The Rules

Established

for the

Thomasschule

by a Noble and Very Wise

Leipzig City Council

Printed by Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf

Leipzig

 $1733.^1$ [Translation by Thomas Braatz © 2012]

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noble and very wise city council has regarded it appropriate, particularly in light of the newly renovated school building² associated with the *Thomaskirche*,³ to warn anew the students at this institution about the rules that govern it. Since partly because there are no more copies of the original document [1723] available and since partly also because of the changing times and fact that several alterations were caused by the new arrangement of facilities in the school building, the main content of the previous rules [1723] has certainly been maintained in this publication, but everything has been adapted to suit the present conditions. May God grant that we will achieve the ultimate purpose in this matter: blissful [perfect] happiness for the young people and for the entire community! [4]⁴

² The construction phase took place between May 1731 and April 1732.

³ Throughout this translation certain references will be maintained in German, for example, *Thomaskirche* = St. Thomas Church; *Thomasschule* = the school associated with the St. Thomas Church; *Thomaner* = students attending the latter school, etc.

⁴ The page numbers indicated in red refer to the beginning of each page in the original printed booklet.

Part 1

About Piety⁵

§ 1

bove all our *Thomaner* ⁶ should be convinced that the beginning of wisdom, for which purpose schools are established and attended; to be sure, even the highest wisdom consists in the true understanding and fear of God⁷ without which they can never become wise and experience blissful happiness. Since the ultimate purpose of these rules is to make them wise and blissfully happy, the obedience which is required of them is founded upon the virtues just mentioned here. If this type of instruction takes place, then it will hardly be necessary to issue a strict order or punishment; and yet this set of rules must include them so that no one should gain an advantage from a malicious act or that such an act might remain unpunished. This is also true for those students from whom one cannot expect any true virtue or the proper use of freedom. At least now the fear of punishment will urge them to comply by observing what is required of them.

§ 2

Accordingly, students should first and foremost resolve to fear the omnipresent God not only in word and deed but also in all their thoughts. So whenever they are tempted by a desire to do something or whenever an easy opportunity to commit a sin presents itself, they should consider that God not only certainly knows everything, but also will punish sin to the severest extent possible.

⁵ Sottseligkeit [Gottseligkeit]: [The Latin version of the school rules has: Pietas erga Deum] a pure form of piety which Luther [14, 21; 1523/24] distinguishes from 'fear of God': "so wendet allen ewen Bleis daran, und reichet dar...in der Sedult Sottseligfeit. dazu die Auslegung: das ist: das wur unn allen eusserlichen Leben, was wur thun odder lenden, uns also halten, das wur Gott darunne dienen, nicht unser Shre und Rug suchen, sonder das Gott allenne dadurch geprenset werde, und das wur uns also stellen, das man mercken kunde, das wur alles umb Gottes Willen thun." "Do everything you can to attain patiently this state of piety; more specifically, we should conduct ourselves outwardly in everything that we do and suffer as a service to God and not seek to gain honor and personal advantages for ourselves, but rather see to it that only God is praised by our actions. We should also present ourselves in such a way that others are able to notice that we are doing everything for God alone."

Thomaner = this German term will be used henceforth to refer to all pupils attending the St. Thomas School in Leipzig. Their ages range from 10-24. Schüler will be translated as 'student' rather than 'pupil'. See http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Other/Thoman-List.htm for further details on this.

⁷ It would appear that Luther's pure definition of *Gottseligkeit* was no longer strictly adhered to at the time when these school rules were formulated.

This must be the entire basis for serving God publicly. When they pray, [5] whether this occurs in church or in school, before or after meals, at the beginning and the end of lessons, not only should they stand up straight whereby they will demonstrate openly in their comportment nothing but respectability and reverence [deference], but they should mainly direct their heart and soul toward Him who alone distributes as He wishes that which is good. If any student should dare to cause any mischief or to disturb the attention or devotion [while praying] of others, he will certainly not escape God's wrath or the punishment according to the school rules to the extent that these are within our responsibilities to carry out.

§ 4

Under the supervision of the weekly inspector⁸ a passage from the Bible should be read aloud daily every morning and evening. Whenever this occurs, the students are asked to pay very good attention to these readings and to consider that God is speaking to them in these passages. Beginning now, one student after the other will assume this responsibility for one day and at the appointed time will read these passages from Luther's translation while the others will follow them in either Castellio's Latin translation, or in the Greek New Testament text or in the translation by the so-called seventy translators of the Old Testament.⁹ Whoever is not yet able to follow along in any of these suggested sources should at least have the German Bible (which in any case is indispensable for every student to own and read); in this manner they will be able to open for the Holy Spirit the door to their hearts [and minds] through their ears as well as their eyes.

§ 5

When the students sing, they should think steadily of nature and the performances of the holy angels and from this they should consider [6] what a marvelous institution the singing of the chorales ['spiritual songs'] is and how they

ber wöchentliche Inspector = this is a duty assigned to the principal, assistant principal, cantor and the teacher of the 3rd level class on a revolving, weekly basis. See Chapter IV of the 1723 Schul-Ordnung at: http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Articles/OrdnungEng.pdf

⁹ This is a reference to the *Septuagint* which is a translation into ancient Greek of the Hebrew Bible by 72 Jewish scholars undertaken in the 3rd century BCE and completed by 132 BCE probably mostly in Alexandria.

should act respectfully in performing them. A teacher in the ancient church properly called the holy angels 'logical beings versed in hymnology', [ζῶα λογικά ὑμνολογικά] that is to say that they are rational, sensible beings who find their greatest pleasure in singing constantly in praise of God. This description is well-suited for a proper [upright, decent] *Thomaner*. They should also make every effort to understand properly the Latin [sacred] music texts and, whenever it becomes necessary, to rely upon the help that the *præceptors* [teachers] will give them. Every student should carry with him a hymnal and have it ready for use as often as it is needed. The choir *præfects* [overseers]¹⁰ are to see to it that students always follow through in this regard.

\$6

Students should take communion frequently. This should take place at least three or four times a year after they have served as a *decurion* [a student leader of a group of ten or more classmates]. During communion they should consider that this sacrament is terrible for those who are unworthy. They should also listen carefully to the reminders given them by their *præceptors* [teachers] and resolve to follow them as they apologize for their actions in the time usually set aside for doing this. Above all they should consider the fact that things will continually worsen and finally reach the point of complete ruination for those who do not improve after enjoying this holy sacrament.

§ 7

Speech is nothing other than an illustration of your thoughts, and hence of the soul itself. For this reason students should be careful in what they say and take good care not to indulge in any kind of godless, shameful and careless statements and lies, all

¹⁰ Præfect = ein Borgefetzter = a superior, one in charge of his subordinates, usually chosen from the older, higher ranking students. See Part 9 below for a præfect's duties.

¹¹ The term decurion is based on an analogy to centurion, the latter term referring to the number 100. A centurion, an officer in the Roman army, supposedly commanded a centuria consisting of 100 men; however, in reality this number could contain from 200 to 1000 men or as few as 83. A decurion was a Roman cavalry officer in command of a squadron (turma). In the context of the Thomasschule, a decurion was a student who, temporarily on a rotating basis, assumed duties that put him in charge of about 10 other students. With approximately 150 students attending the Thomassschule during Bach's tenure, it might be assumed that there were 15 decurions at the school at any given time. The word decurion also refers to a unit of approximately 10 students over which one decurion is in charge. Part 9 § 4 states that there are 8 decurions. This would mean that each student overseer was responsible for more than just 10 students, the number being flexible much in the same way that the Romans used the term centurion.

the more so as these might seem advantageous to their ends. By refraining from these through modesty, others will judge them to have a good heart and be well-behaved. But all those demonstrating a shameful and godforsaken disposition will be most severely punished by their *præceptors*[teachers] [7] and kept in check so that they may not tempt the other students to emulate their godless activity.

Part 2

About a Student's Duties toward God and His Fellow Human Beings

§ 1

If the foundation is properly laid, then everything else will proceed easily and successfully. If students stand firmly in the grace of eternal God, then they will also easily and willingly observe and carry out their duties towards themselves and other fellow human beings. Even nature already demands of us that each individual must take care of himself. It is only fair for this reason that those students should be punished who partly persist in maintaining those shameful dispositions which the school has been ordered to correct [heal] and who partly refuse to take the necessary care of their own bodies, a subject that we wish to discuss directly.

§ 2

For this reason students should follow the salutary rule laid down by the ancients: Take care of your health!¹² This maxim should be kept in mind constantly and it should serve as a general rule to be followed. This is why they should guard against any kind of immoderation, because this could be harmful for their health. They should avoid idleness because it not only weakens the powers of their minds but also their physical strength as well. They should avoid all forms of alcoholic beverages and drunkenness because these can spoil their power of reasoning a great deal.¹³ And finally,

¹² Cura, ut valeas!

¹³ There is definitely a conflict here with the beer that is regularly provided by a legacy as described by Anton Weiss in his *Verbessertes Leipzig....* (Leipzig, 1728). See below in the Appendix.

they should completely stop smoking tobacco because this not only tempts them to drink a lot but also severely harms in a different way both their bodies and souls as well as it affects their good behavior. The punishment for the latter will be particularly severe. [8]

§ 3

Furthermore students should avoid all sorts of shameful desires [lust, sensuality] and fornication so that they will be able to extend clean hands to God and strive for a future state blissful happiness with all the powers at their disposal, a state which they would weaken or even lose entirely by living unchastely. If a student should commit such an offense in either word or deed, he must be punished by getting a good hiding or other insults which are common in schools. If a student should go so far as to commit a deed punishable under city laws, then he will be expelled from school. The same condition will prevail for any student who refuses to break off a relationship with another male or female person after the *rector* [principal] has issued an order to do so.

