

CELEBRATING PATRIOTISM: CARL PHILIPP EMANUEL BACH'S COMPOSITIONS FOR THE MILITIA IN HAMBURG

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ABSTRACT

When Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach became cantor in Hamburg in 1768, he was faced with a long musical tradition shaped by his ancestor Georg Philipp Telemann. Part of this tradition was the provision of compositions for the annual meeting of the captains of the militia, for whom Telemann had composed several oratorios and serenades. Even though Bach composed only two such Bürgerkapitänsmusiken, they are instructive pieces, showing the relationship between music, culture and politics in late eighteenth-century Hamburg, which at the time was a centre of political discourse. Questions of democracy, the relationship between government and the individual, and the possibilities of 'patriotic education' were discussed earlier in Hamburg than in other regions of Germany. It is especially the question of patriotism and of patriotic behaviour that informs Bach's Bürgerkapitänsmusiken. An analysis both of the librettos (written by Christian Wilhelm Alers) and of Bach's music shows how the ideas of enlightened patriotic discourse lurk behind these compositions and how they aim to depict an ideal political community.

Music affects the most excitable part of the human being, the sensual faculties, the direction of which is one of the first goals of a medium for the cultivation of a people. Enlightenment of the intellect alone has its effect on this often only slowly, often only weakly, often not at all; music, by contrast, does so at all times, and often so powerfully that it can inspire to unimaginable deeds. Just one example: the soldier instructed about the glory of dying for the Fatherland may perhaps on that account go into battle no less disheartened; to the sound of powerful battle music, by contrast, even without such instruction, he will go courageously in the face of death. The witness of a young but experienced army commander, whose name it would be boastful to mention here, gives the above complete support: encouragement to sing is the most effective means of allowing soldiers not to feel the difficulty of a forced march. One can easily think how much more effective still song would be for an army if for every occasion, and others as well, appropriate war and soldier's songs were sung.¹

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1 'Die Musik würkt auf den reizbarsten Theil des Menschen, auf seine Sinnlichkeit, deren Leistung doch eine der ersten Zwecke der zur Bildung eines Volkes anzuwendenden Mittel ist. Aufklärung des Verstandes allein würkt darauf oft nur langsam, oft nur schwach, oft gar nicht; die Musik hingegen allezeit, und oft so gewaltsam, daß sie zu unbegreiflichen Thaten entflammt. Nur ein Beyspiel: Der Soldat, der von der Ehre, fürs Vaterland zu sterben, unterrichtet ist, geht darum vielleicht nicht weniger verzagt in die Schlacht; bey dem Schalle einer lauten Kriegsmusik hingegen geht er, auch ohne diesen Unterricht, dem Tode beherzt entgegen. Das Zeugniß eines jungen aber versuchten Heerführers, dessen Namen hier zu nennen Prallerey seyn würde, nemlich, daß die Ermunterung zum Singen das wirksamste Hülfsmittel ist, dem Soldaten die Beschwerlichkeit eines forcirtern Marsches nicht empfinden zu laßen, giebt dem Vorhergesagten völlig Gewicht. Man kann leicht denken, wie sehr die Würkung des Gesagten bey einer Armee noch erhöht werden



This text, from Johann Abraham Peter Schulz's *Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks* (1790), was published to support the introduction of music lessons in the schools of Denmark. Here Schulz talks in general terms about the power of music, and he comments – as his impressive example attests – on the impact of music on the military and in war. The text is revealing not only because it shows that Schulz agreed with a political use of music, but even more because it demonstrates how, according to him, music works on the human mind: by taking a detour around the brain directly into the heart, the emotions. The paragraph preceding the statement cited above puts this in a broader perspective:

That music, when it is appropriately practised and employed, could soften manners, ennoble feelings, spread joy and sociability among people, and in general have a great influence on the cultivation of moral character, can only be doubted by those who have never had the occasion to reflect on the essence and effects of this art, or by those who have still not discerned that the culture of a nation promotes its happiness.²

Schulz points out that music has an undeniable function in the constitution of human communities and thus concludes that a government has to take care of the musical education of the nation's youth. However, he shows as well that a government can *use* the music for educational purposes, for example by employing 'appropriate war and soldier's songs' to cultivate and manipulate soldiers. In what follows, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's compositions for the militia in Hamburg serve to demonstrate how this view of music (which was not unique to Schulz³) and the close interrelationship between music, education and 'appropriate' political behaviour affected the genre of the *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken* in Hamburg in the early 1780s.⁴

THE MILITIA IN HAMBURG AND BACH'S COMPOSITIONS

When Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach became cantor in Hamburg in 1768, he was faced with a long musical tradition shaped in particular by his ancestor and godfather, Georg Philipp Telemann.⁵ Besides his official duties in school and church, Bach was expected to compose the music for several civic ceremonies in the city. Among these occasions were the meetings of the captains of the militia.

The militia in Hamburg was founded in the twelfth century and – after several reforms – took its final shape in the seventeenth century. The militia consisted of fifty-seven companies; the commander of each company was a captain, called *Bürgerkapitän*.⁶ The members of the militia had to keep watch over the city

müßte, wenn bey jeder solchen und anderen Veranlassungen zweckmäßige Kriegs- und Soldatenlieder gesungen würden.' Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, *Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks und über deren Einführung in den Schulen der königl. Dänischen Staaten* (Copenhagen: Christian Gottlob Probst, 1790), 4–5; English translation in David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 70.

² 'Daß die Musik, wenn solche zweckmäßig ausgeübt und angewandt wird, die Sitten mildern, die Empfindung veredeln, Freude und Geselligkeit unter das Volk verbreiten, und überhaupt auf die Bildung des moralischen Charakters großen Einfluß haben könne, kann nur von denen bezweifelt werden, die keine Gelegenheit gehabt haben, über das Wesen und die Wirkungen dieser Kunst Betrachtungen anzustellen, oder von solchen, bey welchen es überhaupt noch nicht ausgemacht ist, daß die Cultur einer Nation ihre Glückseligkeit befördert.' Schulz, *Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik*, 3–4; Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 70.

³ Compare, for example, Johann Adam Hiller, *Ueber die Musik und deren Wirkungen* (Leipzig: Jacobäer, 1781), 153.

⁴ A larger study about Bach's compositions for the militia by the author is: *Kommunikation und Diskurs. Die Bürgerkapitänsmusiken Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2007).

