"Leave out those comical things"

ANATOLY MILKA

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Abstract
According to J.S. Bach's son, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, his father avoided mentioning certain episodes associated with his Arnstadt years (August 1703–July 1707). Honoring his father's memory, Emanuel took care that the first monograph on the great composer, written by Johann Nikolaus Forkel, would present his life and work, yet omitting certain details that might have been perceived as uncomplimentary. The present article focuses on events before and after Bach's famous walk to Lübeck, roughly from November 1705 to February 1706, and their unforeseen relation to the life of his Arnstadt cousin, Barbara Catharina Bach (1680–1709), not to be confused with his other cousin, Katharina Barbara Bach (1679–1737, also known as Barbara Catharina) from Gehren, the sister of Bach's first wife Maria Barbara. One notion, that appears in known documents, but so far has escaped Bach scholars, points to a possible connection between her tragic fate and Bach's travel to Lübeck, which turned Arnstadt's community to show hostility toward Bach and marred his Arnstadt years memories, which he was unwilling to revive later.

Keywords
J.S. Bach, Barbara Catharina Bach, Arnstadt, Lübeck, The Wisdom of Solomon.

Preamble

The title of this paper features words written by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in a letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel sent from Hamburg to Göttingen at the end of 1774. Usually the words *Laßen Sie diese komischen Dinge weg* are translated as "so pray – omit these humorous things."[1] Judging by the text and the date of his letter, Emanuel is referring to Forkel's future book *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (*On the Life, Art and Works of Johann Sebastian Bach*), written in the early 1770s, but published many years later, in 1802.[2] From that which Emanuel wrote, one can

[1] *The New Bach Reader* [henceforth—*NBR*]: *A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, edited by Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, revised and expanded by Christoph Wolff, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1998), p. 397.

[2] The correspondence between C.P.E. Bach and Forkel took place in the late 1774–early 1775. In the Preface to his book Forkel wrote: "Many years ago I determined to give the public an account of the life of Johann Sebastian Bach, with some reflections upon his genius and his works. The brief article by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Herr Agricola, formerly composer to the Court of Prussia, contributed to the fourth [third—A.M.] volume of Mizler's *Musical Library*, can hardly be deemed adequate by Bach's admirers and, but for the desire to complete my General History [xxv] of Music, I should have fulfilled my purpose long ago. As Bach, more than any other artist, represents an era in the history of music, it was my intention to devote to the concluding volume of that work the materials I had collected for a history of his career." (Quoted from Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Art, and Work*, translated from the German, with notes and appendices by Charles Sanford Terry, [Harcourt. Brace and Howe: New York, 1920], p. xxi.) ("Schon seit vielen Jahren habe ich die Absicht gehabt, über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke dem Publicum einige Nachrichten und Gedanken mitzutheilen, da der kleine von C. Ph. Eman. Bach und dem ehemahligen Preußischen Hof-Componisten Agricola herrührende Aufsatz, der sich im dritten Band der Mitzlerschen musikalischen Bibliothek befindet, den Verehrern jenes großen Mannes schwerlich Genüge leisten kann. Ich würde mein Vorhaben sicher auch bereits ausgeführt haben, wenn nicht die Ausarbeitung der allgemeinen Geschichte der Musik mich bisher zu sehr beschäftigt hätte. Da in der Geschichte dieser Kunst Bach mehr als irgend ein anderer Künstler Epoche gemacht hat, so beschloß ich, die zu seinem Leben gesammelten Materialien für den

understand that Forkel was asked to avoid mentioning certain episodes from his father's biography, which circulated in eighteenth-century German cultural milieus,[3] but became documented and included in Bach's biography later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Pointing to these, Emanuel uses the word *komischen* (*komischen Dinge*). Today the prevailing meaning of *komisch* in German is indeed "humorous", emphasizing the comic aspect of a phenomenon, object, or person. In the eighteenth-century, however, the word *komisch* had somewhat different meaning, rather like the double meaning of the word "funny" in English, which may point to "strange" or "curious", mostly without the allusion to the amusing "comic." Despite the changes in classic German, this connotation (strange, curious) has been preserved in today's language, but, as a rule, only colloquially. The meaning of this word, thus, should be understood with this nuance in mind. Then, the entire phrase in Emanuel's letter acquires more serious sense, especially in the context of the preceding phrases:

> There are many adventurous stories about him. A few of them may be true, and concern youthful pranks. The deceased never liked to hear them mentioned, so pray omit these humorous things.[4]

The question then arises: *which* particular episodes has Emanuel in mind? and *why* should they be avoided? Those are key questions of the present essay which concentrates on Bach's relationships with Arnstadt community before and after his famous excursion to Lübeck.

Tracing Bach's Lübeck adventure

Sebastian Bach left Arnstadt for Lübeck in late October or early November 1705. This story is colorfully described and discussed in numerous publications as one of the most famous in his biography. No wonder: walking about 460 kilometers, just to listen to music! It is not by chance that this feat of body and spirit is often given an almost religious connotation, calling it a pilgrimage (*Pilgefahrt*).

As Kerala Johnson Snyder showed, it was an extremely difficult and troublesome undertaking, requiring a huge expenditure of resources—material, physical, and mental.[5] If we just imagine the realities of this hike in the most unfavorable conditions,[6] it would be clear that such endeavor could be implemented only with extraordinarily high motivation, for the attainment of a particularly important goal. Some contextual details may clarify the essence of the entire venture.

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letzten Band des genannten Werks aufzusparen." Forkel, Johann Nikolaus: *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke*. Leipzig, 1802.) https://www.deutschestextarchiv.de/book/view/forkel_bach_1802?p=5, accessed November 14, 2022.

[3] Some of them could be found, for example, in a collection published by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg under the penname Simeon Metaphrastes *Legende einiger Musikheiligen: Ein Nachtrag zu den musikalischen Almanachen und Taschenbüchern jetziger Zeit*, (Cölln am Rhein: Peter Hammern, 1786).