§ 4

Moreover, students should take good care to avoid anything which could harm their health in certain ways. For this reason they should thoroughly clean their heads (face, neck, ears and hair?), their teeth and their gums. Also, when hot, they should not drink too much or too quickly; nor should they run quickly out of the cold into a hot place or vice versa. They should not eat too much fruit. They should not force their bowel movements unnaturally by unnecessary means, etc.

§ 5

Part 8 will treat the matter of thriftiness and everything we consider regarding the way a student's accounts are kept belongs here as well.

§ 6

Students should not forget Christ's command: "Do onto others as you would wish them do onto you." Above all they should consider that their *præceptors* [teachers] function *in loco parentis* in all aspects of education. [9] Therefore they should

¹⁴ Matthew 7:12 given in the Latin version of the school rules as: quidquid sibi ab aliis tribui velint, id ipsi negent nemini.

love them, do as they say and show their gratitude towards them. This they should do not only for the teachers to which they are specifically assigned, but also for all others at this school who assume this position of *in loco parentis* over them. They should also not allow themselves to adopt the silly, simplistic, and crazy notion that assumes that *præceptors* [teachers] are only severe and very strict disciplinarians who do not allow young people to enjoy even the slightest pleasures or the simplest types of freedom. On the contrary, students should consider that their parents, indeed even the entire community, have placed this responsibility upon the students' superiors that they should guide them to a state of true, blissful happiness, wherever possible allowing free reign; but, wherever this is not possible, to apply restraints in order to guide them to wisdom and virtue. Once they get this idea firmly in mind, they will more easily recognize what is expected of them and will do this more willingly. Part 8 below will describe in greater detail how students from the lower [beginning] classes are to act towards their overseers [præfects and decurions].

§ 7

At school some of the truest and most constant friendships are frequently formed. This presents an opportunity that our students should also take seriously. For this reason they should avoid quarreling, making biting jokes [using cutting irony] or anything like this which can only cause disagreement [dissension]. They should also not take every occasion to bring forth complaints against other students, because this will only give rise to even more enmity and further disagreements which could have been avoided if they had simply gotten over a slight injustice they may have suffered. If, however, any student has reason to lodge a legitimate complaint against another student, then he should not try to help himself with words or deeds, but rather simply bring this complaint to his *decurion* [overseer]. [10] The latter should attempt to bring about a peaceful resolution of the matter and support the innocent student. And only if this matter cannot be resolved between them, should it be brought to the attention of a præceptor[teacher], the weekly inspector or the rector [principal] of the school. The student who does not willingly accept the judgment of a superior, or who continues to express his annoyance, thus hoping to think that he is right, will not remain unpunished.

As much as we do not condone ill-considered complaints, so little will we also be satisfied with the conduct of those students who do not want to testify to the true sequence of events when they are questioned about an evil deed that a fellow student has committed. Some may think that this is a great shame; however, it is a fact that such a person who attempts to conceal an evil deed with lies of this type, will not be viewed any differently from those who have actually committed such an evil deed. An even stricter punishment will be reserved for those who dare to spread lies about others and thereby slander them.

§ 9

An obscene [lascivious] boy [rogue/scoundrel] who attempts to seduce another student by setting a bad example or by words; a thief, particularly one involving a theft from the communal treasury; likewise a student who deliberately destroys anything belonging to another or the school building itself; or whoever does not of his own free will report an evil deed, will be punished when this deed is discovered in some other way. In regard to these things, our students should consider that 'an evil deed does not remain hidden for very long'. ¹⁵

§ 10

Whoever steals even a small coin will not [11] only have to replace it with its fourfold value, but will also be punished with *baculation*¹⁶ [a beating with a stick] and *carcer*¹⁷ [jail]. If he steals again, the punishment will be doubled, and upon the third instance, he will be expelled. If the theft involves a larger amount, the last punishment will immediately be applied rather than waiting for another instance of theft to occur.

§ 11

Above all, theft will be punished very severely if someone steals from the alms collection box belonging to the entire school. The excuse that certain monies were given personally to a specific student will not be allowed to stand, particularly since the kind and generous benefactors will be informed about the condition of the school and

¹⁵ raro diu latere scelera.

¹⁶ baculus = stick/rod.

¹⁷ carcer = Possibly a detention room providing isolation from all other students with only water and bread brought to this room for sustenance. In some later instances of this term, it appears that the city jail is actually meant.

the misuse of such charitable donations; and then they will see how much evil they cause and how poorly they have been administered.

§ 12

Through their good comportment, all students should make a special effort to maintain the favor of the school's patrons and benefactors as well as that of all honorable inhabitants of this city. For this reason, and specifically to this end, students should diligently fulfill their duties and observe the school's rules. They should endeavor to keep the bodies and clothing clean as we will tolerate neither filth nor splendor in this regard. And ultimately, in every situation, they should strive to practice affability, courtesy and modesty: by taking off their hats before others in timely fashion, by allowing them to pass by stepping off to one side, by standing up in their presence, and by heeding [and emulating] all those things that Christ-like and modest people demonstrate through their actions as given by the circumstances of a matter or the location where something takes place. [12]

Part 3

About the Daily Schedule

§ 1

In this outline of the daily schedule not only do we want to indicate the actual nature of each daily task, but we also want to show when each should take place. Regarding the former, we will discuss that later on in its appropriate location. Here we want to remind our students that there is no greater and significant loss than the loss of time. For this reason they should not allow a single moment to pass by in vain. At times you will have to wait before the meal begins, wait for the teacher or for a fellow student. At such times there will be several minutes when you will not have anything else to do. Minutes spent this way are to be sure small individual units, but when you add all of these together, a considerable sum will result. In order that no student will lose even the smallest amount of time, a time when he does nothing, i. e., when he is actually doing something bad [evil], he should always bring with him a small book, one recommended [ordered] for reading by his teacher, or at least not a book that has been rejected because of its depravity, or it could be a notebook containing comments or annotations

which he has collected for himself during his free periods or on his private time. He can read such a small book and at the same time be emulating Cato, who back then was not ashamed to do so during the meetings of the Roman council. For in this manner then a student will avoid idleness which is unbearable for a noble spirit and he will also learn that Hesiod correctly stated: "If you frequently add just a little bit to a small pile, this pile will finally become a big pile."

§ 2

When the calefactor²⁰ awakens the students [by ringing a bell in the dormitory rooms] early at 5 o'clock during the summer, they should get up quickly, [13] dress, and wash themselves all the while making use of the pitchers, bowls and basins so that the floors will not be damaged. Then they should comb their hair, clean themselves and when the bell rings a second time a half hour after the first bell assemble in their study rooms for a prayer where they should position themselves in proper order according to their own decurion²¹ so that the weekly inspector will more easily be able spot who is missing. The decurion [overseer] should always be prepared to announce the names of those who are absent from the group. Whoever wants to or must remain absent from the prayer for whatever reason there may be will be required to apologize and state the reason for his absence or have someone else do this for him. In any case in regard to all excuses that are made, students must take care to bring attention to these absences before the weekly inspector or the teacher asks about them. After the prayer each student must immediately sit down at his assigned spot and either be writing or reading in such a way that the weekly inspector can see what he is doing. Students should not get up from these activities before 6:30 am. After this time they may go to their class rooms to prepare for their regular lessons. In winter the first bell will ring at 5:30 am so that all students will be dressed, washed and prepared for their subsequent activities at 6:00 am.

§ 3

²¹ decurion = see footnote 10 above. Here this word refers to a unit to which about 10 students are assigned.

¹⁸ in senatu

 $^{^{19}}$ verum esse illud Hesiodeum, qui parum addere paruo nos iubet, & ita aceruum sperare.

²⁰ calefactor = strictly speaking, one who provides heat for a room; pertaining to the *Thomasschule* this appears to be an adult in charge of the wood and candles stored in the basement which he distributes to various locations in the building where he establishes and maintains fires throughout the day; he controls all forms of lighting including lanterns; he is also in charge of ringing a bell as a signal at various times throughout the day. Here a number of additional duties are listed.

Students should begin their class lessons with a chorale [hymn], at the beginning of which each student must be present. They should primarily sing those chorales which are to be sung by the congregation on the following Sunday or feast day. This is also done in order to practice the new chorales and so that any mistakes can be avoided when singing in church. After singing the chorale, a chapter from the Bible (see Part 1, § 4) should be read out loud by someone and after that a passage from the German Compendium Theologicum. According to the [14] school schedule of classes it can be determined on which day each class is required to be in church during the first hour. From this same list it is also evident how the public and private lessons are distributed. At 11 o'clock the students should eat, all the while observing the rules that are stated in Part 7. On Sundays and Thursdays, those students whose turn it is on a monthly rotation should go around and get the cash that has been collected by students. In addition students should always use this hour following the meal [but still at the dinner table] for practicing singing. This they should do all the more gladly while paying full attention because it will have a very salutary effect on their health.

§ 4

How the afternoon classes are set up can be seen from the school schedule. How the funerals and other occasions when the school choirs are required to sing are handled will be treated in Part 4. The time that students spend prior to being seated at the meal tables in the evenings or any other time when they have unscheduled 'free' time should never be spoiled or wasted by idleness, drinking [alcohol], running around or activities of this sort. On the contrary, they should consider that this leisure time has been granted to them to use in any way that they wish so that they might gradually learn to look toward that which is best for them and use it wisely because it is the most valuable of all things. For this reason no student should dare to leave the school building for even a moment without immediately giving notice to their teachers or parents and explaining the reason why. In this regard students should read at the same time the directives given to the *decurions* in Part 9 § 4.

