

## XXVI. THE VIOLIN AND THE VIOLA

The violin and the viola are hardly absent in any of Bach's cantatas. For both instruments this chapter will first consider their physical construction in the first half of the 18<sup>e</sup> century. Then it will be investigated what instruments were present in the two main churches in Leipzig at different times, or were in the possession of persons connected with the churches, and what is known about these instruments. Attention will also be paid to possible players of these string instruments. How Bach used these instruments in his cantatas and passions, and what he expected of the players, is the conclusion of the two sections.



**Fig. 1.** Cristoforo Munari, *Still Life with Musical Instruments*, 1710-1715  
The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, No. 61.60

# 1. What is known about the construction, characteristics, players and use of the violin in Bach's cantatas and passions in Leipzig?

## The violin in Germany in the 18<sup>e</sup> century

The violin (*Violine, violino*) is the smallest standard instrument from the *braccio* family, to which the viola and cello also belong. These instruments were developed in Italy in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Halfway through this century they were introduced in Germany; around 1600 *braccio-consorts* were popular there, especially for playing dance music and canzonas. From this time onwards, the violin also developed further as a solo instrument. <sup>1</sup> Following Lully's example in France, multiple string instruments to a part (with ripieno strings) gradually came into fashion in Germany in the second half of the 17<sup>e</sup> century. <sup>2</sup>

The tone of the violin was described as piercing, possibly in contrast to the viol. <sup>A</sup> The members of the *braccio*-family generally possessed four strings, tuned in fifths. Since about 1600 the strings of the violin had almost always been tuned as g-d<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>-e<sup>2</sup>, although sometimes scordatura was applied. From the mid-1700s in Italy, the lower strings were increasingly overspun with silver wire, which considerably increased the quality of the bass tones (for details on wound strings see Chapter XXI, *The violoncello*); this practice was adopted in Germany from around 1700 onwards. Until then the lowest strings had been used less because of the poor quality of these rather thick strings. <sup>3</sup> The first author in Germany to mention overspun strings on the violin was Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Caspar Majer in 1732; <sup>B</sup> non-wound strings remained in use long after 1700. <sup>4</sup>

Violins as used in the 18<sup>e</sup> century differed from later instruments in a number of respects. Many dimensions (bridge height, the angle between the neck and the body, length, internal bars) were smaller than in today's violin. The neck (including the fingerboard) was less long, thicker and mounted less backwards; the fingerboard was usually covered with ebony. The sheep-gut strings had a larger diameter and were in general less tightly tensioned than the current steel or synthetic strings. Only the lowest string was usually wound with silver or copper wire. The curved back plate was made of maple wood and the top plate of softwood. Georg Falck and Daniel Merck recommended placing the violin on the left breast. Chinrests and shoulder rests were unknown; the violins were rarely supported with the chin, although Johann Jacob Prinner advised doing so as early as 1677. <sup>C</sup>

The body length was 34-37 cm, the neck length 11.5-13 cm. The bow was shorter and bent outwards. The horsehair was directly attached to the bow itself, or to a separately mounted frog; screws did not yet exist. <sup>5</sup> In 1688, but also in 1732, it was written that the bow

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<sup>1</sup> David D. Boyden c.s., 'Violin, § 1', *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, Second Edition*, Vol. 26, p. 702ff.

<sup>2</sup> John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw, *The Birth of the Orchestra, History of an Institution, 1650-1815*, Oxford 2004, p. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Stephen Bonta, 'From Violone to Violoncello: A Question of Strings?', *Journal of the American Musical Instrument Society* 3, 1977, p. 64-99;

<sup>4</sup> On larger stringed instruments, overspun strings were mentioned before 1700:

Daniel Speer, *Grund-richtiger/kurz/leicht und nöthiger Unterricht der Musicalischen Kunst*, Göppingen 1687, p. 91;

Daniel Merck, *Compendium musicae instrumentalis chelicae*, Augspurg 1695, s.p., Cap. VIII.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Bernd Heyder, 'Bachs Instrumentarium', in Reinmar Emans and Sven Hiemke (ed.), *Das Bach-Handbuch Band 2*, Laaber 2007, p. 159; Kai Köpp, 'Violin', in Siegbert Rampe and Dominik Sackman, *Bachs Orchestermusik*, Kassel 2000, p. 292-296.

was handled with the thumb on the hair next to the frog, so that the desired tension could be maintained. <sup>D</sup> Prinner noted in 1677 that he had often seen violinists in Italy who handled the bow in the middle, clamping the wood between their thumb and another finger, but that 'real artists' (*rechten Khünstler*) rejected this method. <sup>E</sup>

According to Eisel (1738), the best violins were made by Antonio Stratifario (sic) in Cremona and Jacob Stainer in Absam (today in Austria). The quality of these instruments was particularly evident in their loud tone, which could drown out a complete musical ensemble. According to Eisel, cheaper good instruments were made in Germany by, among others, Johann Christian Hoffmann (1683-1750) in Leipzig. <sup>F</sup> Bach was friends with Hoffmann; they were godparents to each other in their families. In 1729, under Bach's responsibility, string quartets made by Hoffmann were purchased for the *Thomaskirche* and the *Nikolaikirche*; in 1732 Bach entrusted Hoffmann with the maintenance of the string instruments of the two main churches, and in Hoffmann's will of 1748 (in which he called Bach one of his 'dear friends' (*meine lieben Freunde*) he bequeathed to Bach an instrument to be chosen by lot. <sup>G</sup> Eisel did not mention the equally famous instrument maker Joachim Tielke, who worked in Hamburg. Other important German centres of violin making were Mittenwald in Bavaria and Neukirchen (now Markneukirchen) in the Vogtland. The violins of Stainer and Hoffmann had a more curved body, and thus a milder tone than the instruments with flatter forms, such as those of Stradivari.

