

XXV. THE LUTE

After an exploration of the lutes used in Germany and some of their variants, Bach's contemporaries who wrote about this instrument are consulted. Then the types of lutes Bach used and who played them will be examined. Finally, it will be discussed how and when Bach used the lute in his church music.



Fig. 1. Anna Rosina von Lisiewska, *Allegory of hearing*, Berlin ca. 1750, With thirteen course German baroque lute; strings in different colours. Historisch Centrum Het Markiezenhof, Bergen op Zoom

1. What types of lutes were described in Germany at the time of Bach?

Types of lutes

The gut strings on the lute are placed in 'courses', consisting of two adjacent gut strings of the same pitch or differing by an octave; even when one or more strings are single, one speaks of 'courses'.¹ In the 16th century the lute was six- and later seven-course. During the

¹ The information in this paragraph, if not otherwise stated, is taken from *The New Grove*, second edition, Vol. 4, p. 833, Vol.15, p. 329f. and Vol. 25, p. 359f.; Jürgen Libbert, "Noch einmal: Gallichon - Calichon - Colascione", *Concerto 128*, 1997, p. 16-19; David Van Edwards, *An illustrated History of the Lute* [www.vanedwards.co.uk/history4.htm].

period of 1600-1750 the number of courses increased. The courses with the lowest bass strings (*diapasons*) were only meant to be played as 'open strings'. The second string of each diapason choir was tuned an octave higher. The so-called French lute was eleven-course from ca. 1650 onwards; usually two courses were strung singly; the string length was 66 - 70 cm (Fig. 2a). The most common tuning was C-D-E-F-G (diapasons) - A-d-f-a-d¹-f¹. This form of the lute was also popular in Germany. The lower strings were often overspun after ca. 1675.



Fig. 2a/b/c. (a) Eleven-course French lute;
 (b) Thirteen-course lute (1722) with a bass rider and a treble rider;
 (c) Thirteen-course German baroque lute with 'gooseneck'.

In the 18th century even larger lutes were built, sometimes with twelve, but mostly with thirteen courses, and a string length of ca. 72 cm. The highest string (the *chanterelle*) remained tuned to f¹, but now in *Kammerton*. The extra strings were bass strings in B₁ or B₁-flat and in addition A₁ for a thirteen-course lute. The latter was introduced in Dresden in 1718 by the famous lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiß.² The thirteen-course lutes were built in Germany (18th century) in two types:

1. with a *bass rider* (*Bassreiter*), an attachment mounted on the peg box, over which the strings of the lowest two bass courses were guided, making them approx. 6 cm longer. Usually also the *chanterelle*, i.e. the highest course consisting of only one string, was led over a separate small rider (fig. 2b). A bass rider was used, for instance, when converting eleven-course lutes to thirteen-course ones;
2. with an approx. 25 to 30 cm continuous *gooseneck* for the five lowest choirs. The separate peg box for these lowest courses was placed eccentrically (Fig. 1 and 2c). On

² Weiß worked in Dresden in 1717-1750, where Bach probably met him several times.

these large lutes the lowest two courses often did not run over the fingerboard, so that their tone could not be raised. Later lutes were apparently built with fourteen chords, on which also G_1 could be played.

Num. 1.
Diese Figur der Laute wird p. 58. angebunden.



Obgleich diese Figur einem Calichon als Laute ähnlicher, so hat man solche dennoch bloß wegen der abgezeichneten Hände beibehalten müssen, weil die Vielheit der Lauten-Töne in einem solchen engen Raum proportionate schwerlich zu bringen gewesen.

Fig. 3. Calichon-like lute from: Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos*, Erfurt 1738, p. 58a.

A number of variants of the lute are known that were not known as lutes. Such a variant is the *calichon*, also called *colochon*, *calcedon*, *gallichon*, *caliciono*, *calizono* etc. A correct description is difficult to give: as many names as the instrument had, as many different types existed. Moreover, no (large) *calichons* have been preserved. The large German *calichon* was a bass instrument, it had three to eight courses (usually five or six), but no diapasons (Fig. 3). The chanterelle was usually single, the other courses were double. All courses could also be single stringed. The tuning of the six-string *calichon* was usually in C or D and comparable to that of the *viola da gamba*, namely D-G-c-e/f-a-d¹, or C- D-G-c-e-a. Eight-course *calichons* could go as low as A₁ according to Tomáš Baltazar Janowka.³ The *mandora*, probably identical with a smaller *calichon*, was often tuned to F and could also function as a solo instrument (Fig. 4a). The *calichon* is often confused with the Italian *colascione*. This bass instrument had only 2 or 3 strings and a remarkably long neck. Walther described the *colascione* in 1732, not the *calichon*.

³ Tomáš Baltazar Janowka, *Clavis Ad Thesaurum magnae Artis Musicae*, Prague 1701, p. 58.



Figs. 4a/b/c. (a) Six-string *calichon* (*mandora*); (b) *arciliuto*; (c) *theorbo*.

The best-known variant of the lute is the *theorbo*, also called *chitarrone* in Italy until about 1640 (Fig. 4c). The neck and both screw cases are not bent. For the two highest courses the length was too great; they were tuned an octave lower. The standard tuning of the fourteen courses ? was: G₁-A₁-B₁-C-D-E-F-G. (diapasons) - A-d-g-b-E-A, but also sixteen-choir *theorbs* occurred. The length of the playable strings was 89 - 98 cm and that of the bass strings 160 - 200 cm. The *theorbo*, usually with three rosettes, was primarily a continuo instrument; as such it was still used in church and theatre for a long time (sometimes until ca. 1800). A much smaller variant of the *theorbo* was the *arciliuto* (archlute), with string lengths of ca. 65 and 140 cm respectively (fig. 4b). A notable characteristic of lute music is its notation in tablature (fig. 5).

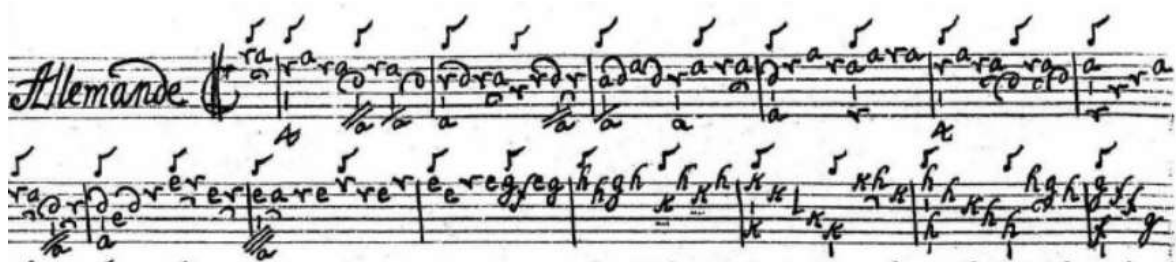


Fig. 5. Sylvius Leopold Weiss, *Allemande*, beginning, tablature

Lutes at the time of Bach in Germany

Most German writers during Bach's lifetime did not describe the lute: they merely stated that the Italian name *Liuto* referred to a lute. Apparently the construction of the lute was tacitly assumed to be known. But when variants of the lute were mentioned, their differences from the lute were usually discussed. Georg Falck der Ältere (1688) ^A for instance only mentioned the lute, but described the *theorbo*. His description of the *Basso continuo* shows that he considered the lute a general bass instrument like the organ. Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann (1706) ^B described the lute as a soothing, even soporific instrument that was especially suitable for playing sad music. The *theorbo* was supposed to be mainly used to accompany oneself as a singer. In 1708 Johann Gottfried Walther also only mentioned the lute, ^C but described the *calichon* (*caliciono*) and the *theorbo*.