§ 5

The sixth hour [6 pm] is set for the evening meal [supper]. Students may use the remainder of this hour for any permitted [15] leisure activities. However, there is no more pleasant or better way to do this than in practicing music. Specifically, this hour

should be used to inform the *decurions* and weekly inspectors honestly and without an intention to deceive where and how they spent this hour. The *decurions* and weekly inspectors should see to it that at any time there will be at least two students from each *decurion* who can report where all the remaining students in that group are to be found.

\$6

At 7 pm all students must be present in the school building and remain there until evening prayers that should take place at 8 pm. In summer they should be in their cubicles²² and in winter in their groups at their designated tables where they should engage in reading, writing and studying. While this is taking place, the weekly inspector will need to pay attention to them not only so that silence and order can be maintained among them, but also to be at hand when they need advice or help in their studies. They should ask for this advice modestly without creating a commotion. At 9 pm all of them should go to bed without being noisy, placing their clothes in the designated locations so that they might be able to find them more easily in the morning. Before going to bed they should clean [wash] themselves; and if they discover that there is a tear in their clothing, they should patch or repair it themselves. The *calefactor* is in charge of all lighting and fires. He must never allow any student to carry a candle or source of fire or to have it in his room. He should make sure that the lanterns in the common areas do not go out, a task in which he should be aided by the *purgants*²³ who will help him.

§ 7

After they have lain down, the students should pray devoutly before falling asleep and after praying follow the example set by Pythagoras: repeat [remember] in their minds everything they have experienced throughout the entire day. This means recalling everything they have heard, seen or done themselves so that [16] their ability to remember will be strengthened. In this way their intelligence [wisdom] and fear of God may increase and grow a little more each day.

§ 8

²² The Latin original uses *cella* here. Only two students would use such a *cella*. Later the large dormitory rooms are called the *cubicula dormitoria*.

²³ purgant = one who cleans, a janitor or caretaker (in modern German: der Hausmeister).

Whoever willfully or maliciously disturbs anyone or all the others in their sleep will receive a severe punishment. The same will be true for anyone who soils his own bed or that of another student, or even the dormitory itself and thereby causing unnecessary annoyance for other students. There will also be punishment for anyone who through carelessness or out of spite messes up the toilet or forgets to close [lock] the door thus creating a stench that permeates the building. And since everyone has a personal interest that no one who disturbs the peace or creates a filthy environment should remain unknown and not be punished, see Part 9 § 5,6,7.

\$9

Whoever stays away from school at night without permission from the weekly inspector and the *rector* [principal] will, if it is the first offense, be punished with *carcer* [imprisonment]. If this occurs a second time, the student will be expelled from this school.

Part 4

How Students Should Conduct Themselves in Church, At Funerals and When Singing in the Currende²⁴

§ 1

Students at the *Thomasschule* should always consider that the all-seeing eye of God primarily sees those who want to act as though they were outwardly serving Him and that God is not satisfied as human beings might be with only a superficial appearance and a simulated holiness [sanctimoniousness]. For this reason, they should not [17] to try to hide their depraved way of thinking with a feigned modesty, but rather attempt to prove to God their respect for Him by doing nothing else during

²⁴ Currende = Currend-Schüler, arme Knaben, die ben Stadt-Schulen umfonst unterwiesen, und aus milden Stifftungen oder dem Allmosen, so sie burch wöchentlichen Umlauf, mit Singen vor den Häusern samlen, unterhalten werden, dagegen sie ben der Kirche und dem Gottes-Dienste wertichten. 'Running about' students, poor boys, who receive their education for free at city schools and are supported by kind charities or the alms they collect by running about on a weekly basis and assembling in front of houses where they receive [financial] support [from singing], for which they in return assist in the churches by carrying out certain activities [singing in the choirs, as altar boys, etc.] during the services. In Leipzig these activities were strictly regulated as given in detail in booklets of school rules issued for the *Thomasschule* in 1723 and 1733; however, the impression given in these booklets is that these activities were limited to only specific times of the year. See the Appendix for a report from 1725 that states that the *Currende* made their rounds every week on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

every type of church service than that which is their duty and that which is demanded in God's temple. They will soon sense the benefits derived from their [genuine] piety because people, when they observe their quiet and pious way of living, will then begin to be more inclined to help and be charitable towards them than they had been until that time.

§ 2

All students should be in their places at the specified times. The *præfect* [overseer] must write down the names of the absentees. He should carefully consider that an upright army officer should always be the first and the last one in the field. In church each student should, according to the proper order, go to his assigned place where he can be found awake, cheerful and busy at all times like a soldier at his post. But, at the same time, they should avoid at all costs any kind of noisy activity. They should also place themselves, as much as this is possible, so that they can more easily be seen by the congregation, open their books²⁵ and keep their eyes and ears directed toward the *præcentor*²⁶ whom all of them should join in singing with cheerful voices once he has begun singing a chorale with a clear and audible voice. Thus they will demonstrate clearly that their main purpose for being in the church is to sing. This they should do even more effectively at the beginning of the church service or during communion when only few members of the congregation are singing or at times when the organ is not used to support congregational singing.²⁷

§ 3

Students should not imagine that they are in church only to sing. On the contrary, it is their primary purpose to listen. In order that they might listen more easily [18] and more carefully, they should make it a habit not only to copy down the most sections of a sermon, but also gradually try to note the ideas and their treatment. This is where they will obtain the greatest advantage in that they not only able to note that

²⁵ These books include hymnals, bibles, and notebooks for recording ideas presented in the sermons.

²⁶ Præcentor = ein Borfinger, ber bas Borfingen im Chor verrichtet; a chief or lead singer in a choir, one who conducts the choir in the absence of or as a substitute for the cantor. In smaller churches, the præcentor would be a singer with a strong, loud voice who would sing the less familiar chorale melodies for the congregation before the members would join him in singing the subsequent verses.

²⁷ tempus clausum = 'the closed time' = these were the weeks for fasting during Advent and before Easter when no figural music could be performed in the Leipzig churches; the playing of any kind of musical instrument including the organ was banned during this period.

which has been spoken, but that they can also record in writing what other people say or speak and later produce an abstract of such a speech or conversation.

§ 4

When they stand before the congregation and carry out their duties, they should never cover their heads unless the cold is unbearable for them. Moreover, they should get used to these conditions because this way they can build up their resistance to the cold and thus contribute much to the maintenance of good health. If, in the opinion of the weekly inspector, it is too cold for them, then one of the students from the *Thomas-* or *Nicolaischule* should read a sermon to them, to which they should reverently listen.

§ 5

Students should appear on time for funerals and not allow for any opportunity to come late. During the funeral procession itself, the *decurions* should pay attention that those under their supervision stay in rank and file and do not wantonly or through careless actions disturb the singing in any way. No one should be ashamed to have in hand a hymnal. Students should watch carefully when they should stop or when to proceed. Finally, every student is to continue all the way into the church where the cemetery is located and wait until the end of the entire funeral service. Any student who does not fulfill these duties will forfeit his portion of the funeral monies that are collected.

\$6

No student should be absent from the choirs which walk through the city streets [19] and sing (these choirs have been called the *currende* since time immemorial). The only exception, when an absence is absolutely necessary, will be allowed if a non-boarding student [externus] can take his place. Any student who does not abide by this rule will forfeit not only his portion of the collected monies for one day but will lose that portion of earnings for a second day of collections as well. Moreover, when they walk through the streets they should do this in an unassuming manner and not run. They should hold their books [containing music] in their hands and consider how they appear before their patron's eyes, or even before God's eyes. Those students who walk around inside the houses in order to collect money should behave politely and modestly even towards those who might be impolite. These students should be wearing clean

clothes and handle the monies collected for the entire school faithfully and honestly, remembering that their portion is also included in this collection; see Part 2 § 11.

§ 7

These instructions are also valid for the *currende* that take place on St. Gregory's Day as well as all other choir activities of this sort.

Part 5

How Students Should Conduct Themselves in School And While Studying

§ 1

At the beginning of each class period, a chorale is to be sung as already indicated in Part3 § 3. Whoever is not present at the beginning of the same will have to pay according to the following scale: if a *primaner* (uppermost class with the oldest students) then $\in 1,50,^{28}$ a *secundaner* $\in 0,75$, a *tertianer* $\in 0,75$, and a *quartaner* $\in 0,25$. The lowest classes with the youngest students (the *quintaner* and *sextaner*) will not have to pay a monetary penalty. [20]

§ 2

The office of $quæstor^{29}$ will be a revolving position which each student assumes for one week until passing it on to another. In a notebook specifically indicated as such, he should note which students are tardy for class or who have been absent for the entire [one-hour] class period and give this notebook to the præceptor [teacher] at the end of the class period. The teacher will then indicate with three types of marks or letter which students have received permission to be late or absent (V. = venia), which have excused

²⁸ Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Fischer, 2000), pp. 578-580 gives the Euro equivalents. See the English translation (Norton, 2000), (first published as a paperback in 2001), pp. 539-541 for the equivalent in American Dollars. The *Leipziger Marktordnung*, 1726 gives the following not listed in Wolff's presentation: € 3,00 small loaf of bread; € 6,00 large loaf of bread; € 756,00 a whole pig slaughtered and prepared by a butcher.