Violinists were expected to master position playing, including shifting the hand on the upper string to reach higher notes than a fifth above  $e^2$ . According to Daniel Speer (1687) and Daniel Merck (1695) the violinist could play the  $e^3$ , <sup>G</sup> but Georg Falck (1688) mentioned  $f^3$  and  $g^3$ . <sup>H</sup> Composers such as Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (ca. 1620-1680) and Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber (1644-1704) also prescribed notes up to  $g^3$ . Johann Mattheson (1713) also indicated a maximum range of two and a half octaves for *Gesellen* and three octaves for professional violinists, so also up to  $g^3$ . <sup>I</sup> Eisel mentioned  $e^3$  as the usual highest tone for pupils, but higher tones were feasible for 'Masters' (*Meister*) on the instrument. <sup>J</sup>

### **The violins in the two main churches in Leipzig**

Bach found a rich collection of violins in Weimar, including instruments by Stainer, and unnamed violins from Cremona and Mittenwald, among others. In Köthen, violins by Stainer, Hoffmann, Johann Hasert, Johann Heinrich Ruppert and Balthasar Paulus (from Neukirchen) were present. <sup>K</sup>

Compared to this wealth of good violins, it must have been hard for Bach in Leipzig. In 1701 Johann Kuhnau acquired two violins for each of the two main churches, built by the *Stadtpfeiffer* Marcus Buchner. <sup>L</sup> Kuhnau's inventory list of 1701 for the *Nikolaikirche* also mentions two old violins. <sup>M</sup> An inventory in 1712 revealed that Buchner's instruments were (temporarily?) absent in the *Thomaskirche*. However, a violin from Neukirchen was found, but the purchase invoice is missing. <sup>N</sup> Between 1723 and 1729, violins that were not part of the standard equipment of the specific church must have been used in order to achieve the configuration with six violins Bach desired for his large-scale works. Thus, the violins from both churches may have been transported to the church where a cantata was performed, but there

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<sup>6</sup> Herbert Heyde, 'Johann Christian Hoffmann', in Eszter Fontana, Veit Heller, Klaus Martius, *Martin und Johann Christian Hoffmann, Geigen- und Lautenmacher des Barock*, Leipzig 2015, p. 69-74.

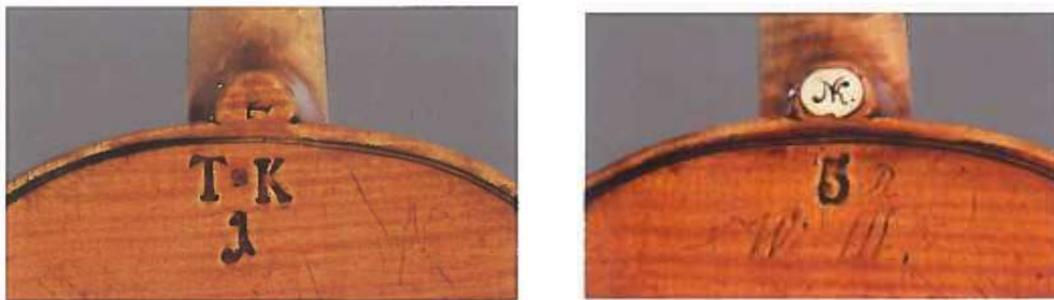
<sup>7</sup> Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktikos*, Erfurt 1738, p. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Ulrich Prinz, *Johann Sebastian Bach's Instrumentarium*, Stuttgart/Kassel 2005, p. 428.

were other possibilities. Town musicians probably played on their own instruments.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, two violins built in 1678 by Martin Hoffmann (Johann Christian's father) and repaired in 1706 were present in the *Thomasschule*,<sup>M</sup> and Bach himself owned two violins (in 1750), including one (from the school?) by Stainer.<sup>N</sup> The inventory of Zimmerman's coffee house also included two violins.<sup>10</sup>

In 1729, a string quartet by Hoffmann was purchased for both the *Thomaskirche* and the *Nikolaikirche*.<sup>O</sup> An inventory list from 1789 for the *Thomaskirche* still lists the two Hoffmann violins, as well as four violins from after 1750; a similar inventory list from 1784 for the *Nikolaikirche* shows the same set of instruments. In 1795, the *Thomasschule* owned no fewer than thirteen violins, numbered 1-13.<sup>P</sup> Inventory lists from 1823 show that the instruments were numbered: three violins in the *Thomaskirche* and six in the *Nikolaikirche*. In the same year the *Thomasschule* owned only two violins, numbered 1 and 2.<sup>Q</sup> An invoice for the repair in 1801 of a 'Hoffmann violin' (*Hoffmannische Geige*) from the *Thomasschule* shows that the neck was moved, and the pegbox, fingerboard, tailpiece and bridge were replaced.<sup>11</sup> From surviving violins it appears that the inventory numbers were preceded by the codes TK, NK and TS respectively.

Two violins built by Hoffmann in 1729 and owned by the *Thomaskirche* still exist. They bear the signatures TK1 and NK5 (*fig. 2a/b*) and have a body length of about 35.5 cm.



**Fig. 2a/b.** Signatures TK1 and NK5. Source: Fontana et al. 2015, p. 80.

The fact that a violin from the *Nikolaikirche* ended up in the stock of the *Thomaskirche* may be due to the fact that instruments from one church were always used in the other church when necessary; Christine Kröhner believes that the musical instruments of both churches exchanged places several times.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Besitzstand und Vermögensverhältnisse von Leipziger Ratsmusikern zur Zeit Johann Sebastian Bachs', *Beiträge zur Bachforschung*, Heft 4, Leipzig 1984, p. 33-46.

Violins are mentioned in the estates of

p. 34ff. *Kunstgeiger* Johann Friedrich Caroli (1730-1738; three violins)

p. 36f. *Kunstgeiger* Johann Christian Oschatz (1738-1762 (from 1747 *Stadtpeiffer*); two violins)

p. 38ff. *Kunstgeiger* (from 1708 *Stadtpeiffer*) Christian Rother (until 1737; one violin)

p. 41ff. *Stadtpeiffer* Johann Caspar Gleditsch (until 1747; three violins)

<sup>10</sup> Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs, dritter Band (1723 bis 1800)*, Leipzig 1941, p. 135.

<sup>11</sup> Heyde 2015, p. 69.

<sup>12</sup> Christine Kröhner, 'Die Streichinstrumente der Leipziger Thomaskirche aus Bachs Amtszeit - Zum Problem der Erfassung des Bestandes zwischen 1723 und 1750 und Untersuchung der überlieferten Instrumente', in Winfried Hoffmann und Armin Schneiderheinze (ed.), *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. Internationalen Bachfest der DDR 1985*, Leipzig 1988, p. 164, n. 17.



**Fig. 3a/b/c.** Violin TK1 (JCH 17). Source: Fontana et al. 2015, p. 383.



**Fig. 4a/b/c.** Violin NK5 (JCH 18). Source: Fontana et al. 2015, p. 385.

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Another possibility is the following. In 1789, due to renovations in the *Nikolaikirche*, all instruments were stored in 'a separate cupboard' (*einem besonderen Schranke*) in the Thomasschule; perhaps all instruments received their stamps at that time and the violin NK5 accidentally received the wrong stamp. *Ibid*, p. 157.

