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Music for Bathing and Spa Therapy in the Early Modern Period¹

Summary

Spas and baths proved to be spaces where a wide array of dietary and medicinal approaches to improving health were connected. For the medicinal theories of the early modern era (1500–1750) the teachings on humor, *spiritus* and *temperament*, and the difference between *res naturales* and *res non naturales* were essential. One's health was also considered to be significantly dependent on one's emotional state, and could therefore be influenced by music as well. Thus, music was of central importance to medical advice regarding spas and baths in the early modern era because of its influence on, or control of, human emotions, which affected both the mind and the body. As illustrated by the many medical remarks in balneological treatises, music not only stimulated emotions but also caused reactions in the human body.

Kurorte und Bäder waren Räume, in denen ein breites Spektrum an diätetischen und medizinischen Ansätzen zur Verbesserung der Gesundheit miteinander verbunden wurde. Für die medizinischen Theorien der Frühen Neuzeit (1500–1750) war die Humoral-, die Spiritus-, die Temperamentenlehre sowie die Unterscheidung zwischen den *res naturales* und den *res non naturales* von zentraler Bedeutung. Ob sich der Mensch in einem gesunden Zustand oder in einem krankhaften Zustand befand, hing wesentlich von den Gemütsbewegungen und damit auch von der Musik ab, da diese durch die menschlichen Emotionen sowohl den Geist als auch den Körper beeinflusste bzw. kontrollierte. Den medizinischen Bemerkungen in zahlreichen balneologischen Abhandlungen der Frühen Neuzeit zufolge, stimulierte Musik nicht nur die Emotionen, sondern rief auch wechselseitige Reaktionen im menschlichen Körper hervor.

Keywords

Early modern period, bath, spa, music therapy, Central Europe, dietary

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In the widely read 1536 essay *De balneis*, the Italian doctor Giovanni Francesco Brancaloneone reported that visitors to spas celebrated Galen for preserving their good health in loud and melodious voices.² This not only illustrates the importance of ancient concepts for early modern medicine, but also more broadly demonstrates the connection between sound, music, and medicine. The idea of spas as places for maintaining and restoring health is based on a wide range of medical and dietary considerations that also include the effects that music can have on personal wellbeing. But while balneology has been widely researched in the history of medicine and social history, the interconnected relationship between music and medicine found in the balneological tracts of the early modern period³ has not been given much attention.⁴ In this article I would like to focus on the positive and negative aspects, impacts, and functions of music in everyday spa culture using medical theories related to the interchanging relationship of music and medicine as expressed by spa doctors of the early modern period. While previous studies have neglected music in the bathing environment, it becomes clear in the analysis of the sources that music was not only seen as entertainment. Music could also influence the mind and the body through human emotions and was therefore responsible for the cure and recovery of the bath guests.

As can be seen clearly in Brancaloneone's essay, what was considered healthy living in a dietary sense was based on ideas dating from antiquity and the Middle Ages, from Galen and other physicians. Whether a human being was considered healthy (*sanitas*) or ill (*aegritudo*) fundamentally depended on humoral pathology⁵, the *res naturales* and *res non naturales*, on

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- 2 Giovanni Francesco BRANCALEONE, *De balneis* (Nuremberg 1536), no pagination [f. 15r]: "Haec Galenus, quam alta voce, quam sonora in sanitate servanda balneum celebrat."
 - 3 This article primarily refers to sources from the German speaking world between 1500 and 1750. Despite the changes in space and bathing culture, as well as medicine, this time frame makes sense. Starting in 1500 there was a continual increase in medical essays on bathing in German speaking regions, and due to increasing urbanisation and the development of spa resort towns in the middle of the 18th century, new conditions in the history of baths and bathing emerged. From a medicinal perspective, affective theories remained centrally important until well into the 18th century, when the discovery and exploration of the nervous system prompted distinctive changes in the understanding of emotions. Cf. Michael STOLBERG, *Emotions and the Body in Early Modern Medicine*, in: *Emotion Review* 11/2 (2019), 113–122, here 119.
 - 4 The available balneological treatises of the 15th and 16th century were analysed by Irmgard PROBST, *Die Balneologie des 16. Jahrhunderts im Spiegel der deutschen Badeschriften* (Münster 1971); Frank FÜRBEETH, *Bibliographie der deutschen oder im deutschen Raum erschienenen Badeschriften des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: *Würzburger medizinhistorische Mitteilungen* 13 (1995), 217–252, but not in regard to music and sound phenomena. Benedek provides an overview of the role of therapeutic bathing: Thomas BENEDEK, *The Role of Therapeutic Bathing in the Sixteenth Century and its Contemporary Scientific Explanations*, in: Albrecht Classen, ed., *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature* (= *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* 19, Berlin 2017), 528–567. Cf. also: Werner HEINZ, *Balneologisches Wissen zwischen Antike und früher Neuzeit*, in: Albrecht Classen, ed., *Religion und Gesundheit. Der heilkundliche Diskurs im 16. Jahrhundert* (= *Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien* 3, Berlin 2011), 303–322. Despite an increase in medical balneological treatises in the 17th and 18th century, only individual case studies have been analysed so far. From the perspective of cultural history, the monograph by Alfred Martin is still a reference work based on multiple sources: Alfred MARTIN, *Deutsches Badewesen in vergangenen Tagen* (Jena 1906).
 - 5 Humoral pathology is generally understood to be a medical theory dating to antiquity that describes four bodily humours (black bile, yellow bile, blood, and mucus). Until the late 18th century, it was believed that the incorrect and unbalanced relation of these fluids would lead to illness and damage to the human body. This also led to the idea of physical and emotional wellness as a harmonious and measurable order in which the humours have to be

the theory of *spiritus*⁶ and on the theory of temperaments⁷. The *res non naturales*, for which each person is responsible, are also always present in bath and spa environments, and nearly all balneological essays refer to the *res non naturales* either directly or indirectly. The importance of the *res non naturales* can be seen in a 1673 description of the Tyrolean spa of Prutz by the Innsbruck doctor Johann Angermann:

“Diet is not only understood to be our food and drink / but generally six essential things / called by medicine the *res non naturales*. They are 1. air / 2. food and drink / 3. exercise and rest / 4. sleep and wakefulness / 5. digestion and constipation / 6. the workings of the mind / called *affectiones animi*. When those six items are used properly / they are when undergoing a cure / as important / as the medicine itself / because without them no medicine can work /nor can one remain healthy / and health cannot be regained once lost [...]”⁸

In his advice for the use of healing springs, Angermann recommended a mindful application of the *res non naturales* and explained their central importance for recovery and the maintenance of good health over twelve chapters. This applies to the dietary prophylaxis (*praeservatio*), therapy (*curatio*), as well as continuing good health (*conversatio sanitatis*). While it is essential to maintain a balance between all six *res non naturales*, one is of particular importance with respect to the use of music in spas and baths: the *accidentia animi*, also known as the *passiones animi*, *affectus animi*, *pathemata animi*, or *motus animi*.⁹ In the list of *res non*

in a balanced relation to each other. Cf. Werner Friedrich KÜMMEL, *Musik und Medizin. Ihre Wechselwirkungen in Theorie und Praxis von 800 bis 1800* (Freiburg–München 1977), 91.