Johann Mattheson (1713) ^D was extremely negative about the lute: the instrument was faulty and grossly overrated. It was far too soft in sound and always out of tune; players tuned more than they played. There was always something wrong with it: if not the strings, then the frets or the tuning pegs, so that in Paris it was said that it was as expensive to maintain a horse as a lute. The instrument was especially popular among amateurs, who could neither play nor tune it well. Only a few players were able to play the lute really well despite the instrument; Sylvius Leopold Weiß (*einem Weisen Lautenisten*, a white lutenist) was the best known. In church the lute was unsuitable; there one had better use a *calichon* (5-choir, tuning D-G-c-f-a; Mattheson noted D-G-c-f-a-d). Even in chamber music the lute sounded too soft. Therefore, according to Mattheson, the Italians would have replaced the lute with the *theorbo* in continuo playing, which he described briefly, mentioning that all eight diapasons as well as the two upper choirs on the *theorbo* were single stringed. The *theorbo* was a more suitable general bass instrument than the lute, but Mattheson preferred the harpsichord. The main advantage of the *theorbo* was that it was easier to transport.

Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1727; fig. 6), on the other hand, was a warm advocate of the lute. ^E He wrote a two-volume treatise entirely devoted to the lute, published 'for the pleasure of righteous amateurs'. In the first part he mainly dealt with the history of 'our instrument' and the most famous players (of whom Weiß was the greatest) and lute makers (including Hoffmann) from the time of old until the present (1727). The second part begins with a 35-page refutation of Mattheson's description of the lute's – alleged – imperfections. Baron characterised his negative comments as ignorance and prejudice: on good instruments and with good contemporary strings the tuning and the costs were not too high. Unsatisfactory results were rather the result of bad craftsmanship than of an intrinsic imperfection of the instrument. According to Baron, Mattheson was unfair in his criticism of the lute because it was too soft for use in church. ⁴ The latter was true, but the lute had to be judged in small ensembles: there the *delicacy* could be fully appreciated. In church it was preferable to use a *theorbo*; lute and *theorbo* did not differ much in tuning and size. According to Baron, the *calichon* was unsuitable: this was a 'defective lute' (*pars testudinis*) with only three, four or six bass strings. One had better use an instrument with more courses, such as the *theorbo*. From the fingering chart on p. 122 (printed in the quotation) it can be deduced that Baron's lute was eleven-course; only the two lowest chords (C, D) were considered to be diapasons; the two highest chords (d¹, f¹) were single stringed. In part II of his treatise Baron described the posture, tablature, fingering, ornamentation, good taste and finally the general bass on the lute.

⁴ Mattheson 1713 (endnote D), p. 277.



Fig. 6. Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Untersuchung*, Nürnberg 1727, frontispiece, detail.

Joseph Friederich Bernhard Caspar Majer (1732)^F quoted Mattheson extensively, but then gave a good description with a drawing of the eleven-course lute. It was tuned as follows: C-D-E-F-G (diapasons) - A-d-f-a-d¹-f¹. In a *N.B.* Majer noted that some courses sometimes had to be tuned differently, depending on the key in which the music was written. He also gave a complete fingering chart, in normal notation and in tablature; furthermore he described the posture of body and fingers when playing. He warned against the bad habit of making exaggerated gestures during lute playing that distracted from the music and made the player look ridiculous. Finally, he quoted Mattheson in his description of the *calichon* and *theorbo*.

Also in 1732 Walther just mentioned the lute; for the *theorbo* he quoted Mattheson.^G Furthermore he described the *colascione* (not the *calichon*). The *Lexicon* of Johann Christoph Barnickel (1737) did^H not add anything about the *calichon* to Mattheson's descriptions, but in the lemma about the lute there is interesting information. The lute would have had a maximum of twelve courses, the upper course (*Quinte*) and often also the second (*Secunde*) were single stringed, but all the others were double. Then Barnickel described a series of lutes of different sizes, but curiously none with the top note f¹. The tenor lute with the highest string e¹ came closest. The author only mentioned the highest choir, not the lowest. He also offered interesting information about the *theorbo*: the number of strings could be fourteen or sixteen. The bass strings were too long to play coloratura: they were only played as open strings. The *theorbo* could accompany a soprano or tenor like a *viola di bastarda* did: with chords. Finally, Barnickel was the only one to mention that the strings could be made of steel or brass in addition to gut.

David Kellner (1737)^I mentioned the lute, the *theorbo* and the *calichon* as instruments to play the general bass (he did not mention the organ). Nevertheless, he also thought that the lute and its variants were less fortunate: according to Kellner, Weiß could accompany singers on it quite well, but that was his merit, not that of the instrument. Johann Philipp Eisel (1738)^J was also influenced by Mattheson; he gave the same information in different terms. He added that the body of the lute consisted of about 10 ribs; there were 9 frets; furthermore Eisel mentioned the wood types and added a drawing and a tuning table. This shows that he considered the lute to be thirteen-course (A₁ to f¹). He also noted that it was

customary to retune a number of courses, depending on the key. He described the *calichon* as six-course and tuned like a *viola da gamba* (D-G-c-e-a-d¹).

In his *Universal-Lexicon* (1731-1754) Johann Heinrich Zedler only quoted earlier authors.^κ The *arciliuto* is said to have been used especially in Italy because of its strong basses and 'snarling' (*schmarrend*) sound; the instrument had eight single bass strings in addition to seven double strings. Johann Joachim Quantz (1752) did not mention the lute at all,^λ but in the opera orchestra the *theorbo* was given a place as a continuo instrument. Seen from the audience, the strings were seated to the right of the centrally placed first harpsichord; this is the opposite of the arrangements described in Chapter VIII. On the far left the wind players had their place, behind them a second harpsichord, and behind them cellists and bassoonists. Only behind that was a 'comfortable' (*bequem*) place for the theorbo. This indicates how little the *theorbo* came to the fore during Quantz's opera performances.

Looking at the information in the treatises it is striking that in Germany variants such as the *calichon* and the *theorbo* never received the name 'lute'. From this we may carefully conclude that when a lute was prescribed, this was generally not a variant. The lute was an instrument to play sad music (Fuhrmann). Furthermore, the lute itself was called suitable as a general bass instrument for a small ensemble (Falck, Baron), but not for a large ensemble (Mattheson, Baron). The *calichon* on the other hand was a real continuo instrument (Mattheson), which however was not suitable to play chords on (Baron); the number of courses was usually six (Mattheson, Baron, Eisel) and the lowest choir was often tuned in D. The *theorbo* was also a continuo instrument (Mattheson, Fuhrmann, Baron) on which a singer could accompany himself (Fuhrmann, Stössel), although a harpsichord was preferable to the *theorbo* (Mattheson, Kellner). A number of courses on the lute had to be retuned for different keys (Majer, Eisel).