The top plate, neck and pegbox of the TK1 (JCH 17) are of later date (*fig. 3a/b/c*). In 1811 a *Hoffmannsche Geige* from the *Thomaskirche* was repaired and given a new top plate; Veit Heller assumes that the violin in question was the TK1.<sup>13</sup> The neck and pegbox and possibly the ribs of the NK5 (JCH 18) are also of later date (*fig. 4a/b/c*). The NK 5 was repaired in 1853, according to an entry inside the case; Heller thinks that only then the neck and the pegbox were replaced.<sup>14</sup>

### **The violinists in the two main churches in Leipzig**

In his 1730 memorandum (*Entwurff*), Bach asked for two or three first violinists and as many second violinists.<sup>15</sup> Usually the three *Kunstgeiger* would have played the violin. In the case of a small ensemble of 2 x 2 violins, *Stadtpfeiffer* (when, for example, the oboes were the only wind instruments), a student and/or pupil must have been involved; in the case of a larger ensemble of 3 x 2 violins, three students or pupils. Bach indicated that he usually had the second violins played by pupils.<sup>16</sup> In 1736, rector Johann August Ernesti of the *Thomasschule* wrote that the previous prefect Maximilian Nagel always played the violin.<sup>15</sup> There are also Bach attestations for students, which show that they played the violin.<sup>16</sup>

Bach had two parts made of the first and second violin parts by default, even when only two players per part were needed. In Chapter V (*The number of instruments*) it has been suggested that the reason may have been a matter of status. City musicians were entitled to their own part; perhaps for that reason, apprentices were seated in other places than the city musicians. But in that case it is illogical that Bach also had two parts written for the second violin: after all, two pupils could play together from one part, as happened with the violas. This suggests that one of the three *Kunstgeiger* also played the second violin. In the same Chapter V it has been argued that Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's statement that Bach himself preferred to play the violin (or the viola) as a leader of an orchestra probably did not apply to the performances of cantatas in both main churches; a place at the harpsichord is more obvious (see Chapter XIX, *The Harpsichord*). In the *Thomaskirche*, the position of the violinists in a high-ranking 'side choir' was also not very compatible with the lower central position of the *Director* (see chapter VIII, *The positioning of the musicians*).

Bach's violinists did not only play the violin. In the *Matthäus-Passion*, for instance, they played the recorder in the accompagnato recitative 'O Schmerz, hier zittert das gequälte Herz' (*fig. 5*), probably even two-to-a-part, as the music is also included in the doublets (see chapter V). Likewise they played *violoncello piccolo* in BWV 6/3 and 41/4, and *viola d'amore* in parts 19 and 20 of the first version (1724) of the *Johannes-Passion* BWV 245.1 (see Chapter XXVII, *Special string instruments*).<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* p. 159;

Veit Heller, 'Die Viola-da-Baraccio-instrumente von Johann Christian Hoffmann', in Fontana et al. 2015, p. 120, 382f.

<sup>14</sup> Kröhner 1988, p. 158f; Heller 2015, p. 120, 384f.

<sup>15</sup> *BD* II, no. 383, p. 275.

<sup>16</sup> In many attestations it was mentioned that the pupils in question played various instruments. The violin is explicitly mentioned in the following sources. *BD* I, nr. 15, p. 48; I, nr 68, p. 136; I, nr. 71, p. 139 and I, nr. 81, p. 148. The attestation for Carl Friedrich Pfaffe from 1745 shows that as a *Stadtpfeiffer* he also played the violin: *BD* I, nr. 80, p. 147.

<sup>17</sup> Prinz 2005, p. 455.



Fig. 5. BWV 244.2/19, part *Violino 2*, doublet (choir I).

### Violin parts in Bach's cantatas and passions in Leipzig

As a rule the violin parts are notated in the violin key ( $g^1$  on the second line), but Ulrich Prinz extensively discusses cases where they are written in the alto key. This happened especially when violins and violas played in unison, e.g. in a *bassetto*. Then sometimes the range of the violin was exceeded in depth (*Umfangsunterscheidung*);<sup>18</sup> apparently the violinists had to solve this problem themselves on the spot.<sup>19</sup> Also the soprano key ( $c^1$  on first line) occurs a number of times; sometimes when there was a lack of space between two bars.<sup>20</sup> *Scordatura* does not occur in Bach's works.

In Bach's cantatas and passions a full chromatic range up to  $e^3$  is required, but higher tones, up to  $a^3$ , were also occasionally prescribed.<sup>21</sup> In the lower regions, 70% of the solo violin parts studied by Prinz contain the lowest playable notes  $g$  or  $g^\#$ .<sup>22</sup>

Bach apparently made a distinction between the terms *Violino solo* and *Violino concertato*. The former refers to one violin to a part, the latter to concertante solo violin parts. For the latter he often wrote separate parts, so that the ripienists could continue playing from their parts. The ripienist parts received no special indication; they were usually given terms such as *Violino 1mo* and *Violino 2do* like all normal violin parts. It is not always clear from the scores whether violinists played solo; sometimes it is only clear from the parts. For example, in the score and the part for violin 1 of BWV 59/4 the aria is only marked 'Aria', but the part for violin 2 reads *Aria con Violino solo | tacet*. And in the aria 'Jesus ist ein Schild der Seinen' BWV 42/6 the score does not indicate which instruments are meant for the upper two bars (fig. 6a). The upper staff in the score is found in the part for violin 1 (fig. 6b) and the lower staff in the doublet of this part (fig. 6c). In the part for violin 2, *Aria Basso tacet* is mentioned. This shows that both parts were played solo by *Kunstgeiger*, unless Bach deviated from his own memorandum in which he requested '2, also possibly 3' (*2 auch wohl 3*) violinists per part; which seems unlikely.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 465: f in BWV 118, 243.1/10, e in 170/3, d in 234/4.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 437ff.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 440ff.

<sup>21</sup> The following list of works which contain notes higher than  $e^3$  for the violin is taken from Prinz 2005, p. 463f. Parts and bar numbers are also mentioned there.

To  $f^3$  BWV 41/1, 74/5, 243.1/1;

To  $fis^3$  BWV 67/1, 103/1, 171/4, 172.2/1, 190/1;

To  $g^3$  BWV 61/6, 101/2, 158/2;

To  $a^3$  BWV 66/1, 232<sup>1</sup>/6.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 465.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 453.



