Concerning the Passion of Christ*; in letters, for instance, the letter of Oct. 4, 1530, to Ludwig Senfl; and in his Talks.²⁰

Devotional music in Bach's time included all music that served to promote devotion and piety in the church service. Picander, Bach's perennial librettist Christian Friedrich Henrici, used the concepts "devotional" and "pious" in his foreword to his cycle of cantatas of 1728:

For the glory of God, in consequence of the wishes of good friends, and for the promotion of the devotion of many . . . may these songs be sung in the chief churches of pious Leipzig.²¹

Bach's pupil Johann Michael Schmidt wrote in paragraph 104 of his book *Musico-Theologia* (1754):

In addition to its devotional use, music is described as "secular," but not as if it were differentiated as the service of the devil is from the service of God but because it may also be used for physical refreshment and diversion.²²

Johann Christoph Adelung writes on "devotion":

In the more elegant diction the word is used only in the narrower sense, concerning the conscious attention of the heart to spiritual exercises, or to such as belong to worship.²³

²⁰ See Karl Anton, *Luther und die Musik* (Berlin, 1957 [Zwickau: Herrmann, 1928]).

²¹ See Spitta, II, 345.

²² From Hans Besch, "Streit um Bach," note 2 above.

²³ Johann Christoph Adelung, *Grammatisch-*

The Grimm dictionary makes it clear that the concept "devotion," defined as "the firmly contemplative direction of thought, especially toward God and divine things [or] heartfelt prayer,"²⁴ was used even for "Holy Supper," in the sense of a turning to God.

Only the four entries mentioned can here be dealt with in detail. The first is:

NB First prelude, for 2 choirs
To be performed for the glory of God.

Bach is probably not referring to a composition with two preludes or with a prelude in two parts, that is, a prelude in the modern sense, but he is using the word "prelude" in the sense of antiphonal, multichoral performance. In other words, the first prelude is the first part of a composition in several parts or the first of several compositions used in the same service. This entry is found in Ex. 15:20-21, where the joyful song and dance of Miriam over the destruction of Pharaoh is reported. Calov comments:

These dances were organized by Miriam as a prophetess in honor of God, their Savior, just as the king and prophet David danced publicly before the ark of the covenant and defended such dancing before mocking Michal. . . . But Miriam and the other Israelite women here did not intone and sing a new song; they performed like an immediate echo to what Moses and the men of Israel had sung to them. This is evident from the responsory at the beginning of their song. And a mighty melody and a tremendous resonance and reverberation there must have been between these two choruses, where so many hundred

kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart (Leipzig, 1793), I, 275.

²⁴ Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, I (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1854), 302 f.

thousand men, and women and children no less, joined in song.

Thus Bach followed the particular interpretation of the polychoral style of the Old Testament which had persisted through early Christianity and the middle ages all the way to Lutheranism. This tradition was reflected in an illustration on the title page of the booklet providing the text for the premier performance of Bach's *Christmas Oratorio* in 1734.

The second of the four entries is given at the beginning of 1 Chronicles 25 (in the Calov Bible erroneously identified as chapter 26 because of the omission of a numeration for chapter 5):

NB This chapter is the true foundation of all God-pleasing church music.

This chapter treats of the installation and selection (by lot) of the singers and instrumentalists for their office. In this testimony Bach was deeply conscious of his own office as a church musician, ordained for him by God through David. Accordingly, the office was in his view not merely the name of a calling or the description of a sphere of activity, but on the basis of Biblical authority he identified himself as a called and ordained servant of the church. Obviously Bach saw "the true foundation of church music" precisely in this chapter because he found the foundations laid here for a justification also of instrumental music in the church service.

The third entry,

NB Splendid proof that, beside other arrangements of the service, music too was instituted by the Spirit of God through David,

is also found in 1 Chronicles, chapter 29

(28!) next to Calov's commentary on verse 21:

Behold the divisions of the priests and the Levites for all the service of the house of God; and with you in all the work will be every willing man who has skill for any kind of service; also the officers and all the people will be wholly at your command.

Calov's commentary is joined directly to the verse:

Now it is clear from this divine example and all the prophetic institutions of David that he did nothing on his own initiative in connection with building the temple and arranging the service but that he in all things acted according to the plan which the Lord through His Spirit communicated to him and according to those institutions and offices, exactly as the Lord God had instructed his heart. For we serve God in vain when we insist on our will and on services we dream up ourselves (Matt. 15:9). God prescribes, outlines, encircles, and shows us all things and therefore reveals His will, how He wishes to be honored by us. Therefore in matters of religion we should not plan and do anything without His revealed Word. Use this as a warning against human deception, self-chosen worship, and man-made rules. . . .

In his second entry Bach addressed himself more to the office as such; there he firmed up the foundation of the liturgical respectability, or the liturgical prerogative, of music in the service. Both of Bach's notes show that he tried to fortify himself against attacks from any quarter whatsoever or even against struggles within.

Finally, Bach meditated on 2 Chron. 5:13, which reads:

And it was the duty of the trumpeters and

singers to make themselves heard in unison in praise and thanksgiving to the LORD, and when the song was raised, with trumpets and cymbals and other musical instruments, in praise to the LORD, "For He is good, for His steadfast love endures forever" [Ps. 136:1], the house, the house of the LORD, was filled with a cloud.