Famous builders were Sebastian Schelle and Leopold Widhalm in Nuremberg, Johann Christian Hoffmann in Leipzig, Joachim Tielke in Hamburg and Thomas Edlinger in Augsburg and later in Prague.⁵

Lutes in Bach's day and age generally had eleven to thirteen 'courses', each consisting of two strings; only the lowest courses were single-stringed. The second string of a course was always tuned an octave higher. The lower courses were almost exclusively played as open strings; playing in other keys often required retuning. In Bach's time the lute was considered a general bass instrument only suitable for small ensembles. The calichon and the theorbo, both variants of the lute, could be used as continuo instruments for larger ensembles, but they were always referred to by their own name. No chords were played on the calichon. An advantage of these instruments was that they were easier to transport than a harpsichord; disadvantages were that they soon lost their tuning and had to be retuned for different keys.

⁵ Ulrich Prinz, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Instrumentarium*, Kassel 2005, p. 640f.

2. What was the role of the lute in Bach's church works in Leipzig?

Bach's Lutes in Leipzig

Kuhnau used two *calichons* because, unlike lutes, they "penetrate". He mentioned these instruments in 1704,^M 1709,^N and 1717.^O After 1717, however, they were no longer mentioned. Although the old *calichons* were present in Leipzig, Bach apparently never used them. Possibly they were used in the *Neue Kirche* after 1709: in the repertoire there are 'Calcedon' parts by Georg Philipp Telemann and Melchior Hoffmann. These do not contain any figuring, whereas other continuo parts do. Where cello and organ/harpsichord diverge, the "Calcedon" goes with the cello. This suggests that no chords were played on the *calichons*. Moreover, Kuhnau's notes on the *calichons* (1717) also suggest that the players performed this bass part without chords: he mentioned "Bässen, as Violonen, Violoncellons, Calichonen, Bassonen". Apparently the *calichon* was considered part of the continuo, but not of the chord-playing general bass.⁶

During Bach's cantorate there was no mention of a lute, *calichon* or *theorbo* in documents relating to the two main churches. However, *Stadtppfeiffer* Johann Caspar Gleditsch left a lute at his death in 1747, which was described as old and had a value of four *Thaler*, and *Stadtppfeiffer* Christian Rother owned a lute which was worth half a *Thaler* at his death in 1737, as a list of his bequeathed instruments shows.⁷ Bach himself also owned a lute that was quite expensive (21 *Reichs-Thaler*).⁸ Bach composed a lute suite (BWV 995) for *Monsieur Schouster* with notes up to G₁, which means that a fourteen-course lute was needed, which was very exceptional.⁹ When only the strings of the thirteenth and fourteenth courses did not run over the fingerboard, the pitch of the eleventh and twelfth courses could be changed - be it with difficulty - by pressing the string.

The lutenists Johann Christian Weyrauch and Adam Falkenhagen lived in Leipzig; Weyrauch until after Bach's death.¹⁰ Bach's lute-playing pupils were Johann Ludwig Krebs,

⁶ Joshua Rifkin, "Performance questions in Bach's *Trauerode*", *Bach studies* 2, ed. Daniel R. Melamed, Cambridge 1995, p. 137-139. See also Kuhnau 1717 (end note O)

⁷ Hans-Joachim Schulze, "Besitzstand und Vermögensverhältnisse von Leipziger Ratsmusikern zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs", *Beiträge zur Bachforschung*, Heft 4, 1984, p. 39 and 43.

⁸ *Specificatio der Verlaßenschaafft ...*, BD II, no 627, p. 493.

⁹ Lutes, according to Jacob Adlung, were strung with 10, 12 to 14 strings, sometimes also with 11' (mit 10, 12 bis 14 Seyten bezogen; zuweilen auch mit 11). Jacob Adlung, *Musica Mechanica Organoedi* [1726], Berlin 1768, Zweyter Band, p. 133. David Ledbetter believes (following Robert Allen Grossman in 1986) that Adlung was quoting a phrase of Athanasius Kircher from 1650 and keeps open the possibility that the latter meant a *theorbo* rather than a lute (David Ledbetter, *Unaccompanied Bach*, New Haven / London 2009, footnote 7, p. 316). A fourteen-course lute with a gooseneck by Johann Christian Hoffmann (JCH 6), thus made on request for the lawyer Friedrich Adolph Warlitz in Halle, is to be found in the *Grassi Museum für Musikinstrumenten* in Leipzig; the string lengths are ca. 78 cm for the playable strings and ca. 116 cm for the bass strings. It is apparently a German Baroque lute, although researcher Klaus Martius calls the instrument a *theorbo*, as he seems to call all lutes with goosenecks (Esther Fontana / Veit Heller / Klaus Martius, *Martin und Johann Christian Hoffmann: Geigen- und Lautenmacher des Barock*, Leipzig 2015, p. 298).

¹⁰ Prinz 2005, p. 641.

Maximilian Nagel and Rudolf Straube.¹¹ All these musicians could also play other instruments.¹² In a 1735 recommendation for Krebs, Bach praised his lute playing,¹³ but it is unclear whether Bach himself taught Krebs.¹⁴ This seems unlikely because Bach's compositions for lute are not idiomatic and he did not write them in tablature; others apparently had to 'intabulate' his music. This does not alter the fact that he - as always - made high demands: for instance, he demanded *scordatura* (retuned strings) and the pressing of diapason strings.¹⁵

In Bach's church music the lute rarely appears, and then only in mourning music: in the first version of the *Johannes-Passion* BWV 245.1 (1724), in the first double-choir version of the *Matthäus-Passion* BWV 244.1 and in the *Trauerode* BWV 198 (1727). This corresponds to the above-mentioned remarks by Fuhrmann in 1706. Bach always calls the instrument *Liuto* or *Lieuto*, occasionally also *Laute*.¹⁶ In re-performances in later years he always replaced the lute with other instruments (see below). The lute is not found in Leipzig either in parts or scores of other works.

In the *Johannes-Passion* the required range is C - b¹; an eleven-course lute was sufficient. In the *Matthäus-Passion* the range is B-flat-e¹; here a twelve or thirteen-course lute was required. In the *Trauerode* the range of the first lute is B₁ to b¹, of the second lute B₁ to a¹.¹⁷ Here too a twelve or thirteen-course lute seems the obvious choice. But in one movement (movement 5) C-sharp appears next to C. This was unplayable when the eleventh course was not on the fingerboard. This suggests that Bach's lutes were thirteen or fourteen-course, unless *calichons* were used (see below).¹⁸

Details of the use of the lute in Bach's church music

Bach used the lute mostly as an obligato instrument.