²⁹ Originally, these were any of the various public officials in ancient Rome responsible for finance and administration in various areas of government and the military; from Latin *quæstor*, from *quæsitus* (past participle of *quærere* to seek or ask).

themselves and have apologized (E. = excusatio) and which have done this out of spite (M. = malitia). For each class period missed, the latter should receive the same punishment as already pointed out in § 1 for missing prayers [and the singing of the chorale]. In regard to how excuses will be handled, see Part 3 § 2. Each week the names of the absentees will be copied from this notebook into a register so that at the end of each semester [half year], you can easily see how often and why each student did not attend class.

§ 3

Every student should sit at the desk which was assigned to him. No student should hinder another student from doing this. No student is allowed to engage in meaningless talk, laugh, argue or play games. Every student should remain quiet and pay attention to what the teacher or another student is telling him. Whoever does talk should, if at all possible, turn his face toward the teacher.

§ 4

When the students are told to memorize something, then they should do this accurately and properly and consider that memory is the basis of all power of emotion and has to be maintained by constant practice by which it must be strengthened. They should also remember that night is the mother [21] of memory and for this reason they should consider carefully what has already been stated in Part 3 § 7 about repeating the daily lessons according to the example set by Pythagoras.

\$5

Every student should carry along with him in school at all times not only his books but also quills, ink and blank paper and should acquire the habit of taking short notes in just a few words or in abbreviated form of the teacher's lecture. Thus he will preserve the entire content of each lesson. It would also be very helpful to include here what we have already presented earlier in Part 3 § 7 regarding the copying of sermons.

\$6

Whatever the teachers tell them to write, to translate from other languages or elaborate and treat more extensively, they should then work on to complete so that it will be evident that they have worked as hard as possible on it. They should also

consider that a judgment can be passed on the nature of their heart, soul and mentality based upon a boy's penmanship and, in the case of adults, upon their style of writing and speaking. For this reason each student should always write in such a way that others will be able suspect something advantageous from the state of his soul or mind. In writing they should not space their lines too close together so that either the teachers or they themselves may make comments that suggest a synonym or a better verbal expression or word or anything else that might be necessary.

§ 7

If any student becomes lazy or careless in his behavior, he, after having been verbally reminded/reprimanded, and even if he is officially enrolled as a *Thomaner*, should receive a caning as punishment, so that he will experience firsthand what St. Paul has properly stated: Whoever does not work, also should [22] not eat. If the student involved is an *externus*, ³⁰ then his parents or his patron should receive notification so that they will be informed about the type of student whom they are treating so charitably. If words of warning are insufficient for a student of a willful, wanton and coarse nature, then he will need to be punished with a *baculation* ³¹ and with imprisonment. ³²

§ 8

If a student resists and opposes the prescribed disciplinary actions and, for instance, might want to say that the teacher had unjustly accused him, if he does not settle down after having been punished by the first or second method, then he should be told to leave the school and not return until he has publicly apologized by confessing his mistakes and expressing his regrets concerning the misdemeanors and transgressions he had so obviously committed.

³⁰ externus is the singular form of externii. The externii, or 'external' students are those students who do not board in the school, but nevertheless attend classes during the day. As the privileges accorded the alumni or internii are greater than those for the externii, it is natural for the externii to place themselves on a waiting list to gain acceptance as a full-fledged Thomaner. The number of internii is estimated to be about 50 to 55 students during Bach's early years in Leipzig while the externii ranged from 50 to 75 making the total number of students attending classes at the Thomasschule range from 100 to 125 with the externii outnumbering the internii at this point in Bach's career as cantor at the Thomaskirche.

³¹ baculus = a stick which is used for a real beating or walloping.

³² It is not clear whether this refers to the Leipzig city jail or a special locked room in the *Thomasschule*.

Part 6

About the Music

§ 1

Our ancestors had ordered that a special emphasis be placed upon music at the *Thomasschule* and that the students enrolled there should provide music for all the [Leipzig] city churches. For this reason, the *Thomaner* should always have in mind their profession and their official position within the church. And for this same reason, they should try to obtain the greatest degree of proficiency possible in this art and consider that they are doing that from which even the heavenly hosts derive their greatest pleasure (see Part 1 § 5). Therefore they should expend all their energies in all seriousness to learn how properly to sing well. They should skip not even a single hour which is devoted to this purpose, and even use their free time for this permissible means for bringing pleasure to their hearts and souls rather than waste their time in disgraceful idleness and shameful games. [23]

§ 2

And, to be sure, it is necessary to avoid all kinds of abuse or misuse of their official position. Their practice sessions should not be used for all sorts of shameful acts and devilment (intentional malice), but rather dedicated only to [providing music for the] public church services and serve to support an enjoyable peace of mind and a calm heart. For this reason, without the permission of the principal or the cantor, they should not have the audacity to assemble on their own for forming a singing group for their own pleasure or even for singing in any house. If, however, they are allowed to do this, they should then make a special effort to do this well both by giving an honorable and unassuming performance as well as by making themselves well-liked through their music. At ten o'clock they should all come home and, if this does not happen, then the prefect should be punished for this infraction.

§ 3

When singing, all students are to pay attention to the signs [nodding] and the beat [tempo] given by the *præcentor* [choir leader]. Whoever makes a mistake or slips up in performing the music so that the mistake is very evident should pay \in 3,00; but, if

the error was committed intentionally or out of spite, the penalty to be paid will be € 9,00. The monies collected from these penalties should be used by the cantor as he wishes for musical instruments or printed music. The *quæstor* will keep an account of all of the bills and likewise be in charge of the books and musical instruments acquired in this manner. If anything in this regard has been spoiled or destroyed, he must report this immediately to the cantor who will then decide whether the cost will be assessed to the student who caused the damage or whether it will be taken from the common music fund.

§ 4

Students are to place the monies received from singing, no matter what type of event is involved, into the communal fund and report this to the principal. Wherever the rules do not specify this directly, the principal should distribute the monies as he sees fit (see Part 2 § 11). [24]

Part 7

How Students Should Conduct Themselves While Eating

§ 1

Whoever is not present at the scheduled times at 11 am and 6 pm, will not only forfeit his meal, but will also receive an additional punishment from the weekly inspector if he cannot offer an important reason for his absence. The place at the table of a student who is absent for legitimate reasons should be occupied by an *externus* chosen by the weekly inspector. This student will henceforth take this place at the table whenever the former *internus* is absent. Whenever this situation does not prevail, then those who are present at the table should divide among themselves the portions of the meal that originally belonged to the absent individual(s). No student is allowed to sell his portions to others nor will any student be permitted to take any food from the

cænaculum [dining hall]³³ unless it is to be taken to a sick student or back to the kitchen. About sick students see Part 10.

§ 2

As is the case at all times, the students should never forget, particularly also while eating, and remain constantly focused upon fearing God, being humble and clean. Whoever arrives at the table first after the public prayers have been concluded should not forget to pray silently by himself. No one should out of spite or intentionally be an annoyance or a nuisance to anyone else at the table. They should remember how the ancients [Greeks & Romans] did things and emulate them. They had considered the company of individuals at the table not only to be a pleasant but also a sacred, highly punishable [if the rules and regulations were not heeded] association, the violation of which the tutelary spirit or protective God would punish. If any student should come to the table unwashed or with dirty clothes, the weekly inspector will shame him by having him sit alone at some other place and letting him eat there alone. [25]

§ 3

In regard to those foods which cannot easily be divided into individual portions like soups, etc., the students should maintain order and be modest and equitable, not eating too quickly and too greedily while taking care not to become gluttonous, stingy or untidy, not gnawing on bones the way dogs do, nor throwing them around or allowing them to lie about on the table. The foods that can be divided should be separated into portions by those in the middle of the tables while those sitting towards the end of the table should pay attention and be allowed to say which piece should be made larger or smaller, according to which instructions the former should make their decisions on how the food is to be divided. Then, one after the other in proper order should reach for the piece and always receive the one which he has touched with his hand, fork or knife. Each student should have his own cup or mug. Because those seated at the ends of the tables are not involved in moving about for the former activity, they should, in a lively manner, pick up the pitcher properly placed on the table and

 $^{^{33}}$ cænaculum is the traditional reference to the room where Jesus Christ had his Last Supper [das Abendmahl] with his disciples.

quickly, without making any noise or creating a commotion, pour out for each student at the table the beverage/drink that he is entitled to receive.

§ 4

While everyone is eating, one of them should read for the others something useful, historical, short and easy that has been ordered by the weekly inspector. The other students should remain quiet when the reader is speaking. Whoever does not do this will receive a punishment/penalty from the weekly inspector. Progressively and in proper sequence, one student after the other will be the appointed reader for a day.

§ 5

These table manners and discipline should be observed to an even greater degree when they receive charitable meals in other houses. For this reason, the *alumni/internii*, who are the beneficiaries of such a good deed, [26] should consider the fact that they, as wherever they may otherwise be, should also set a good example at a table when eating out to demonstrate how we live and conduct ourselves at this school, and that they, on the one hand, harm the entire school by their offences and impoliteness just as they, on the other hand, benefit it by their polite and modest behavior.

\$6

As soon as the students have finished praying and singing after the meal, everything must be completely cleared from the tables. Everyone should see to it that no one should cut into the plate out of sheer spite or carry it out of the dining room, nor take along any remaining pieces of bread only to throw them away here and there on purpose. All students, but in particular the *calefactor*, ³⁴ should watch out that no students assemble for disorderly drinking in the dining room.

