

## V. THE NUMBER OF INSTRUMENTALISTS

This chapter will address the question of how many instrumentalists performed the parts in Bach's church music in Leipzig. After a discussion of the effect on the listener of using multiple or single instruments, the question of Bach's instrumental parts will be considered in more detail, paying particular attention to information provided by Bach's original parts and his Memorandum of 1730. Finally, we will consider what Bach's "ideal scoring" would have been had circumstances permitted it.

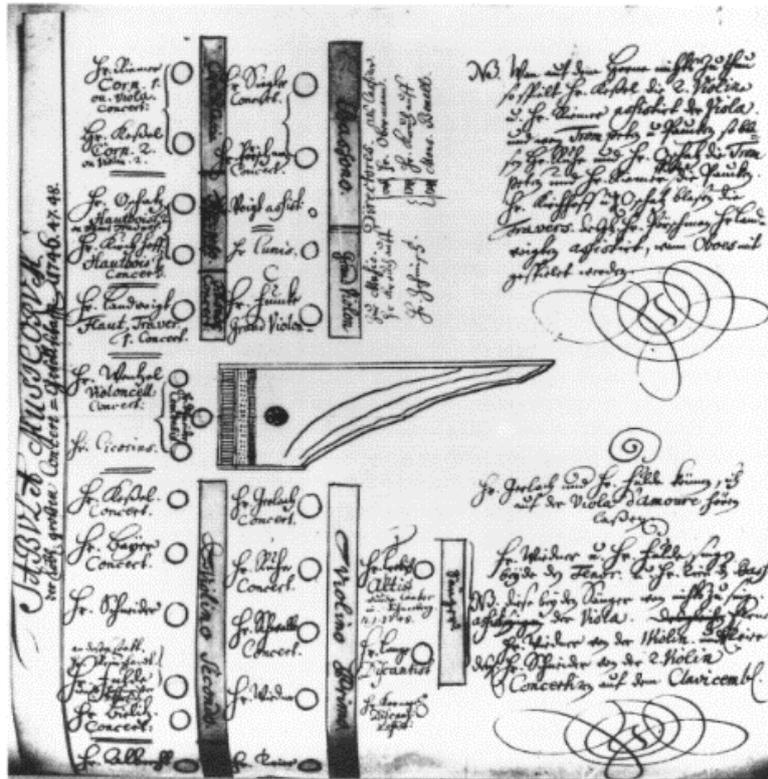


Fig. 1. *Tabula Musicorum der löbl. großen Concert-Gesellschaft, Leipzig, 1746-1748.*  
Riemer-Chronik, Stadtarchiv Leipzig.

### 1. What was the point of using multiple voices or instruments?

Generally in large churches or with larger ensembles in the 17th and 18th centuries more musicians sang or played one part. Among vocalists a distinction was made between the first singer of a voice group, the *concertist*, and the other singers, who were called *ripienists*. The concertist sang everything, including recitatives and arias, while the ripienists often sang a limited part to enhance the splendour. <sup>A</sup> In Bach's vocal works this only concerned (part of) the choruses and the chorales. <sup>1</sup> For instrumentalists in Bach's environment the terms 'concertist' and 'ripienist' seem to have been applied less consistently. Bach used these terms in his

<sup>1</sup>Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, Woodbridge 2000, pp. 30-41.

Memorandum of 1730 only for the singers.<sup>2</sup> This does not detract from the fact that when the first violinist had a solo role (while the other violinists only accompanied) that part was often given a caption such as *Violino concertato*.<sup>3</sup> This shows that the first violinist was considered a concertist, and the other players as ripienists. Both terms can also, therefore, be rightfully applied to the instrumentalists.

The usefulness of multiple instruments seems obvious: the more players, the more sound. The acoustic situation however is more complex. With single pure tones, one can measure, for instance, the pitch, the sound pressure on the ear, the distance between the sound source and the ear, sound intensity (*loudness*, in Watt/m<sup>2</sup>), etc. These quantities all influence each other. However, the human perception of sound intensity is not equal to the measured value: simplified, an eight to ten times higher sound intensity leads only to a twice higher perceived sound intensity. Therefore to achieve a doubling of the perceived sound intensity, some eight to ten times as many players or singers are needed.

The result also depends on the frequency. If the sound intensity is low, then the high and low frequencies will be experienced as softer than in the middle range. Further the more precise that the frequencies of the different players or singers match (in other words: the more pure they are playing or singing in relation to each other), the higher the experienced sound intensity will be. Vibrato leads to less purity; therefore multiple musicians using vibrato results in a lower sound volume than if they had played without vibrato.<sup>4</sup> The use of ripienists has consequently only a substantial effect on the sound intensity with a large number of extra singers or instrumentalists.

In the Baroque era often one or two ripienists were used for each part. The usefulness of multiple instruments was mainly in adapting the sound character: a string ensemble does not sound much louder than a string quartet, however it does sound different. As the individual sounds can partially cancel each other, the experienced sound is 'fuller' / 'warmer'. This effect is even greater when the musicians apply vibrato. Moreover, imperfections in the individual voices are masked. The theory described above, tested by measurements, was unknown to Baroque writers in regard to the effect of multiple voices or instruments. They wrote that ripienists were used to enhance the splendour, as a supplement and as a reinforcement (e.g. Johann Gottfried Walther, 1732, see endnote <sup>A</sup>). To the eye, of course, the amplification with a limited number of ripienists was noticed, however the amplification experienced by the ear can never have been great. From the seventeenth century vocal ripienists were usually placed as a separate choir, thus in a different area to the concertists.<sup>5, A</sup> The fact that the sound came from two or more areas was probably experienced as an enhancement of the splendour. There are no indications that in Bach's time the ripienists were also placed away from the concertists, but neither are there any indications to the contrary; we will return to this in § 2.

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<sup>2</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, *Kurtzer, iedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvoorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben*. Letter to the Leipzig Council, 23. August 1730 ('Memorandum 1730'), *BD I*, no. 22, p. 60ff., r. 9, 10, 12,

<sup>3</sup> BWV 1, 6, 7, 8, 30a, 74, 83, 103, 177, 182, 232<sup>1</sup>, 1041, 1042, 1043, 1047. Ulrich Prinz, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Instrumentarium*, Kassel 2005, p. 432f.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Charles Taylor / Murray Campbell, "Human response and physical measurement", *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 23, 2001, pp. 762-765.

<sup>5</sup> Besides Fuhrmann 1706 a.o. Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum III*, Wolfenbüttel 1619, p. 131.

*Using multiple voices or instruments does not primarily produce an experienced increase of sound intensity, rather a change of sound character and a masking of defects of individual voices. When vocal ripienists were placed separately from vocal concertists, the arrangement may have been experienced as an increase in splendour.*

## 2. How many instrumentalists were playing each part?

### The size of the orchestra in Bach's time

Johann Beer stated in 1719 that church music could be performed well with a choir of four vocal voices, two violinists, an organist and a *Director*. If the conductor played the violin or organ himself, one less person was needed. <sup>B</sup> At the same time he indicated that with the addition of ripienists a *Chor* (group of musicians) could be formed, which could match the 'loudest music' (*stärckesten Music*). He remarked that for the ripienists no top musicians were needed if the concertists were virtuoso musicians, in this respect it is not clear if he meant only vocalists or (also) violinists.