⁵ Compare the overview by Brian Douglas Stewart, *Georg Philipp Telemann in Hamburg: Social and Cultural Background and Its Musical Expression* (PhD dissertation, Stanford University, 1985).

⁶ Compare Willi Maertens, *Georg Philipp Telemanns sogenannte Hamburgische Kapitänsmusiken (1723–1765)* (Wilhelmshaven: Noetzel, 1988), 23–26, and Joachim Ehlers, *Die Wehrverfassung der Stadt Hamburg* (Boppard: Boldt, 1966), 85 and 105.



walls, prevent riots or fight against rebels and make lists of all foreigners who stayed in the city. Altogether, they were charged with maintaining public security in Hamburg.

The captains of the militia met once a year during Telemann's time, and for each of these meetings he composed an oratorio and a serenade. In total, he provided the music for thirty-six meetings.⁷ During Bach's time, though, there were only two occasions (1780 and 1783) for which pieces had to be composed.⁸ In the remaining years, the feasts were either cancelled completely or the captains opted for instrumental music to be performed during the celebrations (the latter mostly for financial reasons). In most cases the reasons for the cancellation of the feasts are unknown. Only in 1769 and 1770 do we know that the house where the

Table 1 Meetings of the captains of the militia, Hamburg, 1768–1788

1768	cancelled	
1769	cancelled because of the renovation of the <i>Einbeckschen Hauses</i> ⁹	
1770	cancelled because of the renovation of the <i>Einbeckschen Hauses</i> ¹⁰	
1771	cancelled because of floods ¹¹	
1772	27 August: <i>Convivium</i> ¹²	instrumental music
1773	cancelled	
1774	cancelled	
1775	7 September: <i>Convivium</i> ¹³	instrumental music
1776	cancelled	
1777	cancelled	
1778	cancelled	
1779	cancelled	
1780	7 September: <i>Convivium</i> ¹⁴	Bach, H822 a/b
1781	cancelled	
1782	cancelled	
1783	4 September: <i>Convivium</i> ¹⁵	Bach, H822 c/d
1784	cancelled	
1785	cancelled	
1786	cancelled	
1787	cancelled	
1788	4 September: <i>Convivium</i> ¹⁶	instrumental music

7 On Telemann's compositions for the militia see the extensive list in Maertens, *Georg Philipp Telemanns sogenannte Hamburgische Kapitainsmusiken*, 206–272.

8 Concerning the sources and performance history of these pieces see Markus Rathey, 'Zur Aufführungs- und Bearbeitungsgeschichte der Bürgerkapitänsmusiken Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachs', *Bach-Jahrbuch* 90 (2004), 169–198.

9 Jacob Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß der Succession sämtlicher respective Hoch- und Wohlhüblichen Colonel-Herren oder Obristen, Colonel-Bürger oder Obristlieutenants, und Capitaines dieser guten Stadt Hamburg: wie solche von den Jahren 1619 und 1620, da die Colonel- und Capitainschaft in fünf Regimenten a zehn Compagnien angeordnet, bis auf gegenwärtige Zeit fortgesetzt* (Hamburg: Bruns, 1808), 45.

10 Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 45.

11 Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 45; compare Johann Ludwig Schwarz, *Sendschreiben eines ungenannten Hamburgers an seinen Freund in B***: betreffend das traurige Schicksal der durch die große Ueberschwemmung unglücklich gewordenen Menschen in den Gegenden von Hamburg; nebst Christian Samuel Ulbers, Pastor an der Hauptkirche zu St. Jacob, Betrachtung von der Wafersnoth*, third edition (Hamburg: Schwarz, 1771).

12 Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 45.

13 Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 45.

14 Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 46.

15 Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 46.

16 Schleiden, *Richtiges und vollständiges Verzeichniß*, 47.



Convivium was usually celebrated, the *Einbecksche Haus*, was not available because of renovation; in 1771, flooding affected parts of Hamburg and thus the captains cancelled their feast (see Table 1).

While Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's serenades for both the 1780 and 1783 occasions have come down to us, only the oratorio from 1780 is extant. The second oratorio is lost, though printed librettos for all the pieces make it possible to reconstruct at least the outline of Bach's work. Altogether, Bach composed the following works for the conventions of the captains of the militia. Eighteenth-century scribes copied all the sources:¹⁷

- 1780: *Oratorio*, H822 a. Score: A-Wgm III 8678 (H 23559) (copied by Johann Heinrich Michel)
Serenate, H822 b. Score: A-Wgm III 29337 (H 27769) (copied by Johann Heinrich Michel); parts:
 D-Hs Scrin 36 (copied by Johann Friedrich Hering)
 1783: *Oratorio*, H822 c (lost)
Serenate, H 822 d. Score: D-Hs Scrin 37 (copied by Johann Heinrich Michel)

In Bach's time, the texts of the compositions for these celebrations were written by Christian Wilhelm Alers (1737–1806), a pastor who lived in Rellingen, near Hamburg.¹⁸ Although new librettos were written for each celebration, their substance – both for Telemann and for Bach – is basically the same: Hamburg is described as a peaceful place, a city where law and order reign and where the citizens dwell in security and prosperity.¹⁹ This status is guaranteed by the economic success of the city, which is itself viewed as a gift from God. But this flourishing community is endangered by vices like jealousy, envy and war. Therefore it is the duty of the community to fight these vices. While in the oratorio this struggle between good and evil is described from a religious perspective, the serenade has a secular character. But aside from that, the difference between the two genres is insignificant.

Their formal structures are similar too. An ethical dispute between good and evil is enacted as a dialogue between the personified virtues and vices or as a monologue of the virtues (referring to the vices of their counterparts). Other characters in the libretti are the city 'Hamburg', the 'patriot' and 'religion':

Characters in the oratorio of 1780:

Hammona	Personification of Hamburg
Die Dankbarkeit	Thankfulness
Die Menschenliebe	Humanity
Der Patriotismus	Patriotism
Chöre der Tugenden	Choirs of Virtues
Chöre der Patrioten	Choirs of Patriots

Characters in the serenade of 1780:

Die Freude	Happiness
Die Arglist	Malice
Der Neid	Jealousy
Der Aufruhr	Riot
Die Vaterlandsliebe	Patriotism
Die Redlichkeit	Honesty

¹⁷ Compare Rathey, 'Zur Aufführungs- und Bearbeitungsgeschichte', 170, note 4.