Fig. 6a. BWV 42/6, score, m. 1; b. ditto part violin 1; c. ditto doublet violin 1.

The tenor aria 'Wir waren schon zu tief gesunken' BWV 9/3 has in the autograph score the scoring for *Violino solo*, but originally it seems to have read *Violini unis.* or *Violini unisoni* (fig. 7). This original intention is also evident in the parts: in the part for violin 1 there is no *solo*, and the aria is also included in the doublet for violin 1 without a *tacet* entry (not in the parts for violin 2).<sup>24</sup> Apparently Bach changed his mind, possibly on the occasion of a re-performance. Hans-Joachim Schulze believes that Bach was forced to do this because he would not have been able to achieve the required tension-free lightness, as described by Johann Kirnberger, in a unison performance of the  $\frac{3}{8}$ -time.<sup>25</sup>

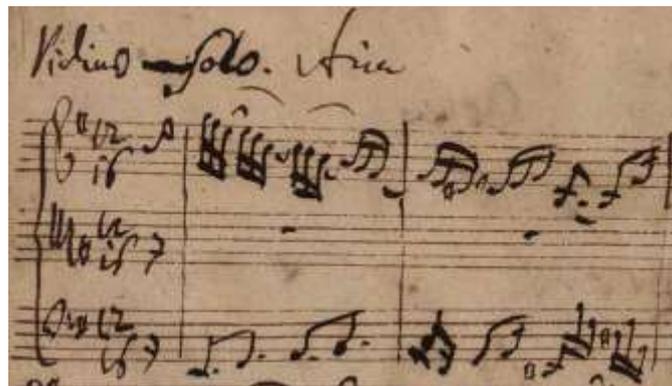


Fig. 7. BWV 9/3, score, beginning.

It may presumably be assumed that violin parts not included in the doublets were performed solo. In Chapter V (*The number of instruments*, § 2) the special conditions relating to the solo violin parts in the *Mass in b* BWV 232.2 and the *Matthäus-Passion* BWV 244.2 have been discussed.

Bach prescribed the use of a sourdine several times, both in scores and in parts.<sup>26</sup> In eighteenth-century Germany, according to Johann Gottfried Walther and Johann Joachim Quantz, sourdines for string instruments were usually made of a metal such as brass, lead or

<sup>24</sup> Reinmar Emans, *KB at NBA I.17.2*, Kassel 1993, p. 124 and 134.

<sup>25</sup> Hans Joachim Schulze, 'Bach Stilgerecht aufführen - Wunschbild und Wirklichkeit', 1984, rev. 1991, in Joachim Lüdtke, *Bach und die Nachwelt, Band IV*, Laaber 2005, p. 188.

<sup>26</sup> Prinz 2005, p. 457: BWV 8/1, 30.1/2,5, 33/3, 34.2/3, 36.5/7, 107/6, 197.2/2, 232.2/8, 243.2/6, 249/6.

steel.<sup>27,†</sup> The word *pizzicato* (plucked with the fingers) was often used by Bach in violin parts, and *col arco* to end this way of playing within a movement.<sup>28</sup> In addition to the points written on individual notes to play them *staccato*, Bach also wrote the term *staccato* when all the notes had to be played apart from each other for a longer period.<sup>29</sup> Sometimes Bach used the term *spiccato*; there seems to be no clear difference with *staccato* (although the former term is only used for strings). For example, one term was used for the first violin part of 'Ehre sei Gott' BWV 248.2/21 and the other for the second violin part.<sup>30</sup>

Twice in his Leipzig cantatas Bach wrote down *arpeggio* notes as chords, after he had first written out in detail how the *arpeggio* was to be realised (fig. 8).<sup>31</sup>



Fig. 8. 'Nichts kann mich erretten von höllischen Ketten' BWV 74/7, part violin 1, beginning.

In some cases, the parts of unspecified solo instruments have not survived. In all probability, these were usually violin parts.<sup>32</sup> In addition, Bach often replaced wind instruments or the organ in solo parts with violins in his repertoire.<sup>33</sup> On more than one occasion he also reinforced wind parts with violins.<sup>34</sup>

Bach used the violin in many different ways in his cantatas and passions. The most common forms are: in tutti ensembles, in four-part string ensembles, both violin parts unison with the violas, unison with other instruments or voices and as a solo instrument. Bach very

<sup>27</sup> The first sourdines were mentioned in 1636 in France; they were three-toed and made of ebony or ivory. Fred J. Lindeman, *The rebirth of the Baroque Violin*, Amsterdam 2011, p. 111.

Walther: See <sup>†</sup>.

Zedler quotes Walther: Johann Heinrich Zedler, *Grosses vollständiges Universal-Lexicon*, Band 38, Leipzig und Halle 1742, column 1022. The sourdine is mentioned very little in the treatises. In Stössel's *Kurzgefaßtes musicalisches Lexicon* (Barnickel, 1737, p. 354f.) only the sourdine is discussed for the trumpet.

According to Johann Joachim Quantz (1752), the *Dämpfer* could be made of wood, lead, brass, iron or steel; the best would be steel. Johann Joachim Quantz, *Versuch einer Anweisung [...]*, Berlin 1752, p. 203.

<sup>28</sup> Prinz 2005, p. 457: BWV 8.2/1, 30.1,2/5, 33/3, 61/4, 73/4, 92/8, 95/4, 127/3, 161/4, 182/1, 198/4.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., p. 457: BWV 1/5, 8.1/1, 32/5, 73/1, 88/3, 94/1, 108/1, 124/1, 151/1, 173/3, 248.2/21.

<sup>30</sup> *Spiccato*: Ibid., p. 458: BWV 32/1, 174/1, 248.2/21. *Staccato*: See Walther. <sup>†</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Prinz 2005, p. 459: BWV 74/7, 86/2.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 468: BWV 37/2, 139/2, 166/2 and 181/3.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 469: BWV 8.1,2/1,2, 17/3, 43/7, 47/2, 69.1,2/3, 101/2, 103/1,3, 130.1,2/3, 151/1, 156/2, 197.2/6,8, 234/5, 245.2/35. The same thing happened with re-use in another work: BWV 36.1/7 – 36.5/7, 79/2-234/5, 197.1/4 - 197.2/6, 184.2/6a - 213/13a, 102/5 - 233/5, 179/5 - 234/4, 213/7 - 248/41.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 470: BWV 161/1, 182/1, 185.1,2/5, 186/3-5, 186/5, 245.2,5/35, 245.2,5/21b, 25b.

often gave the violinists obligato parts; often as the only solo instrument, but also often together with other instruments.<sup>35</sup> Arias for four-part string ensemble are common and have a strikingly dance character. The same scoring is also common in *accompagnato* (parts of) recitatives.