Johann Mattheson had a different opinion. <sup>C</sup> He called on the Bible to prove Beers wrong: in large churches trumpets, timpani, a violone, oboes and a bassoon would be indispensable, which meant that including singers you would soon need 24 musicians. According to Mattheson, less accomplished ripienists, with their impure intonation, were more of a detriment than an advantage. <sup>6</sup> As Bach performed his church music in Leipzig in large churches, Mattheson's view would have applied here too, but this does not imply that Bach agreed with him. It was not only Mattheson who disagreed with Beer. Johann Adolph Scheibe wrote in 1740: enough violins and basses should always be used; he particularly emphasised the balance between the various parts. <sup>D</sup> For instance, he believed that when trumpets and timpani were involved, both violin parts should be played by four to five players, reinforced by oboes, while in addition to the *Concertbasse* (violone?) three to four smaller basses (celli?) were needed. If oboes were prescribed, a few bassoons were also needed. Even if no brass instruments were used, the number of violins and basses had to be sufficiently large. Johann Joachim Quantz also considered multiple instruments desirable and in 1752 he too emphasised that the ratio between the number of instruments should remain balanced. Restricting himself to the first violins, second violins and violas, he considered 2:2:1, 3:3:1, 4:4:2, etc. acceptable proportions. <sup>E</sup>

In 1709 Johann Kuhnau, Bach's predecessor in Leipzig, requested the following instruments for the church music: two or more trumpets, timpani, two oboes or *cornetti*, three trombones or similar instruments (horns?), a bassoon, at least eight violins, two violas and (unspecified numbers) celli, violones and calichons. <sup>F</sup> He left the organ and harpsichord unmentioned: both churches had their own organist and he himself could play the harpsichord if necessary. Kuhnau therefore asked not only for a large group of instrumentalists, but also for a good number of ripieno players for the strings (and possibly for the continuo players as well). The drawn-up arrangement of the *Große Concert-Gesellschaft* in Leipzig from 1746-48

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<sup>6</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Orchestra: Some Unanswered Questions," *Early Music* 17/1, 1989, p. 13. Perhaps Mattheson did not realize it, but it is a fact that an additional musician with an impure intonation gives less enhancement to the sound, as explained in § 1.

(fig. 1) also shows that, among other things, the strings were plural: five first violins and four to six second violins. Although this does not concern church music, it is a genre with which Bach was familiar. A larger number of instruments (as desired by Mattheson) could be achieved in two ways: with more types of instruments, and / or with more instruments per type. Bach clearly indicated in his church music which instruments he required, but the number of instruments used for each type is often the subject of discussion. Therefore the question whether Bach included ripienists and if so, how many, must be addressed here.

It is certain that more players could read from one part. Michael Praetorius already wrote that ripienists standing together could play from one part.<sup>7</sup> Implicitly it can be read that ripienists did not play from the parts of the concertists. Walther remarked that his eye problems during his appointment to the *Weimarer Hofkapelle* were due to the effort he had to make to play from one part together with others. Sometimes this involved three musicians standing behind each other.<sup>8</sup> Christoph Graupner apparently thought it special that in 1752 in Worms every musician got his own part.<sup>9</sup> The number of players in each part is seldom indicated in the parts or scores themselves. Occasionally the name of a musician appears on a part, which apparently was used by one person. Reading along with others from one instrumental part was especially common among strings and continuo players, but it was not always and everywhere a matter of course. Whether this occurred in Bach's churches in Leipzig will have to be investigated separately.<sup>9</sup>

### Information from the Memorandum

In order to answer the question regarding the number of instrumentalists per part, we must first take note of Bach's 'Outline of a properly constituted church music' (*Entwurf einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music*), referred to here as his 'Memorandum 1730' (see Chapter IV; the text is included in endnote <sup>A</sup> to Chapter VI).<sup>10</sup> This tactical document was a protest against both the sudden transfer of fees for students from the two main churches to the *Neue Kirche* and the new policy of accepting more non-musical alumni at the *Thomasschule*. With such a document, one has to consider that Bach was perhaps setting his expectations rather high.<sup>11</sup> The instrumentalists' task - in contrast to that of the vocalists - was exclusively to contribute to the *Music*. Therefore it is easier to draw conclusions about the instrumentalists than about the singers. The Memorandum makes a clear distinction between both groups. As instrumentalists Bach mentioned:<sup>12</sup>

- 2 also perhaps 3 for the Violin 1
- 2 to 3 for the Violin 2
- 2 for the Viola 1
- 2 for the Viola 2

<sup>7</sup> Praetorius 1619/III, p. 172f.; Günther Wagner, "Die Chorbesetzung bei J. S. Bach und ihre Vorgeschichte. Anmerkungen zur "hinlänglichen" Besetzung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert", *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 43/4, 1986, p. 282.

<sup>8</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Composition and organisation of Bach's performances", *De wereld van de Bach-cantatas* 3, ed. Ton Koopman / Christoph Wolff, Abcoude 1998, p. 147.

<sup>9</sup> Telemann 1715, in Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Bach Stilgerecht aufführen - Wunschbild und Wirklichkeit, 1984-1991", *Bach und die Nachwelt* IV, hrsg. v. Joachim Lüdtke, Laaber 2005, p. 201.

<sup>10</sup> See n. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Schulze 2005, pp. 195, 199.

<sup>12</sup> Memorandum 1730, r. 34ff.

- 2 for the Violoncello
- 1 for the Violone
- 2 also perhaps if appropriate 3 for the Oboe
- 1 also 2 for the Bassoon
- 3 for the Trumpets
- 1 for the Timpani

- (- 2 auch wohl 3 zur Violino 1.
- 2 biß 3 zur Violino 2.
- 2 zur Viola 1.
- 2 zur Viola 2.
- 2 zum Violoncello.
- 1 zum Violon.
- 2 auch wohl nach Beschaffenheit 3 zu denen Hautbois.
- 1 auch 2 zum Basson.
- 3 zu denen Trompeten.
- 1 zu denen Paucken.)

He also added that sometimes two flautists were needed (traversos or recorders). In this way he reached a minimum of 20 (and a maximum of 24). Thus he was more modest than Kuhnau in 1709 and Scheibe in 1740. That the Memorandum is a tactical document is also shown by the fact that Bach did not mention that these 20 to 24 musicians were only needed for cantatas with a large ensemble, as was customary on feast days as well as the annual council change days. Two second violinists appear only in five reused cantatas from Weimar (BWV 12, 31, 61, 131, 182; as far as is known BWV 54 has not been reused). Bach also did not mention that he sometimes had private pupils and - with one exception - that city musicians usually had *Gesellen*, whom they could also take along. One *Geselle* not mentioned by name apparently played bassoon permanently in 1730; Bach simply called him 'Der Geselle'.<sup>13</sup> Kuhnau spoke of the participation of the 'Stadt Pfeiffer Kunstgeiger und Gesellen' (plural).<sup>F</sup> First trumpeter Johann Gottfried Reiche could, until his death in 1734, rely on his assistant Johann Ferdinand Bamberg who in 1737 applied for the vacant position of city musician (but was not appointed). Andreas Glöckner supposes that Bamberg played - unpaid - third trumpet.<sup>14</sup> The third trumpeter's place was called *vacat* by Bach, as was that of the timpanist. The timpani will probably also have been played by a *Stadtpfeiffer* or his *Geselle*, as this was the prerogative of the profession. A possible third oboe part and a second bassoon part could also have been played by *Gesellen*.