- 6 The complementary idea of the *spiritus* is based on ancient *pneuma* theory. This theory postulated that there are three spirits – *spiritus naturalis*, *spiritus vitalis* and *spiritus animalis*. A substance is taken in by breathing and it splits up into three parts in the body: the liver, where food is converted to blood, is the seat of the *spiritus naturalis*. The heart, as the centre of innate warmth, then cleanses, and thins the blood, forming the finer *spiritus vitalis*. Finally, the brain refines the air-like *spiritus animalis*. Cf. KÜMMEL, *Musik*, 96. While the explanations had to be adapted due to new anatomical insights, the *spiritus* remained important in early modern anthropology. Cf. Jürgen HELM, *Zwischen Physiologie, Philosophie und Theologie: Die Lehre von den „spiritus“ im 16. Jahrhundert*, in: Classen, ed., *Religion und Gesundheit*, 287–302.
- 7 The so-called theory of the temperaments was a personality model deriving from humoral pathology, according to which each person’s personality corresponds to one of the humors: melancholic, sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic. According to the ideas of the early modern period, the phlegmatic type is passive and clumsy and aligned with mucus. The choleric is an irritable and excitable personality of the yellow bile, the sanguine is cheerful and active and matched to blood, and the melancholic is a sad and thoughtful personality, associated with black bile. In balneology, the theory of the temperaments was integrated in different ways, such as Johann REMMELIN, *Ferinae VVeltzheimenses* (Augsburg 1619), 26–30.
- 8 „Durch die Diaet wird nit allein verstanden das essen und trincken / sondern ins gesambt die sechs unvermeidliche Ding / so von den Medicis sex res non naturales genennet werden: Als da seynd 1. der Lufft / 2. Essen und trincken / 3. Bewegung und Ruhe / 4. Schlaffen und wachen / 5. Eröffnung und Verstopffung deß Leibs / 6. Die Bewegung deß Gemüths / affectiones animi, genant. Diser sechs Dingen rechter Gebrauch / weil sie einem / der eine Cur angehet / so nothwendig / als das Medicament selbst / ohn welchen kein Medicin ein recht zur operation kommen / noch die anwesende Gesundheit recht bestehen / und die verlohne wider kan gebracht werden [...]“ Johann ANGERMANN, *Microscopium Acidularum Bruzensium Philosophico-Medium* (Innsbruck 1673), 160. If not otherwise stated, all translations by the author.
- 9 The emotions are not only of central relevance in musical science, but generally play a significant role in the origin and progression of illnesses. Cf. Michael STOLBERG, „Zorn, Wein und Weiber verderben unsere Leiber“. Affekt und Krankheit in der Frühen Neuzeit, in: Johann Steiger, ed., *Passion, Affekt und Leidenschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 2005), 1051–1077.

naturales, the workings of the mind were usually listed as the sixth and final item: the “last piece in the order of life.”¹⁰ As early as 1512, the Austrian physician Wolfgang Winterperger had already recommended for people in spas and baths to be happy and “listen to funny stories and fables” as a way of encouraging natural physical forces to redistribute and expel redundant bodily fluids.¹¹ From a dietary perspective, it was generally considered important to avoid emotions such as anger, envy, fear, anxiety or sadness, in order to prevent their negative effects on one’s physical state.¹² People should avoid “violent workings of the mind”¹³ so that “life’s harmony would remain for a long time.”¹⁴ A “lowering” of the mind would weaken the spa visitor unnecessarily and present a much greater danger than a person “can ever be exposed to by illness.”¹⁵ Instead, people should be “happy and in good spirits” in spas and baths because sadness would “eat up the bone to the marrow”, and only a “cheerful heart helps to get well and takes away all illness.”¹⁶ The theologian Johann Deucer (1653) stated that the spa visitor should keep away from negative feelings such as depression and sadness, “so that the *organa sensuum* are not occupied with other functions and their faculties are not weakened or impeded.”¹⁷ Several spa physicians specified particularly damaging emotions¹⁸ and even regarded these matters as potentially life threatening.¹⁹

If these emotional states could cause such negative effects on human health, it is important to consider how music could influence human emotions and affects. In the ethical teachings of Greek antiquity, it was assumed that there was a relationship between musical (*motus harmoni-*

10 Johann JÄGERSCHMID, *Mineralische Wasser-Nymphe* (Augsburg 1711), 114.

11 Wolfgang WINTERBERGER, *Ain Tractat der Badefart* (Straßburg 1512), 32.

12 Heinrich VOGTHERR, *Eyn nutzlich Bad und artzney* (Straßburg 1538), unpag.

13 Martin PANSÄ, *Kurtze Beschreibung Deß Carolsbades* (Annenberg 1609), 134 (part 2).

14 Johannes PYRMONTANUS [FEUERBERG], *Fons sacer oder Beschreibung des hyligen Borns* (Lemgo 1597), Preface.

15 Georg GRASECK, *Fons salutis scatebra petrina: Das ist Gründtliche Beschreibung der weitberühmbten Brunnquellen des Heils des genandten Sant Petersthals vnnnd Griefßbachers Saurwassers* (Straßburg 1625), 174.

16 Caspar SCHWENCKFELDT, *Hirschbergischen Warmen Bades* (Liegnitz–Hirschberg 1619), 84. The compression associated with unwanted emotional workings was thought to prevent the heart from producing sufficient *spiritus vitalis* which was essential for vital bodily functions. Cf. STOLBERG, *Emotions*, 115.

17 Johann DEUCER, *Heilsame und nutzliche BadCur deß Wild-Bads* (Straßburg 1653), 84.

18 The physician Johannes Feuerberg (Pyrmontanus) mentioned that rage in particular is very damaging, and that no Christian person should bear envy or hatred because this would lead to “worries in rage like an animal”, PYRMONTANUS, *Fons Sacer*, 31. According to Sommer, nothing would prevent the healing use of the waters as much as sadness. Matthias SOMMER, *Ein kurtzes / Notwendiges und nützlichs Büchlein* [Leipzig 1572], 131–132. Georg Bollmann thought that, based on “every physicians’ advice and opinion”, anger and rage were detrimental for cures. Georg BOLLMANN, *Kurtze Beschreibung Des Pyrmontschen SaurBrunnens* (Rinteln 1661), 100, while Johann Angermann described melancholy and sadness as particularly “odious”: ANGERMANN, *Microscopium*, 172–173.