1. In the first version (1724) of the *Johannes-Passion* BWV 245.1, Bach prescribed a lute in the arioso "Betrachte meine Seel", alongside *viola d'amore* and *viola da gamba* (fig. 6). The lutenist played a solo part here, but it could also be interpreted as an elaborate continuo part. In later versions of BWV 245.2,3,5 the lute was replaced by an organ or harpsichord. Other instruments were also replaced: the *viola d'amore* by violins with sourdine and the *viola da gamba* by continuo *senza violone*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Bernd Heyder, "Bachs Instrumentarium", *Das Bach-Handbuch 2*, Reimar Emans and Sven Hiemke (editors), Laaber 2007, p. 149f.

¹³ *BD I*, no 71, p. 139.

¹⁴ Ulrich Matyl does believe that Bach himself played the lute (Ulrich Matyl, *Die Choralbearbeitungen der Schüler Johann Sebastian Bachs*, Kassel 2001, p. 97, with reference to Karl Tittel, *Die musikalischen Vertreter der Familie Krebs* (dissertation), Marburg 1963, p. 99f.).

¹⁵ Stefan Weiss, 'Laute', *Das Bach-Lexikon*, hrsg. v. Michael Heinemann, Laaber 2000, p. 339f.

¹⁶ Prinz 2005, p. 642.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 644.

¹⁸ Rifkin 1995, p. 133f.



Fig. 6. BWV 245.1,4/19, score, beginning.

Staves Viola d'amore 1 resp. 2, vocal bass, lute (two staves), continuo.

2. In the *Frühfassung* of the double-choir *Matthäus-Passion* BWV 244.1 the lutenist played a solo part with chords in the aria "Komm süßes Kreuz"; he was supported by the continuo (fig. 7). In the later version of the *Matthäus-Passion* BWV 244.2 the lute was replaced by a *viola da gamba*.

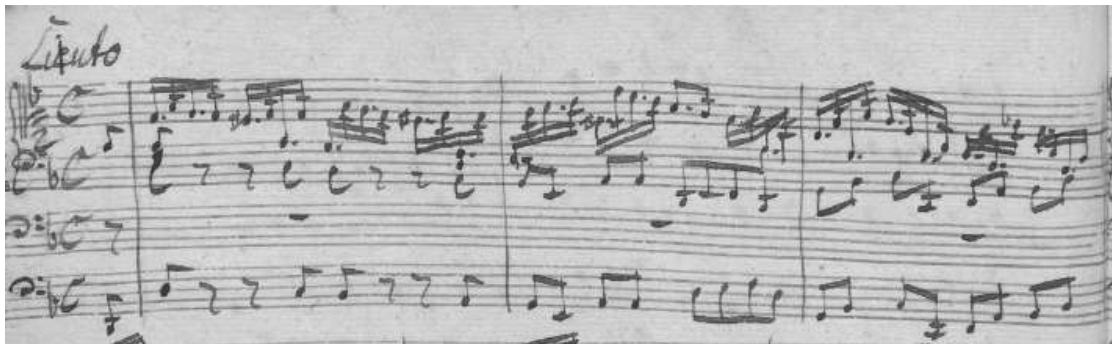


Fig. 7. BWV 244.1/57. Staves for lute (two staves), vocal bass, continuo.

3. In the *Trauerode* [*Tombeau*] BWV 198 (1727) two lutes were used. BWV 198 was played in the *Paulinerkirche*, and not in an ordinary church service. Bach probably also used musicians from university circles; moreover, the *Trauerode* is a secular rather than a spiritual work. Because of these facts BWV 198 falls outside the scope of this study, but the role of the lutes in it may shed some light on their function as continuo instruments. The lutes were used in the following ways: ¹⁹

- as the only continuo instruments (part 5);
- as additional continuo instruments (part 1, 10);
- as solo instruments (part 4);
- *colla parte* with the *viola da gamba* part (part 8);
- with a versatile role (part 7; see below).

¹⁹ In four movements (2, 3, 6 and 9) they are not prescribed by Bach.

This variation is unique in Bach's work. The *Trauerode* is also the only work by Bach with a continuo part for the lutenist. In the opening and closing choruses, however, the score contains separate bars for the lutes; seemingly superfluous, since these bars are identical to those for the continuo. Two conclusions follow from this: Bach did not consider the lutes to be ordinary continuo instruments, and so when the lute bars are missing (parts 2, 3, 6, 9), the lutes were silent. It is remarkable that according to the score, the lutenists only played together with the viol players. The position of the staves in the score also suggests that Bach saw the lutes as specific accompanists to the viols. This is particularly evident in part 5 (aria "Wie starb die Heldin", fig. 8). In the lute part of this movement there is a B₁ which is unplayable for the other continuo instruments; moreover, one would expect (by analogy with the two corner movements) separate bars for lutes and continuo. The description in the score reads: *Aria 2 Viole da Gamba e 2 Liuti*. Apparently the continuo is silent in this movement and the violas were only accompanied by the lutes.

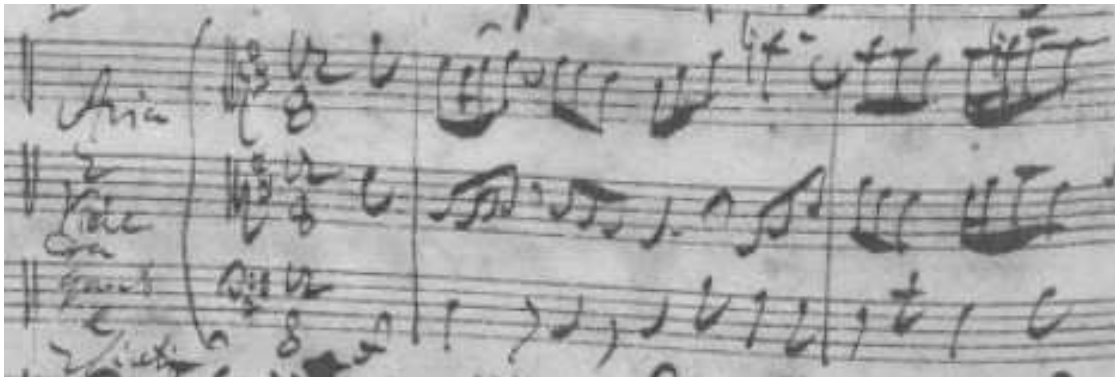


Fig. 8. BWV 198/5, score, beginning; bars *viola da gamba 1*, *viola da gamba 2* and lutes.

Whether the lutenists really played chords is doubtful; Rifkin paid extensive attention to this.²⁰ The playing of chords above the continuo line, sometimes difficult to play on lutes, is often so technically difficult that the result is nowadays rarely satisfactory. In movement 7 ("An dir du Fürbild") the lute part only starts when the vocal bass begins. Sometimes the lutenist played along with the continuo, sometimes with the vocal bass, and sometimes the lutes had their own part. So the players did not know beforehand when they played along with the continuo. How could they know, when to play chords? If Rifkin's assumption is correct and no chords were played, it is possible that the *calichons* that were probably present in the *Neue Kirche* were used here (if they were at least 8-course, otherwise they could not produce the B₁). Yet that would be strange: After all, Bach did not use the name *Calichon* or *Calcedon*, as Kuhnau, Telemann and Hoffmann did, but *Liuto*, which indicates real lutes.