¹⁸ Alers had already written the libretto for the Bürgerkapitänsmusik for 1767, which was composed by Lorenz Kühl. He worked as a librettist for Telemann as well; the texts for *Der Tag des Gerichts* (1762) and *Serenate auf die erste Jubelfeier der hamburgischen, löblichen Handlungsdeputation* (1765) were written by him.

¹⁹ See, for example, the second movement of the 1780 oratorio, sung by *Hammona*, the personification of the city Hamburg: 'Heil mir! Ich höre meiner Söhne / Der Schützer meiner Ruh vereinte Jubel-Töne / Des Herrn Zebaoth Ruhm erhöh'n: / Des Herrn, von dessen Huld Sie sich umstralet sehn; / Des Herrn, durch den ich ward, durch den ich bin und lebe; / Des Herrn, durch dessen Kraft ich noch mein freies Haupt / Hoch über Meer' und Länder hebe; / Der mit des Oelbaums Zweig mir meine Stirn umlaubt; / Durch den ich unter Teutschlands Töchtern / In ihren ersten Reihen steh, / Und meiner Kinder Flor in Schaaren von Geschlechtern / Mit mütterlicher Freude she'.



Die Eintracht	Harmony
Chöre der Patrioten	Choirs of the Patriots
Chöre der Tugenden	Choirs of the Virtues
<i>Characters in the oratorio of 1783:</i>	
Die Religion	Religion
Der Friede	Peace
Die Wohlfahrt	Welfare
Der Patriot	Patriot
Hamburgs Schutzgeist	Guardian Angel of Hamburg
Chöre der Dankenden	Choirs of the Grateful
<i>Characters in the serenade of 1783:</i>	
Die Freiheit	Freedom
Die Wahrheit	Truth
Der Nachruhm	Posthumous fame
Hammona	Personification of Hamburg
Chöre der Hamburgischen Patrioten	Choirs of the Patriots of Hamburg

It would be short-sighted to see just a metaphysical battle between good and evil in the librettos of the *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken*. The librettos also have a moral aim: everyone (at least everyone in Hamburg) is involved in this 'battle', and patriotism is, according to the librettists, the indispensable precondition to choosing good over evil. Thus the *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken* stage the ideal of patriotism, pointing out how a patriot should act and the extent of a patriot's influence on the welfare and happiness of his town.

Delivering a political message in music was not limited to the *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken*. Dorothea Schröder has shown in her study *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne* how opera in Hamburg was also used in political discourses in the first half of the eighteenth century.²⁰ But while the last political feast opera was performed there in 1745,²¹ the tradition of oratorios and serenades for the captains of the militia continued throughout the second half of the eighteenth century.²²

EDUCATION AND PATRIOTISM

In order to understand both Bach's librettos and his compositions, it is crucial to have a clear understanding of the concept of patriotism in Hamburg in the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1782 – half-way between the two *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken* composed by Bach – Johann Moritz Heinrich Gericke published his *Versuch einer allgemeinen Abhandlung vom Patriotismus*, a treatise on patriotism.²³ The occasion for Gericke's publication was his appointment as teacher of philosophy at the Hamburg *Gymnasium*. According to Gericke, patriotism is the 'strong inner desire to improve the welfare of the fatherland in any way'.²⁴ Patriotism is not just an inner feeling but leads directly to action. After a short consideration of the meaning of 'fatherland', Gericke shows that the term should be applied not only to the country where a man was born,

20 Dorothea Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne. Barockes Musiktheater in Hamburg im Dienste von Politik und Diplomatie (1690–1745)* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998).

21 Schröder, *Zeitgeschichte auf der Opernbühne*, v.

22 Bach's successor Christian Friedrich Gottlieb Schwenke composed two other pieces for the celebrations in 1792 and 1802 before this tradition eventually died out in the early nineteenth century.

23 Johann Moritz Heinrich Gericke, *Versuch einer allgemeinen Abhandlung vom Patriotismus* (Hamburg: Harms, 1782).

24 Gericke, *Versuch*, 12–13: 'Der Patriotismus ist der innere starke Trieb, das Wohl des Vaterlandes auf alle mögliche Art zu befördern'.



but also where he lives. Accordingly, he replaces ‘fatherland’ with ‘state’ and proposes that ‘Patriotism is the strong inner desire to improve the welfare of the state in any way’.²⁵

The welfare of a state is, according to Gericke, the ‘condition where a state is free from real evil, and in possession of all the goods it needs’.²⁶ Although this perfect state can never be reached, it is the duty of the patriot to strive for it. Welfare is a utopian condition, but a condition that has to shape the actions of all people in a state or a city. Finally, Gericke comes to the conclusion:

Do everything you can do to maintain and improve the welfare of the state and its happiness; refrain from doing anything that could hinder its welfare, and try to eliminate the evil influences that could endanger the bliss of the state, or shake and upset its happiness, and thus possibly drive it towards its ruin.²⁷

The patriot is, according to Gericke, not able to strive for this alone, but he can find help in the ‘daughter of Heaven’, religion, and in her sister, morals. To this point, the ideas of Gericke correlate significantly with the librettos of the *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken*. Not only do we find both ‘heavenly sisters’ in Alers’s texts, but he also calls religion the ‘daughter of God’ and praises her as teacher and leader.²⁸ This idea is especially important in the libretto from 1783: Alers begins by praising religion and then acknowledges its influence on peace, welfare and patriotism.

The conception of religion and God are similar in the texts by Alers and Gericke: God and religion are the powers that maintain the political and social order. The metaphysical side of religion is unimportant in this discourse. Here there is no Christology, no metaphysic – religion is something that affects the earthly life, without any speculations about eternity. In this respect, the librettos as well as Gericke’s text correlate with the theological movement of *neologism* that shaped theological discourse in Germany and elsewhere at the time. One proponent of this movement was the theologian Johann Joachim Spalding. In his 1772 treatise *Über die Nutzbarkeit des Predigtamtes* (Concerning the Use of the Preacher’s Office) he describes the minister as a teacher of virtues who must strive for justice, honesty, love towards men, loyal industriousness in private matters and care for the community.²⁹ Thus the preacher should spread only those dogmas of faith that are understandable to everyone and that have a practical use.³⁰ We do not know much about Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach’s own religious beliefs, and it would be inappropriate to view the religious texts he set as a simple reflection of them. It is thus difficult to decide to which faction of the religious landscape of the late eighteenth century he belonged. In one of his letters, however, he mentions a book he possessed with sermons by Spalding,³¹ so it is possible that he agreed or sympathized (at least partly) with some of the assumptions of the neologistic theology.