The demands on first violinists were often higher than on second violinists and ripienists in general. In his memorandum (1730), Bach noted that he often assigned the second violins to pupils at the *Thomasschule* due to a lack of good players; the first violinists must have been mainly city musicians. These professional violinists were sometimes confronted with special techniques such as the *bariolage*, in which the same tone is played alternately on two different strings (*fig. 9*).<sup>36</sup>



Fig. 9. 'Wie lieblich klingt es in den Ohren', BWV 133/4, violin part 1, m. 17-19.

Bach also asked his solo violinists to play double stops, sometimes on three or even four strings.<sup>37</sup> Several times two to four-part final chords are prescribed for the first violinists together.<sup>38</sup> Only in BWV 188/5 were double stops required of all strings in the first bar of a recitative (*fig. 10*), although it is possible that Bach meant that the parts were divided between the two (or three) players of these parts.

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Fig. 10. BWV 188/5, score, beginning, BG edition.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid., p. 470f.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., BWV 83/1, 133/4. Bariolage-like effects occur in BWV 84/3 and 178/3.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., BWV 32/3, 47/2, 74/7, 86/2, 97/4.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., BWV 111/4, 194.2/5, 195.3/3 (also second violins).

*In Bach's time, violins were built differently from modern instruments; the same applied to bows. Between 1723 and 1729, there were probably not enough violins in either of the two main churches for Bach's desired ensemble of four or six violins; this number could be reached by borrowing instruments from the other main church or from the Thomasschule, or when the city musicians brought their own violins. In 1729, a new string quartet by Johann Christian Hoffmann was purchased for each of the two churches; two of the violins from these still exist, albeit in a modified form. The city musicians, in particular the three Kunstgeiger, played the violin; to achieve Bach's desired number of four or six violinists, pupils or students were needed.*

*In Bach's cantatas and passions a full chromatic range up to  $e^3$  is required, but higher tones, up to  $a^3$ , occur occasionally as well. Sometimes Bach prescribed (metal?) sourdines, or indications like pizzicato. The parts for first violinists are often more difficult than those for second. Double stops occurred almost exclusively in solo violin parts.*

## **2. What is known about the construction, characteristics, players and use of the viola in Bach's cantatas and passions in Leipzig?**

### **The viola in Germany in the 18<sup>e</sup> century.**

The *viola* is a larger version of the violin. The strings are tuned c-g-d<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>1</sup>. The viola had (and still has) a special place in the four-part string ensemble. A vocal ensemble consists of a bass, a tenor, an alto and a soprano. The string ensemble, however, consists of two sopranos, an alto and a bass. So the second violin plays the alto part and the viola the tenor part. Tenor violins, with the lowest string in G, did exist in the 17<sup>e</sup> century, and were still used in the 18<sup>e</sup> century, but were not normally involved in four-part string ensembles.

The most important peculiarities of the viola do not differ from those of the violin; also with the viola only the lower string was wound with metal wire. The body length was 38 - 43 cm (the variation could be considerable), while the neck was comparatively short. It is not known by which builders violas were present in Weimar at the time of Bach. In Köthen there were instruments by Jacob Stainer, (Johann Heinrich?) Eichentopf and Hans Andreas Dörffler.<sup>39</sup>

For a *Braz* (notation in the alto clef), Speer (1687) mentions c<sup>2</sup> as the usual highest note, but in the staff with possible notes he mentions d<sup>2</sup> as the highest. For a low *Braz* (tenor notation), Speer mentions a<sup>1</sup> on the (open) highest string as the highest note, but the lowest note remains c. <sup>U</sup> Falck (1688), Merck (1695) and Mattheson (1713) discuss the highest attainable notes only for the violin; not for the viola. Eisel (1738), like Speer, gave d<sup>2</sup> as the highest note to be played, but higher notes could be reached by crossing the fingers, as with the violin. In Eisel's case, the normal range with notation in alto and tenor clefs was the same.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Köpp 2000, p. 298f; Prinz 2005, p. 497.

<sup>40</sup> Eisel 1738, p. 38f.

### The violas in the two main churches in Leipzig

In 1672, three violas built by Leonhardt Pradter in Prague were purchased for both the *Thomaskirche* and the *Nikolaikirche*.<sup>v</sup> In 1701, Johann Kuhnau reported the presence of '2 Violins' in the *Nikolaikirche*.<sup>41</sup> As part of the two string quartets built by Johann Christian Hoffmann in 1729, both main churches came into possession of a new viola. In 1789 a viola by Pradter and one by Hoffmann were still present in the *Thomaskirche*, and in 1784 in the *Nikolaikirche* the viola of Johann Christian Hoffmann and one of his successor Christian Gottlieb.<sup>w</sup>

Two violas by a Saxon-Bohemian maker, possibly by Leonhardt Pradter, still exist; they are signed TK2 (fig. 11) and NK1. Kröhner, however, believes these instruments to be 18<sup>th</sup> century and from Saxony-Bohemia; Joseph Pradter (1714-1736) has been named as the builder.<sup>42</sup>



Fig. 11. Viola TK2. Source: Prinz 2005, p. 499.

Of both the violas by Hoffmann from 1729, one is still in the *Thomaskirche*, although a signature on a bone plate is now missing (fig. 12a/b/c). The body length of this viola is now 40.2 cm, but originally it was larger; the instrument must then have had more the character of a tenor violin. Possibly it was adapted in 1881 to the then usual size of a viola, on which occasion the signature plate must have been removed. The neck is not original either.<sup>43</sup>

The *Thomasschule* also owned two violas ('*Violons de Braz'*) during Bach's cantorate,<sup>44</sup> as well as Zimmermann's coffee house.<sup>45</sup> In the estate of Johann Friedrich Caroli (*Kunstgeiger* 1730-1738) there were three violas,<sup>46</sup> and in Bach's estate also three.<sup>x</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, zweiter Band (1650 bis 1723), Leipzig 1926, p. 114.

<sup>42</sup> Kröhner 1988, p. 162; Rampe 2000, p. 299.

<sup>43</sup> Heller 2015, p. 386.

<sup>44</sup> Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach II*, Leipzig<sup>2</sup> 1920, p. 774; *Dokumente GLT VIII/C9*, p. 44.

<sup>45</sup> Schering 1941, p. 135.