[4] *NBR*, p. 397. "Man hat viele abentheuerliche Traditionen von him. Wenige davon mögen wahr seyn u. gehören unter seine jugendliche Fechterstreiche. Der seelige hat nie davon etwas wißen wollen, u. also laßen Sie diese comischen Dinge weg." See: *Bach-Dokumente* (Leipzig: Bach-Archiv); Supplement zu *Johann Sebastian Bach Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke*. Bd. III: Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs 1750–1800 / vorgelegt und erläutert von Hans-Joachim Schulze, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972), Dok. 801, S. 286.

[5] Kerala J. Snyder, "To Lübeck in Steps of J. S. Bach," *Bach* 20/2, 1989, pp. 38–48.

[6] The areas where Bach was headed are known for their cold and rainy autumns that become particularly aggressive toward winter. Most precipitation falls from November to January aggravating going by foot on dirty roads; problems of clothes and shoes, food and lodging costs should be added.

Regarding what were Bach's aspirations associated with this action, scholars, starting with the work of Johann Nikolaus Forkel and ending with the most recent publications, emphasized different but not mutually exclusive points. Forkel offered what had become the traditional and romanticized opinion:

> …in order to improve himself in composition and Organ playing, [Bach] walked the whole way to Lübeck to hear Dietrich Buxtehude, Organist of St. Mary's Church in that city, with whose compositions he was acquainted already. He remained there about three months, listening to the celebrated Organist, but without making himself known to him, and returned to Arnstadt with his experience much increased.[7]

For brevity, we shall call this task *to listen to music and learn*.

According to Malcolm Boyd's point of view, Bach coveted the position of organist to Lübeck's church of St. Mary after Dietrich Buxtehude, who was then preparing for his retirement:

> …another reason for going (perhaps even the main one) might have been to explore the possibility of succeeding this famous sixty-eight-year-old organist, who had at his command at the Marienkirche a splendid three-manual instrument with fifty-four speaking stops.[8]

For the supporters of the romanticized image of Bach, this goal seems less noble and rather materialistic, but extremely important for a career, and for the rest of his life in general. We shall call this task, simply—*to become a successor*.

Bach himself, however, had never voiced this task— and that contrary to the first one, coined as early as in Bach's *Nekrolog*,[9] written by his son Emanuel from Bach's own words.[10] Embellishing Bach's image, however, the beautiful task of self-perfection clashed with some of his biographical facts. After all, if the real goal was only *to listen and learn*, it would mean that upon completing the task he would *return to Arnstadt*, and on time, or, if late, not as defiantly as it happened.

Bach's behavior at that moment, however, resembled rather the actions of a person who was confident of not needing to bear the consequences of such a blatant violation of official discipline. Bach was, indeed, a desperate and determined man, but he was not insane! More likely, therefore, is that the delay could happen only in case that *the return to Arnstadt was unplanned*.

Facts and the entire context push us to share Michael Boyd's opinion that the purpose of the trip was, in fact, *to become the successor* of Buxtehude. To clarify this conclusion, it may be useful to have a closer look at certain details of Bach's position at the time.

By the moment of his leave for Lübeck, the twenty-years old Bach had not much to show in career achievements. First was his unsuccessful attempt to win the position of organist at St. Jacob's Church at Sangerhausen (1702). Then there was a short-period service with the Duke Johann Ernst as a groom-of-the-chambers and violinist, which

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[7] Forkel, *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs*... p. 15. ("[Er] machte so gar zur Befriedigung seiner Wißbegierde eine Fußreise nach Lübeck, um den dortigen Organisten an der Marienkirche Dietrich Buxtehude, dessen Compositionen für die Orgel er schon kannte, auch als Orgelspieler kennen zu lernen." Forkel, J.N. *Ueber Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben*, p. 6).

[8] Malcolm Boyd, *Bach*. Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 21.

[9] See BD/III, Dok. 666, p. 82: "um den dasigen berühmten Organisten an der Marienkirche Diedrich Buxtehuden, zu bechorchen."

[10] See BD/II, Dok. 16, p. 19]: "ein vnd anderes in seiner Kunst zu begreiffen."

did not promise any laudable prospects. It is true that he had a resounding success in Arnstadt from the very beginning; but soon the euphoria had probably subsided, and the realization that it happened in a small provincial town, ruled by Count Anton Günther II (1653–1716), might had been sobering. Obviously, this was not Sebastian's highest aspiration. By his spirit and ambitions, he would have had to strive reaching out for the great musicians, all the more so, since during the Lüneburg years he had met several of them personally, while others he knew from their compositions.

The prospects that he could see for the near future in Arnstadt (and more generally in Thuringia) were not particularly attractive. The young church organist had to live in a small-town environment, probably not having his own home. He would be surrounded by mediocre musicians, earning a salary of 30-40 (up to 70) guldens, playing an ordinary organ for a limited audience. Within this context, the question of his professional and personal future became persistent. Bach's determination to upgrade his career is understandable and fully consistent with his character. One should bear in mind that this heroic "pilgrimage" was not the first in his young life: five years earlier, in March 1700, the fifteen years old Bach made his long one-way walk from Ohrdruf to Lüneburg, 324 km.

But, if indeed the goal is "to listen and learn," why then go all the way to Lübeck to listen to Buxtehude, when the city of Nuremberg was, purely professionally, much more attractive? The chief musician in Nuremberg was Johann Pachelbel, whom Bach regarded as highly as Buxtehude, alongside Frescobaldi, Fischer, Strunk, Reincken, Bruns, and Boehm.[11] Worth noting is also that Nuremberg was much closer to Arnstadt than Lübeck. So, the preference of Lübeck over Nuremberg is rather strange. Unless, of course, the nature of Bach's goal was more practical.

The situation with vacancies was commonly known, and it is unlikely that anybody in Arnstadt's musical circle would be deceived by the choice of Lübeck with just the idealistic pretext of *listening to music and learning*. It was commonly known that there were no vacancies in Nuremberg: Johann Pachelbel was sixteen years younger than Dietrich Buxtehude, and nothing foreshadowed a change in the situation.[12] Lübeck, on the contrary, presented a very real option of vacancy. Buxtehude was then about seventy, and his position was opening to whoever would become his successor. Of course, the twenty-year old Bach, aware of his own merits, aspired to attain a prestigious position in a prestigious place. This was the most common path. Therefore, he went to Lübeck rather than to Nuremberg.