The (partially) lost *Markus-Passion* BWV 247 was probably performed in 1731 (BWV 247.1), certainly in 1744 (BWV 247.2) and possibly also in other years.²¹ This

²⁰ Rifkin 1995, p. 139f.

²¹ Tatjana Schabalina, "Texte zur Music' in Sankt Petersburg - Weitere Funde; IV. Die Markus-Passion von 1744", *BJ* 95, 2009, p. 30-36.

passion most likely contained music from the *Trauerode*.²² Given the replacement of the lutes in Bach's later passion performances, it is obvious that he did not use them in the *Markus-Passion* either. In 1717 Bach performed a passion in Gotha, well before his arrival in Leipzig, in which lutes were probably used.²³

It is not known why Bach used the lute so little, and later even replaced it with other instruments. Judging from the remarks in the treatises, the most obvious reasons are that the sound was not audible enough in the large churches and that the instrument had to be retuned constantly for other keys. Perhaps it also detuned too quickly, as Mattheson remarked. Apparently Bach never used the lute as a continuo instrument in his church music in Leipzig. Indeed, this is nowhere evident from Bach's scores and continuo parts, and other indications are also lacking:

- There are no recommendations for pupils who played the lute in church services (but there are for the harpsichord; the recommendation for Krebs does not mention church services);
- The memorandum of 1730 did not mention the lute at all;²⁴
- In the apparently complete list of continuo instruments for BWV 241 (organ, harpsichord, cello, violone, bassoon) the lute was not mentioned either;
- The term *tasto solo* in some figured continuo parts refers to the harpsichord, not to a lute;
- Mattheson (endnote D) and Eisel (endnote J) state that the lute as a continuo instrument was not suitable in general; *the theorbo* and *calichon* would be more appropriate, but still less than the harpsichord.

In Leipzig Bach rarely used the lute, and then only in mourning music. Apparently the instrument used was twelve- to fourteen-course. Although Kuhnau mentioned the use of calichons in his church music, there is no evidence that Bach ever used a calichon or theorbo in the Thomas or Nikolaikirche. As far as is known, Bach never had the lutenist play along in these churches as a continuo player. In later performances Bach replaced the lute as a solo instrument for other instruments.

²² On this subject see a.o. Klaus Häfner, *Aspekte des Parodieverfahrens bei Johann Sebastian Bach*, Laaber 1987.

²³ Christian Ahrens, "Neue Quellen zu Bachs Beziehungen nach Gotha", *BJ* 93, 2007, p. 54-58.

²⁴ Johann Sebastian Bach, *Kurtzer, iedoch höchstnöthiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben*. Letter to the Leipzig Council, 23. August 1730 (Memorandum 1730), *BD I*, no. 22, p. 60ff, r. 55-75.

The fact that both of the main churches in Leipzig employed an organist and that Bach was able to lead his musicians from behind the harpsichord explains why there is no mention of an organist and a harpsichordist in the Memorandum. The use of a lute in the continuo would have required an extra musician; its inclusion in the Memorandum would have been expected.

Rens Bijma, version 25-03-2022

With thanks to Albert Clement, Jos van Veldhoven and Fred Jacobs

^A Georg Falck, *Idea bonis cantoris*, Nürnberg 1688.

p. 207. *Liuto*, *Testudo* ist eine Laute.

p. 209. *Theorba* ist eine grosse Bass-Laute mit einem langen Hals.

p. 204. *Basso Continuo*, *Bassus Generalis*, *Bassus per Organo* ist eine Neu erfundene Stimme / welche durch das ganze Stück das *Fundament* führet / aus welcher die Organisten / Lautenisten etc. nach denen darüber gesetzten *Numeris* und Zahlen gar künstlich mit einschlagen können. [...]

^B Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann, *Musicalischer Trichter*, Frankfurt n der Spree 1706, p. 90f.

8. *Liuto*, eine Laute mit doppelten därmernen Seiten bezogen / gehet aber nicht laute / ist ein Instrument vor kluge Leute / so Audienz geben können / und gehen traurige Suiten ex *Modo Dorio* am besten darauff / [...] a hölzern Instrument, das ist aus dünnen / glatten und hohl ausgehobelten Brettern zusammen geleimet / worüber kleine Faden von Schaaffs Därmen gespannt / [...] daß man damit einen Menschen / in specie einen Melancholischen und Unruhigen / als mit einer Wiege einwigen oder mit Opio einschläffern kan &c [...]

9. *Theorba*, eine grosse Bass-Laute mit einfachen Seiten bezogen / ist ein stattlich Instrument vor demjenigen insonderheit / so den General-Bass darauff schlagen und dabey lieblich singen kan [...]

^C Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der Musicalischen Composition*, Tome I, Weimar 1708.

p. 105. *Caliciono*, *Calizono*, (*ital:*) ist ein *Instrument* fast einer Lauten gleich, u. wird auf Lauten oder *Violdigamben* Art gestimmt, u. mit den Fingern geschlagen.

p. 131. *Liuto* (*ital:*) *Lut* (*gall:*) eine Laute.

p. 155. *Tiorba*, ist einer großen *Baß*-Lauten nicht sehr ungleiches *Instrument*, hat über den rechten Halß, darauf die Bünde liegen, noch einen andern längern, und 14 bis 16 Chöre Saiten.

^D Johann Mattheson, *Das Neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Hamburg 1713.

p. 274ff. §. 14. Die **schmeichlenden Lauten** haben würcklich in der Welt mehr Partisans als sie meritiren [...] Der insinuante Klang dieses betriegerischen Instruments verspricht allezeit mehr als er hält [...]; für das beste Lauten-Stück wird doppelt bezahlet / wenn man nur das dazu gehörige **ewige** Stimmen anhören soll. Denn wenn ein Lauteniste 80. Jahr alt wird / so hat er gewiß 60. Jahr gestimmt. Das ärgste ist / daß unter 100. [...] kaum 2 capable sind / recht reine zu stimmen / und da fehlet es noch über dem bald an den Sayten / daß sie falsch oder angesponnen [sind] / absonderlich die Chanterelle; bald an den Bünden / bald an den Wirbeln / so daß ich mir habe sagen lassen / es koste zu **Paris** einerley Geld / ein Pferd und Laute zu unterhalten. [...] Nebst einem, qui a son Logis à l'Aigle, sagt man von einem **Weisen** Lautenisten / daß er ein perfecter Musicus sey. Wenn dem also / so glaube ich / daß ein solcher Sachen auff der Lauten machen könne / davor der gantze Lautenschläger-Schwarm erstaunen möchte / wie denn / daß solches nicht unmöglich / ein gewisses artiges hiesiges Frauenzimmer / mit Verwunderung und zur Gnüge beweisen kan. Nichts destoweniger aber wird man solche *Virtù* nicht so wol dem / an sich mangelhaften / Instrument, als dem großen Fleiß / dem Juge-ment und der Fertigkeit derjenigen Personen zuschreiben müssen, die so was extraordinaires darauff hervorbringen. Denn / wäre das Instrument vollkommen / Welch Wunder / daß man vollkommene Sachen darauff spielte? nun es aber mangelhafft / wird eine solche *Capacité* hoch gehalten. Vor diesem haben die Italiäner auff der Laute *accompagniren* oder den *General-Bass* spielen wollen; seitdem aber die *Theorbe* im Gebrauch kommen / haben sie der