Bach did not mention the two horn players, presumably because the first and second trumpeters also played horn; in Bach's church cantatas trumpeters and horn players never played simultaneously. Bach also omitted the occasionally prescribed cornetti and trombones. All the town musicians were capable of playing various instruments. Like Kuhnau, Bach did not name an organist or a harpsichordist, but this is logical in view of the purpose of the Memorandum: the churches had their own organist (Chapter XVIII), and Bach - certainly still in 1730 - usually conducted from the harpsichord himself (Chapter XIX).

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<sup>13</sup> Memorandum 1730, r. 67.

<sup>14</sup> Andreas Glöckner, "The ripienists must also be at least eight, namely two for each part': The Leipzig line of 1730 - some observations", *Early Music* 39/4, 2011, p. 583.

The list seems to imply that all the parts for brass and oboists were played by a single player, as were those for the violone and timpani. For the first and second violin parts, according to the Memorandum, two or three players were used. This should probably be read as: the larger the instrumentation, the larger the number of ripienists, which were added to enhance the splendour. The number of bassoons must also have depended on the size of the instrumentation; apart from BWV 232<sup>1</sup> (*Missa* in b) two separate bassoon parts do not occur. In contrast was the number of oboes Bach mentioned: standard two, but ;'according to the prescribed number of oboe parts' (*nach Beschaffenheit*) sometimes three. The viola and cello parts were apparently always played by two players. This observation seems justified, as Bach mentions a varying number of musicians for the violins and bassoons, but not for the violas and celli.<sup>15</sup>

The Memorandum further shows that in 1730 Bach arranged to have the parts for the first and second trumpet, the concertists of the first and second violin, the first and second oboe and the first bassoon to be played by the city musicians or a *Geselle*. Missing from the list is the seventh city musician, a third *Kunstgeiger* named Christian Ernst Mayer. He had been appointed tower keeper of *Thomaskirche* just before the Memorandum was drafted; hence Bach does not mention him in his list.<sup>16</sup> This musician probably played the violin, although presumably not always, since the city musicians could play numerous instruments. For each instrumental part Bach named only one musician; the names of the ripienists were not mentioned at all. The precise function of the third *Kunstgeiger* therefore remains unknown. In that same year Mayer was succeeded by Johann Friedrich Caroli.<sup>17</sup>

A large instrumentation with three trumpets, timpani, three oboes, two flutes, twice three violins, two violas, two celli, violone and two bassoons (but without second violas) thus required 22 instrumentalists (apart from the organist and the harpsichordist). A cantata with a smaller instrumentation (two oboes, twice two violins, two violas, two celli, violone and bassoon) required 12 instrumentalists, six to eight of whom were professionals. Although Bach did not rate their skills highly,<sup>18</sup> they must have been able to play his virtuoso parts well.<sup>18</sup> According to Bach himself, the parts for the lower strings (twice viola, twice cello, violone) were always played by (five) pupils of the *Thomasschule*, for lack of good players—and usually also the (one or two) ripienists on the second violin.<sup>1</sup> He did not mention the (one or two) ripienists on the first violin; from the phrasing one can deduce that he liked to use (one or two) students for this part and sometimes also for the second violin; one of these parts could probably be played later by the third *Kunstgeiger*. Furthermore, it is known that students often took care of the parts for traverso (up to two). Thus the group of students and pupils together consisted of six to eleven players. Not mentioned are a third oboist, a third trumpeter and a timpanist. As mentioned, it is likely that *Gesellen* or the third *Kunstgeiger* were used for these; the third oboist may also have been a student or pupil. These three play-

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<sup>15</sup> It should not be concluded from these numbers that Bach always played a bassoon and a violone: trumpets and timpani, for instance, only played when asked. That he always included a violone and a bassoon, when he had good players at his disposal, is made plausible on other grounds in the chapters on these instruments.

<sup>16</sup> Schulze 2005, p. 198.

<sup>17</sup> Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, Bd. III, Leipzig 1941, p. 150; Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach, The learned musician*, New York / Oxford 2000 [Ned. vert.: *Johann Sebastian Bach. His life, his music, his genius*, Utrecht 2000], p. 290.

<sup>18</sup> Even though this is doubted by Beverly Jerold: see § IV.3.

ers were only necessary for cantatas with a large ensemble. For a small ensemble on an ordinary Sunday only twelve players were needed (see above): seven or eight city musicians (including *Geselle* and assuming the trumpeters played the violin) and four or five pupils. Presumably for the instrumental parts in a small ensemble students were only needed when traversos were used.

Traversos were new in Leipzig when Bach arrived there. The city musicians did not yet play them. From 1724 (the first year in which traversos were used in cantatas) to 1727 Friedrich Gottlieb Wild, a student and private pupil of Bach, played the traverso in the church services.<sup>19</sup> The traverso was also played by Christoph Gottlob Wecker until 1728, and from 1727-1735 by Bach's son Johann Gottfried Bernhard. Later private pupils also often played the traverso.<sup>19</sup> In 1745 Carl Friedrich Pfaffe auditioned as a candidate for *Stadtptfeiffer* and the traverso is mentioned among the instruments he played.<sup>20</sup> As far as the parts show, recorder parts were usually played by the oboists (BWV 69a, 46, 81, 122, 249), but in BWV 244 by violinists.<sup>21</sup>

### **Information derived from the parts; the status of city musicians**

When an apparently complete set of instrumental parts has been preserved, these (incl. the transposed continuo part for organ) are always singular, with the exception of those for the violins and continuo: there are standard two parts for the first violin, two for the second violin, and usually two untransposed parts for continuo.<sup>22</sup> The three extra parts for ripienists are called *doublets*; they were often preserved separately to the other parts and frequently together with the score. More than one doublet per part is rare.<sup>23</sup>

Joshua Rifkin expresses doubts about more musicians playing from one part.<sup>24</sup> But if Bach had two violists playing along by default (see above) and there was only one viola part by default, this means that both violists were reading from the same part. Reading together from one part was then (at least for the viola players) apparently a fixed procedure with Bach. The fact that there are always two parts for the first and second violin is self-evident for solo violin parts accompanied by strings: in BWV 1 for example, there are parts for *Violino concertato* I and II and for *Violino* I and II. The latter two are the ripieno parts. So one violinist (probably a *Kunstgeiger*) played from each concertato part, and one or two from the ripieno parts. There were always two violin parts, even in large ensembles without violin soloists. This may seem exaggerated: to have three persons reading from one part would have been awkward, but it was possible.

However, even with a small ensemble (e.g. for BWV 48), in which one expects only two first and two second violins (without solo parts), two identical parts were made. This

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<sup>19</sup> Ardal Powell / David Lasocki, "Bach and the flute: the players, the instruments, the music," *Early Music* 23/1, 1995, p. 14.

<sup>20</sup> *BD* I, no. 80, p. 147.

<sup>21</sup> Prinz 2005, p. 213.