19 August Hauptmann stated that worry and sadness should be left at home when going to a spa, because it would be detrimental for the health and that some people would die before their time due to worries and rumination. August HAUPTMANN, *Uhralter Wolckensteinischer Warmer Badt- und Wasser-Schatz* (Leipzig 1657), 230. While negative emotions were considered bad for people in general in the medical theories of early modern times, they were considered even worse during a spa cure. Cf. Franz OBERKAMP, *Wahrer Mineral-Gehalt* (Würzburg 1745), 213; Johann GESNER, *Historisch=Physicalische Nachricht Von dem Zaysenhauser mineralischen Bronnen* (Stuttgart 1746), 57. Even beyond their time in the spa, the visitor had to keep his/her emotions under control to avoid later damage. The “evil intemperate song”, as an anonymous writer described it in 1691 must not be sung again, but indefinitely avoided. ANON., *Neue / Kurtze und einfaltige Beschreibung* (Zürich 1691), 24.

cus) and emotional movement (*motus animae*).²⁰ This was still an essential part of dietary theories in the early modern period; as early as 1480, Tinctoris described some of music's effects on emotions:

“Effectus 7: ‘Musica tristitiam depellit’ – music drives away sadness.

Effectus 13: ‘Musica homines laetificat’ – music cheers people up.

Effectus 14: ‘Musica aegrotos sanat’ – music heals the sick.”²¹

These emotions directly mirror the considerations of later balneological authors that music expels sadness and induces happiness.²² In his further description of “Effectus 14”, Tinctorius emphasized the healing effect of music and referred to the physicians Asclepiades, Galen, and Avicenna.

Tinctorius' work was, amongst other, followed by Hermann Finck in his *Practica Musica* (1556), where he defines music in the introduction to *VTILITAS MUSICAE* as an optimal guide (*gubernatrix*) of the emotions. Accordingly, music dominates all of the emotions, puts them into the proper relationship with each other, and can create joy from sadness and serenity from anger.²³ Athanasius Kircher also described the relationship of music and emotions in detail, listing eight general affective states and the many effects of music on the body and mind.²⁴ According to Kircher, the *affectiones* or *passiones* have “physical conditions” in people,²⁵ and music thus seems to set the movements of the organism in motion. Music not only initiates “external air movements (sound), but also the inner air and spirit”, which activates the “imagination”, the affects, and *vapores*.²⁶

20 Andrea KORENIAK, „Musica movet affectus ...“ Zum barocken Affektverständnis im Spiegel der galenischen Spirituslehre, in: Studien zur Deutschkunde XXXII (2006), 79–112, here 79. For context and discussion of the theory and practice of music therapy, cf. also: Brenno BOCCADORO, „Musica spiritum curat“, in: Nicole Schwindt, ed., Handbuch der Musik der Renaissance (= Die Musik in der Kultur der Renaissance. Kontexte, Disziplinen, Diskurse 5, Laaber 2015), 55–108.

21 Edmond COUSSEMAKER, Joannis Tinctoris. Tractatus de Musica (Lille 1875), 510–522.

22 Tinctoris describes the outer (*potentia auditiva*) and inner nature (*virtus intellectiva*). The more experience and understanding someone has of music, the more he or she will be affected emotionally by it.

23 Hermann FINCK, *Practica Musica* (Wittenberg 1556), unpag.: “[...] quod ea [musica] est gubernatrix affectuum, Potest enim anxias curas discutere & omnes affectus optime temperare & regere, ut ex tristibus laeti, ex iratis sedati efficiantur.”

24 Athanasius Kircher stated that music only affects the eight general emotional workings and not love or hate. The general emotions could, however, have further effects. Cf. Athanasius KIRCHER, *Neue Hall- und Thonkunst* (Nördlingen 1684), 127; Athanasius KIRCHER, *Musurgia universalis* (Schwäbisch-Hall 1662), 158.

25 KIRCHER, *Musurgia*, 138: „Weil die affectiones oder passionnes [...] geschehen in dem appetitu sensitivo corporeo & materiali, müssen sie nothwendig auch leibliche conditiones haben.“ In addition, Kirchner posits in 318 that the effects, because of the physical and psychological connections could be recognized “ex pulsibus.”

26 KIRCHER, *Musurgia*, 139. Kircher adds on 171: „Wir praesupponiren 1. es sei nicht nur ein äusserlicher / sondern auch ein innerlicher Luft einer jeden Sach gegenwärtig / welcher nach dem sono sich beweget [...]“

Music and Medicine in the Spa

In 1687, Desiderius Gottfried published a treatise titled “Pyrmontisches Curioses Brunnen-Gespräch”, which contains a description of the actual impact music has on spa visitors. Philocundus, the fictitious protagonist of the work, notices a certain melancholy and many “*signa morbi hypochondriaci*”²⁷ within himself and decides to visit Pyrmont Spa with his friend Satyriscus. He observes that after lunch, the spa visitors, having taken the water, began to be “a little bit tired.”²⁸ Philocundus admonishes the spa visitors, stating that it is not helpful for the healing process to become tired or melancholic. He takes out his lute and “orders his boy to quietly sing what he has recently written.”²⁹ The nine stanzas of the printed song text refer to the freedom of the soul from melancholy and also include a dedication to God. The description of the effects of the music on the group of spa visitors following the song is revealing:

“The whole company declared / in addition to their profuse thanks / how much they had liked it / and that their lazy mood had lifted. Satyriscus got up / when one had expressed his delight / and said: ‘Monsieur, the lovely harmony of the lute and the song / had the same kind of effect on my melancholy / as David’s harp and song / had on the evil and angry king Saul.’”³⁰

The spa visitors confirmed that the song and instrumental accompaniment improved their mood and, as in the biblical example of David and King Saul (1. Sam 16, 23), the music exerted a physical conciliation. Philocundus thus draws on the long tradition of musical effects on mood and uses biblical authority to confirm the reality of the impact of music. Further examples are described in detail, including the lutist who apparently enticed the Danish king Eric to rage and murder, as well as Orpheus, who tamed wild animals with music. There is also a description of the real impact of music³¹ on the spa visitors; Philocundus’ musical ability, his sounds and “all instrumental instruments” are praised for “bringing joy to their hearts and not setting them in rage.”³²

In addition to this rather literary example, the Aix-la-Chapelle spa physician Franz Fabricius (1616) also highlighted the importance of the mind and of using music to improve mood and health.³³ Based on his medical considerations, the body can only be healed when the mind

27 Desiderius GOTTFRIED, *Pyrmontisches Curioses Brunnen-Gespräch* (Lemgo 1687), 2.

28 *Ibid.*, 66.