Lauten gerne ihren Abschied gegeben; In Kirchen und Opern ist das praetendirte Accompagnement der Laute gar zu lausicht und dienet mehr sich Airs, als dem Sanger Hulfe zu geben / wozu der Calichon geschickter ist. Was einer in Cammer-Music mit dem General-Bass auff der Laute praestiren kan, mag wol gut seyn, wenn mans nur horete.

p. 278f. §. 16. [*abusievelijk gedrukt staat: 19*] Die tieffe Theorbe, [...] ist ein Instrument, [...] um den General-Bass darauff zu spielen. [...] Es ist der Lauten in vielen Stucken ahnlich / was sonderlich das Corpus und zum theil den Hals / der langer/ betrifft; allein es befinden sich darauff 8. groe Sayten im Basse, die zweymal so lang und dicke sind / als die Lauten ihre 6. wodurch der Klang so geschmeidig und summend wird / da viele die Theorbe dem Clavir vorziehen wollen / und zwar auch grossen theils / wie sie sagen / darum / weil man eine Theorbe leichter mit sich fuhren und an andere Oerter bringen kan / als ein Clavicymbel. (denckt mir die schone Frantzosische Raison.) Diese 8. Sayten sind nur einfach / die andern im Basse haben ein Octavchen / und die hoheren den Unisonum bey sich / ausser der Chanterelle oder so genandten Quinte, eben wie bey den Lauten. Die Italianer nennen dis Instrument nicht selten Archileuto oder Archiliuto, und die Frantzosen Archiluth.

§. 17. Wir wollen dem *prompten Calichon* (welches ein kleines Lauten-maiges mit 5. einfachen Sayten bezogenes / und fast wie die Viola di Gamba gestimmtes Instrument / (D.G.c.f.a.d.) endlich permittiren / da er dann und wann / doch in Gesellschaft des **herrschenden Clavires** / ein Stimmchen accompagniren durffe; [...]

^E Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten*, Nurnberg 1727.

p. 113. Was die verdruliche und langwuhrige Stimmung anlanget, so ist solches gar im geringsten nicht wie es Herr *Matheson* vorgegeben. Ein Meister mu sein Instrument ganz ohne *bruit*, da man es kaum vernimmt in einem Augenblick, auch wenn ein Saitgen nachgelassen, unter wahrenden Spielen mit der grosten Geschwindigkeit stimmen konnen.

p. 114. Die Kostbarkeit solches Instrument mit Saiten zu unterhalten, ist gar nicht wahr, geschweige dann so gefahrlich, derowegen ich glaube da die Parisischen Pferde, wenn man sie vor zwey Thaler das Jahr uber mit Futter unterhalten wolte, in kurzer Zeit einer von denen sieben durren magern Kuhen die Pharao im Traum gesehen, gleich seyn mustren.

p. 115. Dieses ist keine Kunst, gute, schone und untadelhafte Sachen ohne Bedacht und Einsicht mit grossen und hochtrabenden Worten herunter zu machen.

p. 119. Es ware gar nicht nothig gewesen, diejenigen welche solch Instrument lieben mit so schimpfflichen, furchterlichen und barbarischen Terminis zu belegen, weiln doch dieses eine unschuldige Sache ist [...]

p. 127f. Es sollte dem Herrn *Matheson* ziemlich Muhe kosten, zu beweisen da das *Accompagnement* der Lauten *tout a fait* von denen Italianern ware abgeschafft worden; was aber die Theorba anlanget, so hat er davon nicht die geringste Erkanntnu gehabt.

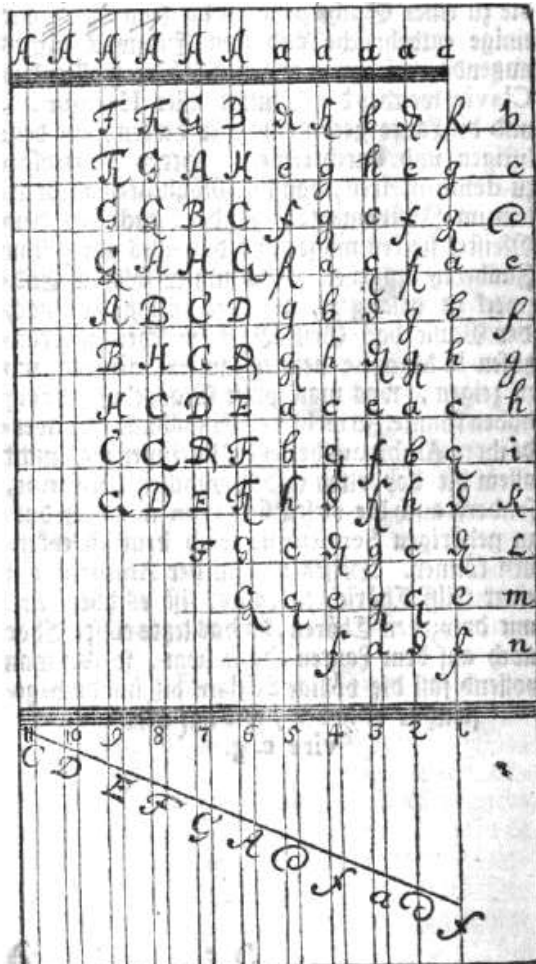
p. 128f. Hier konnte man schon sagen, das die *Theorba* zwar starcker, aber die Laute desto *delicater* sey. Herr *Matheson* hat hier bey dieser Sache nicht erwogen, ob wohl von Raben konnten Adler gebohren werden?

p. 131. Heute zu Tage aber haben [die Theorben] gemeiniglich die neue Lauten-Stimmung, die unsre jetzige Laute noch hat [... und] haben die Theorben auch doppelte Chore ausser die Bae, welche von unten dem Steg-an bi auf den obersten Hal ganz frey bezogen seyn. Hieraus siehet erstlich Herr *Matheson*, da die Theorba und Laute keineswegs jemahl als *ratione* der Grosse und Tiefe *differirt* haben, vors andere aber sich dieses *imprimiren*, da bey *Trios* oder aus wenig Personen bestehenden *Cammer-Musiquen*, die Laute wegen ihrer *Delicatesse* und die Theorbe unter *Musiquen* von dreyssig bi vierzig Personen als in Kirchen und Opern wegen ihrer Force gute Dienste thue.

p. 132. Es folget gar nicht, da deswegen so ein schones und liebliches Instrument verachtet werde, weil es in Kirchen und *Opern* keine sufficiente Dienste thut, weil Herr *Matheson* sonst

sehr viel andere Dinge auch verwerffen müste. Er meinet auch daß der *Calichon* bey dem *Accompagnement* weit nützlicher sey, erinnert sich aber nicht dabey, daß es *pars testudinis* und nur ein Lauten-Baß, *pars* aber nicht mehr seyn könnte als sein *Totum*, zumal es gar vernünfftig, daß man wo viel Saiten, mehr als auf drey, vier biß sechs Chören machen kan.