<sup>22</sup> Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J.S. Bachs*, Kassel 21976, p. 8f.

<sup>23</sup> Although there are three parts for violin 1 and 2 in BWV 82, the third part is newer, and apparently replaces an older one: later notations such as *Adagio* are missing in one older part. And only for the last version of the *Johannes-Passion* did Bach write additional parts for violin 1 and viola respectively; then he had a larger number of musicians at his disposal, possibly because a *Music* was not being performed at the same time by Choir II in the other main church. Joshua Rifkin, "More (and Less) on Bach's Orchestra," *Performance Practice Review* 4/1, 1991, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

seems strange: if two violists could play from one part, why not two violinists? The answer could be that students and pupils were not supposed to read along from a part of a city musician, who had a higher status.<sup>25, K</sup> Maybe only a third *Kunstgeiger* was allowed to read along from the part of the first violinist. Perhaps the city musicians were also entitled to permanent seats together, so that ripienists were necessarily placed in a different spot. Possibly only in special cases (e.g. when two violinists had to play a duet) deviations from the rule were necessary.

Solo parts are almost always indicated as such (*Violino solo* etc.). Bach's orchestration shows no sections where thinning out of the orchestra is self-evident, not even with dynamic characters like *piano*. The players who had to read from doublets were never the only ones to see a *tacet* indication, unless the concertists had a solo part.<sup>26</sup>

The number of continuo players is less clear than that of the violins and violas. There was a separate transposed part for the organist (chapter XVIII), and Bach usually played the harpsichord himself from his score (chapter XIX). In addition, according to the Memorandum, players for two celli, one or two bassoons and a violone were needed. For these four to five musicians only two parts were available. The part of the first bassoon was played by a *Geselle* in 1730. One might expect a separate part for him, but there is rarely one (Chapter XXIV). This seems to indicate that the *Geselle* played together with another member of the continuo group from one part, which according to the Memorandum was always a pupil.<sup>1</sup> Possibly the association of the *Geselle* with pupils can be explained by the status of the *Geselle*, which was lower than that of the city musicians. That a different player and a bassoonist read together from one part is shown, for example, by the heading of a continuo part for BWV 97 (fig. 2): *Continuo*, supplemented in a later manuscript by: *pro Bassono e Violoncello*.

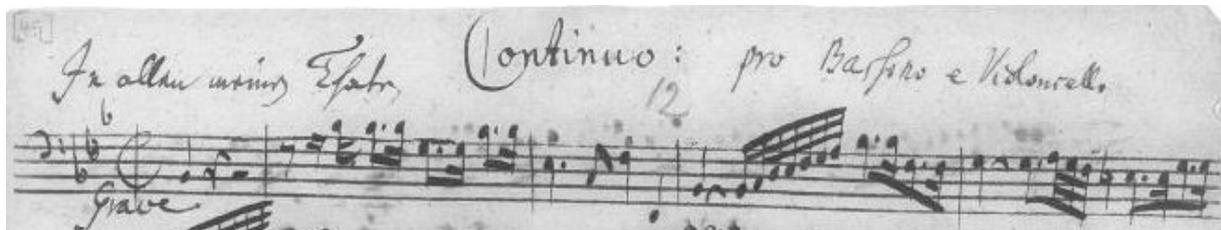


Fig. 2. BWV 97, part 1, beginning, continuo part.

Bach also changed the attribution *Continuo* in a part for a cantata by Johann Ludwig Bach to *Violoncello et Bassono*, and a continuo part for a cantata by Wilhelm Friedeman Bach was given the inscription *Violoncello e Bassono* by father Bach.<sup>27</sup> If a second bassoon would play along, then three people would have to play from one part; that may not have been comfortable, but it was possible.

<sup>25</sup> Georg Philipp Telemann also believed that good violinists and ripienists should read from different parts (see endnote K). See also Wagner 1986, p. 300.

<sup>26</sup> Karl Hochreither, *Zur Aufführungspraxis der Vokal-Instrumentalwerke Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Berlin 1983, p. 116.

<sup>27</sup> *Ich aber ging für dir über* JLB 16 (BDig: JLB nr. 16) resp. *Lasset uns ablegen die Werke der Finsternis* Fk 80 (BDig: BR-WFB nr. F1). See Joshua Rifkin, "Performance questions in Bach's *Trauerode*", *Bach studies* 2, ed. Daniel R. Melamed, Cambridge 1995, p. 126, n. 22.

Particularly later in his life Bach apparently had a separate harpsichordist play along (chapter XIX). The harpsichord part could then be read along by one or more other musicians. This is clear from later inscriptions on a continuo part for the cantata *Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn* BWV 23 (*Violoncello*, later altered to *Baßon*, to which *é Cembalo* was added later; Fig. 3).



Fig. 3. BWV 23, part 1, beginning, continuo part 2<sup>nd</sup> version in b.

Many parts with the caption *Continuo* contain figures. This indicates that these parts were played on the harpsichord (Chapter XIX). *Violone* parts for *Barmherziges Herze der ewigen Liebe* BWV 185 and *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* BWV 62 were later (partly) figured and thus also used by the harpsichordist. In the cantata *Ich will den Kreuzstab gerne tragen* BWV 56 it seems that in part 2 the cellist played along from the score, presumably with harpsichordist Bach. The conclusions from these examples are not entirely conclusive: perhaps the parts were used on one occasion for one instrument and on another occasion for another. However, if the harpsichordist had claimed the part entirely for himself, only one continuo part would have been left for two celli, one or two bassoons and a violone: this does not seem feasible.

The absence of a third transposed continuo part should not lead to the conclusion that the use of two cellists and two bassoonists was exceptional. After all, if two other players could read along with the harpsichord part, the same must have been possible with the other untransposed continuo part. For the first part of the *Weinachtsoratorium* BWV 248/I, in which Bach used two celli and two bassoons, he made three untransposed continuo parts: one for the bassoons, one for the violoncelli and one for *Continuo*; in this instance that could mean harpsichord + violone.<sup>28</sup>

From the number of parts, it is not clear whether two cellists played along. After all, two cellists could have played from one continuo part. However, there are notes on the use of two celli in the continuo lines in scores and parts. Bach used the plural *Violoncelli* for the continuo lines in the scores of a number of works, mostly for larger ensembles.<sup>29</sup> The term *Violoncello* (singular) is also used, but this says nothing about the number of instruments. Even violin parts with multiple instruments often have the singular term *Violino*. The plural forms are not found in the heading of the parts either but in indications of differentiation

<sup>28</sup> Perhaps this also applies to the *Johannes-Passion* BWV 245 (the continuo parts have been lost). Of the three continuo parts of BWV 100 and 195, in each case one has been taken from an earlier version; it may therefore be assumed that normally only two parts were used at a time.

<sup>29</sup> BWV 7, 97, 119 (part 1), 243 (part 10), 244 (parts 27a and 59; *fac.* III.3), 245 (part 1) and 248 (part 1). Bach wrote for two solo violoncelli in part 3 of the (probably) re-performed Weimar cantata BWV 163 (*Aria à 2 Violoncello obligat: è Basso*) and in BWV 174/1 (arrangement 3<sup>rd</sup> Brandenburg concerto part 1) Bach even used three celli (*Violoncello concertato*). However, in these cases the celli played solo parts alongside the continuo part. Two cello-continuo parts of BWV 23 have been preserved that were used for the application piece in Leipzig (1723). See BC I, p. 212f.