Lübeck prospects

According to Philipp Spitta, the organist position in the Marienkirche "was one of the best in all Germany."[13] The conditions here, in all respects, were incomparably better than anywhere else. Lübeck was a free imperial city, perhaps the richest in Germany, the capital of the Hanseatic League, with all the associated effects and opportunities. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Lübeck's magnificent Marienkirche was not only the most imposing, but also the wealthiest church in Germany. Buxtehude's

[11] Emanuel Bach's letter to Nikolaus Forkel from Hamburg to Göttingen (January 13, 1775). See: BD/III, Dok. 803, p. 289.

[12] Ironically, soon upon Bach's return to Arnstadt from Lübeck, on March 9, 1706, Johann Pachelbel died at the age of 52 (Buxtehude died a year later, at age 70).

[13] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685–1750*, in three volumes, translated by Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller Maitland, (New York: Novello & Co, 1884-5). Vol 1, p. 258. ["Die Organistenstelle zu St. Marien gehörte zu den vorzüglichsten in ganz Deutschland" Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Harte, 1873), Vol. 1, p. 253].

salary was ten times Bach's salary in Arnstadt; further, it ranked highest among the salaries of his own colleagues.[14] His successor would receive a beautiful two-storey brick house, built a very short distance from his workplace.

The music resources in Lübeck were striking. The large Marienkirche organ was one of the best in the whole of Europe. Moreover, other wealthy Lübeck churches, too, attracted a significant number of highly professional musicians. Finally, Lübeck's audience was way more attractive than the audience existent in small provincial towns. At that time, the opportunities offered in Lübeck allowed a favorable environment for cooperation among composers, organists and music directors, as well as for the professional development of its musicians. All was incomparable with the modest provincial Arnstadt and the poor New Church, in which the choir mostly consisted of amateurs and unruly students.

The Lübeck vacancy, however, did not come without strings attached, a fact that may not have impacted Bach himself as much as future events in his surroundings. As it was recorded in the decree of Lübeck's city council, and a quite common custom of those times, one of the conditions for attaining Buxtehude's position was marrying his eldest daughter, Anna Margreta (born in 1675). This stipulation was a known fact in Arnstadt as well as in all other places, and it was also understood that Bach's brilliancy made him a very likely candidate to success. Sebastian's leaving Arnstadt for good, therefore, may point to a certain "*cherchez la femme*" aspect of the entire Lübeck episode.

Bach's personality, as revealed in his letters, documents, actions, and assessments of people, and reality, suggests that the great purpose of his unprecedented travel was *to become the successor* of Buxtehude. Could he undertake this travel just in order *to listen to music and learn*? He certainly could. But then it would not have been Johann Sebastian Bach, but someone else.

Upon his return to Arnstadt, Bach was cross-examined at the consistory. As follows from the protocol of that occasion, Bach had never named Buxtehude as the reason delaying his return (four months instead of permitted four weeks). Instead, he announced that his purpose was *listening to music and learning*, mentioning no names. By blatantly omitting details (although these were, in fact, widely known), Bach clearly hoped to cloud the real reason for his trip.

In Lübeck

Not all the candidates seeking the Marienkirche organist position are known, but by 1705, the story of two respected and famous gentlemen from Hamburg: Johann Mattheson and Georg Friedrich Handel, visiting Dietrich Buxtehude in Lübeck was spread all over Germany.

The fact is that Mattheson and Handel, returning from Lübeck to Hamburg after receiving many honors and enjoying some merrymaking, had an enjoyable (as it turned

[14] Philipp Spitta wrote: "At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was worth 709 marks; the office of receiver, which was combined with it, brought in 226 marks, and there were besides various fees and perquisites. The organ was of considerable compass, and, as it would seem, tasteful in construction, with fifty-four stops to three manuals and pedal. Hence, a man of genius and energy would find here a favourable soil for prosperous activity." Ibid. [„Im Anfange des 18. Jahrhunderts trug sie 709 Mark, das damit verbundene Werkmeister-Amt brachte 226 Mark ein, dazu kamen viele Sporteln und Accidentien. Das Orgelwerk war von bedeutendem Umfange und, wie es scheint, im ganzen geschmackvoll disponirt, es hatte für drei manuale und Pedal 54 klingende Register." Ibid.]
Lübeck (the same as Hamburg) Hanseatic mark cost 192 pfennigs in the first half of the eighteenth century. Accordingly, the salary of the Marienkirche organist was about 930 guldens. To this sum, about 300 guldens should be added as income from the office.

out) travel back, and hardly kept their tongues, especially since there was a juicy story to tell. The story circulated orally for decades, until it was published by Mattheson.[15] These stories were not lost on one of Mattheson's friends, Johann Christian Schieferdecker (1679–1732), with whom he collaborated then in Hamburg. Apparently, unlike Mattheson and Handel, the idea of becoming a successor to Buxtehude pleased him, regardless of the matrimonial clauses. Just like Mattheson and Handel, he went to Lübeck, too. When Bach arrived, Schiferdecker was already there, and Buxtehude's daughter had two more contenders for her hand and heart, with the difference that, unlike the previous ones, Schieferdecker and Bach had yet to prove themselves as deserving consideration for the position, and achieving success.

It is difficult to imagine in what condition Bach reached Lübeck after his exhausting travel, and in what form he appeared before Buxtehude. After this meeting inevitably, however, the unpleasant blow occurred: Bach lost to his rival in all respects. Schieferdecker, by 1706, was an accomplished 26 years old composer, alumni of the Leipzig Thomasschule and University. He was a scion of an organists' dynasty, with practice at the Hamburg Opera House, experience in writing and staging operas, and participation in composing music for official ceremonies, including the coronation of Queen Anne. He arrived in Lübeck, albeit, unlike Mattheson and Handel, not at the invitation of the city authorities, but, like them, from the respectable and wealthy Hanseatic Hamburg, and, presumably, also in a carriage, not on foot. Bach, on the other hand, six years Schieferdecker's junior, certainly could not boast of such a portfolio; his experience was of a completely different kind. Worse, he arrived from a poor locality, mainly "on his own," walking through the November mud. Assuming that Buxtehude was a father caring of his daughter's future, it is very unlikely that he would entrust her fate to an unknown provincial youth, who appeared "out of the nowhere", and worse—on foot.