<sup>46</sup> Schulze 1984, p. 36.



Fig. 12a/b/c. Viola J.C. Hoffmann, Thomaskirche, s.S. (JCH 19). Source: Fontana et al. 2015, p. 387.

### The violists in the two main churches in Leipzig

In his memorandum of 1730 (*Entwurf*) Bach requested two violists (i.e. not a variable number like that for the violins) for the performance of his cantatas. He also asked for two more players for a second viola part, who, however, only were required in Leipzig in re-performances of the cantatas BWV 4, 12, 31.2, 61, 172.2,3 and 182 written in Mühlhausen or Weimar (see chapter V. *The number of instruments*).<sup>y</sup> Bach also mentioned that he almost always had school-pupils play the violas.<sup>s</sup> This explains why Bach normally did not have doublets made for the violists: they could read from one part together. In his testimony for Johann Christoph Altnickol in 1747, Bach wrote that as one of the viola players he was a member of the *Choro Musico*.<sup>z</sup> According to Carl Philipp Emanuel (1774), Bach himself played the violin 'pure and piercing' (*pur u. durchdringend*), but as a connoisseur of harmony preferred the viola.<sup>AA</sup> However, both can hardly have applied in the *Thomaskirche*, where the strings played in a separate 'side choir'. From there, it was less easy to conduct the ensemble. Moreover, the ever-present parts would have been superfluous: after all, Bach used his score.

### Viola parts in Bach's cantatas and passions in Leipzig

Doublets of the viola parts were never made in Leipzig as far as we know. The parts are usually notated in the alto clef. In cantatas from Weimar with two viola parts, the second viola part is often notated in the tenor key.<sup>47</sup> Also in these cases the lowest notes to be played are never lower than c; a tenor viola with G as lowest string was therefore never necessary; however, the second viola may have had a larger size. When the violists played in unison with the violins, the score may have included a combined part in the violin key,<sup>48</sup> but the reverse (notation for violins in the alto key) also occurred.

<sup>47</sup> Prinz 2005, p. 504: BWV 4, 12, 18, 31.2, 172.3, 182, 241.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 506: BWV 61/3, 85/5, 154/4, 170/3, 174/4, 243.1/8.

Bach repeatedly asked  $f^2$  as the highest note, and sometimes even  $fis^2$  or  $g^2$ ; this is particularly the case in parts that are played in unison with the violins.<sup>49</sup> Special indications in Bach's church music such as *con sordino*, *pizzicato*, *staccato* and *spiccato* usually go together with those for the violin (see above). *Arpeggio* and *bariolage* do not occur on the violas; double stops are very rare.<sup>50</sup>

In BWV 18, a cantata from Weimar that was performed again in Leipzig, Bach prescribed four violas, but no violins. Bach seldom refrained from using violas.<sup>51</sup> They appear in four-part string ensembles, tutti ensembles and unison with violins. Solo parts for the viola are rare, and are usually assigned to city musicians, as their part is, for instance, notated in the part for first violinist (BWV 5/3), or in a part for *Violoncello è Hautbois* (BWV 199.2/6). In BWV 6/2 the part for *violoncello piccolo* is later assigned to the viola.

*The different construction of violas and bows in Bach's time is comparable to that of violins. It is possible that in Bach's time two violas were always available in both main churches. In 1729 a new viola was purchased for both churches from Johann Christian Hoffmann; one of these instruments still exists, albeit in a reduced and modified form. Bach always had two pupils from the Thomasschule play the viola together. In Bach's cantatas and passions a full chromatic range up to  $d^2$  is required, but higher notes, up to  $g^2$ , are also occasionally found. Solo viola parts are rare and were probably played by a city musician who usually played the violin. Bach rarely required double stops.*

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Rens Bijma, version 20 October 2022

With thanks to Jos van Veldhoven and Antoinette Lohmann.

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<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 511:

$f^2$  : BWV 52/1, 61/1, 70/11, 140/4, 166/3, 174/1, 4, 187/1, 199.1/6, 235/6, 243.1/8

$fis^2$  : BWV 21.2/11, 234/5

$g^2$  : BWV 18/1, 66/3.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 515: BWV 74/7, 188/5.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., p. 512: BWV 118.1 (first version), 152, 158.

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<sup>A</sup> Joseph Friedrich Bernhard Caspar Majer, *Museum musicum theoretico practicum*, Schwäbisch Hall, 1732, p. 75.

Unter solchen *Instrumenten* ist die *Complaisante* und durchdringende *Violine* [...] die erste und vornehmste. [...]

Johann Philipp Eisel, *Musicus autodidaktikos*, Erfurt 1738, p. 24.

Die durchdringende und künstliche *Violine* ist das gemeinste unter allen *Instrumenten*, so mit Saiten bezogen sind, [...]

<sup>B</sup> Majer 1732, p. 75.

[...] Die gröbste oder stärkste Saite / so zur linken Hand ligt / und meistens mit Silber umspinnen ist [...]

<sup>C</sup> Johann Jakob Prinner, *Musicalischer Schlißl*, 1677 s.p., Cap. XIII, [p. 95].

[...] Wan man aber dise Violin recht beherschen will, so mueß man solche unter die khay fassen, damit man den linkhen arm holl gebogen als wie ein röff auch mit hollgebogener Handt den hals oben bey den schrauffen zwischen den Daum lege, und mit der khay die geigen so vill fest halte, daß man nicht ursach hat mit der linken Handt solche zuhalten, weillen es sunst Unmeiglich währe, daß ich darmit balt hoch balt nider lauffen und rein greiffen khundte, es seye dan, daß man mit der rechten handt die geigen Halten müsse, damit sie nicht entfalle, und dadurch etliche notten zu streichen verobsaumen wurde, Unangesehen ich ansehliche Virtuosen gekhennet, welche solches nicht geachtet und die Violin nur auf die brust gesezet Vermeinendt es seye schenn und zierlich, weillen sie es etwan Von einem gemähl abgenommen, da der Engel dem heyligen Francisco Vorgegeigt, also gemallener gefunden, sie hetten aber wissen sollen daß derselbige maller Villeicht woll khünstlich mit dem bembssel, aber nicht mit dem geigen bogen gewesen seye.

Georg Falck, *Idea Boni Cantoris*, Nürnberg 1688, p. 190.

[...] 2. Darnach / daß er die *Violin* auf der lincken Brust ansetze / doch also daß sie ein wenig gegen der Rechten abwärts sehe. [...]