(temporary divisions of one continuo part into, for example, celli and bassoons on the one hand, and organ and violone on the other). In view of the number mentioned in the Memorandum, it remains probable that Bach always used two celli, but on the basis of the above considerations it cannot be entirely ruled out that sometimes in smaller ensembles only one cellist played. This also applies to the violas.



Fig. 4. BWV 244, part 59, continuo part choir 1, beginning.

Bach usually used one *Violone* or *Violon*, but sometimes *Violoni* (fig. 4).<sup>30</sup> He also liked to use two bassoons for larger ensembles.<sup>31</sup> Sometimes *Bassoni* or *Bassons* were mentioned instead of *Basson* or *Bassone* (fig. 5). Two obligatory bassoons were also prescribed in BWV 232<sup>1</sup>/11 (*Quoniam*). Here the musicians read from one part together. Following this, in the *Cum sancto Spiritu*, it is noted: *Due Bassoni in unison*.

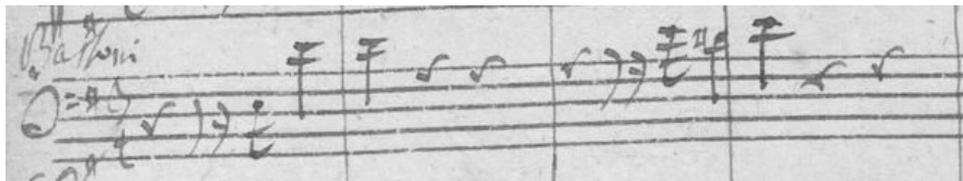


Fig. 5. BWV 75, score, part 1 beginning, system Bassoni

Sometimes traversos were used two to a part, as in the score of the original 1733 version of 'Domine Deus' from the Missa BWV 232<sup>1</sup>/8. But in the later complete mass the aria is only assigned to the first flute, marked *solo*. In a re-performance of the aria 'Ich folge dir gleichfalls' from the *Johannes-Passion* BWV 245/9 the opposite happened. Because in the other parts of this passion both flautists sometimes played different parts and therefore had their own part, this part was written out twice. And of the cantata *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* BWV 9 there is a flute doublet, with only the opening chorus and the closing chorale, that was used for a repeat performance in 1735, while remarkably enough both flautists could have played from the original part.<sup>32</sup> Why Bach wrote the doublet is not certain. It is conceivable that the complete part was played by a *Stadtppfeiffer* in 1735 and the doublet by a student or pupil.<sup>33</sup>

This assumption has consequences. If a flute part had been played by two students, Bach would have had no reason to have had an extra part made: the students would have

<sup>30</sup> This is the case with BWV 119 and 244. By *Violoni*, however, Bach also appears to have meant: violone + violoncelli (BWV 97, 170, 194). Details are given in § XXII.4.

<sup>31</sup> This is clear from the bassoon parts for BWV 69a and 97 and from the scores of BWV 75, 119, 194, 243, 245 and 248/I. Laurence Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group*, Cambridge (USA) 1987, p. 117.

<sup>32</sup> Schulze 2005, p. 187.

<sup>33</sup> As suggested above, the city musicians always played from their own part - possibly because they had their own place, remote from the ripienist.

read from a single part. Nowadays such a use of two players remains unnoticed, because it is no longer evident. It is therefore quite possible that Bach more often arranged to have the traverso parts played by two players, without this being apparent from the score or the part. Indeed, this is even possible in a work with two flute parts. The fact that Bach sometimes had four traverso players at his disposal is clear from the *Matthäus-Passion* BWV 244. One's thoughts then turn involuntarily to (re)performances of the *Johannes-Passion*: here Bach also had the instrumentalists of the second Sunday choir at his disposal.

In the *Matthäus-Passion*, the recorder parts in movement 19 are found in both the concertato violin parts and in the violin doublets for the ripienists. Thus it seems that the recorder parts were played by two players. Again, copying the parts twice seems logical because of the status and / or position of the city musicians.<sup>34</sup> The same applies to *Schauet doch und sehet* BWV 46: in addition to the recorder parts for movements 1, 2, 5 and 6, movement 6 in both *Oboe da Caccia* parts is headed: *Fiaut: 1 resp. Fiaut: 2*. The players of the *Oboi da Caccia* were city musicians and therefore had their own part. It is also possible that Bach more often arranged the recorder parts to be played by two players, at least when he did not have the city musicians available to play them. In the cantata *Sie werden aus Saba alle kommen* BWV 65 for example, the first two *Stadtpfeiffer* played horn and the other two *Oboe da caccia*. The three *Kunstgeiger* played the violin and the *Geselle* the bassoon, so students and / or pupils must have played the recorder. They could have shared these parts and so it cannot be deduced how many musicians had use of them.<sup>35</sup>

### **Bach's wishes**

In 1709 Kuhnau asked for four first and four second violinists.<sup>F</sup> After 1700 he regularly complained that such line-ups were less and less possible and asked the Council in vain to provide sufficient means. Bach also came into contact with larger orchestras, for instance in Dresden, and he undoubtedly knew the aforementioned *Grosse Concert-Gesellschaft* with its five first violins and four or six second violins. Would not this number have been Bach's ideal? In the margins of the discussion initiated in 1982 by Joshua Rifkin about the size of Bach's 'choir' (chapter VI), the size of Bach's 'orchestra' also came up for discussion. Hans-Joachim Schulze and Ton Koopman in particular believed that Bach would have aspired to a larger orchestra than was apparent from the Memorandum.<sup>36</sup> The arguments can be summarised as follows:

1. Larger orchestras existed in Bach's environment;
2. Ripienists may also have played from the parts intended for the concertists;
3. Ripieno parts may have been lost.

These arguments are discussed below.

A larger (multi-chorus) church ensemble with more singers and a larger number of instrumentalists was apparently more common in the 17<sup>th</sup> than in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (one thinks of the works by Michael Praetorius, Samuel Scheidt, Heinrich Schütz etc.). Kuhnau looks

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<sup>34</sup> Alfred Dürr, *NBA II.5, Kritischer Bericht*, Kassel 1974, p. 51f. (Stimmen 14-17).

<sup>35</sup> No parts of this cantata have been preserved.