The result of this rivalry was easy to predict. It is known that a little more than a year after Sebastian returned from Lübeck to Arnstadt, Schieferdecker, having passed all the tests, officially entered the desired position on January 23, 1707. Seven months later (and four months after Buxtehude's death), on September 5, 1707, he fulfilled all the obligations, and Anna Margreta became his wife.[16]

Realizing his complete failure, Bach left the city on which he had pinned so many hopes. It is difficult to know the precise date, but it seems that Bach decided to try his luck in other Hanseatic cities. Some researchers believe that the way back to Arnstadt could pass through Hamburg and Lüneburg.[17] Both were free cities in the Hansa, subordinated directly to Vienna, and not to any local ruler. The attractiveness of Hamburg, the second most important and wealthy city in Germany after Lübeck, with its rich churches and the opera, was an unarguable magnet for a talented musician. Generally, it promised great opportunities, but at that moment there were apparently no vacancies available for Bach. There remained Lüneburg, the possibilities of which were well known to Bach from when he studied at the school of St. Michael. But even there, vacancies were not foreseen: Georg Böhm (1661-1733), who at one time had a serious influence on Sebastian, successfully held his position as organist at the Johanniskirche.

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[15] "Nach vielen empfangenen Ehrenerweisungen und genossenen Lustbarkeiten zogen sie wieder dannen." Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte, woran der tüchtigsten Capellmeister, Componisten, Musikgelehrten, Tonkünstler etc. Leben, Wercke, Verdienste etc. Erscheinen Sollen*. (Hamburg, 1740, reproduction published by Creative Media Partners, LLC, 2019), p. 94. https://www.loc.gov/resource/muspre1800.101450/?sp=77&st=image, accessed on November 16, 2022.
[16] In two years, on December 18, 1710, Margret died.
[17] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work*… p. 256, note 94.

The Lübeck venture had failed, and Bach had no better choice but to return to his former place: there, at least, he still had secured position and earnings. By this time, however, the situation in Arnstadt had undergone some changes, which Sebastian, apparently, did not expect.

After Lübeck: Failed relationships

Bach's biographical literature unanimously noted that due to the quibbles and psychological pressure of the consistory, by 1705, his life in Arnstadt became unbearable. Hence his seeking for another place of work. This statement requires, though, some detailing. The documented circumstances of the composer's life in Arnstadt and the situation in the city, as well as in the New Church, reveal some facts that are usually not scrutinized for any special significance.

Back to 1703, all in Arnstadt was effulgent. The town enthusiastically embraced the new organist, eighteenth-year-old Johann Sebastian ("He had made a deep impression on the people";[18] moreover: the Consistory "saw that this was the man they wanted"[19]). He was assigned a very high salary, relative to such places, and a comfortable working regime was organized. The wave of universal adoration lasted until 1705.

As the minutes of Arnstadt consistory show, as late as August 1705, Bach's relationships with the authorities were quite friendly. Moreover, at this time the organist regarded the consistory as his guardian, and it is no coincidence that the hearings related to the attack of the notorious *Zippel Fagotist*[20] were initiated and requested by Sebastian himself. Rightly counting on the protection of the consistory, Bach appeared there the morning after the squabble and complained about Geyersbach's attack.[21] The protocols show that the hearings proceeded in a conciliatory manner: "One must live [reconcile] with imperfections, but one must get along with the students, and one must not spoil each other's life."[22] […] "When he [Geyersbach—AM] had to talk to Bach, it would have been better if he had someone else do it and he should not have done it himself on the public street".[23]

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[18] Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work*… p. 223. ["...Er hatte den Leuten gewaltig imponirt," Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, p. 219].

[19] Ibid. ["Er kam, spielte, und das Consistorium wußte, daß dies der Mann war, den man brauchte." Ibid.]

[20] As for the derogatory *Zippel Fagotist*, which recently acquired wide discussion, it seems appropriate to focus on one detail. Scholars (such as André Pirro, Albert Schweitzer, Huber Parry, Charles Sanford Terry, Karl Geiringer, Malcolm Boyd, Konrad Küster, and Peter Williams—see reference to Sara Botwinick's article below) tend to relate the offensive *Zippel* to the bassoonist Geyersbach, while protocols of the Consistory's records show that this moniker relates not to Geyersbach, but to his instrument, the bassoon. See BD/II, Dok. 14, p.15, 17). In other words, in the given context, *Zippel Fagotist* means a musician playing an instrument named *Zippel Fagott*. As for the meaning of *Zippel*, there are many translations collected since the beginning of the eighteenth century. We can refer to the analogy in the expression *Zippel Aal* meaning a special type of eel, the front of which resembles a pinched or constricted end of a sausage. There, the word *Zippel* relates to an eel; similarly, in the expression *Zippel Fagott*, the second word relates to the bassoon. See also Sara Botwinick's discussion of this expression in her substantial article "From Ohrdruf to Mühlhausen: A Subversive Reading of Bach's Relationship to Authority" (*Bach*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (2004), pp. 1–59).

[21] "Johann Sebastian Bach, organist of the New Church here, appears and declares that last night..." (Erscheinet Johann *Sebastian* Bach *Organi*st in der Neüen Kirchen alhier, mit Vorbringen wie Er gestern abends…) [BD/II, Dok. 14, S.15, italics in the original].

[22] "Mann lebe mit *imprefectis* vnd müste er sich mit denen Schühlern verglichen auch eines dem andern das leben nicht sauer machen" (BD/II Dok. 14, p. 17).

[23] "Wann er *Bachen* zu besprechen gehabt, hätte ers beßer durch andere verrichten laßen können, vnd solches nicht selber auf öffentlicher straße thun sollen" (BD/II, Dok. 14, p. 18).