25 Gericke, *Versuch*, 13.

26 Gericke, *Versuch*, 39: ‘Die allgemeine äußerliche Glückseligkeit des Staates ist derjenige Zustand desselben, in welchem er frey von wirklichen Uebeln, im Genuß und Besitz wahrer Güter, so weit beydes seiner Beschaffenheit nach möglich ist, sich befindet’.

27 Gericke, *Versuch*, 81: ‘Alles, wodurch du die Glückseligkeit des Staates erhalten und vermehren, mithin zur Wohlfahrt des Staates beytragen kannst, das thue; unterlaß aber und entferne alles, wodurch auf irgend eine Art die Wohlfahrt des Staates gehemmet, die Glückseligkeit erschüttert und wankend gemacht werden, mithin der Staat selbst seinem Ruin entgegen gehen könnte’.

28 See, for example, the first chorus of the 1783 oratorio: ‘Sound, cheering, sound for the daughter of God, for the eternal Religion . . . Sweet, sweet like the fruit of the bee is your doctrine, teacher’ (‘Schallt, Jubel! schallt der Tochter Gottes, / Der ewigen Religion! . . . Süß ist, süß, wie die Frucht der Biene, / Ist deine Lehre, Lehrerin!’).

29 Johann Joachim Spalding, *Über die Nutzbarkeit des Predigtamtes und deren Beförderung* (Berlin: C. F. Voss, 1772), 74: ‘Gerechtigkeit, Aufrichtigkeit, Menschenliebe, treuen Fleiß im Eigenen, Sorgfalt für das gemeine Wesen, zu lebendigen und tätigen Prinzipien in den menschlichen Seelen erreichen sollen’.

30 Wolfgang Martens, *Die Botschaft der Tugend. Die Aufklärung im Spiegel der deutschen Moralischen Wochenschriften* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1968), 196.

31 Ernst Suchalla, ed., *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Briefe und Dokumente. Kritische Gesamtausgabe*, Veröffentlichungen der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften Hamburg 80, 2 volumes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994), 156.



The close relationship between patriotism and education in Hamburg is shown by the fact that Gericke's book was published when he became teacher at the *Gymnasium* and by his idea of teaching patriotism, an idea that is indicative of the view of 'virtue' in late eighteenth-century Hamburg.³² This becomes even more obvious in another book, written in Hamburg nearly at the same time. In 1779 Johann Heinrich Campe, a teacher and writer on pedagogy, published a book for children entitled *Robinson der Jüngere* (Robinson the Younger). This book, which was extraordinarily successful for more than a hundred years³³ and well known in Hamburg at this time,³⁴ retells the story of Robinson Crusoe, with the eponymous hero recast as a young boy from Hamburg.³⁵ The plot is basically the same as in Daniel Defoe's novel and several details of the story are adapted from its predecessor. The most significant difference, however, is that in Campe's book Robinson is a young man, who is led through a learning process in three steps. Robinson leaves his hometown Hamburg because he is lazy, bored by routine life and wants to see more of the world; he leaves Hamburg, is shipwrecked and finds himself alone on an island. In a first step he has to learn to stay alive, to work to get food and a place to sleep; in other words, he has to overcome his laziness. In a second step he meets 'Friday'; here he has to learn to live with another person and to act responsibly. And in a last step he establishes a kind of European civilization on his island after finding European tools in another shipwrecked boat and meeting some European people on a neighbouring island. Since Robinson was the first (European) person to discover the island, Campe gives him a 'kingly' role. He rules the island and develops something like a constitution for his new subjects. This constitution has five articles:

1. Everyone must follow the lord of the island and his laws, which are necessary to maintain the welfare of the state.
2. Everyone must lead an industrious, modest and virtuous life, because no laziness, gluttony or depravity will be tolerated on the island.
3. The lord of the island is the judge.
4. Every bit of work that must be done for the welfare of the island must be done without grumbling.
5. Everyone must fight against inner and outer enemies endangering the laws of the island.³⁶

Three things are important here. First, Robinson has learned these things despite the fact that at the beginning of his journey he opposed them. For Campe, then, human beings have the ability to learn: the ideal human being of Enlightenment times is able to come to the right conclusion by using his experiences and his

32 Concerning political culture in Hamburg at this time in general see Mary Lindemann, 'Fundamental Values: Political Culture in Eighteenth-Century Hamburg', in *Patriotism, Cosmopolitanism, and National Culture: Public Culture in Hamburg 1700–1933* (New York: Rodopi, 2003), 17–32.

33 Angelika Reinhard, *Die Karriere des 'Robinson Crusoe' vom literarischen zum pädagogischen Helden. Eine literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchung des 'Robinson' Defoes und der 'Robinson'-Adaptionen von Campe und Forster* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1994).

34 See, for example, the announcement printed in the *Hamburgischen unabhängigen Correspondenten* on October 13 1780: 'Lieder für Kinder aus J.H. Campens Kinderbibliothek, mit Melodien von Johann Friedrich Reichardt, Königl. Preußisch. Kapellmeister. . . Ich ersuche alle Buchhandlungen, mit der ich in Verbindung stehe, wie auch die Herren, welche die Pränumeration auf Hr. Campens Robinson den jüngern und Herrn Sturms Gesänge mit Melodien von Hr. Bach gütigst befördert haben, hiemit ergebenst, die Pränumeration auf dieses Werk zu übernehmen, und ihre Mühwaltung von acht Exemplaren mir nur sieben zu berechnen', quoted after Barbara Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Dokumente zu Leben und Wirken aus der zeitgenössischen Hamburger Presse (1767–1790)*, Leipziger Beiträge zur Bach-Forschung 4 (Hildesheim: Olms, 2000), 502–503. It is, of course, merely a coincidence that Campe's book and compositions by Bach are announced in the same advertisement.

35 Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Robinson der Jüngere zur angenehmen und nützlichen Unterhaltung für Kinder*, ed. Alwin Binder und Heinrich Richartz (Stuttgart: Reclam, 2000).