Daniel Merck, *Compendium musicae instrumentalis chelicae*, Augspurg 1695, s.p., Cap. VIII.

[...] **Anmerkungen.**

2. Die Geige solle man hübsch gerad unter der lincken Brust halten, den Arm nicht auf den Leib setzen / sondern frey halten [...]

Majer 1732, p. 76.

[...] alsdann wird die Violin auf der linken Brust angesetzt / doch also / daß sie ein wenig gegen der rechten Seiten abwärts sehe.

<sup>D</sup> Falck 1688, p. 190f.

Vor allen Dingen muß der Incipient den Bogen recht fassen und halten lernen / solcher massen / daß der rechte Daum die Haar nächst bey dem Härpflein etwas eindrücke / damit selbige wol angezogen / einen satten Strich und Klang von den Saiten zu wegen bringen / darnach muß er das Holz des Bogens zwischen die zwey vordere Geleich der Finger fassen [...]

Majer 1732, p. 76.

Soll der Bogen also gefaßt / und beede Arme vom Leib gehalten werden / daß der rechte Daum die Haar nechst bey dem Härpflein etwas eindrücke / damit die Haar an selbigem wohl angezogen bleiben und man einen langen Strich und Klang von denen Saiten zuwegen bringen könne. [...]

<sup>E</sup> Prinner 1677, Cap. XIII, [p. 96].

Den Geigenbogen aber in der rechten Hand zu führen, sein wiederumb unterschiedliche Manieren, weillen ich sonderbar in Wälschlandt die meisten gesehen, so den Bogen nur zwischen den Daumen und ander Finger, also mit zweyen allein bey dem Holz in der Mitte des Bogens also gleichsamb in ebenen Gewicht gefasst und damit gestrichen, welche Weis und Manier die



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Seine *Etenduë* ist drittehalb [= two and a half] *Octaven*, etliche wenige Fälle ausgenommen / wo man wol gar ins g<sup>3</sup> hinauffsteiget / und also 3. Octaves macht / welches aber / wie man sagt / **den Gesellen nicht zukommt.**

<sup>J</sup> Christine Kröhner, 'Die Streichinstrumente der Leipziger Thomaskirche aus Bachs Amtszeit - Zum Problem der Erfassung des Bestandes zwischen 1723 und 1750 und Untersuchung der überlieferten Instrumente', in Winfried Hoffmann und Armin Schneiderheinze (ed.), *Bericht über die Wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. Internationalen Bachfest der DDR 1985*, Leipzig 1988, p. 157ff.

Bill *Thomas Church* 1702:

11 Gld. 9 Gr. -. Marco Buchnern, vor 2. gute Violinen nebst den Bögen, dergl. auch 2. In die Kirche zu St. Nicolai angeschaffet, bezahlet den 31. Januar 1702.

Bill *Nikolaikirche* 1702:

11 Gld. 9 Gr. -. Marco Buchnern, vor 2. neue Violinen nebst den Bögen, am 31. Januar 1702.

<sup>K</sup> Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs*, zweiter Band (1650 bis 1723), Leipzig 1926, p. 114.

Inventarislijst *Thomaskirche* 1701:

[...] Hierzu sind neulichst kommen:  
2 neue Buchnersche Violinen.

Inventarislijst *Nikolaikirche* 1701

[...] 2 alte violinen [...]  
Hierzu sind neulichst geschaffet worden:  
2 neue Buchnersche Violinen'.

<sup>L</sup> Kröhner 1988, p. 156.

Inventory list 1712 *Thomaskirche*:

[NB. Diese 2. Violinen [Buchner] sind bey Abgang des Hrn. Cantoris Kuhnaus nicht vorhanden gewesen, hingegen haben sich dafür gefunden [...]  
1. Violin von Neukirchen [...]

<sup>M</sup> Heyde 2015, p. 69.

Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach II*, Leipzig<sup>2</sup> 1920, p. 774; *Dokumente GLT VIII/C 9*, p. 44, IX.C 2, p. 238.

Inventories *Thomasschule* 1723-1750:

»An *Musicalischen Instrumenten* [...]  
2 *Violinen ao 1706. repariret.*

<sup>N</sup> Specificatio der Verlaßenschaft des am 28. July 1750 seelig verstorbenen Herrn *Johann Sebastian Bachs*, [...], *BD II*. Nr. 627, p. 492.

*Cap. VI. An Instrumenten.*

[...]

1. Stainerische *Violine* 8 - -

1. schlechtere *Violine* 2 - - [...]

<sup>O</sup> Kröhner 1988, p. 163, n. 9; p. 156;

Manuel Berwald, Eszter Fontana, Klaus Martius, 'Ausgewählte Dokumente zu Leben und Werk von Martin und Johann Christian Hoffmann', in Fontana c.s. 2015, p. 118f.; *Dokumente GLT VIII/C 53, 54*, p. 73f.

Invoice *Thomaskirche* 1729:

Dem Instrument-Macher, 36 [thlr] Johann Christian Hoffmannen vor 2. neue feiner Violinen, [...] mit zugehörigen Bögen.

Invoice *Nikolaikirche* 1729:

36 [thlr]. Dem Geigenmacher Johann Christian Hoffmannen vor 2. feine *Violinen à 6 r.* [...] mit Bögen [...]

Inventory list *De Thomaskirche* 1729, see also *BD II*, no. 272, p. 199.

2. Neue feine eingelegte inwendig gefütterte *Violinen* [...]

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Diese 4. Stücke sind ao. 1729 angeschafft sind in der Köthe auf den *Chor*, worzu der *Cantor* den Schlüssel hat [...]

Inventory list *Nikolaikirche* 1729:

2. Neue feine eingelegte in internally gefütterte *Violinen* [...].

ao. 1729 angeschafft, sind in der Kirche zum Gebrauch in einer Köthe.

<sup>p</sup> Kröhner *Ibid*; Berwald et al., *Ibid.*; *Dokumente GLT X/C* 45, p. 348; XI/C 4A, 4B, 44, p. 528ff., 570.

Inventory list 1789 *Thomaskirche*:

Habe zu Folge erhaltenen Auftrags, in der Kirche zu St. Thomas die zur sothaner Kirche gehörigen, und daselbst, auf dem sogenannten Schüler-Chor, stehenden musikalischen Instrumente, als [...]

6. ausgelegte *Violinen*, mit 6. Schraubenbogen; zweye davon sind von Hoffmannischer, und viere van Glandenbergischer Arbeit; die Bögen sind an jedem Frosche mit *T.* bezeichnet. [...]