<sup>36</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Johann Sebastian Bach's Orchestra: Some Unanswered Questions," *Early Music* 17/1, 1989, pp. 11-14; Ton Koopman, "Bach's Choir, an ongoing story," *Early Music* 26/1, 1998, pp. 109-121, p. 117f.

back on a long tradition. The demands of Bach's Memorandum are more modest and comparable to those of a contemporary like Mattheson in Hamburg (see above). Like Kuhnau and Bach, Mattheson complained about the number of musicians available. But Bach complained above all about the *quality* of his singers and players: his music was after all much more complex and difficult to play than older music. Schulze believes that with his smaller orchestras he probably preferred quality to an ideal quantity. Indeed, he believes that a rich sound from a large group of strings was essential to Bach, although this cannot be proven. So perhaps Bach would have liked larger orchestras, if only he had had enough good musicians.<sup>37</sup>

Partly in response to an article by Koopman, Rifkin published an article in 1997 about the preserved parts for the *Missa* BWV 232<sup>1</sup> for Dresden. Three violin parts have been preserved: two parts for violin 1 (both with the name *Violino 1*) and one for violin 2. In the aria 'Laudamus te', the first part for violin 1 is the solo part and the other the accompaniment part. Apart from the indication *violino solo*, the first part contains no indication that a possible ripieno player played along in this aria, but suddenly kept silent, or played along with the ripieno player(s) as a matter of course, as Koopman assumed. This makes it unlikely that ripienists were reading along from this part, according to Rifkin.<sup>38</sup> In response to this, Koopman argued that sometimes it was not possible to turn the page over while playing, if only one player played from a part; this was also the case with the above mentioned solo violin part in 'Laudamus te'. So there must have been a second player.<sup>39</sup> Rifkin admitted that it was sometimes difficult to turn the page over, but that this was also true for parts which were with certainty played by a single player, such as the 'Quoniam' for both bassoonists, and they certainly played both their solo parts together from one part. While Bach took great pains to make the turning of the pages as easy as possible, he did not always succeed in this. Quite how this was solved without a second player remains a question.<sup>40</sup>

BWV 232 may not have been written for the churches in Leipzig, but BWV 244 certainly was. Just as for the second choir, a total of four violin parts have been preserved for the first choir:

1. *Violino 1 1mi Chori*,
2. *Violino 1 1mi Chori* (doublet),
3. *Violino 2 1mi Chori* and
4. *Violino 2 1mi Chori* (doublet).

The score mentioned under number 1 contains the solo part of aria 39 ('Erbarme dich'), but not the accompanying part for the first violin. This can be found, as expected, in part no. 2, but also in part no. 3(!). Only part no. 4 contains the accompaniment for the second violin. For the second choir exactly the same procedure was followed for aria 42 ('Geb mir meinen Jesum wieder').<sup>41</sup> This special scoring makes sense especially when parts 1 and 3 were

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<sup>37</sup> Schulze 1989, pp. 11, 14.

<sup>38</sup> Joshua Rifkin, "Page turns, players and ripieno parts: more questions of scoring in Bach's vocal music," *Early Music* 25/4, 1997, p. 303f.

<sup>39</sup> Ton Koopman, "One-to-a-part? Who then turns the pages? More on Bach's chorus", *Early Music* 25/3, 1997, p. 541.

<sup>40</sup> Rifkin 1997, p. 728f.

<sup>41</sup> Daniel R. Melamed, *Hearing Bach's Passions*, Oxford 2005, p. 61f.; the manuscripts can be consulted via *BDig*.

played by single players. If the doublets were also played by a single player, the ratio solo violin : violin 1 : violin 2 = 1 : 2 : 1, and if the doublets were played by two players, 1 : 3 : 2; both ratios seem acceptable. Apparently Bach did not want the accompaniment for the first violin to be weaker than that for the second. With a larger ensemble of, perhaps, six first violinists, the one solo violinist would not have mattered so much. Moreover: ripienists who read along from the concertists part would then not have had their own accompaniment. Bach apparently did nothing to make these available to (hypothetical) ripienists. So there is no reason to assume that Bach arranged to have parts 1 and 3 to be played by more than one player. There is a second reason to assume that also the doublets were initially single-voiced: version 1 of the *Matthäus-Passion* BWV 244b was performed in the *Thomaskirche*, where each of the two side choirs could accommodate a maximum of ten instrumentalists, including four wind players (Chapter II). Then there was room for a maximum of six strings: two first violins, two second violins and (one or) two violas. The continuo group was situated downstairs (chapter VIII).<sup>42</sup>

Many parts have been lost, Koopman argues, and he is right about that.<sup>43</sup> So it might be possible that any extra doublets for the violinists were lost as well. However, Rifkin shows that this would be too coincidental. Many parts may have been lost, but often complete sets of parts have survived. These contain three doublets, namely for the first violin, for the second violin and for the continuo. A second set of doublets for the same performance has never been found. That precisely these extra sets were lost is not statistically explainable, according to Rifkin.<sup>44</sup>

All in all, there is no reason to assume that Bach's orchestra in Leipzig was larger than he described in the Memorandum. Neither are there any indications that he wanted larger groups of strings,<sup>45</sup> unless one should regard the last performance (1749) of the *Johannes-Passion* with additional doublets for violin 1 and viola as such.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Although the second version of the *Matthäus-Passion* BWV 244 was probably not performed in the *Thomaskirche*, but in the *Nikolaikirche* in 1737, it is not obvious that Bach drastically increased the number of strings. Even a possible doubling to two ripieno players (and thus a total of twelve violinists!) would hardly have been feasible.

<sup>43</sup> Koopman, 1997, p. 541f.

<sup>44</sup> Rifkin 1991, p. 8f.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.* p. 7f.

<sup>46</sup> BC III, p. 986; *BDig*: D-B Mus. ms. Bach St 111, Faszikel 4.

*String and continuo parts that were played by more than one player were very common in Germany at the time of Bach, also in Leipzig. It was possible - but not self-evident - for more than one player to play from a single part. There is no reason to assume that the number of instrumentalists in Bach's orchestra in Leipzig differed from his statements in the Memorandum (1730). The violin parts were played by two or three instrumentalists, the viola, cello and sometimes bassoon parts by two players and this may also have been the case for traverso and recorder. All other instrumental parts were played by a single player. Pupils and students often had to read from one part together, but separate to the city musicians, who apparently generally had their own parts; possibly because of status considerations, or because they were placed separately. The continuo players probably sometimes even played with three musicians simultaneously from one part.*

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Rens Bijma, 28 February 2022

With thanks to Albert Clement and Jos van Veldhoven

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<sup>A</sup> Among others, the following authors:

Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann, *Musicalischer Trichter*, Frankfurt an der Spree 1706.

p. 34. §. 9. Was ist Musica Figuralis? Musica Figuralis ist / wenn Vocalisten und Instrumentisten zusammen musiciren.

p. 80. 5. Solo, heist allein / soll nemlich der Vocalist singen oder der Instrumentist spielen; aber 6. Tutti, Ripieni heist / wenn alle Vocal- und Instrumental-Stimmen zugleich zusammen fallen.

7. Capella ist / wenn in einer Vocal-Music ein absonderlich Chor in gewissen Clauseln zur Pracht und Stärckung der Music mit einfällt / muß daher an einem a partem Ort von den Concertisten abgesondert gestellt werden. Es können aber diese Capellen in Ermangelung der Personen wol ausgelassen werden / weil sie von dem Concertisten ohne dem schon mitgesungen werden. [...]

10. Favorito, ist eine concertirende Stimme / [...]

p. 82. 4. Motetto [...] ist eine Kirchen-Harmonie von 4. Stimmen starck / (bißweilen sind mehr vorhanden) ohne Instrumenten nach dem Hammerschmiedische Fuß gesetzt / darin die Stimmen gar nicht / oder doch wenig fugiren und concertiren. [...]

p. 83. 5. Concerto ist ein Sing- und Kling-Stück / darin die Vocalisten und Instrumentisten gleichsam gegen einander streiten und certiren. [...]

Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Leipzig 1732.

p. 179. Concertisten, ein Auszug der besten Sänger und Instrumentisten.

p. 178. Concertante (*ital.*) Dieses Adjectivum wird zu allen Recitirenden Stimmen gesetzt, um sie von denen, so nur im grossen Chor, oder à Capella singen, zu unterscheiden. [...]

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p. 528. Ripieno [...] heisset mit vollem Chor. Wird öfters durch ein blosses R angedeutet; auch als ein Stimm-Titul gebraucht, und über diejenigen Stimmen gesetzt, welche nur zur Ausfüll- und Verstärkung einer Music beygefüget werden.

p. 139. Capella, [...] [3. denjenigen besondern oder grossen Chor, welcher in einem musicalischen Stücke nur bißweilen zur Verstärkung mit einfällt, [...].

p. 4. A capella (*ital.*) heisset: wenn Vocal- und Instrumental-Stimmen sich mit einander zugleich, und zwar dergestalt hören lassen, daß diese eben dasjenige, was jene haben, executiren.

p. 161. Choro (*ital.*) Chorus (*lat.*), [...] bedeutet [1. den in einer Kirche, oder anders wo, abgesonderten Ort, woselbst musicirt wird. [...]. (2. Denjenigen Theil eines musicalischen Stücks, worinn alle Stimmen zusammen, und mit einander zugleich gehen. [...].

Johann Christoph and Johann David Stössel (Barnickel), *Kurzgefaßtes Musicalisches Lexicon*, Chemnitz 1737.

p. 84. Chor, Chorus. Wann in der Vocal- so wohl als Instrumental-Music viel Stimmen zugleich sich hören lassen, so heisset es ein Chor.

p. 78f. Capella, is in the Music

1.) ein sonderlicher Chor, welcher zu gewisser Zeit in denen Clausulis, gleichwie die Ripieni, zu Stärkung und Pracht der Music mit einfällt.

2.) ist Capella so viel, als Chorus vocalis, welcher allezeit mit lauter Menschen-Stimmen starck soll besetzt werden.

3.) Ist Capella ein Chorus Instrumentalis, sonst Capella fidicina, so absonderlich zu einem Concert componiret, und an einem besondern Ort in der Kirche gestellet wird, doch in Ermanglung der Personen auch ausgelassen werden kan.

p. 352. Solo, wird in der Music diejenige Stimme genannt, so für sich allein gesungen, oder gespielt wird.

p. 409. Tutti, oder Capella, ist ein Terminus in der Music, welcher gemeinlich unter den General-Bass gesetzt wird; heißt so viel als alle, und bedeutet, daß daselbst, wo es stehet, alle Vocal- und Instrumental-Stimmen zusammen fallen und musiciren würden.

Johann Mattheson, *Kern Melodischer Wissenschaft*, Hamburg 1737, p. 100.

Ein Quatuor, oder Satz mit vier Stimmen, verliert schon einiger maassen den Nahmen einer Aria, und wird gemeinlich [...] ein Chor, Coro, Tutti [...]

Wiewohl auch eine vierstimmige Aria, ohne Instrumenten, so eingerichtet werden mag, daß sie einem Chor, der immer, bey heutiger Weise, accompagnirt seyn will, nicht so gar ähnlich siehet.

<sup>B</sup> Johann Beer, *Musicalische Discourse*, Nürnberg 1719, p. 11.

Was aber die Frage anbelanget / wieviel eigentlich zu einer genugsamen Capellen subjecta erfordert werden? sage ich: Daß man mit 8. Personen eine stattliche Harmonie zu wege bringen kan. Dieser wären 4. Vocalists / 2. Violinists / ein Organist, und der Director. Wäre aber Director oder Majestro beynebens eines Instrumentes erfahren / gienge einer in die Zahl mit unter / und brauchete man also nur 7. Personen. Denn mit 6. Stimmen gibt es einen vollständigen Satz / und is weiter nicht nöthig / sich um ein stärker Corpus zu bemühen / und im Fall diese siebene gute Virtuosi können die Ripien-Stimmen gar leichtlich mit weit geringern subjectis bestellet / und also der Chor / nach Anordnung eines klugen Directoris, vortrefflich / und zwar auf eine solche Manier angerichtet werden / daß es der stärckesten Music gleich komme. [...]

<sup>C</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot*, Hamburg 1728, p. 64.

Die vier tausend Lob-Sänger des Herrn mit Saitenspiel, deren 1. Paral. XXIV gedacht wird, zeigen auch deutlich genug, und per majora vota an, daß diejenigen gewaltig irren welche mit **Johann Beer**, in seinen musicalischen Discursen, die Frage aufwerffen: wie viel eigentlich Leute zu einer **vollständigen** Music erfordert werden? und darauf antworten: **Man könne mit acht Personen eine stattliche Harmonie zu Wege bringen**; nehmlich mit vier Vocalisten,

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zween Violinisten, einem Organisten und dem Directori. Ja, sie suchen es mit ihrer **vollständigen** Besetzung noch genauer, und wollen es gar mit **sieben** bestellen, wenn der letzt-benannte Director eines Instruments erfahren ist, und selber mitspielet, oder auch mitsinget. Nun gibt es zwar mit sechs Stimmen schon einen völligen Satz auf dem Papier; es kann aber eine solche einfache Bestellung in grossen Kirchen nicht das geringste verschlagen, vielweniger **stattlich** heissen. Wenn man auch zu den Ripien-Stimmen noch **acht** geringe Leute mehr nähme, so bringen doch ihre unreinen Griffe und ihr falsches Blasen mehr Schaden, als Vortheil. Zudem werden Trompeter und Paucker, samt einem Violonisten, unaussetzlich erfordert. Ein paar Hautbois und ein Baßon sind eben so wenig zu entbehren, wenn man die geringste Abwechslung haben will. Und da läufft es doch auf vier und zwanzig hinaus, welches die kleinste Zahl zur Kirchen-Music ist.

<sup>D</sup> Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, ed. Leipzig 1745. Das 78. Stück, 1740, p. 713f.

Wegen der Bestellung der Stimmen selbst ist aber noch zu merken, daß der Director auf eine billige und vernünftige Gleichheit zu sehen hat, damit sich alle Stimmen besser heben, und eine Stimme so gut, als die andere, deutlich werde. Wenn bey einer Musik Trompeten und Pauken sind: so soll die erste und die andere Geige zum wenigsten vier- bis fünfmal, die Bratsche aber zweymal besetzt seyn. Der Baß soll auch, außer dem Concertbasse, noch mit drey bis vier kleinern Bässen und mit ein Paar Bassons besetzt seyn. Die Geigen müssen auch durche Hoboen verdoppelt werden. [...]

Ueberhaupt aber soll die erste und andere Geige jederzeit stark besetzt seyn. Sind bey jeder Stimme drey bis vier Geigen: so sind zwo Bratschen und vier bis fünf Bässe überhaupt darzu nöthig. Wenn Hoboen gebraucht werden: so müssen die Bässe auch allemal mit Bassons verstärkt werden. Je weniger Leute in einem Chore sind, desto mehr Behutsamkeit muß man anwenden, sie so zu ordnen, und zu Bestellung der Stimmen einzutheilen, damit doch alle Stimmen können gehöret werden, und der Nachdruck des Stückes durch keine unähnliche, oder ungleiche Besetzung derselben, gehindert und aufgehoben werde.