36 It is sufficient to present here just a summary of Campe's more elaborate and longer constitution; see Campe, *Robinson*, 318–319.



reason.³⁷ Second, the welfare Robinson strives for is not a state of luxury but, rather, one of modesty. This correlates with views of lifestyle and welfare in Hamburg at the time, as Katherine B. Aaslestad-Lambertson showed in her study of civic identity and patriotism in Hamburg:

Hamburgers' public conduct and lifestyle clearly expressed these individual virtues. Consciously anti-aristocratic, Hamburgers generally rejected a culture of privilege and extravagance for a society of republican simplicity. Indeed, the aristocratic lifestyle provided for Hamburgers the antitype to reinforce their own code. Hunting, gaming, feuding, womanizing, overindulging in food and drink, and generally idling time away embodied the antithesis of the virtues that Hamburgers held most dear, industriousness and moderation.³⁸

Third, it is obvious that the virtues Campe describes in this small sketch of a constitution are nothing less than that which is essential for Gericke's concept of patriotism. Robinson has learned to be a patriot, to strive for the welfare of the state and to maintain it. And he teaches his subjects to do the same.

RIOTS AND PATRIOTISM

The intersection between patriotism and pedagogy (and, as we will see, even music) in Hamburg in the time of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach is more than just a surrounding 'context' for Bach's *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken*. Gericke's treatise and especially Campe's children's book help reconstruct the 'social energy' of Bach's compositions in their time, as this term is understood by New Historicist literary criticism.³⁹ The books mentioned here, as well as Bach's works for the militia, should be understood as contributions to the patriotism discourse of the late eighteenth century. According to Stephen Greenblatt, social energy can only be seen 'indirectly, by its effects: it is manifested in the capacity of certain verbal, aural, and visual traces to produce, shape, and organize collective physical and mental experiences'.⁴⁰ Emanations of 'energy' can be works of art, literature, music, ceremonies, but also scholarly treatises, children's books or even anecdotes.⁴¹ This concept of the New Historicism is very useful for the study of the relationship between the Hamburgian patriotism discourse and Bach's *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken*. It is not my aim to propose a mutual dependence between Bach's and Campe's works, but to show that the discourse on patriotism (and a patriotic education) was present on completely different levels at this time.

This discourse was not only present in different media, but also characterizes descriptions of the patriot. The patriot has to strive for the welfare of the state; and being a patriot was something that could be learned. Patriotism was an objective of education, a part of which included the ability to decide between virtues and vices. This basic insight shaped the texts by Alers as well. Virtues and vices fight for the domination of Hamburg, but the patriots, supported by the heavenly sister, religion, decide to act virtuously and to drive away the vices.

There is, however, another element that is important in the process of education in Campe's book. Education needs examples to reach its goal. The lazy young Robinson has to be shipwrecked to start his learning process and he has to find his way through several misfortunes in order to develop a way of life that meets the challenges of living on the island (and later back in Hamburg). The *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken* use the same idea, but in a different way. The librettos describe Hamburg as a place of peace and welfare, where

37 See Wolfgang Martens, *Die Botschaft der Tugend*, 231–232.

38 Katherine Barbara Aaslestad-Lambertson, *The Transformation of Civic Identity and Local Patriotism in Hamburg, 1790 to 1815* (PhD dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1997), 46.

39 As an introductory text see Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

40 Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), 6.

41 Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations*, 7.



citizens can live in security and prosperity. This state is endangered by the influence of the vices, but since the librettos try to paint a positive picture of Hamburg, it would be inappropriate to make the vices active in the town itself. Hamburg could not be shipwrecked in a metaphorical sense. Instead, the librettos point out what the vices have done in other places. And in this respect, the text from 1780 is very instructive.

The serenade begins with a choir of patriots, celebrating the meeting. Then Happiness enters the room, asking for shelter. The virtues Harmony, Honesty and Patriotism welcome her and invite her to share their feast. Then, suddenly, the vices appear on the scene and try to convince Happiness to celebrate with them. In this context, the libretto refers to a real-life riot that had happened just two months earlier. The vice Riot sings:

Ha! noch entzücken mich die Feuer	Ha, still the fires delight me,
Die ach! erloschnen Feu'r, dort an der	The – alas! – extinguished fires on
Themse Strand;	the banks of the Thames,
Die ich, die Fackel in der Hand,	That I, torch in my hands,
Auf deinen Winck zum hohen Brand	On your sign lit to a great fire.
Entzündete. Noch hör ich – schöner	Still I hear – wonderful sound –
Schall! –	The collapse of the burning
Der brennenden Gebäude Fall!	buildings!
Noch hör ich den Tumult der Schaaren,	I still hear the tumult of the crowd,
Die thaten, was ich that, und, was ich	Who did what I did, and were what
wollte, waren.	I wanted them to be.
Wie leichte Spreu, vom Sturm verblasen,	Like light chaff, blown apart by the
So flogen Kanapee's und Betten,	storm, so flew sofas and beds,
Und Bücher[,] Schränk' und Toiletten;	And books, cupboards and toilets;
Und hoher Spiegel Stolz	And the high pride of mirrors
Zerbrach und schmolz.	Shattered and melted.

Alers's libretto refers to the so-called Lord Gordon riots that took place in London at the beginning of June 1780. Between 2 and 9 June Protestants fought against the political emancipation of the Catholics and set houses, jails and churches ablaze. The Hamburg newspaper *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung* reported extensively on the riots: a first article was published as early as 14 June, and more coverage of the incidents followed in the next days and weeks.⁴² The citizens of Hamburg – at least the upper class that read the newspapers and also served as captains in the militia – knew in detail about the riots from the papers.⁴³

Alers's description of the riots is very close to other reports we have about the incident:

The columns marched on [Newgate] prison from all directions . . . and they assembled in front of its walls at a little before eight o'clock that Tuesday evening. They surrounded the house of the Keeper, Richard Akerman, which fronted the street beside the prison. . . . One of the mob leaders, a black servant called John Glover, was heard to cry out: 'Damn you, Open the Gate or we will Burn you down and have Everybody out'. No satisfactory answer was given, and so the mob fell upon Akerman's house. 'What contributed more than any thing to the spread of the flames', one eye-witness, Thomas Holcroft, reported, 'was the great quantity of household furniture, which they threw out of the windows, piled up against the doors, and set fire to; the force of which

42 *Staats- und Gelehrte Zeitung des Hamburgischen unparteyischen Correspondenten*, number 95, 14 June 1780. Three large articles were published on 17, 20 and 21 June, after more exact information could be gathered from London.