It seems that the consistory was very favorable to Bach, trying to sweep away the conflict with Geyersbach, because in fact the situation was serious: Bach used a weapon (Geyersbach strove to demonstrate evidence—holes in his jacket from Bach's sword strikes). Sebastian could be criminally liable for this.[24]

Even the problem of figural music—a sensitive issue, which later will become an acute trepidation in Bach-consistory relations—then, on August 5 of 1705, was touched very elusively. Bach's work on figural music belonged to a somewhat gray zone; the issue was more moral than legal, because it was not specified in his contractual obligations. The New Church, despite its closeness to the Town Hall, suffered from lack of funds. Nevertheless, they paid Bach as generously as they could, much more than any of his more experienced predecessors, scraping funds from three sources within their meager possibilities. They were unable to afford an additional high-salary musician.[25] Assigning Bach with the figural music, they actually tried to exploit him, somewhat appealing to his conscience, in hope to "have two for one" and to save on the expensive position of *Kapellmeister*. Initially reciprocating, Bach obviously became exhausted by the work with unprofessional and unruly musicians and tended to insist on his rights. The consistory did not press and tried to act in an admonishing manner:[26] at the final meeting (August 19, 1705) this subject was left untouched.

This lenient approach of the consistory, however, did not last forever. In contrast to the reports in the documents previous to Bach's travel to Lübeck in 1705, the records after his return, on February 21, 1706, reveal a completely different disposition. Firstly, Bach did not initiate his meeting with the consistory, but was summoned by his superiors for a debriefing.[27] In contrast to the exhortatory and conciliatory tone in the 1705 meetings, this time the tone was accusatory and clerical.

The long list of complaints presented to the organist included his unprecedentedly late return, his unwillingness to manage the figural music performances, his disagreements with students, his abuse of "strange variations" in the chorale, and his use of unprepared suspensions and contrary motions. There was also the additional accusation of playing chorales either too fast or too slow.

The main reason for such a radical change in the consistory's attitude toward Bach is quite obvious: it was an extreme disapproval of his trip to Lübeck. It was not only because of his outrageous delay but—as everyone knew perfectly well—because of his attempt to leave his position and Arnstadt, where both town and church authorities did everything in their power to make the young organist feel comfortable in his hometown.

This aspect of the conflict, however, provides just the simplest, most obvious explanation, creating the impression that all the rage is solely owed to Bach's behaviors.

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[24] "He [Geyersbach] admits that he hit [Bach], but says that Bach pushed him with his sword, and the holes could still be seen in his jacket from the stitches." ("Gestehet daß er außgeschlagen *Bach* aber habe ihn mit den Degen gestoßen, vnd währen in seinem Camisol noch die Löcher von den stichen zu ersehen"—BD/II, Dok. 14, p. 18).

[25] In contrast to singing chorales, which are familiar to the community and have been performed with the support of the organist only, figural music in the church was especially composed and often designed for a choir with soloists and an ensemble. The *Kappelmeister* should maintain all the process of practice and rehearsals, which in fact was a full-time job position, normally well paid. There was no doubt that Bach could manage it, but there was not such a clause in his contract, and he was reluctant to work for free, let alone work with difficult-to manage youngsters.

[26] See the protocol from August 19 in BD/II, Dok. 14, pp. 15–18.

[27] "Would Bach, the interrogated [questioned] organist of the New Church, [explain] where he has been for so long, and from whom has he taken his permission?" ("Wird der Organist in der Neuen Kirchen Bach vernommen, wo er unlängst so lange geweßen, vnd bey wem er deßen verlaub genommen?"—BD/II, Dok. 16, p. 19).

There are some additional facts, though, which are often overlooked in the analysis of this entire story, and that may alter such conclusion. The dramatic change in the attitude toward Bach was not limited to the consistory and its dissatisfaction with Bach performance as an employee; beyond the consistory's scolding, Bach could feel the vibrations of rejection and estrangement that were spread almost all over Arnstadt, which were related to a completely different issue, probably related to Bach's relations with his cousin, Barbara Catharina Bach. Not much is known about Barbara Catharina, whose tragic role seems to play a significant role in Bach's life, and much of it is yet unclear.

Barbara Catharina

Bach had two cousins who had similar names: the first, Barbara Catharina Bach (1680–1709) from Arnstadt, was the daughter of Johann Christoph and the sister of the organist Johann Ernst, who temporarily replaced Sebastian during his travel to Lübeck. The other cousin was Barbara Katharina, also known as Catharina Barbara Bach (1679–1737) from Gehren, who was the sister of Bach's future wife Maria Barbara. The three sisters, daughters of Bach's other uncle, Johann Michael, Friedelena Margaretha, Katharina Barbara and Maria Barbara moved to Arnstadt in 1706 after the death of their parents. The focus of the following discussion is the identification of the Catharina Barbara, with whom Bach walked on the night of August 4, 1705. Was it the Barbara Catharina from Arnstadt, or Katharina Barbara from Gehren? The answer to this seemingly trivial question may explain further events in Bach's life. We argue that it was Barbara Catharina from Arnstadt whom Sebastian saw home on that night, when they returned from visiting Christoph Herthum (*Hochgräflicher Schwarzburgischer Küchenmeister, auch Hof- und Statorganist*) who lived near the castle. On this walk, Bach and his companion young lady encountered the group of Bach's students lead by Geyersbach, who wished to revenge Bach's insulting attitude in class, by initiating the brawl.[28]

There is no evidence that Sebastian and Barbara Catharina were tied by any kind of mutual commitment or even romantic relationship, but one allegedly irrelevant detail actually may lead us to the conclusion that Bach wanted to impress his cousin, as many 20-years old do, by his attire: wearing a sword. The sword that Bach pulled out and used in self-defense at Geyersbach's attack, was not a part of a church organist's dress, but either that of a hussar (which, of course, he was not), or part of his uniform from his previous service to Duke Johann Ernst von Sachsen-Weimer, which made him look more manly.[29] Why did Bach try to look attractive to her, what their relations could be, and how could they develop (if they took place at all) is unknown. In any case, Barbara Catharina's fatal illness intervened, making her bedridden. Note, that the entire episode of Bach's conflict with the students and Geyersbach's attack at the Long Stone on the Market Square, which adds some adventurous flavor to Bach's biography, was not included in Forkel's book, most probably as one of those which Bach was reluctant to

[28] The discussion on which of the two similarly named cousins did Bach saw home is ongoing. While the general notice maintains that it was the sister of Bach's future wife Maria Barbara, I argue that it was his Arnstadt cousin, daughter of his uncle Johann Christoph (see Anatoly Milka, "Which of J.S. Bach's Two Cousins Did He See Home from the Castle on 4 August 1705?," in *Min-Ad: Israel Studies in Musicology Online*, Vol. 18, 2021, pp. 12–19), https://www2.biu.ac.il/hu/mu/min-ad/2021/Anatoly_Milka_Two_Bach_s_Cousins.pdf, Accessed on November 10, 2022.