29 *Ibid.*

30 „Die gantze Compagnie bezeugete / nebenst gebührendem Danck / wie wol ihr dieses gefallen / und daß ihr lässiges Gemüthe nicht wenig dadurch wäre ermuntert worden. Herr Satyriscus fuhr / als einer der entzucket gewesen / auff und sagte: Monsieur die liebliche Harmonie seiner Lauten und beygesungenes Lied / hat die Wirkungen bey meiner Melancholie gehabt / welche Davids Harffe und Gesang / an dem rasenden und vom bösen Geiste geplagten König Saul.“ *Ibid.*, 71.

31 The Goeppingen town physician Martin Maskosky added that the music would be a perfect cheering up of the spirits, which would also move barbaric minds and even wild animals, and that is why it would happen in the spa. Martin MASKOSKY, *Im Namen Jesu! Das Göppingische Bethesda! Das ist kunstmässige Beschreibung des uralten heilsamen Sauerbrunnen bey der Hochfürst-lichen Württembergischen Statt Göppingen! / Von desselben Gelegenheit / Chimischer Probe/heilsamer Wirkung und ordenlichem Gebrauche / aus eigener Zwanzigjähriger Erfahrung zur Ehre Gottes und Nuzzen des Nächsten wolmeinend entworfen* (Nördlingen 1688), 135.

32 GOTTFRIED, *Brunnen-Gespräch*, 78.

33 FRANZ FABRICIUS, *Thermae Aquenses sive de balneourm naturalium* (Köln 1616), 31: „Oportet demum & animi curas & moerores omnes domi relinquere, aut ante balneum exuere, animumque & musica & lusu facietisque,

has been healed first. A little over a decade earlier, the Württemberg court physician Johann Bauhin (1601) explicitly connected the therapeutic capacities of music to singing and playing string instruments during spa visits:

“They may also amuse themselves with friendly conversations and company / and invite each other as guests / since one should at all times be mindful of the previous lessons / that one does not overfill oneself with food at any time / may also amuse oneself with singing and lovely string music.”³⁴

This relationship between music and spa culture is also visible in the writings of Austrian physician Johannes Maximilian Josephus Dietmann and other physicians, who wrote that no spa visitor should be “confused or made sad” with restlessness, sadness, or other things, but should rather be filled with “hope, trust, love, happiness, pleasant company and good friendship, and honest and merry conversations” and should be accompanied by the “pleasant sound of music” whilst eating.³⁵ Elsewhere, spa visitors were encouraged to hold meaningful conversations, play games, and enjoy “good music.”³⁶

Negative emotions and discontent should be made to disappear through “friendly conversations,” and the “pleasant playing of musical instruments together with harmonious voices.”³⁷ Spa groups should engage in “pleasant conversations,” take a walk, and enjoy “singing and playing string instruments” to reap the best results.³⁸ One’s temper could be improved by “the playing of music and other cheerful games” because the body “cannot be cured when the mind is not well.”³⁹ The positive effect of music on the mind and the various emotional states of the spa visitor can be seen in the description of the spa at Baden near Vienna, in Austria, from 1734:

“The mind shall be freed from all fear and worry, suffering, unease, anger, and impatience and filled with hope, faith, love, happiness, and pleasure; one shall have good conversations and pleasant music and everyone is allowed to partake in honorable pleasures and to enjoy daily what is on offer here and there for the whole stay.”⁴⁰

atque alio quovis modo exhilarare, nam nisi animo prius curato, corpus sanari non posse, testis est in Charmide Plato.” [“It is necessary to leave behind all the worries of the mind and sadness, or to undress before the bath and to cheer up the mind with music and games and jokes in many ways. Because if the mind is not healed first, the body cannot be healed – evidence can be found in Plato’s Charmides.”].

- 34 „Auch mögen sie mit freundlichen Gesprächen in der Gesellschaft sich erlustigen / und einander zu gaste laden / da man doch der vorigen Lehr zu jederzeit wol eingedenck sein soll / daß man sich mit dem essen nicht zu jeder zeit zu sehr überfülle / mag sich auch mit Singen und lieblichen Seitenspielen erlustigen.“ Johann BAUHIN, Ein new Badbuch / Und Historische Beschreibung Von der wunderbaren Krafft und würckung des Wunder Brunnen und Heilsamen Bads zu Boll/ nicht weit vom Sawrbrunnen zu Göppingen im Herzogthumb Württemberg. 2. Teil: Das Ander Buch / Von dem Wunderbrunnen zu Boll (Stuttgart 1602), 128.
- 35 Johannes DIETMANN, Eigentliche Beschreibung Deren Berühmten dreyen Gesundheits=Bädern (Nürnberg–Wien 1735), 59.
- 36 BOLLMANN, Beschreibung, 101.
- 37 GRASECK, Fons, 127.
- 38 Hieronymus REUSNER, Eygentliche unnd gründtliche Beschreibung deß uhralten heylsamen Minerischen Wildbads Churfürstl. Bayr. Statt Wemdingen (Augsburg 1618), 107.
- 39 Peter WOLFART, Neue Beschreibung Der warmen Brunnen und Bäder Zu Embs (Kassel 1716), 80.
- 40 „[...] das Gemüthe soll von aller Angst, Sorge, Kümmernuß, Verdruß, Zorn und Ungedult befreyet, dagegen

The actual physical effects of music are also clearly asserted in the Bavarian physician Malachias Geiger's description of the spa at Benediktbeuren (1636):

“Concerning the workings of the mind / the doctors in the spa order that one should let go of all sadness / and enjoy cheerful conversations / honest games / good exercise / pleasant and cheerful games / and finally music with instruments and singing / because joy makes the mind wake up / and then it can endure anything. The spirits are encouraged / so that they go in all directions / the inner parts and functions are all opened / so that a fire goes through them: the moistures become fluid / so that they can be cleansed from all pathways. But sadness and low mood contracts the heart / the spirit will be compressed, the blood runs to inner parts, the moisture stays hidden in the deep parts / so that no good effect of the bath can be expected.”⁴¹

Such therapeutic interventions were aimed at expelling all of the detrimental fluids from the body, or at least not hindering the necessary cleansing and expulsion of the *humores*. Music can support the enjoyment of “honest, lovely, and cheerful pleasures”⁴² and thus expel dangerous, redundant fluids from the body. The *spiritus* is distributed through the whole organism by instrumental and vocal music, and all-important pathways in the body are opened up. Otherwise, with sadness and low mood, the heart and the *spiritus* are contracted and the healing effect of the spa is impeded.⁴³

There is a similar argument in the 1647 essay *Beschreibung Etlicher Mißbräuche und Irrthumb* (*Description of Several Abuses and Errors*) by the professor of medicine Melchior Sebizius. He declared that in the spa one should “appreciate and enjoy *musica vocali & instrumentali*” because they would have various positive effects on the patient.⁴⁴

“Because such pleasure refreshes body and soul / it awakens the spirit, encourages natural warmth / opens up inner meatus and makes the humores thin and liquid / so that they can evaporate more easily through sweat pores / urine and stool can then be expelled.”⁴⁵

vielmehr voll guter Hoffnung, Glauben, Liebe, Freudigkeit, und Vergnügen seyn; man soll mit einen angenehmen Umgang sich unterhalten, und bey erbat doch lustigen Gespräch, bey einer schönen Music sich ergötzen / mithin darf man jede erlaubt und honette Lustbarkeiten einnehmen, und alles dasjenige, täglich geniessen, was einem hier oder da vermögend ist, die Zeit der Cur über gebührend zu divertiren.“ Johannes DIETMANN, *Gründliche Untersuchung des Nieder-Oesterreichischen Badner-Bades* (Wien 1734), 68.