43 Pace Mary Lindemann, who states that the people of Hamburg, like those in other regions of Germany, did not know about Lords Gordon riots; Lindemann, *Fundamental Values*, 23.



presently communicated to the house, from the house to the Chapel and from thence, by the assistance of the mob, all through the prison'.⁴⁴

After demolishing the prison, the mob made its way to the house of the Lord Chief Justice, Lord Mansfield:

The serried spearpoint railings were torn down and hurled within; the windows were broken; the mob entered the house, went through all of its rooms, broke or set fire to its furniture. Mansfield's paintings and manuscripts were consigned to the fire, together with the contents of his law library.⁴⁵

This is the negative example, the canvas Alers needed for his pedagogical concept: one can presume that almost everybody in Hamburg had heard about the riot in London and that the story could serve as an impressive example of what happens when the vices win and the people do not act patriotically. The consequences for a patriotic citizen of Hamburg had to be self-evident: the libretto portrays a discussion between patriotism and the vices Riot, Envy and Malice. Eventually, the vices are driven away and the virtue Happiness chooses Hamburg as her home town, praising the fame of the city:

Sie fliehn. O Theure! sey gepriesen!	They flee. O my worthy! be praised!
Ihr Toben war das Toben eines Riesen;	Her raging was the raging of a giant;
Sie schwollen wie der schwangre Berg.	They swelled like a pregnant mountain.
Du sprachst – der Riese ward zum Zwerg;	You spoke – the giant turned into a dwarf
Du sprachst und seht! der schwangre Berg	You spoke and see! the pregnant mountain
Gebahr o Wunder! eine Maus.	gave birth, o wonder! to a mouse.
Sie fliehn. Dein Blick trieb sie hinaus	They flee. The look in your eyes drove them away,
Hinaus von diesem edlen Kreise	Away from this noble circle
Der freundlich mich in seine Mitte schließt	Which embraces me kindly in its midst

While the pedagogic aims of the *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken* are obvious, it is also important to determine at whom the pieces were aimed. The librettos were written for the celebrations of the captains of the militia, the very group that guaranteed the security of the city with the power of arms. In case of a riot, it would have been their duty to fight against the rebels, so being a patriot and fighting against the vices had a very practical aspect for them and the librettos of the serenades and oratorios were in this respect self-referential. The captains of the militia heard what they already knew, namely that they, as patriots, were responsible for the welfare of the state.⁴⁶ This aspect was a part of the conception of patriotism that has already been seen in the texts by Campe (there as an utopian concept) and Gericke.

POLITICAL AND MUSICAL HARMONY

The quotation from Schulz at the start of this article already shows how music could be used to mobilize forces and to 'teach' behaviour. When Schulz writes that music in general has 'a great influence on the cultivation of moral character',⁴⁷ he refers to its educational function. When he further emphasizes 'that the cultivation of a nation promotes its happiness',⁴⁸ then it is, in other words, the patriotic function Schulz had in mind. This is especially obvious when we consider the original German text. 'Happiness' ('Glückseligkeit')

44 Peter Ackroyd, *London: The Biography* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2000), 487–488.

45 Ackroyd, *London*, 489.

46 There was a public performance of the *Bürgerkapitänsmusik* only in 1780; the second composition from 1783 was, as far as is known, never performed publicly; see Rathey, 'Zur Aufführungs- und Bearbeitungsgeschichte', 175–176. The announcement of the 1780 performance can be found in Wiermann, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Dokumente*, 460.

47 Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 70.

48 Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 70.



was described by Gericke as the final aim of the state.⁴⁹ Thus when Schulz tried to convince the state of Denmark to introduce music lessons in its schools, by pointing out their use for the state, his argument was based on a broader discourse on patriotism in the late eighteenth century.⁵⁰ The captains of the militia were aware of their patriotic duties; and music could help to enforce these ideas, and, as Schulz pointed out, to ‘go courageously in the face of death’.

When Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach set the libretto to music, his possibilities were limited by the text and its formal structure as well as by the tradition of the genre, shaped by Telemann. The following considerations will thus focus on some selected movements of the *Bürgerkapitänsmusik* and demonstrate how Bach enacts the idea of patriotism and its educational background.

The outline of the 1780 serenade is symmetrical. The piece is framed by two huge movements for choir, celebrating the patriots and virtues. The centrepiece is an arioso sung by the vice Jealousy, praising its own power and expressing its antipathy towards Happiness. This arioso is immediately followed by a recitative of the vice Riot. But the highpoint of the whole serenade is the final recitative (No. 8), a debate between virtues and vices, including the final ‘showdown’ and the victory of the virtues:

1. Choir of Patriots (D major)
2. Recitative (Happiness) (D major-C major)
3. Terzett (Virtues) (C major)
4. Recitative (Malice) (F major)
5. Arioso (Jealousy) (B flat major)
6. Recitative (Riot) (F major)
7. Aria (Riot) (E flat major)
8. Recitative (Patriotism, Malice, Jealousy, Riot, Malice, Happiness) (B flat major-D major)
9. Choir (Patriots and Virtues) (D major)

Harmonic developments over the course of the serenade correspond with dramatic developments in the text. The piece is framed by two movements in D major, in this serenade the key of the intact community, while the movements featuring the vices stand in the remote keys of F, B flat and (the most distant key) E flat major. The process of overcoming the vices in movement 8 is, accordingly, connected with a modulation back to the initial key of D major.

In addition to the key relationships, Bach employs combinations of voices to interpret the libretto: although both the vices and the virtues sing recitatives, other musical genres are used for specific groups. Only the patriots and virtues sing together in a choir or in the small terzett. The vices always sing alone or alternate with each other. In other words, the harmony that the virtues guarantee in Hamburg is depicted in the harmony of the music as well. The vices, responsible for disharmony, never sing together in a harmonic setting.

The idea of a relationship between political and musical harmony dates back to ancient Greece, but for Hamburg and the eighteenth century this was reformulated by Johann Mattheson. In his book *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister*, published in Hamburg in 1739, he compared the ideal state and the ideal relationship between citizens with harmony in music, and suggested viewing musical harmony as a model

49 There was a broad philosophical discourse in the late eighteenth century about what ‘Glückseligkeit’ meant; see Herbert Matis, ed., *Von der Glückseligkeit des Staates. Staat, Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Österreich im Zeitalter des aufgeklärten Absolutismus* (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1981). For the reception of this concept in the writings of Kant see Bong-Gyu Kim, *Glückseligkeit. Untersuchungen zu Kants ethischen Schriften* (PhD dissertation, Cologne, 1995) and Wolfgang Freising, *Kritische Philosophie und Glückseligkeit. Kants Auseinandersetzung mit dem Eudämonismus seiner Zeit* (Lüneburg: Schmidt-Neubauer, 1983).