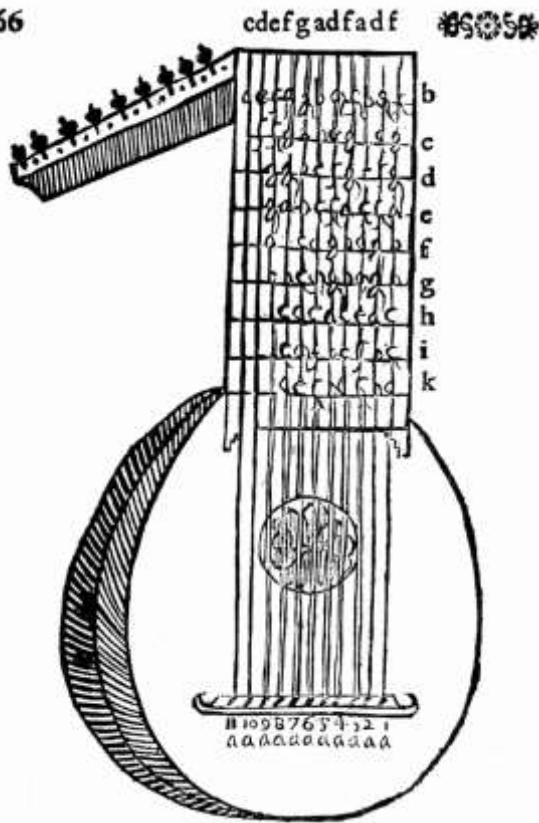
p. 122



^F Joseph Friederich Bernhard Caspar Majer, *Museum musicum*, Schwäbisch Hall 1732.

p. 65f §. 34. Nach dem Clavier, welches die Mutter aller *Harmonie*, folget die schmeichlende Laute [...]

p. 66. §. 35. Um aber hiervon etwas deutliches abzuhandeln / wird es nöthig seyn / die Laute nicht nur in einer *Figur* vorzustellen / sondern auch das Griff-Brett (welches die Franzosen *La Manche* nennen) zu *examiniren* / dabey zu zeigen / wie weit sich der *Ambitus* auf der Lauten erstrecke / wie die Saiten auf zerschiedene Arten benennet / und die Chöre voneinander *distin-guirt* werden.



Nota.

Es ist aber zu bemerken / daß die Lautenisten mit Stimmung derselben sehr unterschieden seyn / zumahlen einige Stücke / als ex d fis da die erste / vierte und achte Saiten / ins fis, die eilffte aber ins cis gestimmt wird; und a cis, da man das g ins gis, f ins fis, und c ins cis stimmt / ohne merckliche Veränderung der Saiten nicht wohl können geschlagen werden; doch ist gegenwärtige die gemeinste Stimmung / und kann in diesem *Accord ex a moll, c dur, d moll,* und *f dur* gespielt werden. Einige Liebhaber diß Instruments haben so gar den 12. Chor darauf, welcher ihnen besonders aus dem Buchstaben b wol zu statten kommt.

p. 67.

Applicatio der Lauten, auf Buchstaben, Noten und Zeichen vorgestellt.

Chor 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9

C | D | E | F | fis | G | G^{is} | A | B | H | c | cis | d | dis | e | f | f | fis | g | g^{is} | a

a | a | a | a | - | a | - | a | - | - | - | a | - | - | a | - | - | - | a

Chor 10 11

b | h | c | cis | d | d | dis | e | f | f | fis | ns | g | g | g^{is} | a | b | h | c | cis | d

- | - | - | - | a | - | - | - | a | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | -

Note: Die Zahlen über denen *Systematibus* stehenden *Noten* zeigen den Chor oder die Saite der Lauten; die *Characteres* über denen lateinischen Buchstaben aber die Griffe an / wie solche auf derselben müssen geschlagen und *tractirt* werden.

p. 68. §. 36.

Nun ist vor allem zu *observiren*, daß man sowohl bei diesem, als andern musicalischen *Instrumenten* sich erstlich nicht unartig geberde; dann das *Decorum* muß bey allen Dingen beobachtet werden, vornehmlich aber bey diesem *Instrument*. [...] Denn was die Kunst oder Geschicklichkeit gut machet / reissen die üblen und unanständige Geberden über einen Hauffen. [...] [§. 39, 40: almost literal quotations from Mattheson on the theorbo and the calichon]

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

p. 174. Colascione (*ital.*) Colachon (*gall.*) s.m. ein in Türrkey, sonderlich bey dem Frauenzimmer, sehr gebräuchliches musicalisches Instrument von 2 bis 3 Saiten, dessen corpus rund, wie eine Laute, aber ganz klein ist; der Hals hingegen, welcher in 16 Griffe abgetheilet, hält 6 Schuh in die Länge. The Arabs call it Dambura. Die Neapolitaner brauchen es sehr rigid, und tractiren die Saiten mit einem plectro, oder mit einer Feder [...].

p. 367. Liuto [*ital.*] eine Laute.

p. 604f. Theorba, Tiorba oder Thiorba [*ital.*] [...] (*follows quotation from Mattheson (endnote D), § 16*)

^h Johann Christoph Barnickel, in Johann Christoph and Johann David Stößel (Barnickel), *Kurtzgefaßtes Musicalisches Lexicon*, Chemnitz, 1737

p. 204f. Laute, ist ein sonderbares Kling-Spiel. Anfänglich hatte dieses Instrument nur 4. Chordoppelte Saiten, hernach hat man immer mehr und mehr darzu gethan, also daß derselben biß Zwölffe worden, darunter die oberste, so man die Quinte nennet, und die zu nächst derselben, so die Secunde heisset, einfach, die andern alle doppelt bezogen sind. Das Unterste oder den Bauch daran heisset man das Corpus; das Oberste oder den Sangboden, das Dach, wo die Bände drauff liegen den Griff, unten dran den Hals; und wo die Wirbel drinnen gehen wird der Kragen genannt. Der Stimmung nach bekommen die Lauten unterschiedliche Nahmen. In der kleinen Octav-Lauten muß die Quinte in das eingestrichene c¹ [*sic*], oder das zweygestrichene d² gestimmt werden. In den kleinen Discant-Laute, in das eingestrichene h¹. In der Discant-Laute in das eingestrichene a¹. In der Chorist- oder Alt-Laute in das eingestrichene g¹. In der Tenor-Laute in das eingestrichene e¹. In der Bass-Lau[t]e in das eingestrichene d¹. In der Groß-Octav-Bass-Laute in das ungestrichene g. Der Meister, so dieses Instrument rühret, wird ein Lautenist oder Lautenschläger genennet.eind

p. 385f. Theorbe, ist wie eine grosse Baß-Laute, jedoch daß sie mehr, nemlich 14. oder 16. Chor-Saiten, und über den rechten Hals, darauf sonsten die Bände liegen, welches an den Lauten der Griff genennet wird, noch einen andern längern Hals hat. Ist allein dahin gerichtet, dieweil wegen der Grösse und wegen des weiten Greiffens keine Coloraturen, oder Dimunitiones darauf gemacht werden können, sondern nur schlecht hin gegriffen werden muß, daß ein Discant oder Tenor, viva voce, gleich wie zu der Viol di Bastarda darein gesungen werde. Kan auch sonst neben dem Baß zu andern Instrumenten gebraucht werden. Es sind der Theorben zweyerley, die eine mit Geigen-Saiten, die andere mit stählernen und meßingen Saiten.