He wrote these almost poetic words as the fourth entry:

NB Where there is devotional music,
God is always at hand with His gracious presence.

Calov had summarized verses 11-14 in the subtitle "How the Glory of the Lord Appeared After Beautiful Music." Presumably Bach dealt with this passage a number of times, for in the subtitle he underlined the words "beautiful music" and in the text several lines of verses 12 and 13, both times with red ink, whereas his note is written in black ink. In the future this sentence may well be listed among the classic aphorisms of great musicians.

Preeminence may not be credited to any of the four entries. It almost seems as if, in spite of accidental sequence and independent origin, they are intended to encompass the entire range of church music. In the first entry the full range of possibilities of musical expression is touched on, in the second and third the foundation of church music and its standing in liturgical worship are proved, and in the fourth its gracious effect receives a lively emphasis. These notes and also the marking of 1 Chron. 17(16):4-10 and of the preface to the Psalter show that Bach really came to grips with his calling and with the "ultimate purpose of well-conceived church music." Written at the age of more than 48 years and after his controversies re-

garding his office and its demands, these notes cannot be regarded as the excrescence of some kind of enthusiasm, but they must be taken seriously as the expression of a mature person conscious of his responsibility, a Christian and an artist.

In the introduction to his essay,²⁵ Blume referred to the corpus of sources which since the times of Mendelssohn, Schumann, Bitter, Jahn, and Spitta had presumably not changed materially, but he maintained that the old material always brings forth new life through a changed historical consciousness. Here we have evidence that "new" material is able to preserve the "old" unchanging life. Like all material which after centuries still sends out the same measurable radiation that permits conclusions about its original structure, Bach's commission, emanating solely from the grace of God, does not change.

Of course, these new insights can by no means point back to the "Fifth Evangelist" or to a Bach who deserves to be canonized. Bach himself would have objected to that. The problem is greater, however, with the epithets "minstrel of God" (*Spielmann Gottes*) and "prince of Lutheran cantors" (*lutherischer Erzkantor*). Even though these descriptions may not have been entirely in accord with many of Bach's characteristics, still we now know for certain that somehow these comparisons are entirely congruent with the witness borne by his works.

Conclusions about the rest of Bach's library are possible on the basis of the addition of a *nota bene* which Bach added in red ink to Amos 6:6:

Who drink wine in bowls and anoint

²⁵ See note 1 above.

themselves with the finest oils but are not grieved over the ruin of Joseph.

According to the catalog of Bach's estate,²⁶ Bach's library contained a volume of "Sermons by Müller on the ruin of Joseph," for which Preuss²⁷ provided the following bibliographic identification:

Evangelical Preservative Against the Ruin of Joseph in All Three Estates, Extracted from the Gospels for the Sundays and Festivals, . . . [edited by] Samuel Christian Mummius, Pastor in Eichsen, Pommerania. Part I, Frankfurt and Rostock. Published by Joachim Wilden, Bookseller. Printed by Johann Andreae, 1681 . . . 2d ed., Frankfurt, 1681; 3d ed., Stettin: Jungnickel, 1741; 4th ed., Frankfurt, 1741.

In addition to the important personal utterances of this discovery, probably unique in the memory of man, there are further individual questions connected with this edition of the Bible.

Among the various writers of notes and markings, of whom Bach is the only one to use red ink, there is also warrant for conjecture that Anna Magdalena Bach may be responsible for a single small correction. The change from *göttlich* to *geistlich* in Matt. 19:12 corresponds to her handwriting. Another writer uses the spelling *jbn* instead of *ihn*, for instance, in Ps. 100:4 or Matt. 18:30. He may have owned the Bible before Bach. The pencil markings may possibly be those of Ludwig Michael Reichle, who also entered his name in Folios I and III in pencil. In various places some of the Bible text is crossed out with a heavy red crayon. The awkward and coarse manner of these marks seems to point to the hand of a

²⁶ See note 6 above.

²⁷ See note 5 above.

child or an immature youth. Passages that later were no longer considered part of the original text are crossed out with vigorous strokes and crosses.

From the viewpoint of graphology, many of the corrections and additions to the printed text present definite difficulties. Again and again writers accommodated themselves to the printed text. In fact they occasionally imitated the same literally, so that (except in the red entries) there will always be doubts about the real writer. In several instances the writer of *nota benes* cannot be identified with certainty, either because the letters are in print style or in a number of instances because they are written from an abnormal position (perhaps with several books open simultaneously or lying somewhat at a distance) or even because they are written left-handed by a right-handed person (cf. Fol. III, Vol. 6, col. 95/ Table 1, No. 63). Finally, the writer preceding Bach also used the usual *NB* with the same coalescing of the letters used by Bach (for example, Fol. II, Vol. 4, col. 170, on Joel 3:26). When only the two letters *NB* are given in the margin (see Table 1, especially Nos. 40-47) and the other symptoms mentioned are also present, there is much room for doubt.