Inventory list 1784 *Nikolaikirche*:

*Auf dem Schüler-Chor* so der Hr. *Cantor* laut seines Verzeichnißes in Verwarung hat.

Sind in dem auf dem *musikal.* Chore stehenden Schranke verschlossen

*Sechs.* ausgelegte *Violinen*, mit 6. Schrauben-Bogen; 2. *Violinen* sind von Hoffmannischer, und 4. von Glandenbergischer Arbeit. Die Bogen sind an iedem Frosche mit *N.* bezeichnet. [...]

Inventory list 1795 *Thomasschule*

6. An *Musicalischen Instrumenten*

Wie solche dem jetzigen *Cantori* H. Johann Adam Hiller am 3<sup>ten</sup> Julý 17689. laut *Registratur* beý der Rechnung Lichtmeße 1790. beschlossen [...]

Sechs ausgelegte *Violinen* mit i. Schrauben Bogen und mit 1.2.3.4.5.6: nummerieret [...]

Vier alte *Violinen* mit 4. Schrauben Bogen und mit *Noris* 7.8.9. und 10. nummeriert.

Dreý alte *Violinen* worunter zweý alte gute ausgeleget sind, alle mit Schrauben Bogen mit 11.12.13 nummerirt.

[Violin maker Heinrich Wilhelm Glandenberg was responsible for the string instruments from 1750-1794].

<sup>q</sup> Kröhner 1988, p. 156f.

Inventory list 1823 *Thomaskirche*:

[...] drei *Violinen* desgleichen [= nebst Bogen] no. 1. 2. und 3.

Inventory list 1823 *Nikolaikirche*:

[...] sechs *Violinen* desgleichen

Inventory list 1823 *Thomasschule*:

[...] zwei *Violinen* nebst Bogen no. 1. u. 2

<sup>r</sup> 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. 34f.

[...]

- 2 auch wohl 3 zur - *Violino* 1

- 2 biß 3 zur - *Violino* 2.

[...]

<sup>s</sup> *Ibid.*, r. 84f.

Fernerhin zu gedencken, daß da die 2nd *Violin* meistens, die *Viola*, *Violoncello* und *Violon* aber allezeit (in Ermangelung tüchtigerer *subjectorum*) mit Schülern habe bestellen müssen [...]

<sup>t</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Leipzig 1732, p. 572, 573, 575

(*Sordino* [...]) (1. Eine kleine Tanz-Meister-Geige [...], (2. Ein kleines ausgehöltes Hölzgen, so unten in die Trompeten gesteckt wird [...])

*Sourdine* [...] s. *sordino*, nach der zweyten Bedeutung. Man nennet auch andere aus Meßing oder Bley gemachte kleine Instrumente, so auf den Geigen-Steg, und andere Instrum. gesetzt werden, um sie zu dämpfen, also.

*Staccato* [...] ist mit *spiccato* fast einerley, daß nemlich die Bogen-Striche kurz, ohne Ziehen, und wohl von einander abgesondert werden müssen.

<sup>u</sup> Daniel Speer, *Grund-richtiger/kurz/leicht und nöthiger Unterricht der Musicalischen Kunst*, Göppingen 1697, p. 198f.



Und ob man wohl manchen niedrigen *Discant* oder hohen Alt auf der *Braz tractiren* kan / gehen doch selten die natürlichen Griffe in einem *Alt* höher als bis im *c*. [...] Ein *Tenor* gehet selten in Griffen biß ins *a*, oder in die vierdte Saiten.

<sup>v</sup> Kröhner 1988, p. 163 (n. 4), 156.

Invoice *Thomaskirche* 1672:

10 Gld. 6 gr. – Vor 3 Violen da braccio [...]

Invoice *Nikolaikirche* 1672:

10 Gld. 6.gr. – drey Viole da braccio [...]

Inventory list of *De Thomaskirche* 1712:

2. Viole da Braccio von Leonhardt Prathern in Prag verfertigt

<sup>w</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 163 (n.9), 156f.; *BD* II, nr. 272, p. 199; *Dokumente GLT* 53, 54, p. 73f, XI/C 4A en B, p. 528f.

Invoice *Thomaskirche* 1729

[...] Dem Instrument-Macher, 36 Thlr. Johann Christian Hoffmannen vor 2. neue feiner Violinen, 1. Dergl. Viola und 1. Violon Cello zugehörigen Bögen.

Invoice and inventory list *Thomaskirche* 1729

[...] 1. dergl. [= neue] feine Viola mit Bogen von Indian Holz

Invoice and inventory list *Nikolaikirche* 1729

[...] 1. dergl. [= neue] feine Viola mit Bogen von Indian Holz

Inventory list *Thomaskirche* 1789

[...] 2. Violen, oder Bratschen, mit zwey Schraubenbögen, am Frosche mit T bezeichnet, die eine von Hoffmannischer, die andere von Pradterischer Prager Arbeit.

Inventory list *Nikolaikirche* 1784

[...] 2. Violen mit 2 Schraubogen am Frosche mit N bezeichnet, die eine ist vom ältern, die andere vom jüngern Hoffmann. [resp. Johann Christian en Christian Gottlieb]

Inventory list *Thomaskirche* 1823

[3. zwei Bratschen desgleichen [= nebst Bogen] no. 1. und 2.

Inventory list *Nikolaikirche* 1823

[3. zwei Bratschen desgleichen [= nebst Bogen]

<sup>x</sup> *Specificatio* der Verlaßenschaft 1750, p. 492.

*Cap. VI. An Instrumenten.*

[...]

1. *Braccie* 5 - -

1. *dito* 5 - -

1. *dito* - 16 - [...]

<sup>y</sup> Bach, *Memorandum* 1730, r. 36f.

[...]

- 2 zur - Viola 1.

- 2 zur - Viola 2.

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[...]

<sup>z</sup> J.S. Bach, **attestation for** Johann Christoph Altnickol, 1747, *BD I*, no. 81, p. 148f.

[...] dem *Choro Musico* unausgesetzt *assistiret*, indem Er bald als *Violiste*, bald als *Violoncel-  
liste*, meistens aber als *Vocal-Bassiste* sich exhibiret, [...]

<sup>AA</sup> Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Letter to Johann Nikolaus Forkel, Hamburg 1774, *BD III* no. 801, p. 285.

[...] Als der größte Kenner u. Beurtheiler der Harmonie spielte er am liebsten die Bratsche mit  
angepaßter Stärcke u. Schwäche. [...]