[29] Anatoly Milka, Tatiana Shabalina, *Zanimatel'naya Bakhiana: O znamenitykh epizodakh iz zhizni Ioganna Sebastiana Bakha i nekotorykh zanyatnykh nedorazumeniakh* [Intriguing Bachiana: On Some Famous Episodes from Johann Sebastian Bach's Life and Some Intriguing Misunderstandings]. Vol. 2, 2nd ed., revised and extended (Saint Petersburg: Compozitor, 2001), pp. 126-–9.

recollect.[30] Few documents containing details about Barbara Catharina have surfaced later, but their facts are imprecise and even contradict each other, clouding the outlines of her story.

It is difficult to determine what was the ailment that confined Barbara Catharina to bed, and unclear when exactly it set off. According to the record in Arnstadt cemetery book (*Sterberegister*), this started before 1705, but this information cannot be fully depended on.[31] According to the consistory's documents, on August 4, 1705, she was still taking a walk with Bach, and on August 19 she went to the consistory to testify in his favor. So, her perplexing ailment could have happened—roughly, based on the whole total of facts—sometime before the end of 1705.[32] There is a very high probability, therefore, that she became bedridden during the approximate sixteen weeks of Bach's absence in Lübeck, in winter 1705–1706.

Clearly, there are many physical conditions and traumas that can thwart one's ability to move normally. There is, however, additional information about paralyses of another kind, apparently typical during the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries, the nature of which seems to be psychological. As studies in the history of medicine[33] indicate, paralyses can happen for a variety of reasons, but more often than not, they appear to be correlated with a damage to the nervous system, ranging from mechanical to chemical reaction to an unexpected stressful news, and is associated with strong emotional shock. Most cases recorded were of young women in the 17–27 age group, hitting especially those genetically predisposed to such a disease.

As Edward Shorter points out, it was "common among small town and village women before 1800" and "was often seen in the little communities of precapitalist Europe."[34] The social structure of such places usually led to the involvement of the entire community in the fate of a young patient with an illness:

> These paralyses were completely disabling, spectacularly visible when they crushed the lives of young women (as opposed to elderly stroke patients), and they often mobilized the entire community to help the victims find relief.[35]

The context of all we know about Barbara Catharina and Sebastian from their walk in August 1705—to his leaving Arnstadt for good in autumn 1707, and to her funeral in late January of 1709 gives some grounds for the assumption that Barbara Catharina could have been struck by the described sickness, impacted by an adverse information that led into emotional distress. What was that information, and what was its source, remain unknown. What remains is only the impression from her unusual

[30] Interestingly, Philipp Spitta, too, did not include this episode in his fundamental biography, although he worked with the consistory archives. As Sara Botwinick suggested, the reason was that both Spitta's and Geyesrbach's families, albeit in different times, had some connections with consistory; Spitta avoided, then to present the consistory in bad light. (Botwinick, "From Ohrdruf to Mühlhausen…," p. 37)
[31]This book has mistakes. For example, the information concerning the age of another cousin in the same cemetery was mistaken by no less than 17 years (see Anatoly Milka, "Which of J.S. Bach's Two Cousins…," p. 16).
[32] The only document pointing on the time of her illness is the Cemetery book, where the record says that by her death on January 27, 1709 she was bedridden for four and a half years. According to this record she had to fall ill in the middle of 1704, which is an obvious mistake (like many others in this kind of records), since in August of 1705 she was healthy (at least healthy enough to walk).
[33] See, for example, the article by Edward Shorter "Paralysis: The Rise and Fall of a 'Hysterical' Symptom." *Journal of Social History*. Vol. 19, no. 4 (Summer, 1986), pp. 549–582). My thanks to Marina Ritzarev for pointing to this source and its discussion.
[34] Ibid, p. 553.
[35] Ibid, p. 556.

funeral ceremony: she was perceived by the Arnstadt community as an innocent victim. Somebody then has to be perceived as the perpetrator.

There is some indirect information about the reaction of Arnstadt's community to this entire story, which may cast some strange and murky light on worsening Bach's reputation upon his return from Lübeck. The Arnstadt *Sterberegister*'s entry from January 25, 1709, concerning Barbara Catharina's funeral describes two facts that are very unusual for such an occasion:

> The maiden Barbara Catharina Bach, who was bedridden for more than four years, was buried with a great bell ringing, and, despite the severe frost, the service was performed with the reading of Chapter III from the Book of Wisdoms: The righteous souls are with God. Passed away on the 22nd of the same [month]: at 7 pm, at the tender age of less than 29 years by 3 months and 3 days. [36]

First, Catharina was laid to rest with a great bell ringing; second, despite a very severe frost, a memorial service was performed with the reading of the long Chapter 3 from *The Wisdom of King Solomon*.

Regarding the first fact, an analysis of many records in the Arnstadt *Sterberegister* shows that a funeral with a "great bell ringing" was not an ordinary event, but one of special significance, associated with the personality of a deceased who was known for their notable accomplishment or influence on the city life. Usually these were community leaders or people who financially supported the city. Catharina, as far as we know, was in no way related to either one or another. Why, then, would her funeral be marked by such honors?

The inclusion of Chapter 3 from *The Wisdom of King Solomon* in the funeral service raises even more questions, mainly the unusual choice of text, which commonly is read as material for didactic preaching, in a funeral service. Apparently, its enunciation had some special importance in this case, and while clearly the priest has the right to choose the text, the question of its selection still stands.

Chapter 3:1 glorifies the righteous souls whom the Lord tested, who suffered, "But the souls of the righteous are in the hand of God, and no torment will ever touch them."[37] This idea develops in verse 3:13: "For blessed is the barren woman who is undefiled, who has not entered into a sinful union; she will have fruit when God examines souls."