³⁴ calefactor = Latin; literally the 'heat-maker', a janitor or caretaker, particularly someone responsible for bringing up the kindle wood from the basement and ensuring that the fires in the stoves $[\ddot{O}fen]$ are prepared early in the morning and burning properly during cold weather. See particularly Part 9 § 5.

Part 8

How Students Should Conduct Themselves In Their Rooms and How They Should Treat and Maintain Their Things

§ 1

The *calefactor*, in addition to his other tasks, should pay very close attention that the dormitory rooms remain locked during those hours when the students are in church, attending classes or eating. Each student should keep his bed clean as much as this is possible. They should never lie in any other student's bed without permission being granted by the principal or the weekly inspector. [27]

§ 2

Both roommates should have in their cubicle a set-up that will prevent them from ever being startled whenever the weekly inspector or another teacher enters it unexpectedly. They should have specific places where they keep their books and other things in neat order and always keep them dusted off. A bible and hymnal should always be handy. Students should never have on them a sword or gun. If such is found, it will be confiscated. From time to time, they should sweep out their chambers so that all filth can be removed at once.

§ 3

Because these cubicles were intended for quiet study, no one should create any noise or commotion. However, if a student nevertheless dares to do this, then the *decurions*, whichever one happens to be closest to the disturbance, should tell them to be quiet while not resorting to any form of swearing or scolding in doing so. If, after a second warning to settle down and be quiet, a student does not heed this warning, then the *decurion* should report this to the weekly inspector, who will then mete out the punishment according to his own judgment and the type of infraction involved. In case of a great commotion, that student, who, as one of the innocent and sensible ones, is closest at hand, should sound the alarm with the bell. Whoever does not then return

immediately to his assigned room or, if it happens during the hours of sleeping, to his bed, will be considered a disturber of the peace and will for this reason punished severely.

§ 4

Every student should carry with him an account booklet in which [28] he will record in one part his earnings and in the other his expenditures. No one should enter into it any wrong amounts since a severe punishment will follow if anyone learns about this. The *decurion* should read through the expenditures at least once a week and certify this with his signature. Should he notice any wasteful expenditures or deception, he should report this to the principal. In the same booklet each student should enter a list of all his books and other things, check this list carefully every month, and make a note as well of any reductions or additions to it. Whenever the weekly inspector, the principal, a patron or the student's parents demand to see this booklet, the student must show it to him or them. They must not throw this booklet away until they have received permission to leave the school [permanently].

Part 9

About the Præfects' Duties

§ 1

Those who are placed above others must consider that an accounting will be demanded of them if and whenever their subordinates have slipped up. Taking this into consideration, præfects should always try governing their students by their example and by observing their duties very carefully rather than by commands and threats. They should guard against any scolding [humiliating words] or even the barbaric act of striking a subordinate. They should report to the weekly inspector or principal the absentees and recalcitrant students. Also, they should always ask for proper permission whenever they need to go on a trip, or leave for any other necessary reason or have been detained from being present. At such a time, the closest student should be assigned to assume temporarily the præfect's position. [29]

The subordinates [students] should follow without complaining what the *præfect* says, and they should do undeterred and in a lively manner whatever he commands them to do in carrying out his duties. If a *præfect* should treat his subordinates unjustly, unfairly or give them too many tasks to do, then the students should not confront the *præfect* directly at the time when this occurs but rather speak to him in a friendly manner at a later point in time after the matter at hand has been accomplished. If the *præfect* persists in treating his subordinates unfairly and too strictly, then they should report this to weekly inspector or the principal. However, whoever does not follow the instructions of the *præfect* in carrying out his duties, that student will be severely punished according to the [severity of the] matter at hand.

§ 3

Those *præfects* placed in charge of the choirs in church, at funerals, or in the streets, should ensure that all the students belonging to a group or choir are assembled on time. The absentees should be written down. Those placed in charge should announce at the proper time the incipit of the song or chorale to be sung and [sound?] the key whenever this is necessary, so that they can open their songbooks or hymnals and stand as close as possible to the *præcentor*. They should also observe carefully what has already been stated above in Part 4 § 2.

§ 4

The eight decurions should keep an eye on discipline and order. They should

- 1. as an example to others, demonstrate to their subordinates, piety, modesty, industry and cleanliness, always seek to promote anything good, [30] but punish the others, remind them and stand by them.
- 2. The subordinates should report to them [decurions] whenever they might leave the school building during their free periods and indicate what their destinations are so that they [the decurions] can report this information about each and every student upon demand to the weekly inspector or to the principal.
- 3. The *decurions* should show their subordinates how they can live frugally, how they can handle their money carefully, and particularly how they should set up their account booklet. More about this in Part 8 § 4.

4. If a student, due to illness or other causes, should come into such a condition that would require special care and services, then it is primarily the *decurion* who should look after him, but the *tertianer*, according to their class order [taking turns one by one] should take care of the remaining chores, bringing the food, getting medicine, etc.

The *decurions* should receive a monthly payment of € 3,00 from each subordinate with the exception of a *primaner*; however, they should not accept even the smallest coin from any of their subordinates, an action which has been customarily occurring contrary to all established rules. If, however, anyone should demand some money from another student or if he receives any money voluntarily given to him, then he will forfeit the amount demanded times four or double the amount given to him freely. Such money will be added to the library account.

§ 5

The calefactor should be the first to rise in the morning and the last to go to bed at night. This he will do in order to ensure that the fires [in the stoves] and candles are burning as needed, an activity in which they will be aided by the *purgants*. The calefactor should allow fires to be burning only at the appointed times and in the designated places. He should [31] send a signal by ringing a bell at 5 am in the summer and 5:30 am in the winter, awaken all the others, and provide heat in the dining hall in winter so that, after this has been done, prayers may begin a half hour later. He must in addition see to it that all doors are shut [locked up] since they will then not have to remain open unnecessarily. He also has a general responsibility for the entire school building and needs to identify any place that has been soiled [stained], broken or damaged in any way. He must also see to it that everything has been cleaned at the proper time and, likewise, that no coal has been taken secretly out of the stoves.

§ 6

Since, however, it is impossible for the *calefactor* to watch over everything at the same time, we will, to be sure, not release him from all of his duties when we now order him to direct his attention mainly to the dining hall. But apart from that, two of the eight custodians [*custos*], who are subordinate to the eight *decurions*, should on a weekly basis supervise the two dormitories, one being in charge of the upper and the other the lower dormitory; and, in addition to the others who are responsible for the school

building as well as the general welfare, they [the custodians] should particularly watch carefully to see if anything has been broken or ruined through carelessness or malice and report this immediately to the principal. After each custodian has completed his week of service, he should hand everything over to the following custodian in a proper and undamaged condition. That which has been damaged through his own negligence or fault will be paid for from money available in his own account. Each *quæstor* (more about this in § 8 below) will have similar supervisory duties for the classroom where he receives public instruction.

§ 7

The *purgants* should make sure that the building is clean [32] and that [the floors] are swept by whomever we assign this task to be completed at the proper pay. In addition, they should help the *calefactors* as indicated in Part 3 § 6. They are also in charge of the sticks and rods [used for canings] and when the *præceptor* [teacher] orders a caning of a certain student, then they should use these for punishing him.

\$8

In each class, one student after the other should assume the duty of quastor and write down the names of the absentees in the churches and in the school. This does not include what we have indicated in Part 5 \S 2. If any student in this matter acts contrary to his duty whether out of love or hate, he should be punished according to the judgment rendered in this matter.

§ 9

The first præfect, the Leichen-Famulus [the assistant at funerals], the præceptors' famuli [teachers' assistants] and those in the lowest position/ranking in each class should concern themselves very much regarding the funeral monies and should treat the same very faithfully. If anyone should make a mistake out of carelessness, he must replace the missing amount. If he has done this out of malice (see Part 2 § 10) then he must receive an even harsher punishment and, if he does it a second time, he will be removed from his position.

Part 10

On Taking Care of the Sick

§ 1

Students should lead a life of sobriety and moderation so that they will not fall ill easily (Part $2 \S 10$). They should, when they first notice that they are becoming ill, practice moderation and, if it is necessary, try to help themselves by going on a diet [33] before they send for a doctor.

§ 2

Whenever it appears that by taking these measures the condition of illness does not improve, then they should ask the principal for permission and go on their own to the doctor if this is possible, or, if they are too weak, send the *decurion* to the doctor and give him a report on the illness. If the doctor gives them some medicine, they should continue to practice moderation and follow precisely the doctor's instructions.

§ 3

If the doctor considers it advisable or if the illness itself demands that the sick student would receive better care in a warm room, then he should go to the infirmary ['sick-room'] after he has received in advance permission from the *Schul-Vorsteher*.³⁵ He should then receive from the kitchen softer and better food which will be brought to him by a *tertianer*, whose turn it happens to be. If, however, the illness is even more dangerous, then a woman will be hired by the city council to watch over him, provide him with services and keep him from leaving the infirmary.

§ 4

As soon as the condition of illness allows it, he should leave the infirmary. The *decurion* should see to it that no one should spend time with the sick student other than the persons designated to take care of him. The *decurion* also should not allow any games or orgies of drinking and eating to take place in the infirmary. [34]

³⁵ This is the school supervisor. See http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Articles/OrdnungEng.pdf footnote 9 for the distinction between the school supervisor and the *rector* (principal).