A reliable identification of the writers who provided the underlining and marking without added comment—again aside from the use of red ink—has so far been impossible without the use of modern technical micromasurement. Yet the fine penpoint, typical of all the entries positively identified from the hand of Bach, permits us for the time being to suspect that a few such markings indicate his hand.

The Calov Bible, with its total of 8,709 columns on 4,355 pages of text (not count-

ing introductions to volumes, dedications, and similar pieces), is the kind of work in which the commentary often exceeds the Bible text ten-to-one in volume. For that reason it is impossible now to note the contents of all the passages marked by Bach. An important project in the future could well be a thorough investigation of the possible influence of the Calov Bible on the texts of the sacred works of Bach. There is such a plenitude of this material, in which markings often deal with large sections of a page, that further work can be undertaken only in the original copy. Often the pagination shows mistakes, the chapter and verse numeration differs from modern editions, and there are many typographical errors that run through entire books. The text-critical work will take years and will hardly be possible without special institutional subsidy.

Bach's interest in numbers, too, becomes evident in the entries in the Bible. At the entry for Ex. 28:17 ff. (No. 20) he numbered the jewels of the high priest's insignia of office from one to twelve. The twelve jewels of the Old Testament symbolized the twelve tribes of Israel, and in Bach's time, of course, were believed to correspond to the New Testament church as such, the "chosen people."

It was characteristic for Bach's time to be much better oriented in the Old Testament than we would expect today. To discover a special expert and friend of the Old Testament in Bach would hardly be warranted on the basis of the Calov Bible alone. It is true that in the Calov Bible he dealt with the Old Testament by preference and read and worked much more in the Old Testament than in the New,

but of course we do not know the other editions of the Bible in his possession. The author of the Books of Chronicles is presumed to have been a Levitical singing teacher; his obvious interest in the music of the temple is warrant for this assumption. This also helps to explain Bach's great interest in the Books of Chronicles. After all, three of his comments on music are found in them.

Bach's copy of the Calov Bible, bearing many general owner and library identifications, may be described as follows. The pigskin binding is well preserved. The three folios are marked Vol. I to Vol. III on the back in relief print. The folio format is 19.5×33 cm. In Folio I the front end sheet is missing, and the clasps without locks are extant only in Folio II. The title page of Folio III is loose. On the inside of the front cover of Folio I "No. 270" appears in red crayon at upper left, perhaps the sales or catalog number of the dealer in Philadelphia. Beside the signatures of Bach already mentioned and the erased sign "\$RR," the personal signatures of Ludwig Michael Reichle are found, in Folio II in purple ink with the addition of *Halt im Gedächtnis Jesum Christ* ("Always remember Jesus Christ"). Leonhard Reichle stamped his name into all three folios. The St. Louis library is represented as the owner by its former name "Pritzlaff Memorial Library" on boxed, round, and rectangular stamps, both at the front and at the back of the folios and occasionally also in the margins of the text pages, as is customary. One is happy to note that the change in name of the library did not occasion further stamping, with the exception of a single boxed stamp "DO

NOT ISSUE" on the three rear endsheets, which in part explains the seclusion so far. The entry in every folio "L. 220.7" is the call number for Bible editions with commentary in the Dewey classification formerly used in the Pritzlaff Memorial Library, now internationally referred to as the Decimal Classification. The other identification, "C. 165," later expanded to "C. 1651," is the former library author number. Both classification designations are repeated on the backbone in white ink. The library accession numbers 27911 to 27913 in force today are found at the bottom of the title pages of Folios I to III. In 1935 Dr. E. [F.] A. Mayer translated the old style of Roman numerals of the years of publication and wrote them down on a slip of paper that is pasted to the back of the front endsheet of Folio II. Dr. Mayer was professor at Concordia Seminary in St. Louis and had set down his name on the title page of Folio II already in 1934. [ED. NOTE: Trautmann is mistaken in this identification. The signature is that of E. A. Mayer, pastor in Frankenmuth at that time.] The entire lower third of Folio II is severely damaged by melted wax or soaking oil, which fortunately has not harmed the legibility of either the print or the entries in writing but has only made the paper considerably darker in appearance. The stationery sheets pasted to the inside front covers of Folios II and III may have covered entries there, of which remnants of one numeral and one letter are visible at the lower extremity. It was impossible even with X-ray techniques to determine the content of this lead pencil entry, for not enough contrast existed.

Johann Sebastian Bach's works have

brought us face to face with full life, love, trembling, faith, waiting, hoping. Also strong evidences of his personal and practical Lutheran Christianity have been revealed. Sensitive hearers of his music have, even without these confessions, always felt the absolute unity of work and spirit again and again, but now the Calov Bible proves that he was a Christian who lived with the Bible. To stand in faith was a requisite of his religious life, and

he had a deep, heartfelt attachment to his office, for it was oriented in the Holy Scriptures. His sincere confessions must find their way into the world of music—to the glory of God alone!

West Berlin, Germany

NOTE: The author has further developed his interpretation of the first of the four special entries (see pp. 94—95) in his article, "Ansätze zu ideellideologischen Problemen um Johann Sebastian Bach," which appeared in *Kerygma und Melos* (11. August 1970).