¹ David Kellner, *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Baß*, zweyte und vermehrte Auflage, Hamburg 1737, p. 1.

Der *General-Bass*, so auch *Bassus continuus* genannt wird, [...] wird gespielt auf viel oder vollstimmigen *Instrumenten*, als da sind Clavir / Laute / Theorbe / Calichon / Panbor / auch wohl *Viola di gamba*; ja man tractiret ihn gar auf der Guitarre, so gut sichs thun läßt. [...] Daß aber der berühmte Sylvius Leopold Weiss auf seiner Laute was rechtschaffenes *accompagniren* und auf demselben das *praestiren* kann / was andere müssen bleiben lassen, solches ist mehr seiner Geschicklichkeit als dem *Instrument* zuzuschreiben.

¹ Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktos*, Erfurt 1738,

p. 51f. Von der Laute, *Angeliqve, Theorbe, Calichon, Pantalon*.

1. [Man wirfft so viel Instrumente in eine Brühe] / weil wir dieselbe nur summarisch betrachten wollen / indem sie so bekannt nicht sind wie die vorigen [= strijkinstrumenten] / auch wegen ihrer Kostbarkeit nicht jedermannes Kauffs und Erlernung sind.

2. [...] Die kostbahre Laute ist eines der theuresten *Instrumenten* unter allen / und ihr schmeichlender Klang hat ihr in der Welt nicht wenige *Partisans* zuwege gebracht. Vor diesem haben sie die Italiäner zum *Accompagnement* gebraucht / und den *General-Bass* darauf gespielt / welches in der That ein sehr *habiles* das *Clavier ex fundamento* verstehendes *Subjectum* erfordern will; Nachdem aber die *Theorbe* aufkommen, haben sie ihr den Abschied gegeben / doch gebraucht man sie noch heut zu tage bey Hof- und Cammer-*Musique*. Wer demnach solches erlernen will / muß zuförderst wegen des Überlegens lange Finge haben.

3. [...] Dieses delicate Kling-Spiel / welches einen gewölbten Bauch hat / von etwa 10. dünnen Spänen zusammen gesetzt / und einen *Resonanz-Boden* von tannen Holz / in welchem einen Rosen-förmige Oeffnung / wie auch einen Hals / an welchem die Tone durch 9. Griffe mit so viel Bänden von Schaf-Saiten gezeichnet / und einen Kopff / daran die Saiten vermöge der Wirbel aufgezogen werden / hat / wird ganz allein mit Menschen-Händen *tractiret* / da denn die linke Hand auf dem sogenannten Griff-Brete die Tone hält / wenn die rechte Hand dieselben anschlägt. [...]

p. 58. 4. [...] Ordinaire wird die Laute folgendermasen gestimmt, deren Saiten heissen also:



Hierbey ist zu bemerken, daß nach der lauten *Tabulatur* jede Saite A heisset, der erste Band b. der 2te c. der 3te d. der 4te e. der 5te f. der 6te g. der 7te. H der 8te i. der 9te k.

Wer aber will aus andern Tonis spielen lernen, der hat die blosse Vorzeichnung zu *regardiren*, nach welcher einige von denen 7. Baß-Chören verstimmet werden, die andern 6. Chöre bleiben in einerley *Etendüe*. v.g. Die *Partie* gienge aus F dur: so wird das H ins B gestimmt, weil bloß B vorgezeichnet ist. [...]

Obgleich diese *Figur* einem *Calichon* als Laute ähnlicher, so hat man solche dennoch bloß wegen der abgezeichneten Bände beybehalten müssen, weil die Vielheit der lauten-Chöre in einen solchen engen Raum *proportionate* schwerlich zu bringen gewesen.

p. 59.



Der *Calichon* ist auch ein mit 6. Saiten bezogenes *Instrument*, welches der Lauten ziemlich nahe kommt, und mit 6. einfachen Saiten bezogen ist, welche ins D. G. C. E. A. D. wie auf der *Viola di Gamba* gestimmt werden: Doch gebrauchet man dieselben gar selten. [...]

[*Information about the theorbo is missing*].

^κ Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal Lexicon, Anderer Band*, Halle und Leipzig 1732, p. 1256.

Arcileuto, Arciliuto, Archileuto [...] Es brauchen die Italiäner dieses *Instrument*, und *tractiren* darauf den grossen *General-Bass* wegen derer starcken Bässe und Grösse, die dieses *Instrument* hat, und weil es einen scharffen Laut von sich giebt. Es hat, [...] acht einfache, und sieben doppelte Darm-Saiten, nebst der feinsten und höchsten, *Cantino* genannt.

Calichon, Caliciono (Supplement Vierter Band 1754, p. 1251), [*quotes Walther*].

Laute (Sechzehenter Band 1737, p. 1198), [*quotes Stößel and Eisel*].

Liuto, siehe *Laute* (Siebenzehenter Band 1738, p. 1738).

Theorba (Drey und Viertzigster Band 1745, p. 1099); [*quotes Walther and Mattheson*].

^λ Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversiere zu spielen*, Berlin 1752.

p. 184. Die Theorbe findet hinter dem zweyten Clavicymbal, und den ihm zugeordneten Violoncellisten, bequemen Platz.

^μ Johann Kuhnau, *An S. Magnificenz, den regierenden Herrn, Bürgermeister zu Leipzig, und getreüen Vorsteher der Kirchen zu St. Thomae* [...] *Dienstgehorsamstes Memorial*, 1704, quoted from Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Zweiter Band, Leipzig (21916Spitta II), p. 854.

Die weil wir auch bey unsrer Kirchen *Music* die sogenannten *Colochonen* (eine Art von Lauten, die aber *penetriren*, und bey allen izigen *Musiquen* nöthig sind), immer von andern borgen müßen, sie aber nicht allemahl geliehen bekommen können; So ist zum wenigsten ein gut Stücke von solcher Art mit einem Futterale vor beyde Kirchen nöthig [...].

^ν 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.

[...] and folgentlich zu denen gedoppelt besetzten *Braccien*, zu *Violonen*, *Violoncellen*, *Coloscionen*, *Paucken* und andern *Instrumenten* mehr, [...]

^ο Johann Kuhnau, *An die Hochlöbliche Universität zu Leipzig unterdienstliches Memorial*, 1717, quoted from Spitta II.

p. 862. [...] da ich (1) in meinem ersten Chore bey der heutiges Tages gewöhnlichen starcken *Music* von viel Sing- als *Concert-* und *Capell-*Stimmen, oder den so genannten *Ripieno*, und *Instrumenten*, als viel *Violinen*, *Violen*, *Bässen*, als *Violonen*, *Violoncellen*, *Calichonen*, *Bassonen*, wozu die wenigsten von den Kunst-Pfeiffern kommen, weil sie andere blasende *Instrumenta*, als *Trompete*, *Posaune*, *Hautbois* und dergleichen mehr immer zu *tractiren* haben [...]