Part 11

How Both Students Who Want to Go on a Trip or Leave the School for Good Should Conduct Themselves

§ 1

No student may travel without having an important reason. They should not enter village inns, not dance, nor allow themselves to become part of dissolute orgies of drinking and eating. If they are found out doing so, they will be punished with imprisonment, or, if this does not help, they will be expelled from the school.

§ 2

Whoever needs to travel or stay away from school for necessary, justifiable reasons should ask beforehand for permission from the principal, the weekly inspector and the *præceptors* [teachers] in his class, indicate the day on which he will return and personally enter this date into a special booklet dedicated to this purpose and kept by the *calefactor*. After that he should find an *externus* to take his place in the *currende* and other tasks which no *alumnus* can take upon himself. As a reward, this replacement will be allowed to take his [the absentee's] place at the dining-room table and eat along with the others.

§ 3

If a student stays away longer than the agreed-upon time, then he will forfeit twice the amount of *currende* monies than would otherwise be deducted if [35] he had excused himself in a proper manner. Whoever stays away unexcused for one day and night, will be treated the same as a student who had properly excused himself for an entire week. If he stays away for two, three, or four days, then each day will be counted as a week's absence. If he stays away even longer, then, in addition to the aforementioned penalty, he will be severely punished with imprisonment and a caning. If a student stays away for two weeks, and is considered an *alumnus* who has run away without an important reason, then he will no longer be admitted as an *alumnus* after his

case has been investigated by the principal in consultation with the other teachers and the city council's approval.

§ 4

If a student remains away from school with proper permission, but has not designated another student [externus] to take his place, then the decurion must procure such a replacement who will receive some money from the absentee in addition to meals. The calefactor must report to the principal and the weekly inspector if any student has been absent beyond the agreed-upon time.

\$5

Those who wish to leave the school entirely should report this to the principal a quarter year ahead of time. Under the principal's direction, they prepare a speech in which they express their sincere gratitude to God, the patrons and teachers, and ask God to grant the [continued] welfare of the community and the school. Thereafter they should wish the principal and the teachers all the best and give them a well-deserved recognition [for their efforts]. [36]

\$6

If a student moves, runs away, or stays away from school without receiving the principal's permission, he should be treated dishonorably, ignominiously, and disgracefully as it usually happens to students like that in school. The money which he has given as a security deposit will be used to expand the number of books in the library. The same will also happen to those who have been expelled from school.

§ 7

If a student, after having been reminded many times, still persists in behaving in such a way that there is no improvement in studying, performing music, writing or doing calculations, and also shows no hope of benefiting from the good efforts made by others, then the principal along with the teachers should make a formal statement that he be honorably discharged upon agreement of the city council so that he may in proper time still learn something else. With the current state of this school, it is not acceptable that a student incur debts without bringing this about himself or through malice. If then a student should incur more debts than he would be able to pay out of a normal,

half-year income, he will then likewise be expelled. The security deposit will not be included in what is considered normal income.

Part 12

About the Externii

§ 1

What we have stated above about the fear of God, respectability, industry and gratitude as well as proper etiquette [37] pertains to all students, if they want to receive instruction in the *beaux-arts*³⁶ and the world of academia. For this reason they should observe all these things just as carefully as if all of this were repeated again word for word.

§ 2

Just because several students also live here at this school, students, who, in addition to their free tuition for instruction, also want to receive additional benefits, they must nevertheless observe all the obligatory demands that are placed upon them, if they wish to enjoy these benefits. For example, if they want to substitute for an internus/alumnus who is absent, they must then ask the weekly inspector for permission to do this. If the request is granted, this student must fulfill the absentee's duties in the currende, at funerals, in church and wherever it is necessary to fill the absentee's place.

§ 3

The lowest ranking students in each class, who are called altar boys [altaristen], should, when carrying out their official duties, openly demonstrate a reverential attitude toward God and not be ashamed of this. They should consider that, in other towns and cities, the children of the most respected people willingly take upon themselves this task. Whenever they sing the litany, they should present themselves as devout and unassuming. By doing this, while at the same time obtaining greater proficiency in the art of singing, they will put themselves on the road toward attaining a place among the

³⁶ **bit freven Künste** may be an older way of expressing what would in modern German today be called *die schönen Künste* or *die bildende Kunst*, both expressions now used to mean "the fine arts" in English.

internii/alumni. Above all, they should particularly avoid begging impudently, as this has previously given a bad name to this school.

§ 4

If an altar boy or any other student should bother those leaving communion or otherwise coming out of the church with begging, or if he enters a house in order to beg [38] or asks anyone at all for money, that student will receive a caning for the first offence. If he does it again, he will be expelled from school; and, if he still persists, he will go to jail.

§ 5

No student should dare to sing alone or with instrumental accompaniment in any inn/pub/tavern or where bad people engage in orgies of eating, drinking and dancing, and thus adding to the sumptuousness and delight of the occasion. Only when invited by honorable and important people should they go to their houses and try to entertain them with suitable performance of music. However, for this type of activity, certain proficient boys who appear to be worthy of being favored this way, should be chosen by the cantor and selected after the principal has given his permission. Whoever breaks this rule after having been reminded of it once or twice should be expelled from school.

\$6

Meanwhile, we do not deny the *externii* the charitable gifts which generous people bestow upon them. However, we are attempting by means of these rules to bring this matter to the point that these gifts, as much as this is possible, will be properly used. If someone then (we do wish and request that many people will do this) wishes to charitably invite an *externus* to sing at his house, then this patron should be shown a written request signed by the school principal as well as by the student himself. The patron will immediately be asked to sign with his name or any other means of identification [a seal, etc.]. Whoever [39] dares to enter a house without such an invitation identification document [henceforth called the IID], will be punished in school for the first offence and if this does not help, he will be led to jail where his desire to beg will be driven out of him. But whoever has obtained such an IID, should display moderation in singing, speaking, as well as with gestures and generally in his outwardly

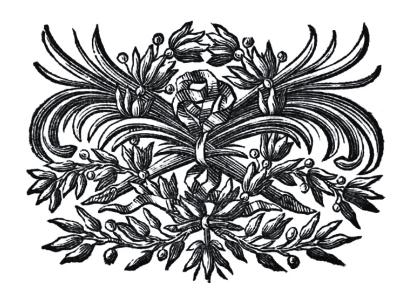
visible comportment, an obviously grateful disposition and thus show that he is worthy of charitable acts from which he has benefited. Also, no student may allow another student to use his IID without the principal's position; much less even try to sell it to another student.

Whoever dares to do this will forfeit his IID and

Lose the benefits attached to it.

The primary rule is:

Promote the well-being of this school.



Appendix 1

Selected Text from Weiss: Verbessertes Leipzig

Leipzig, 1728

[The original text is followed by a partial translation]

Anton Weiss: Verbessertes Leipzig.... (Leipzig, 1728)

Das II. Capitel,

Von der **St. Nicolai** und **St. Thomæ**-Kirche.

Von iedweder insonderheit etwas weniges zu gedencken: So sind die 2. grossen Pfarr-und Parochial-Kirchen gantz und gar steinern, mit hohen Pfeilern und Werck-Stücken aufgeführet, und oben gewölbet, auch mit vortrefflichen hohen Thürmen, unter denen der zu St. Thomæ 1702. dieweilen er etwas baufällig, oben ein Stück abgetragen, und an statt des runden Daches, mit einen spitzigen verbessert worden, versehen; Innerlich aber an Orgeln, Cantzeln, Predigt-Stühlen und Altären, auch mit vortrefflichen Geläute, sind sie ausbündig schön gezieret. Die Kirche zu St. Nicolai ist schon Anno 1663. renoviret, und köstlich mit Golde ausgezieret worden, daß sie

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nunmehro vor eine derer schönsten in Teutschland **passi**ren kan; die Ursache solches **Renovi**rens wird beystehende, und am Schüler-Chor daselbst befindliche **Inscription**, welche beym **Stepnero p. 139. n. 490**. befindlich, entdecken.

B. F.

Dei opt. Max. indulgentia. jussu. Amplissimi. Senatus. Instantia. vero. &. cura. Christophori. Pinckeri. J. C. &. Sacræ, hujus. Ædis. Antistitis. factum. Ejusdem. repurgium. contracto. ab. annis LXXX. vetustatis. Situ. vindicate. a. labe. per. belli. tricennalis. injurias. imminente. Sarta. Tecta. &. necessarias. varii. intestini. operis. elegantiis. exornata. ad. præsentem. cultum. splendoremque. restaurata. &. adparata.

A. O. R. clolocLXIII.

Fridericus Kühlewein. D. Christophorus Pincker. D. Christian Lorenz v. Adlershelm. Paulus Wagner D.

An der Kirche zu **S. Thomæ** aber wurde an der Mitternacht-Seite **Anno 1705**. ein Stücke angebauet, und zu beyden Seiten des Fürsten-Stuhls unterschiedene Capellen, wie auch oben drüber eine neue Porkirche mit vielen Männer-Stühlen gezieret. Page 6

Der hohe Chor aber **1721. renovi**ret, und der Altar gantz von Grund aus neu, von auserlesenen kostbaren rothen, weissen und schwartzen Marmor, woran folgende **Inscription** zu ersehen, aufgeführet:

Anno

Post recuperatam salutem
M. DCC XXI.
regnante
FRIDERICO AVGVSTO
Reg. Pol. & Elect. Saxon.
Patre Patriæ
Consulibus
ADRIANO STEGERO
ABRAHAM CHRISTOPH PLAZIO
hoc Altare
exstructum
&

nomine publico

sacris usibus consecratum

fuit ab

ædis Antistite GOTTFRID LANGIO

S.R.M. Pol. & Elect. Sax. Cons. Aul. supreme. Cur. Prov. Consist. & Scabinat. Lips.