- 41 Malachias GEIGER, *Fontigraphia oder Brunnen Beschreibung deß Miraculosen Heilbronnens bey Benedictbeuren* (München 1636), 134.
- 42 Georg DÖDERLEIN, *Kurtze Beschreibung des vor altem her berühmten Bads in Badenweyler* (Basel 1672), 38.
- 43 “The negative emotions can affect the body severely and change its temperaments”. Gualterus WOLTER, *Kurtze und einfältige Doch Nothwendige Instruction Und Bad=Beschreibung* (Breslau 1663), [36] and move the “bad humors” in the body: SOMMER, *Thermae*, 104. Because of the strong changes of the mind, the marrow will diminish, “the blood and all the spirits get inflamed” and causes fever and other illnesses: REMMELIN, *Ferinae*, 35.
- 44 Melchior SEBIZIUS, *Beschreibung und Widerlegung Etlicher Mißbräuche und Irrthumb/so biß anhero in dem Gebrauch der Saurbrunnen und andern warmen und kalten Bädern bey uns füngangen* (Straßburg 1647), 106.
- 45 „Dann solche frewde erquicket Leib und Seele / ermundert die spiritus, wecket die natürliche wärme auff / eröffnet die innerliche meatus, und macht die humores dünn und flüssig / daß die nachmaln desto leichter durch die Schweißlöchlin / Ham= und Stulgang können außgeführt werden.“ *Ibid.*, 107. The joys of vocal as well as instrumental music are useful for the *spiritus* because they regulate the body temperature, open up the inner meatus and enable the easy draining of bodily fluids. However, it is not quite clear what Sebizius means with *meatus*. He probably uses *meatus* as general term for all pathways and openings of the body and does not differentiate between the *meatus nasi*, the nose structure, the *meatus urethra*, the *urethra* opening, and others.

One interesting feature of the medicinal-balneological sources is that they only rarely draw a distinction between (passive) listening to music and the (active) production of music. Only the Hessian spa physician Ludwig von Hörnigk (1658) explicitly mentioned the positive effects of active music making; “*Exercitium musicum*” was considered useful for moving and dispelling negative emotions, and the spa visitors were thus given “instruments from other places, such as harps, lutes, violins, etc.” so they could actively play.⁴⁶ Music therefore played an important role in the humoral and *spiritus* theory because it was thought to help balance out the *spiritus* and bodily humors. As Solomon Hottinger’s rather drastic comparison in 1702 emphasized (“*Plus est quam bestia, quem non afficit Musica*”) music invariably has an effect on people.⁴⁷

Ambiguity about the Effects of Music in Spas

Positive Effects of Music

If we look generally at the positive effects of music in spas and for recuperation, the most important aspect is its influence on, or even control of, emotions. Music can “hold back vapors in many ways so that they don’t rise to the head.”⁴⁸ It lifts the mood and activates the spirits. Musicians who “through pleasant harmonies” or a concert bring enjoyment to the spa visitors encourage health, as joy and composure strengthen “the *spirit* and *humores* in a positive way.”⁴⁹ One should be careful that enjoyments are not overdone, but “lovely singing” to give pleasure to the mind would be “well allowed as a pastime.”⁵⁰ In the literary stories of the *Amusements des eaux de Spa* (1735), music is “explicitly performed” to prevent sad and damaging ruminations.⁵¹ In comparison with other forms of entertainment and games, spa visitors are recommended to prefer music, as it “cheers the senses” far more and therefore has many more advantages for good health.

Music not only improved the mood of spa visitors, but spa cures themselves were seen to help musical performers. Drinking the healing water in a spa, for instance, treats and moisturizes the throat, so that “one can feel / that the voice is returning.”⁵² According to physicians administering treatments, the elements in the mineral baths had further effects on the voice. The Munich physician Malachias Geiger (1636) described the human voice getting lighter with water containing *Bergroth* (red mountain earth),⁵³ and the Tübingen physician Samuel Hafenreffer pointed out that bathing water is particularly wholesome for children, as it “produces a good, bright voice for singing.”⁵⁴

46 Matthäus HÖRNIGK, *Langen-Schwalbacher Saurbrunnen Und Bäder* (Mainz 1658), 277.

47 Solomon HOTTINGER, *Thermae Argovia-Badenses* (Baden im Aargau 1702), 220: “Worse than a beast is the one whom music does not affect.”

48 BAUHIN, *Badbuch*, 148.

49 Ludwig GÜCKELIN, *Curmässige Schwalbacher Diaet und Lebens=Ordnung* (Frankfurt am Main 1699), 131.

50 Carl FESTA, *Baadner Bad in Oesterreich* (Baden–Wien 1731), 55.

51 N.N., *Amusements des eaux de Spa oder Vergnügungen und Ergötzlichkeiten bey den Wassern zu Spaa* (Leipzig–Frankfurt 1735), 240.

52 Johannes MATTHAEUS, *Natürliche wolerfahrne Beschreibung deß Marggräfischen Bades* (Speyer 1606), 56.

53 GEIGER, *Fontigraphia*, 20.

54 Samuel HAFENREFFER, *Unda Bethesdae repullulans. Das ist gründliche Beschreibung der Tugenden des Wassers im Steinacher Thal, nahend bey Tübingen herfür quellendt, das Bläsiabad genannt* (Tübingen 1629), 16. Hafenreffer

These various observations, which must always be contextualized based on the physicians' subjective experiences and within the historical context, include concrete examples of improved voice quality. In 1688, for instance, the spa physician Franciscus Blondel described a mute nun from Antwerp, who, after several spa visits, began to sing her old songs again.⁵⁵ We find a similar story of recuperation in a description of *Pfeffersbad* (near Chur, Switzerland) by the Swiss physician Balthasar Walthier in 1749. A young woman overcame her voice disorder to sing again, and then also recovered her speaking voice:

“She went again in 1746 to have a cure for seven weeks. Look! In the third week it occurred that she suddenly could sing again perfectly loud, with a high voice and alto, and discanto. But she couldn't speak [...] in the years since then her voice for singing and speaking has remained good.”⁵⁶