The Chapter also pays considerable attention to the wicked, opposing them to the righteous souls ("But the ungodly will be punished as their reasoning deserves, who disregarded the righteous man and rebelled against the Lord"—3:10). Moreover, unlike the latter, attention is drawn here not only to themselves ("for whoever despises wisdom and instruction is miserable. Their hope is vain, their labors are unprofitable, and their works are useless."—3:11), but also to their wives and children ("Their wives are foolish, and their children evil;"—3:12), and the whole family for generations on end ("For the end of an unrighteous generation is grievous." 3:19).

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[36] [Den 25 Jan. 1709. Eine Jungfer *Barbara Catharina Bachin* so über 4 Jahr bettlägerig gewesen, wurde mit dem großem geläute begraben, und wegen allzu strenger Kälte eine Sermon über die verba ex Sap: III. Die gerechten Seelen sind in Gottes[hand]: starb d. 22. eiusd[em]: ec 7 abends. aetat[ula] 29 Jahr weniger 3 Monate und 3 Tage. Jan[uary] 25, 1709. Karl Müller & Fritz Wiegand (Eds.), *Arnstädter Bachbuch: Johann Sebastian Bach und seine Verwandten in Arnstadt*. Zweite, verb. und erw. Aufl. Arnstadt: Gutenbergdruck, 1957, p. 155.

[37]The first sentence of Chapter 3, about the suffering righteous soul that will be relieved from torment because it was in Lord's hand, in all probability was a key one in that situation, because its initial words were written as a quotation in the record of Catharina's burial.

The final part of this chapter (verses 16–19) is generally a collection of curses on the heads of the wicked:

> [**16**] But children of adulterers will not come to maturity, and the offspring of an unlawful union will perish. [**17**] Even if they live long they will be held of no account, and finally their old age will be without honor. [**18**] If they die young, they will have no hope and no consolation in the day of decision. [**19**] For the end of an unrighteous generation is grievous.[38]

The chapter chosen for reading under such outstanding and solemn circumstances strongly suggests that the late Barbara Catharina was the righteous, and somebody, whom everybody knew, had to be loudly condemned as a cause of her sufferings. The funeral took place after Bach had already left Arnstadt, and he could hardly attend it for many reasons, mainly because at that time he was already in Weimar, at the service of Wilhelm Ernst, Duke of Saxe-Weimar.

It is impossible to state firmly that the tragedy of Catharina's young life could cause such a hostile mindset toward Bach among Arnstadt's community. However, the sequence of several events associated with Barbara Catharina may explain this attitude. The first event was their walk, together, that might have been perceived by her (and by others) as Bach's dating her (around August 1705) broken by his desperate leave to Lübeck (approximately in late October or early November 1705). The poorly hidden purpose of this trip, and the widely known personal obligations entailed in this endeavor in case of its success, most likely posed a fatal blow to her reputation. The great delay in Bach's return only added to her distress, possibly leading to a nervous collapse. Other blows, however, would follow.

Disastrous return to Arnstadt

Having failed in all his objectives at his journey to Lübeck, Sebastian had to return to Arnstadt in February 1706. There, apparently, he was confronted with an unfriendly ambience, seen as defaulter in eyes of the consistory and the community. Moreover, it is likely that he also was distraught to learn that Catharina was struck down by a serious illness. It is not known whether Sebastian visited his ill cousin after his return from Lübeck, nor whether he had any contact with her.

An analysis of the protocol from February 21, 1706 presents Bach's dry and dull answers to the members of the consistory. His replies are different in tone from the more energetic and reasoned ones that he gave in 1705, and the difference can be caught even in the paraphrase of the clerk. The members of the consistory, on the other hand, were quite aggressive. One may not attach much importance to the nitpicking about ornamentation and unprepared suspensions in harmony voice-leading, but during the hearing, even the option of Bach's dismissal was raised.[39] The situation at both Church and community became increasingly unbearable.

For Catharina, too, things went down the slope. During the following two years, 1706–1707, she suffered more blows, ruining all hopes, which might have never left her.

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[38] All quotations from *The Wisdom of Solomon* are taken from The *Revised Standard Version* of the Bible, copyrighted by the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/r/rsv/rsv-idx?type=DIV1&byte=3905445, accessed November 17, 2022.
[39] See the Consistory's protocol from February 21, 1706. See BD/II. Dok. 16, p. 20.

A Cousin from Gehren

Somewhere between May and August of 1706, when weather conditions allowed travel, three cousins arrived in Arnstadt from Gehren, to live closer to most of the Bach clan. Their appearance brought noticeable changes in Bach's life, and, again, affected Catharina's suffering soul. In November 1706 the consistory reprimanded Bach for bringing "a foreign maiden" (*frembde Jungfer*) for rehearsal at the church chorus. From further events, it seems most probable that the *frembde Jungfer* was Maria Barbara, one of the three Gehren cousins, whom Bach eventually married. In small communities, all such news fly to every house, and they could hardly escape the bedridden Catharina. The event actually coincided with a severe aggravation of her condition. About seven months later, on June 22, 1707, her brother Johann Ernest wrote to the Arnstadt consistory a petition asking for an increase in his salary in consideration with the large medical expenses trying to mitigate his sister's horrible suffering during the last twenty-nine weeks—which means since mid-November 1706, when Bach's dating another young lady became public.[40] Clearly, this was a most serious blow for Catharina.

To Mühlhausen

At the first opportunity, literally three to four weeks after the unpleasant trial at the consistory on November 11, and as soon as a vacancy for an organist was opened in Mühlhausen, after the death of Johann Georg Ahle on December 5, 1706), Bach began to prepare the ground. Financially, Bach would gain almost nothing by changing his residence and service at that time, although throughout his life he attached great importance to this factor. His salary at Mühlhausen was only one guilder higher than at Arnstadt;[41] but Mühlhausen was a free imperial city (though not Hanseatic), about 60 km northwest of Arnstadt, and most importantly—it provided a great opportunity to leave Arnstadt as quickly as possible.

After succeeding at the audition in Mühlhausen, on April 24, 1707, Bach dedicated the rest of that year to his relocation and marriage to Maria Barbara, striking Catharina the two final blows, distancing him from her both personally and physically. The summer went by between closing the Arnstadt affairs and beginning those in Mühlhausen, finally moving there in August 1707. At the same time, the preparations for wedding took place, though not as smoothly as expected and not in Arnstadt.