Assess.

Consul. & Maj. Princ. Colleg. Collegiat.

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Nebst diesen sind die zierlichen Tauff-Steine, schönen Porkirchen, saubern Capellen, vortrefflichen Epitaphia und Bildnisse derer verstorbenen Superintendenten und Pastorum würdig zu sehen. Jegliche hat einen besonderen Vorsteher, so allezeit ein vornehmes Raths-Glied ist, und bekleidet ietzo solche Stelle zu St. Nicolai, der hochverdiente älteste Bürger-Meister, Herr D. Abraham Christoph Plaz, Erb-Lehn-und Gerichts-Herr auf Mogkau, Alten und Plösen, Königl. Pohlnischer und Churf. Sächs. Appellation-Rath, wie auch des Chur- und Fürstlichen Sächs. Ober-Hoff-Gerichts Assessor, und des Schöppen-Stuhls allhier Senior. Zu St. Thomæ aber Herr Hof-Rath D. Gottfried Lange, dessen völliger Titul aus vorhergehender Inscription zu ersehen. Ferner vier Priester, als 1. Pastorem, 1. Archi-Diaconum, 2. Diaconos, nebst einen Sonnabends-Prediger, welche das Werck des HErrn in Lehren, Predigen und Administrirung der heiligen Sacramenten, nach Christi Befehl und Einsetzung, treulich und unermüdet verrichten. Und hat der Pastor wöchentlich Page 8 zwey, die andern Herrn Geistlichen aber nur eine Predigt (ausgenommen die Buß- und hohen Fest-Tage) ordentlich zu halten. Wobey zu mercken, daß allemahl einer von denen Herren Pastoribus Superintendens über hiesige Dioeces ist, vor welchen die Herren Land-Priester die Circulations-Predigten, an dem Tage, da sonst der Superintendens in der Woche zu predigen hat, verrichten müssen. Die Figural- und Choral-Music wird von dem Cantore und Schülern zu St. Thomæ, nebst denen Stadt-Pfeiffern und Kunstgeigern bestellet. Die Horæ Canonicæ aber zu St. Nicolai von dem Cantore zu St. Nicolai, als Directore, und einigen Studiosis verrichtet. In denen Betstunden singet der Baccalaureus Funerum von St. Thomæ ab, und in denen Mittags-Predigten, wie auch bey halben Braut-Messen, fängt die teutschen Lieder, ein Studiosus oder der Küster an. Ausser dieser befindet sich bey iedweder von beyden Haupt-Kirchen, ein Organist, nebst 2. Calcanten, ein Küster, welcher seinen Famulum hält, ein Thürmer, der das Geläute in acht nimmt, und etliche Glockentreter

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unter sich hat, auch früh, zu Mittage und Abends, mit der Trommete ein geistlich Lied bläset, und Tag und Nacht nebst seinem Hauß-Gesinde, wegen Feuers- oder anderer Gefahr, auch was auf dem Lande **passi**ret, fleißig Wache hält. Vier Männer, welche des Sonn- und Fest-Tages früh mit dem Klingel-Beutel das Allmosen sammlen, womit der Anfang **1716.** den **26. Jan.** war der dritte Sonntag **Post Epiphanias**, gemachet worden. Und endlich der letzte Bediente, so der Bettel-Vogt genennet wird, dieser muß unter währender Predigt herum gehen, und die muthwilligen Jungen **observi**ren, den Kirchhoff kehren, und einige andere Dinge mehr verrichten.

Das X. Capitel,

Von denen Schulen.

Unter denen besten Stadt-Schulen unsers Sachsen-Landes, verdienet (was die gelehrten Männer anbelanget, so darinne iederzeit sind gezogen worden) die Schule zu **St. Nicolai** keine geringe Stelle: Denn E. Hoch-Edler und Hochweiser Rath wendet allen möglichen Fleiß an, wenn sich durch Todes- oder andere Fälle bey solcher, **vacant**e Stellen ereignen, dieselben mit denen geschicktesten **Subjectis** wiederum zu besetzen, und die Herren Schul-**Colleg**en lassen es auch an ihren unermüdeten Fleisse im **Doci**ren, keinesweges ermangeln, die Knaben so zu **informi**ren, daß sie, in denen gewöhnlichen **Examinibus**, welche jährlich zweymahl, zu Ostern und Michælis, in Gegenwart E. Hoch-Edlen und

Hochweisen Raths Herrn **Deputi**rten, gehalten werden, wohl bestehen mögen. Diese Schule nun suchte E. Hoch-Edler und Hochweiser Rath **Anno 1716** mit neuen **Legibus**, wornach sich so wohl **Docentes** als **Discentes**.

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zu richten haben, noch mehr zu verbessern. Der Vorsteher ist Herr **Appellation** – Rath, **D**. Abraham Christoph Plaz, welchen der Allerhöchste noch mit vielen Lebens-Jahren überschütten, und bey beständiger Gesundheit erhalten wolle.

In der Schulen zu **St. Thomæ** aber, ließ E. Hoch-Edler und Hochweiser Rath **Anno 1701.** einen neuen Keller bauen, das Geträncke der Schüler darein zu legen; weiln sich ein vornehmer **Patron** als milder Stiffter einer löblichen That in diesen **18. Seculo** die armen Schüler zu träncken, willig erfinden ließ. Es war aber solches der Hoch-Edle und Hochweise Herr, Herr Johann Ernst Kregel, Erb-Lehn- und Gerichts-Herr auf Abt-Nauendorff und Gosse, Vornehmer des Raths, und Hochverdienter Baumeister, der dadurch nicht nur einen unsterblichen Nahmen und Nachruhm bey der Stadt Leipzig, sondern auch viel Segen über sich und seine Nachkommen vom Himmel erworben.

Denn, als die armen schmachtenden Knaben, die Schüler zu **St. Thomæ**, ehedessen Page 38

von **Fundation** der Schule an, biß **1702.** zwar, aus treuer Vorsorge E. Hoch-Edlen und Hochweisen Raths, und **Liberali**tät einer getreuen Bürgerschafft, wie auch milden Stifftung gutthätiger Hertzen, täglich zu Essen bekamen, auch dann und wann, reichlich und herrlich gespeiset wurden, so fehlete es doch am Trancke, und wolte der so genannte Tisch-Groschen, * welchen die Wohlthäter bißweilen mitschickten, nicht zulänglich seyn, indem solcher nach der Ordnung muste ausgetheilet werden, dahero die Reyhe in vielen Wochen **L**mahl herum kam. Weil nun Durst auszustehen (sonderlich in heissen Sommer-Tagen) unerträglich war, sich auch viel arme Kinder darunter befanden, welche keinen Zugang von Hause hatten, so musten solche offtmahls über den in denen

*Es wurde von etlichen **Patronis**, welche auf ihren Häusern Tische zu speisen hatten, allezeit zum Trancke **I.** Groschen, oder auch wohl (sonderlich an hohen Fest-Tagen) etliche Groschen durch den **Afferent**en, i.e. den Mann, welcher das Essen zuträgt, mit geschicket. Dieser Groschen nun, wurde nach der Ordnung ausgetheilet. Weiln aber zu ieden Tische, deren damahls **3.** waren, **18.** mit den **Afferent**en **19.** Personen gehöreten, so kam die Reyhe erstlich in **10. 12.** und mehr Wochen herum.

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Kammern stehenden Wasser-Krug gehen, und mit denen Ratten (welches Ungeziefer damahls in entsetzlicher Menge da anzutreffen war) einerley Tranck trincken; woher es denn kam, daß offt viel und grosse Kranckheiten dadurch **causi**ret wurden, und die armen Knaben viel ausstehen musten. Dieses Elend gieng dem **respective** Herrn Stiffter aus angebohrnen Mitleiden so zu Hertzen, daß er bewogen wurde, ein ansehnliches **Legatum** zu stifften, und die Armen in ihren Durst zu erquicken: Zu welchem Ende den **1. Jan.** als am Neuen Jahrs-Tage **1702.** der damahlige Vorsteher, Herr **D**. Leonhard **Baudis**, Hochverdienter Stadt-Richter und Vornehmer des Raths allhier (dessen Seele der HErr mit ewiger Freude und Vergnügen, vor die Liebe und treue Vorsorge, so er dieser armen Schule erwiesen, becrönen wolle) **54.** Krüge, nach der Zahl der damahligen **Alumnorum**, auf die Schule bringen ließ, und einen ieglichen Knaben mit einen Kruge beschenckete, machte auch die Verordnung, daß iedweden von **dato** an, bey Tische des Sonn- und Fest-Tages **1**. Nösel

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Leipziger Bier, in der Woche aber so viel Kofend gereichet werden solte; und muste der Afferente solches besorgen. Der HErr, welcher an jenem grossen Welt-Gerichts-Tage seinen Auserwehlten zuruffen wird: Ich bin durstig gewesen, und ihr habt mich geträncket, Matth. 25. v. 35. wird dieses nicht unvergolten lassen. Denn, sind gleich mali bonis mixti, so glaub ich doch gewiß, daß vieler andächtiger Priester, armer Wittben, und anderer frommer Eltern Seuffzer, deren Kinder die Beneficia gedachter Schule genüssen, dieser wohlthätigen Stadt vielen Seegen, von dem reichen Segens-Geber erbitten, und die inbrünstigen Schul-Gebete, welche alle Morgen und Abende, wie auch nach Tische, vor die Wohlfahrt

derer Herrn **Patron**en und dieser lieben Stadt, zu dem Throne GOttes abgeschicket werden, nicht fruchtlos seyn können.