Apparently, her loss of voice was completely reversed by the spa treatment, but the voice condition was seemingly linked to singing. Even though the patient could not speak initially, she could sing while at the baths.⁵⁷ Musicians were also said to experience advantages from visiting baths in various ways, as mentioned in a description of the spa at Stadthagen. The mineral content of the water was good for strengthening the teeth, and thus it would help musicians who “blow the trumpet and similar instruments.”⁵⁸

Negative Effects of Music

Although some pieces of music in the early modern period were identified as evoking negative effects when (passively) listened to, the negative pathological effects are mainly focused on active music-making, namely singing while in the baths. The physician Matthias Sommer (1572), for example, warned that one should not sing or speak a lot in preparation for a morning bath, as those things “fill the head.”⁵⁹ Many physicians of the early modern era expressed similar concerns, namely that singing would use capacities that are necessary for other bodily recuperation. In his descriptions of the Margrave baths, the physician Johannes Matthaues (1606) recommended to refrain from “shouting with a loud voice or singing.”⁶⁰ Lots of talking

also stated that this is “not a mean gift of god” and cannot have any other causes than “that the blood gets cleansed through the bile and its sharpness.”

55 Franciscus BLONDEL, *Außführliche Erklärung Und Augenscheinliche Wunderwirkung* (Aachen 1688), 211.

56 „Dieses bewog sie Anno 1746 nochmal zur Pfäfferser=Cur, die sie sieben Wochen lang in allem gebraucht. Siehe! in der dritten Wochen der Cur langte ein guter Vorbott an, benandtlch: daß sie wiederum perfect laut singen könnte mit hoher Stimm, den Alt und Discant: aber nicht reden [...] In den nachfolgenden Jahren seit 1746 bis würcklich jetzo, ist ihre Stimm und Red ohne Hindernus gut geblieben.“ Balthasar WALTHIER, *Neue Beschreibung des Halts vom Weltberühmtestn Pfäfferser Mineral-Wasser* (Zug 1749), 112.

57 The real reason and the exact circumstances remain speculative. It can presumably be explained by psychological or neurological factors.

58 [Johann Christian RABE], *Fernere Nachricht Von dem Mineral-Wasser zu Stadthagen* (Lemgo 1737), 36. This print doesn't name the author explicitly, but because it refers to the *Vorläuffige Beschreibung Des Mineralischen Wassers zu Stadthagen* where the town physician Johann Christian Rabe is named as an author, we can assume that Rabe was also the author of this continuation of the treatise.

59 SOMMER, *Büchlein*, [208].

60 MATTHAEUS, *Beschreibung*, 28.

and singing would make the “head weak and fluid,”⁶¹ and (according to dietary recommendations) would lead to further physical damage. Another explanation was provided by the physician Philipp Weber (1636) in his description of the spa at Wiesbaden. Here, too, we find a remark that one shouldn’t “sing or shout or call” during bathing time, and the medicinal explanation is that such activities dry out the voice apparatus.⁶² Accordingly, singing or shouting was even thought to lead to sickness and fainting.⁶³ Singing can cause bathers “to overheat”, dry out the mouth or cause thirst, weakness or confusion in the head.⁶⁴ This was also confirmed by the Hameln town physician Georg Bollmann (1661) in his description of the Pymont spa. He advised against singing in the bath with a high voice because this would cause “heat, dryness of the mouth, weakness and thirst” and make “the head heavy.”⁶⁵ The Strasburg professor of medicine, Melchior Sebizius summarized these *communis opinio doctorum* in the various balneological treatises as follows:

“Many spa visitors have the habit / of talking a lot / when they are in the bath /and sometimes they even sing with a high voice / to pass the time. But this generates an internal heat / dries out the mouth / makes them thirsty / and weak / and they complain that their head is getting heavy / It is therefore better / to sit still / and do without singing and much talking in the bath.”⁶⁶

Singing and talking was regarded as a way to pass the time while bathing, but as well as generating heat and causing dryness of the mouth, it also was believed to cause weakness and a heavy head, and generally weaken the bather’s constitution.⁶⁷ At the same time there were

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- 61 PANSA, Beschreibung, 107 (part 2). Pansa’s description is interesting as it mentions that with the singing one should take “sulphurised wine / strongly brewed and hopped beer / onions / radish / midday naps / and lots of talking” as all those things (together or independently) would fill the head. The description by Christian Friedrich Garmann also contains this list. Cf. Christian GARMANN, Hydriatria Wisensis (St. Annaberg 1675), 211.
- 62 Philipp WEBER, Thermae Wisbadenses (Frankfurt 1636), 87. Weber referred to Galenus: „Then this water is disliked by the voice / because it dries out the instrument of the voice / as Galen has described.”
- 63 Ibid., 147. Apart from the singing Weber lists other reasons for the sickness and faints “which happen / when they eat too much and drink / and are full of wine / or sit drunk in the bath / or they sleep in the bath / or sing and shout therein.”
- 64 GEIGER, Fontigraphia, 115. Geiger saw the silence as a necessary consequence to avoid negative effects.
- 65 BOLLMANN, Beschreibung, 112.
- 66 „Es haben etliche Badegäste im brauch / daß wann sie in dem Bade sitzen / sie viel reden und schwätzen / und unterweilen auch mit heller stimme singen / damit sie ihnen die Zeit kürtzer machen und vertreiben. Aber sie verursachen dadurch hitze / dörre deß Munds / durst / und mattigkeit / und beschwären daß Haupt sehr / welches ohne das von der hitze deß bades und dessen dämpffe zimlich turbiert und beschwärt würdt. Ist demnach besser / das mann sich still halte / und deß sings und vielen ubrigen redens in dem Bade müssig gehe.“ SEBIZIUS, Beschreibung, 81. Exactly what Sebizius meant when he said the spa visitors sing with a “heller” voice cannot be qualified. Maybe he meant the pitch or the intensity of the voice, but it might only refer to the difference between the talking and the singing voice.
- 67 The Göppingen town physician Martin Maskosky mentioned that one shouldn’t speak too loudly because it would “enhance the heat / makes the mouth dry / and the voice coarse from the vapours / Weakness / headaches / and thirst might be a consequence.” MASKOSKY, Im Namen Jesu, 188. Vitus Riedlin remarked regarding the sour spring in Geisslingen that one should “sit nicely quiet / not sing too much / not talk.” Vitus RIEDLIN, Der im Ulmischer Herrschafft Geißlingen ligende Sauer=Brunn (Augsburg 1681), 61; Solomon Hottinger mentioned that with singing one shouldn’t „do too much“. HOTTINGER, Thermae, 221; Peter Wolfart forbade loud singing in the bath. WOLFART, Beschreibung, 76; Johannes Hiskias Cardilucius states that the bathers not only should cover their heads, but also not sing or have more violent workings of the mind. Johannes CARDILUCIUS, Heilsame Artzney=Kräfte des Nürnbergischen Wild=Bades (Nürnberg 1681), 55.