The Wedding in Dornheim

On October 2, 1707, Johann Sebastian and Maria Barbara submitted to the New Church of Arnstadt the announcement of their intention to legally marry, on October 17, in Dornheim. Why not in Arnstadt?

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[40] […] zu geschweigen was bey meiner armen Schwester ihren bißhero gehabten langwierigen ja sehr schmertzhafften Lager, so bereits 29 Wochen schon erbärmlich angehalten, uf die *resp*: Herren *Medicos* und *Chirurgos* sonder einiger Hoffnung der *reconvalescenz* gewendet worden und noch biß dato immerzu mit schwehren Kosten *continuir*en muß […] See Thüringisches Staatsarchiv Rudolstadt *AA 38451*, fol. 22v–24v. Quoted in Hans Joachim Schulze, " 'Base in Arnstadt' — 'Trompeter zu Köthen': Dathen, Dokumente und Hypothesen zu zwei Problemfällen im Umfeld des jungen Johann Sebastian Bach," in *Bach-Jahrbuch* 2021, pp. 43–55.

[41] It is true that there was an additional income by way of produce and firewood, but it seems that this was not the main reason for Bach's desire to move. The material factor will play a role later, when Bach decides to move further to Weimar, where the salary will be twice as high (and then, as we know, it regularly increased).

Compare two scenarios: the first would be in the "pre-Lübeck" context, when Bach was Arnstadt's favorite, and the second—the one that actually happened in October 1707, the wedding had to be arranged in Dornheim.

Sebastian, in his previous 1703-5 status as everyone's darling and with his ambitious personality, would organize a magnificent ceremony; it would have been a crowded and loud event. In reality, however, it was a quiet and private ceremony. There is no documentation nor any other evidence of the way in which Arnstadt's society reacted. There is only the fact that in Arnstadt there was no church or priest available for this event. Be that as it may, Sebastian and Barbara were wedded in the small wooden church of St. Bartholomew in Dornheim, five km from Arnstadt. The priest was Maria Barbara's future relative Johann Lorenz Stauber (1660–1723), who was soon to marry her aunt Regina Wedemann (1660–1730), her mother's younger sister. Nothing is known about the guests at the ceremony.

The procedure had to be sanctioned by the secular authority. As Spitta notes, Count Anton Günther II approved the marriage (even with some privileges in terms of duties) and "without resentment and indignation."[42] One may wonder what the intriguing cause of resentment and indignation could be, and what could cast a shadow on Bach's reputation. But the somewhat unusual circumstances of the wedding ceremony and some indulgence granted by the Count, put together, indicate Bach's complicated relations with the Arnstadt community, and the unfriendly overtones toward him since 1706, that were not limited to the consistory, which just added fuel to the fire. In any case, the traditional view of the discord between Bach and Arnstadt only over the claims of the consistory does not explain the dramatic events that followed the Lübeck epic.

Conclusion

What role did the pilgrimage to Lübeck play in Sebastian's fate?

Bach's strongest trump card in Arnstadt—his talent—was played at full force, and resulted in his dazzling success in 1703. This feat might have led him to believe that his talent would play just as flawlessly at Lübeck. Unfortunately, he did not prepare himself to the fact that at that time in Lübeck, relatively speaking, the benchmark belonged to a different league—and was of a different nature. Buxtehude was looking for completely different values, which for him were essential—values that Schiferdecker could—and did—present. In Arnstadt Bach could have an elaborate public concert organized, in which his talent as organist shone; no one in Lübeck was going to organize such an opportunity for a young provincial Nobody. In Lübeck, to continue the card game analogy, Bach played without a single trump card, and therefore was doomed to fail. The irony was that his confident attitude, not to say arrogance, was precisely what blinded him from understanding the new constellation. It is possible that his visits to Hamburg and Luneburg on the way back from Lübeck were an attempt to somehow improve the situation, but they did not bring success either. The whole trip failed.

Of course, if Bach's Lübeck succession plan would succeed, his further fate would completely differ from the events that took place after this defeat. In such case, everything would indeed depend on his talent. Nowadays, who, besides experts, knows Schieferdecker's music from the evening events in the Marienkirche? Yet, the Lübeck trip did affect Bach's music. Kerala Snyder evaluates the results of this story as follows:

[42] "ohne Groll und Verstimmung" Spitta, p. 335.

> One immediate result of Bach's trip to Lübeck appears to have been a change in his style of playing chorales […] A more lasting effect of this celebrated journey resulted from the copies of Buxtehude's organ works which Bach presumably made in Lübeck.[43]

Also, had it not been for the Lübeck pilgrimage and its disastrous results (including Hamburg and Luneburg, if this took place), the fate of two women from the Bach family, Barbara Catharina and Maria Barbara, would certainly have been different. And, of course, if it were not for this story of failure, Sebastian's life path would surely have been different; but past events brought to naught all the previous life achievements of Bach, who practically had to restart his career (Arnstadt-Mühlhausen-Weimar-Köthen-Leipzig). In the span of only four months, from the end of 1705 to the beginning of 1706, Johann Sebastian Bach had to go through two very painful and traumatic events, albeit of his own making, almost simultaneously: firstly, he lost his good reputation in Arnstadt; and secondly, he experienced the collapse of his hopes (and may be even some self-confidence, too), in the adventurous "successor" operation in Lübeck (not counting the events that were in one way or another associated with these two).

Today we know many details of Bach's biography, and one cannot find any more offensive defeats than those discussed here. Therefore, it is most likely that these were the episodes that Emanuel urged Forkel not to mention in his planned monograph.[44] Johann Nikolaus Forkel loyally conformed with Carl Philipp Emanuel's request: his book does not contain even a glimpse of these stories that, judging by the reaction upon recalling them, the great composer would prefer to forget.

[43] Kerala J. Snyder,"To Lübeck in Steps of J. S. Bach," p. 46.

[44] It is interesting to note that Emanuel is reluctant to leave even traces of these particular events, not even in correspondence; during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, epistolary writing was considered almost a literary genre, which means that letters could become public property. Emanuel carefully only hinted at the incidents with the word "Fechterstreiche" ("fencing pranks"), because the specific mention of the Geyersbach story would evoke associations to Catharina and the whole subsequent chain of events.