Die Schule hat itzo zu ihren Vorsteher, den Hoch-Edlen, Vest u. Wohlgelahrten wie auch Hochweisen Herrn, Herrn Gottfried Conrad Lehmann, Vornehmen des Raths, und Hochverdienten Baumeister, welchen der Höchste noch lange Zeit

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dieser armen Schule zum Besten bey guter Gesundheit und allem hohen Wohlseyn erhalten wolle. Anno 1711. wurde bey dieser Schule die löbliche Verordnung gemachet, daß die Schüler bey ihren Martins-Umgange an statt des altem Münchs-Responsorii Sint lumbi vestry præcincti, Luc. 12. v. 35. Teutsche Lieder, als: Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit etc. Wachet auf, rufft uns die Stimme etc. und O Ewigkeit du Donner-Wort etc. singen solten.

Partial Translation of Anton Weiss

Chapter 2

About the St. Nicholas and St. Thomas Churches.

There is something to note in particular about each of these churches: These two large parish and parochial churches were built completely of stone with high columns and workpieces with vaulted arches above and also with excellent, high towers of which the one on the *Thomaskirche* has had a portion of it removed in 1702 because it was somewhat dilapidated and instead of having the original round roof, was improved by replacing it with a pointed one. Both churches are richly decorated inside with organs, pulpits, and altars along with splendid bells. The *Nicolaikirche* had already been renovated in 1663 and delightfully adorned with gold leaf, so that it can now be considered as one of the most beautiful in Germany. The reason for the renovation can be read from an inscription located on the student balcony...[Latin inscription above in bold].

On the west side of the *Thomaskirche*, a new section was added in 1705 and on both sides of the royal balcony box, various balcony boxes for rich citizens. Above this level of balcony boxes there was another balcony with many chairs reserved for men. The high balcony for the choir was renovated in 1721 and altar was completely rebuilt anew with select, expensive red, white and black marble and has the following inscription in Latin: [see above]. In addition to changes already mentioned, there are also delicate baptismal fonts, beautiful balconies, clean boxes [for sitting separately] and superb epitaphs and paintings of decease superintendents and pastor that are worthily presented. Each church has a special director chosen from the city council. Presently, Abraham Christoph Plaz is the director of the Nicolaikirche and D. Gottfried Lange of the Thomaskirche. In addition there are four priests (1 pastor, 1 arch-deacon, 2 deacons and a Saturday preacher) who are responsible for carrying out faithfully and untiringly the work of the Lord in teaching, preaching and administering the holy sacraments according to Christ's command and appointment. The pastor must properly deliver two sermons a week, the other clergy only one (with the exception of the days of penance and high feast days). In this regard it should be noted that one of these pastors is appointed to be the superintendent of this local diocese. The other clergy must

substitute for him when he is elsewhere [circulating throughout the diocese] during the week. Figural and choral music will be presented by the cantor and students of the Thomaskirche along with the city pipers and violinists. The canonical hours at the Nicolaikirche will be taken over by the cantor of this church as the director and several university students. In the prayer services, the Baccalaureus Funerum from the Thomaskirche will lead the singing. During the noon services, as well as during the 'half [less ornate and expensive] wedding services, the singing of the German chorales will be led [started] by a university student or the sexton/sacristan. In addition to the latter, each of the main churches has an organist along with two bellows assistants, a sexton with his assistant, a tower-keeper [one who keeps watch and warns the populace below with a trumpet or horn] who is responsible for the ringing of the bells and has several Glockentreter [bell-ringers: this term was first used in the 18th century] as his subordinates. His duties include (aside from his family duties) playing a chorale on his trumpet every morning, noon and evening and watching very carefully for any possible dangers like fire and to observe what is happening in the countryside outside the city walls. A tradition which began on January 26, 1716 (the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany) involves four men who walk about in church during the early morning service on Sundays and feast days to collect alms. Finally there is another [church] servant called the 'beggar-steward' whose task it is to walk about during the sermon and to keep watch over high-spirited boys bent on devilment, to sweep the churchyard and to do several other things.

Chapter 10

About the Schools

Among all the best city schools in Saxony, the *Nicolaischule* certainly deserves a rather high ranking at least as far as the scholars who have at all times been educated there are concerned. This is because the city council makes the greatest effort in filling vacancies caused by students who have died or have left other reasons with other students exhibiting the greatest skills and cleverness. Also, the teachers work tirelessly and diligently in teaching the boys in such a way that they will pass their exams well. These exams are given twice yearly at Easter and Michaelmas in the presence of deputized members of the city council. A new, improved set of school rules, which the teachers and students of this school must observe, were issued by the city council in 1716. Abraham Christoph Plaz is the city council's school supervisor (long may he live!).

In 1701 the city council had a new cellar built in the Thomasschule in order to have a place to store drinks/refreshments [beer barrels] for the students. It was a distinguished patron, Mr. Johann Ernst Kregel [with many titles, but who also served on the city council and was an architect and master builder], who, in this present 18th century, came up with the praiseworthy idea to supply the poor students with something special to drink, thus bringing upon himself and his descendants blessings from heaven. These poor, languishing boys at the *Thomasschule* had, since the foundation of the school until 1702, received free daily meals due to the faithful provisions made by the city council and the liberal attitudes of its loyal citizens as well as the kind donations of generous hearts. Occasionally they even received abundant and splendid meals, but always there was always something nevertheless lacking in regard to liquid refreshments because the so-called Tisch-Groschen [an extra coin for the meal] which the benefactor sometimes sent along had to be distributed in such a way that each student had a turn in receiving it with the result that a student's turn might take weeks before he might receive it. Because the thirst was almost unbearable particularly on hot summer days and because there were also many poor children among these students, children who no longer had any family connections, they often had to resort to drinking from the water pitchers in their rooms, pitchers from which rats, of which there were a terrible number back then, also drank. Thus it frequently occurred that many, serious illnesses were caused by this and the poor boys had to endure a lot. This misery finally affected this benefactor so

deeply that he decided to set up a sizable amount of money in the form of a *Legatum ad pias causas* [a legacy/bequest] which stipulated that it was to be used to refresh the students' thirst. In conjunction with this bequest, Mr. Leonhard Baudis, city judge and also a member of the city council, (may the Lord crown his soul with eternal joy and pleasure for the love and true concern he had demonstrated to this poor school!), purchased and gave to the school 54 beer mugs [beer steins – with a lids?] (this was the number of alumni/internal boarding students at the school at that time), thus each student received his own mug. Baudis also issued an order that each student, from that day onward, would receive at the table with his meal every Sunday and feast day 1 *Nösel* [just a little more than a pint] of Leipzig beer and as much *Kofend* [a 'near-beer' – beer with low alcoholic content] as he wanted during the week. This would be procured and delivered by the *Afferent* [a man designated to bring the food from the donor's house to the school – he always brought along one or more *Tisch-Groschen* {coins to be used for providing drinks to the students}].

The school presently has Mr. Gottfried Conrad Lehmann, architect and master builder as well as a member of the city council, as school supervisor.

In 1711, a praiseworthy decree was issued at this school [Thomasschule] which stated that the Thomaner-Currende when on their rounds through the city on St. Martin's Day would replace the old monk's responses Sint lumbi vestry præcincti, Luke 12:35 with German chorales such as "Es ist gewißlich an der Zeit", etc.; "Wachet auf, ruft uns die Stimme", etc., and "O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort".

Appendix 2

Extract from

Das in gantz Europa berühmte, galante und sehens-würdige Königliche Leipzig, Leipzig, 1725.

Ohnweit dieser Kirchen [Thomaskirche] ist das Anno 1222, zugleich mit dem Kloster gestiffte Schulgebäude [Thomasschule], darinnen noch biß dato acht Praeceptores, die jederzeit, wie zu St. Nicolai, Grundgelehrte Leute gewesen, die Jugend ad altiora unterwiesen. Die Leges und Statuta, so 1539, zum ersten entworffen worden, hat man 1634. und 1716. revidiret. In dieser Schulen werden eine Anzahl Discipuli durch verschiedene reiche Legata mit Kost und Wohnung unterhalten, wovor sie die Kirchen-Music bestellen, auch die Leichen begleiten müssen, und wöchentlich 3 mal, Sonntags, Mittwochs u. Freytags durch die Gassen singende gehen, da denn die Besitzer derer Häuser ihnen etwas zur Sustentation, wie in andern Städten üblich, reichen lassen, von welchen allen die edirten publiquen Schul-Ordnungen ein mehreres sagen.

Auszug aus: Das in gantz Europa berühmte, galante und sehens-würdige Königliche Leipzig, Leipzig, 1725.

Not far from this church [Thomaskirche] is the school building [Thomasschule] established in 1222 together with the monastery. This is where, until the present time, eight teachers, true scholars like those at the Nicolaischule, have been teaching young people and leading them to higher things. The rules and statutes first drawn up in 1539 were revised in 1634 and 1716. In this school [Thomasschule] a number of students were supported by richly endowed bequests to cover their room and board for which they, in return, provided music for church services, also had to participate in funeral cortèges, and were members of the currende [caroling groups] who went singing through the narrow streets three times a week on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays, because it was customary for the owners of these houses to give them something to eat or drink as was done in other cities. Regarding these matters, much more is stated in the revised School Rules that have been published.