other opinions to be found, such as that of Swiss physician Solomon Hottinger (1702), who asserted that the “enjoyment, the power, and the effect of vocal and instrumental music” was well known and considered all kinds of singing to be refreshing to the body and soul.⁶⁸ Despite this, he also acknowledged that “too much / and too vigorous” singing could “cause a heat in the head / dry out / and cause other displeasures.”⁶⁹

In addition to such reports of singing, some writers commented on the exaggerated shouting and cheering they sometimes observed in spas. The Strasburg physician Georg Graseck (1625) stated that bathers should not only abstain from cursing and blasphemy, but also from “shouting and whooping, and the like.”⁷⁰ In his descriptions of the spa in Baden, Austria, the physician Johannes Dietmann (1734) mentioned that time in the bath flies because everyone “leads one other by the hand in a circle or sings.”⁷¹ At the same time, he noted that it is not good to shout while doing so because “one can easily get a bad throat.”⁷² The Austrian physician Carl Joachim Festa (1731) mentioned shouting too, which “is common in many spas” but was not good for health because it weakened the chest, caused coarseness, and even inflammation of the throat.⁷³ With these many observations and sources on the harmful influence of singing, it is astonishing that, in contrast, there are actually no negative statements on instrumental music-making.⁷⁴

At the beginning of the 18th century, dancing in and near the baths was also considered unhealthy due to several reasons.⁷⁵ It was meant for the entertainment of the visitors, but also

68 HOTTINGER, *Thermae*, 219. Hottinger did not see a difference between the “cheerful, worldly and galant singing and other spiritual songs.” All songs should be “graceful, cheer up heart and mind, body and soul.”

69 *Ibid.*, 219–220.

70 GRASECK, *Fons*, 301–302. Reisel also used a nearly identical phrase: Salomon REISEL, *Niderbronner Bades Art* (Straßburg 1664), 33.

71 DIETMANN, *Untersuchung*, 67.

72 *Ibid.*, 67.

73 FESTA, *Bad*, 55. In the balneological texts, the difference between singing and shouting is somewhat unclear. If one assumes that many bathers were engaged in conversations, despite medical contraindication, and there was a certain acoustic loudness, it is somewhat difficult to reconstruct whether some people sang or shouted loudly. The descriptions depend on which author is writing, the other bathers and variable circumstances.

74 On the one hand, this could indicate an increased use of vocal music in the bathing environment, but on the other hand, it could also speak to the fact that the singing process was seen as more problematic for health than the physical processes involved in playing instruments.

75 The totality of dance, of course, involves much more than purely musical phenomena. More profound studies of dance in the bathing environment of the early modern period remain research desiderata.

caused health problems.⁷⁶ Dancing in the baths was described as “damaging”⁷⁷ to health, and the cause of a “hot complexion.”⁷⁸ Many spa visitors, particularly women, suffered a negative impact from the dancing:

“Many spa visitors, and feeble and tender females, get weak and tired easily from dances in the spa. Many dance too much, too wildly and for too long, until they are very hot and suffer dehydration and faintness. People also eat and drink plenty of sweet things, coffee, tea, lemonade and wine during the gatherings, which sometimes cause a dangerous mixture in the stomach, so that the body is ill prepared for the waters in the morning.”⁷⁹

These negative effects, and the poor preparation for the treatment the next morning, were not just blamed on the music and the dancing, but these social activities were also considered damaging to the dietary aims and overall recuperation. Dancing at balls or other gatherings turned into a threat, as “night becomes day, and the necessary rest affects oneself and others.”⁸⁰

Physical and Spiritual Recuperation

Despite medicinal observations that the workings of the mind were related to the interplay of physical and psychological processes, there was also always a spiritual aspect to healing. As early as the 1538 treatise *Eyn neue Badenfahrt*, Lorenz Fries stated that one should be cheerful

76 Though dances and dance music changed from the beginning of the 16th century to the beginning of the 18th century, many authors refer even at the beginning of the 18th century to the dietary theories of humoral pathology. Cf. Marie-Thérèse MOUREY, Affektdiskurse in den deutschen Tanzlehrbüchern, in: Johann Anselm Steiger, ed., *Passion, Affekt und Leidenschaften in der Frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden 2005), 787–801. It is important to note that dancing activities were judged from a moralistic and dietary point of view as well. A conclusion by a Swiss council in 1645 stated that one ought to oppose dancing and “other disorderliness”. But this was a primarily moralistic and ethical judgement of dancing, rather than a medical one. Cf. Pius KAUFMANN, *Gesellschaft im Bad* (Zürich 2009), 281: „Der herren ufseherer über das grosse Mandat gefasste rathschlag, dem in zum zyten in Baden von ettlich allhiesiger burgerschafft fürgehendem tanzen und anderem unwesen vorzukomen und abzuwehren wie auch anderen missbruchen [...]“. The rules in the Toggenburg Rietbad forbade dancing. Cf. Theodor LIEBENAU, *Das Gasthof= und Wirthshauswesen der Schweiz in älterer Zeit* (Zürich 1891), 233. A general description of dancing events in spas can be found in a novel about the baths in Aix-la-Chapelle: N.N., *Amusemens des eaux d’Aix la Chapelle, Oder Zeit=Vertreib bey den Wassern zu Achen* (Berlin 1737), 159: „Während der Bade=Zeit ist Achen derer Niederlande kleines Paris: jeden will seinen Weg dahin nehmen. Die Thüre des Balls wird jedermann, der bezahlet geöffnet: und so bald sie einmal hinein getreten, hören sie nicht auf zu tanzen, ob es schon nicht allzeit mit der besten Anständigkeit geschieht.“ [“In spa season Aachen is the little Paris of the Netherlands, and everyone will want to go there, the doors to the ballroom are open to everyone who pays, and as soon as one is inside, they never stop dancing, and sometimes not with the proper decorum.”].

77 HOTTINGER, *Thermae*, 222.

78 Eberhard MELCHIOR, *Kurtzes Schwalbacher Cur=Büchlein* (Frankfurt 1702), 42.

79 „Auch fatigieren sich viele Brunnen=Gäste und schwächliches zartes Frauenzimmer bey denen Balls, welche öfters bey der Brunnen=Cur gehalten werden, auf das äußerste, wiederhohlen den Tanz zu öffn, und continuiren solchen so hefftig und lange, biß sie gantz erhitzt, ohnmächtig und durstig werden. Und denn mangelt es bey dergleichen Assemblees nicht an Confect, Caffè, Thé, Limonade, Wein, Breyhahn c. mit welchen Sachen manchemahl ein schädliches Olipodrido in dem Magen angerichtet, und also der Leib schlecht zu der Wasser=Cur auf den nächsten Morgen praepariret wird.“ Johan Philipp SEIP[P], *Neue Beschreibung der Pymontischen Gesund-Brunnen* (Hannover 1717), 294.