50 Regarding this broader discourse see Hans-Martin Blitz, *Aus Liebe zum Vaterland. Die Deutsche Nation im 18. Jahrhundert* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2000), 341–375.



for politics.⁵¹ Mattheson's understanding of music and politics serves as a subtext for the libretto by Alers as well as for Bach's composition.

That Bach understood 'harmony' not only as a musical term but as an ethical term as well can be seen in the arioso 'Ja! fühlen soll sie's' ('Yes, they shall feel it'), sung by the vice Jealousy (a tenor). The movement, based on the text 'Happiness is like howling in my ears / and the sound of the owls is happiness to me', is set for tenor, two violins, viola and basso continuo. The voice starts without an instrumental introduction in B flat major, accompanied by broken triads in the two violins, and the harmonic beginning of the movement is already disturbed in bar 7 by a modulation into a remote key area (see Example 1). The tenor declaims his text on a *b \flat* , accompanied by leaps and semiquaver chords, played by the violins, depicting the vice's love of disharmony. Disorder also rules on the level of rhythm. While the basso continuo and viola mark a regular beat, the tenor enters in bar 7 on a weak beat and starts its declamation with two syncopations. Thus musical order is disturbed both rhythmically and harmonically.

In bar 10 Bach stabilizes the harmony by modulating to C minor. But he jeopardizes this (apparent) stability immediately. First of all the tenor starts with a new series of syncopations (now four in a row), and the *g* sung by the voice in the C minor tonality in bar 10 is, in bar 11, enveloped by a diminished chord. The following modulation leads to D minor, the least appropriate key for the word 'happiness' that is here set to music.

The educational function of this passage is obvious: the contemporary listener perceives the over-emphasized play of dissonances as both repulsive and, perhaps, even ridiculous. The natural reaction of a listener must therefore be to reject vice and its sense of disharmony. In a pedagogical concept like Campe's and Alers's, both drawing a clear line between good and evil, between vices and virtues, the listener is urged to turn his back on the vices and to support and follow the virtues.

The most challenging text for composition in the 1780 *Bürgerkapitänsmusik* was a dialogue between the personified city Hamburg ('Hammona') and the virtue Menschenliebe in the oratorio (number 13). The text is too expressive to be set as a simple *secco* recitative; but even a regular *recitativo accompagnato* that included the strings would have been too weak to depict the words. The two singers remember those who are not as lucky as the citizens of Hamburg and suffer from war and death. The movement begins as a *secco* recitative, and Bach uses harmonic devices such as the diminished chord on 'Ach' to depict the affect of the text (Example 2a).

The libretto describes how men are killed in war. Bach sets these passages with long extended string chords that are increasingly infiltrated by small motives in quavers, creating a background of restlessness and sharp dissonances. The first two bars of Example 2b are extremely unstable. The text is set to a diminished second-inversion chord in the strings, leading to D minor on the word 'blood', accompanied by a single bass note *tasto solo*, both emphasizing the word and depicting its cruelty. The following quaver motive (played three *solo* times by the violins) might, finally, depict the sinking of the soldier's dead body, especially since the voice performs a similar descending motion when singing the word 'niedersinkt'.

The next step in the development of the recitative is reached when the text mentions the gleaming of a sword that kills an old soldier: broken seventh chords alternate with hammering seventh-chord repetitions, depicting the beating of the sword (Example 2c).

The climax of the movement is the description of ships on the ocean being destroyed in a sea battle. At this point, Bach adds the kettledrum to the string ensemble (Example 2d). The entire section is harmonically static – even the singer remains in the realm of the E flat major triad. The focus here is only on the sharp rhythmic motive played by the strings and the hollow, thunder-like sounds of the drum. The use of the

51 Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg 1739; reprint edition Margarete Reimann (Documenta musicologica I:V), Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1954), 28–33; a similar idea is developed by Mattheson in his book *Der Musicalische Patriot* (Hamburg 1728), 176.



7 Neid

Tenor

wie ein — Ge-heul ist Freu-de mei-nen Oh-ren, und

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

B.c.

6 5

11

T.

— Eu-len-ton ist mir die Fröh-lich-keit, —

Vln. I

Vln. II

Vla.

B.c.

6 5

Example 1 C. P. E. Bach, *Serenate* 1780 (H822b), number 5, bars 7–14 (Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, III 29337 (H27769))

percussion instrument is – on a superficial level – inspired by the word ‘donnernd’ (‘thundering’) in bar 6. However, as we will see later, that use serves another purpose as well.

One last example goes beyond the bare function of musical painting. Listeners in Bach’s time in Hamburg might have associated the use of the drum with Georg Philipp Telemann’s *Donnerode*, composed in 1756 and performed in Hamburg several times during Bach’s time there as cantor.⁵² In both pieces the drum is used in a similar way: an expressive text is ‘painted’ by the roaring sound of the drum. Example 3 shows the beginning of the seventh movement, a duet between the two bass voices.

52 Wolf Hohobohm, ‘Anmerkungen zur “Donnerode”’, in *Telemann-Beiträge. Abhandlungen und Berichte. 1. Folge*, ed. Günter Fleischhauer and others (Magdeburg/Oschersleben: Ziethen, 1987), 23–30, and Laurenz Lütteken, *Das Monologische als Denkform in der Musik zwischen 1760 und 1785* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), 149–169.



10 Menschenliebe

Soprano Du kennst sie.

Alto Hammona

B.c. Ach! mein froh - ster Blick wird

7 6

12

S.

A. trü - be wenn er euch, Brü - der, Men - schen! sieht, euch, die des

B.c. - 6 6

14

S.

A. Le - bens Won - ne flieht, euch,

B.c.

Example 2a C. P. E. Bach, *Oratorium* 1780 (H822a), number 13, bars 10–13 (Vienna, Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, III 8678 (H23559))

The drum is employed in a similar context a second time, in the tenth movement. Both Bach's and Telemann's compositions expand the traditional function of the drum as the bass voice of a brass ensemble, sounding it together with the strings and vocalists. This use of the instrument goes beyond a purely musical depiction of the given text: Laurenz Lütteken has pointed out how the drum is used in the *Donnerode* to express the idea of the sublime.⁵³ And the goal the composer wants to reach is more than a naturalistic depiction of the text: it is an aesthetic expression. Lütteken supports his argument by referring to a 1780 interpretation of the drums, in Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's *Heilig*, by Georg August Julius Leopold:⁵⁴

⁵³ Lütteken, *Das Monologische*, 161.