<sup>E</sup> Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Berlin 1752, p. 185.

Wer eine Musik gut aufführen will, muss drauf sehen, dass er ein jedes Instrument, nach seinem Verhältniß, gehörig besetze; und nicht von der einen Art zu viel, von der andern zu wenig nehme. Ich will ein Verhältnis vorschlagen, welches, wie ich dafür halte, zureichend, und am besten getroffen seyn wird. Den Clavicymbal verstehe ich bey allen Musiken, sie seyn kleine oder grosse, mit dabey.

Zu vier Violinen nehme man: eine Bratsche, einen Violoncell, und einen Contraviolon, von mittelmäßiger Größe.

Zu sechs Violinen: eben dasselbe, und noch einen Basson.

Zu acht Violinen gehören: zwo Bratschen, zweene Violoncelle, noch ein Contraviolon, der aber etwas grösser ist als der erste, zweene Hoboen, zwo Flöten, und zweene Bassons.

Zu zehn Violinen: eben dasselbe, nur noch ein Violoncell mehr.

Zu zwölf Violinen geselle man: drey Bratschen, vier Violoncelle, zweene Contraviolone, drey Bassons, vier Hoboen, vier Flöten, und wenn es in einem Orchester ist, noch einen Flugel mehr, und eine Theorbe.

<sup>F</sup> Johann Kuhnau, *An E. Hoch Edlen und Hochweisen Rath zu Leipzigunterdienstliches Memoraiial. Erinnerung des Cantoris die Schul und Kirchen Music betreffend*, 1709, published in Spitta II, p. 856ff.

12. So wäre (sonderlich da die aus 8 Personen zusammen bestehenden Stadt Pfeiffer Kunst Geiger und Gesellen zu blasenden *Instrumenten*, nehmlich zu 2 oder mehr *Trompeten*, 2 *Hautbois*, oder *Cornetten*, 3 *Trombonen* oder andern dergleichen Pfeiffen, 1 *Fagott*, und einem *Basson* kaum zu langen, und man nicht sehen kan, wo zu der übrigen Geigen *Music*, welche die angenehmste ist, wie sie izo in ganz *Europa* und auch bey uns starck bestellet wird, da bey denen beyden *Violinen* immer zum wenigsten 8 Personen stehen, und forlgentlich zu denen gedoppelt besetzten *Braccien*, zu *Violonen*, *Violoncellen*, *Coloscionen*, Paucken und andern Instrumen-

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ten mehr, die Leüte herzunehmen seyn, da sie alle in die neüe Kirche gezogen werden.) niemals so sehr alß izo nöthig gewesen, daß die vormahls auff einige Sängler, vornehmlich aber auff einen starcken *Bassisten* (denn von der Schul Jugend sind dergleichen tieffe Stimmen nicht so leichte zu gewarten, so schickt sie sich auch theils wegen ihres steten Anfanges in der *Music*, theils weil sie auch immer die Stimme *mutiret*, und manche jahre nach dem verlohnen guten *Discant* ganz stum bleibet, mehr zu denen Capellstimmen und denen *tutti*, alß zum *concertiren*) und zwei ordentliche gute *Violisten* angewendeten *Stipendia* wieder dazu angewendet würden.

<sup>G</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, Letter to Heinrich Bokemeyer in Wolfenbüttel, 1729, in Klaus Beckmann and Hans-Joachim Schulze, *Johann Gottfried Walther - Briefe*, Leipzig 1987, p. 72.

[...] es hat aber hierbey meine theils natürliche, theils aber von meiner an einem sehr dunckeln Orte stehenden [...] Orgel, und anderweit herhabende Augen-Maladie, zumahl weñ etliche Personen an einer Stimme sich befunden, sich nicht verbergen laßen, indem mich bückend derselben nähern müßen, so daß es die Herrschafft, welche immer hinten und forne sich befunden, auch zum öfftern Selbst mit *musiciret*, mehr als zu wol inne geworden. Ich bin aber deswegen, Gott lob, nicht blind [...].

<sup>H</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, Memorandum 1730 (see n. 2), r. 48ff.

Der *Numerus* derer zur Kirchen *Music* bestellten Persohnen bestehet aus 8 Persohnen, als 4. StadPfeifern, 3 KunstGeigern und einem Gesellen. Von deren *qualitäten* und musicalischen Wißenschafftten aber etwas nach der Warheit zu erwehnen, verbietet mir die Bescheidenheit. Jedoch ist zu *consideriren*, daß Sie theils *emeriti*, theils auch in keinem solchen | *exercitio* sind, wie es wohl seyn solte.

<sup>I</sup> *Ibid.*, r. 76ff.

Dieser sich zeigende Mangel hat bißhero zum Theil von denen *Studiosis*, meistens aber von denen *Alumnis* müßen ersetzt werden. Die Herrn *Studiosi* haben sich auch darzu willig finden | laßen, in Hoffnung, daß ein oder anderer mit der Zeit einige Ergötzlichkeit bekommen, und etwa mit einem *stipendio* oder *honorario* (wie vor diesem gewöhnlich gewesen) würde benadigt werden. Da nun aber solches nicht geschehen, sondern die etwanigen wenigen *beneficia*, so ehedem an den *Chorum musicum* verwendet worden, *successive* gar entzogen worden, so hat hiemit sich auch die Willfähigkeit der *Studiosorum* verlohren; Denn wer wird ümsonst arbeiten, oder Dienste thun? Fernerhin zu gedencken, daß da die 2de *Violin* meistens, die *Viola*, *Violoncello* und *Violon* aber allezeit (in Ermangelung tüchtigerer *subjectorum*) mit Schülern habe bestellen müßen: So ist leicht zu erachten was dadurch dem *Vocal Chore* ist entgangen. Dieses ist nur von Sontäglichen *Musiquen* berühret worden. Soll ich aber die Fest-Tages *Musiquen*, (als an welchen in denen beeden HauptKirchen die *Music* zugleich besorgen muß) erwehnen, so wird erstlich der Mangel derer benöthigten *subjecten* noch deutlicher in die Augen fallen, sindemahln so dann ins andere *Chor* die jenigen Schüler, so noch ein und andres Instrument spielen, vollends abgeben, u. mich völlig dern beyhülffe begeben muß.

<sup>J</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, Zeugnis für Friedrich Gottlieb Wild, 1727, *BD I*, no. 57, p. 127.

[...] daß wohlgedachter [Herr] *Mons*: Wild in die vier Jahre so er auf hiesiger *Vniversitaet* gelebet, [...] daß er nicht allein Unsere Kirchen *Music* durch seine wohlerlernte *Flaute-traversiere* und *Clavecin* zieren helffen, sondern auch sich bey mir gar *speciell* in *Clavier*, *General-Bass* [...] *informiren* laßen [...].

<sup>K</sup> Georg Philipp Telemann, *Harmonischer Gottes-dienst*, Hamburg 1725/26, Vorbericht, p. [2].

Können auch die Stücke / welche für die Violine sind / mit vielen Personen besetzt werden: so mag einer / oder es mögen etliche der besten Violinisten aus dem Originale / oder aus einer Abschrift davon / zugleich / die übrigen aber die ausgezogene Ripien-Parthie / spielen.