80 Johann SCHEUCHZER, *Vernunftmäßige Untersuchung des Bads zu Baden* (Zürich 1732), 66.

and modest and “have God in one’s mind”, “who would be the ultimate restorer of health.”⁸¹ Health was thus always connected to God as the creator of healing, and accordingly, a purely physical recuperation would be considered of less value without an accompanying spiritual cleansing. In his descriptions of the *Pfeffersbad* Johann Kolweck (1631) recommended appealing to God directly as the creator of health and wisdom.

“Let your voice / roll over this water / so everyone will feel / that in the warm spring / body and soul will find renewal / so that no one will be healthy in body / but fail in his soul.”⁸²

It was “especially important” for every spa visitor to pray and ask God for good health, so that God would “give his paternal blessing and goodwill / in addition to the natural remedies.”⁸³ When a spa visitor began a cure based on the recommendation of his physician, he must never forget to pray. He must “call to God / and ask for his blessing / and good fortune.”⁸⁴ After all, only God could truly heal and save someone from death, and therefore it was necessary to set prayer as the first and most important remedy before applying anything else.⁸⁵ While there was a close relationship between body and soul, physical health was regarded as of lower value than the health of the soul. The anonymous prayer scripture *Geistliche Wasser Quelle* (1707) stated that the spa visitor should not strive for health or illness, life or death, in the face of God, but must make his health and illness dependent on God’s pleasure, because the wellbeing of the soul demanded it.⁸⁶

Similarly, emotions, as a vital factor in the wellbeing of the spa visitor, were always regarded in relation to the Christian ideal and God’s support. The physician Andreas Keil (Cunaeus) wrote in his *Oxygraphia Pyrmontana* (1686) that during a spa cure, one should avoid all emotional confusion and instead strive for the “ideal of a Christian life / according to God’s will” and to “live in the love of God and to one’s neighbor.”⁸⁷ God can and will moderate “the intensity of all but the most innocent emotions”, so that “all the workings and thoughts of our souls can match His great brilliance.”⁸⁸ The best way to moderate or positively encourage the emotions would be “to be pious, pray and go to church,” because “nothing will be neglected and the spa cure would be blessed.”⁸⁹ Additionally, successful recuperation required the spa visitor to thank God, the creator of the healing process. This becomes clear in Egidius Guenther Hellmund’s *Thermographia Paraenetica* (1731) when the spa visitors “in their bath houses /

81 Lorenz FRIES, *Eyn neue Badenfahrt*, (n. p. 1538), 39v.

82 „Laß deine Stimm gehen / uber diß Wasser / damit ein jeglicher spüre / daß in diser Warmen Quell / Wasser der haylsamen Weyßheit / Leib und Seel ersprießlich gefunden werde / damit nicht jemand an Leib gesundt werde / hingegen aber an der Seel Schiffbruch leyde.“ Johann KOLWECK, *Tractat Von deß überauß Heylsamen / Weitberühmten / selbst warmen / Unser Lieben Frauen Pfeffersbad* (Dillingen 1631), 6.

83 Matthaeus ZINDEL, *Hirschbergischen Warmen Bades in Schlesien. Tractatus Tertius* (Lignitz 1672), 6.

84 Johann RAHT, *Christallen=Klarer Brunnen-Spiegel* (Rinteln 1685), 341.

85 CARDILUCIUS, *Artzney=Kräfte*, 54.

86 ANON., *Geistliche Wasser-Quelle* (Prag 1707), 178.

87 Andreas KEIL, *Oxygraphia Pyrmontana* (Nider-Röblingen 1686), 35.

88 ANON., *Wasser-Quelle*, 86.

89 SCHEUCHZER, *Hydrographia*, 186. Scheuchzer quoted Anton KÜNTZLI, *Kurz begriffliche Beschreibung Des uralten Gold=Bads* (Zürich 1705).

and in the baths themselves” sing and pray.⁹⁰ They behave “like the grateful Samaritan, who returned, when he saw that he was cured,” and then praised God with a loud voice.⁹¹

Another important reference point associated with spiritual purity and health in the spa was a representation of the pious physician or the figure of *Christus medicus*. The spa physician was considered an important and respected person, as the “Lord has created the doctor.”⁹² The first and most important action in any spa visit was to address the “almighty and the heavenly physician,” so that he would contribute to a successful recuperation and “give his helpful blessing.”⁹³ At a higher level, God was seen as the true physician, whose powers and abilities were far above those of the spa’s doctors. As the “real doctor of the soul,” God could not only cure physical and psychic illnesses, but could also cleanse all impurities and sins, with “the wholesome waters and the grace of the blood Jesu Christi.”⁹⁴ Thus, the healing effects were not only attributed to the spa or the “talent of its physicians”, but to the “helping grace of God and our savior.”⁹⁵ God is “the good, heavenly doctor” responsible for the “wholesome waters, the warm baths, and healthy springs” and offers people multiple forms of healing.⁹⁶

Conclusion

As a whole, spas and baths proved to be spaces where a wide array of dietary and medicinal approaches to improving health were connected. For the medicinal theories of the early modern era (1500–1750) the teachings on humor, *spiritus* and *temperament*, and the difference between *res naturales* and *res non naturales* were essential. One’s health was also considered to be significantly dependent on one’s emotional state and could therefore be influenced by music as well. Thus, music was of central importance to medical advice in the early modern era because of its influence on, or control of, human emotions, which affected both the mind and the body. As illustrated by the many medical remarks in balneological treatises, music not only stimulated emotions but it also caused reactions in the human body.

This connection between music and dietary considerations is clearly found in both the general medical discourse about spas, as well as in concrete reports about both positive and negative effects of music on actual illness. Negative consequences were thought to be caused by singing in the baths, which according to spa physicians, fills the head, dries out the body, and weakens the patient. While the active performance of vocal music could lead to negative consequences, there is so far no evidence of negative outcomes caused by the active performing of instrumental music. At the same time, purely passive reception, i. e. listening to music to strengthen the emotions, was generally considered positively. Spa music was seen as encouraging positive emotions, strengthening one’s *spiritus*, and was always related to God as the primary origin of all physical and psychological healing.

90 Egidius HELLMUND, *Thermographia Paraenetica. Oder nützliches Baad=Buch* (Wiesbaden 1731), 25.

91 *Ibid.*, 25.

92 REMMELIN, *Ferinae*, [12]. Rummelin reflected on his profession and responsibility as a physician and the responsibility of the medic towards people and God.

93 GRASECK, *Fons*, 185.

94 Friedrich SALCHMANN, *Historischer Bericht Von dem Hornhausischen Gesund=Brunnen* (Hornhausen 1646), 7.

95 CARDILUCIUS, *Artzney=Kräfte*, 117.

96 SALCHMANN, *Bericht*, 2.

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