⁵⁴ The *Heilig* (H778=Wq217) was composed by 1776 and printed in 1779; compare Laurenz Lütteken, 'Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und das Erhabene in der Musik', *Lenz-Jahrbuch* 5 (1995), 203–218.



27 Menschenliebe

Alto
Thrä - nen - lo - se Krieg an sei - nem Tod - en Ge - fil - de des Jüng - lings rau - chend

Violin I
Violin II

Viola

Cello

29

A.
Blut der e - ben nie - der - sinkt, ohn - mäch - tig

Vln. I
Vln. II

Vla.
Tasto

Vlc.

31

A.
nie - der - sinkt auf Leich - na - me der Brü - der die vor ihm

Vln. I
Vln. II

Vla.

Vlc.

Example 2b C. P. E. Bach, *Oratorium* 1780 (H822a), number 13, bars 27–32



Etwas lebhaft
Menschenliebe

Example 2c C. P. E. Bach, *Oratorium* 1780 (H822a), number 13, bars 42–45

Kettledrums are able to outline the glory of the coming deity, show how horrible and splendid the weather is, and to accompany a *Heilig* by Bach. In short, their sound is entirely made for the majestic.⁵⁵

In his later descriptions, Leopold uses the word ‘majestic’ synonymously with ‘sublime’. And the function of the sublime, as described in Sulzer’s *Lexikon*, is to surprise and to rouse admiration:

Hence, it is the highest means in art and has to be used there, where the soul shall be beaten with strong beats, where admiration, reverence, strong desire, courage, or fear and horror shall be roused. Everywhere, where the powers of the soul shall be unleashed or stopped.⁵⁶

55 Georg August Julius Leopold, *Gedanken und Konjekturen zur Geschichte der Musik* (Stendal: Franzen & Grosse 1780), 7: ‘Pauken sind fähig, die Glorie einer kommenden Gottheit, das Furchtbarprächtige eines Wetters anzudeuten, oder ein *Heilig* etc. von Bach zu begleiten; kurz, ihr Ton ist ganz und gar für’s Majestätische gebauet’.

56 Johann Georg Sulzer, ‘Erhaben’, in *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste in einzeln, nach alphabetischer Ordnung der Kunstwörter auf einander folgenden Artikeln. Neue vermehrte zweyte Auflage* (Leipzig 1792–1799; reprint Hildesheim:



60

Timpani

mf

Menschenliebe

Alto

Wel-che Wuth schallt don-nernd von den U-fern wie-der!

Violin I
II

mf

Viola

mf

B.c.

mf

6

Example 2d C. P. E. Bach, *Oratorium* 1780 (H822a), number 13, bars 60–61

With this in mind, an interpretation of the use of the drum in Bach's recitative has to take two aspects into account. The first is that the sublime character of the drum arouses pity. However, feelings of pity are not enough. According to Sulzer, the sublime unleashes the 'powers of the soul'. The listener must react to what he has heard, and the appropriate reaction from a patriotic point of view, as Gericke and Campe defined it, would be to prevent situations like the one described, to avoid all vices that could have a similar effect. Again, the negative example (here in an emphatic, sublime way) is used to educate the listener's patriotic sensibilities.

'I WANT TO DO IT THAT WAY'

According to Johann Abraham Peter Schulz, 'music affects the most excitable part of the human being, the sensual faculties, the direction of which is one of the first goals of a medium for the cultivation of a people'.⁵⁷ In other words, music is a means of education, and musical knowledge is a goal of education. Music can be a vessel for texts and ideas, and can rouse people to action when they are otherwise reluctant. At the same time, as Mattheson pointed out, music can serve as a metaphor for a harmonic community.

This theoretical framework serves as a subtext for the understanding of the *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken* and their place in patriotic discourse in Hamburg during the second half of the eighteenth century. In three respects the compositions can be interpreted as patriotic. First, they were composed for the meeting of the very group that guaranteed, by the power of arms, the continued existence of the state of 'happiness' in the city. The librettos view the captains of the militia as ideal patriots, since they serve the community by maintaining peace and order. Second, the text of the compositions reflects the discourse on patriotism, as can be seen in contemporaneous writings by Campe and Gericke. Even more: both the libretto and the music

Olms, 1967), volume 2, 97–98: 'Es ist demnach in der Kunst das Höchste, und muß da gebraucht werden, wo das Gemüth mit starken Schlägen anzugreifen, wo Bewunderung, Ehrfurcht, heftiges Verlangen, hoher Muth, oder auch, wo Furcht und Schrecken zu erwecken sind; überall wo man den Seelenkräften einen großen Reiz zur Würcksamkeit geben, oder sie mit Gewalt zurückhalten will'.

⁵⁷ Schulz, *Gedanken über den Einfluß der Musik auf die Bildung eines Volks*; Gramit, *Cultivating Music*, 70.



Erhaben

Alto

Violin I
Violin II

Viola

Basso 1

Basso 2

B.c.

5

Timp.

Vln. I
Vln. II

Vla.

B. 1

B. 2

B.c.

6 5
4 #

Example 3 Telemann, *Donnerode*, number 7, bars 1–6 (*Georg Philipp Telemann: Musikalische Werke*, volume 22, ed. Wolf Hohohm (Basel: Bärenreiter, 1971)). Used by permission



are a part of that discourse, teaching the listener how to behave as a patriot. In all these texts, the aim is to orient the reader or listener to patriotic thinking and living. Finally, the music enacts a harmonic community of virtues, juxtaposing it with the unharmonic nature of the vices. And the drum as a means to the sublime reinforces the educational aspects of the libretto.

When the 1780 *Bürgerkapitänsmusik* was performed a few weeks later for a second time, at a public concert, the audience changed, but the message remained the same. These listeners, who came mainly from the wealthier upper class of Hamburg, certainly understood the original purpose of the composition. Thus the militia was still present as a subtext of the whole piece. And in this new context, the educational purpose of the compositions is obvious, since the text (and with it the music) refers to the duties of a 'good patriot' and how every single person, whether a member of the militia or not, can contribute to it.

Campe's book closes with the reflection of a child who has listened to the story about Robinson: 'I want to do it that way'.⁵⁸ We do not know what the listeners of Bach's *Bürgerkapitänsmusiken* said or thought when they left the performance, but it is clear that Alers and Bach wanted the same reaction from the patriotic listeners: 'I want to do it that way'.

⁵⁸ Campe, *Robinson*, 347.