

## IV. BACH'S MUSICIANS

This chapter will attempt to give a picture of the musicians with whom Bach performed his concerted church music. For this purpose it is necessary first to discuss the system which ensured that singers from the *Thomasschule* were present in all churches in Leipzig during services. Then it will be discussed which singers were used for concerted church music. Particular attention will be paid to auxiliary singers from outside the school and to the question to which extent falsettists played a role. Finally, it will be discussed which instrumentalists played Bach's music: city musicians, schoolboys and auxiliary performers.

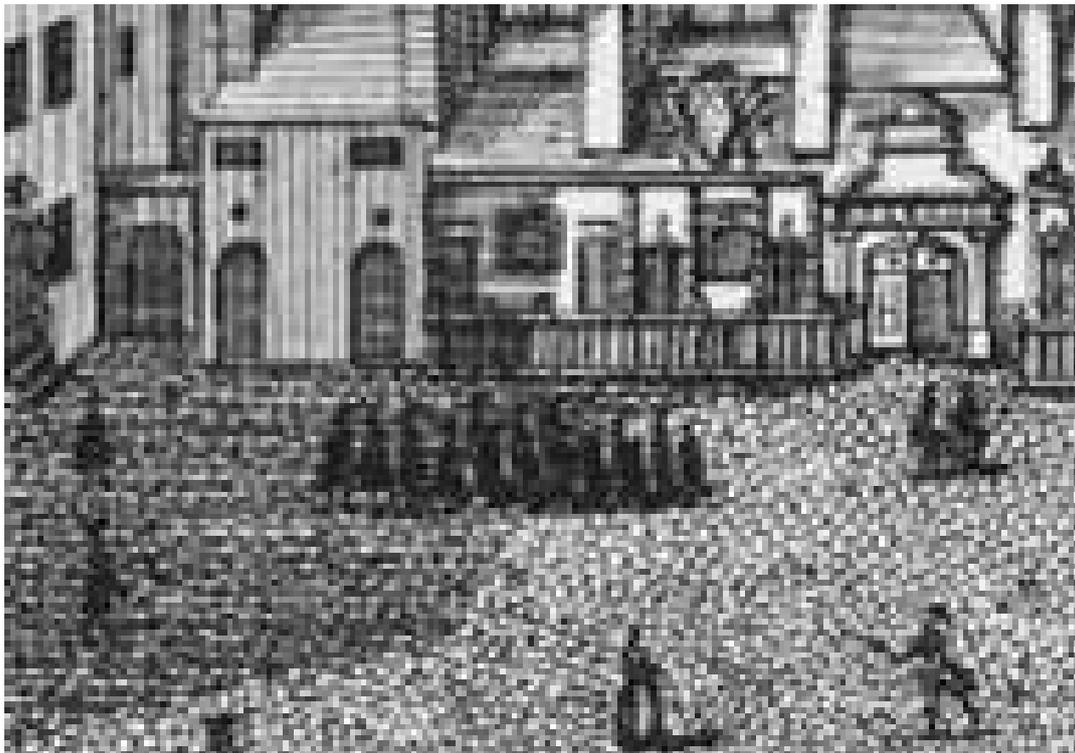


Fig. 1. Eleven (?) *Thomasschüler*, on their way from the *Thomasschule* to the south entrance of the *Thomaskirche*. Detail of fig. II.1a.

### 1. What were the functions and status of the first Sunday choir of the Thomasschule ?

#### The vocal church music during the church services

The vocal choirs in the churches of Protestant Germany in the 17th century consisted of a varying number of boys. The young ones sang soprano or alto; those older than about 18 sang tenor or bass. These choirs sang mainly chorales, liturgical responses, and motets (together referred to in this study as 'liturgical choral music'). The motets were usually composed in *stile antico*. The liturgical choral music was performed with or without organ accompaniment, and without other instruments. Often several singers were available for each part, sometimes only one. But especially in cities and courts more modern music was performed

during services, in which other instruments were used besides the organ. This concerted church music, which includes cantatas (as they are called nowadays), oratorios, passions and masses, was often simply called (*Kirchen*) *Music* (church music) in Bach's days. <sup>1</sup> Room was made for it in the liturgy. Solo parts were already quite common in the 17th century, but few in the form of arias and recitatives as is known from 18th-century music. Only in these solo parts were ornamentations in the Italian style expected; in polyphonic music this would only lead to confusion (see § 2). In the 18th century higher demands were made on musicians for the *Music* than before: recitatives and da-capo arias with obligato instruments and a high degree of virtuosity came into fashion. It also became more common to use falsetto singing adult singers for soprano and alto parts (§ 2). In some courts Italian castrates were employed. Where such concerted music was performed, it makes sense to make a distinction between on the one hand the old liturgical choral music and on the other hand modern concerted *music*. <sup>2</sup>

The pupils who had to attend church services in Leipzig at the time of Bach had the main task of providing liturgical choral music. This meant singing along with the congregational singing (sometimes unaccompanied and probably sung in unison) after it had been started by the *Precentor*, singing liturgical chants such as the polyphonic responses to the texts recited by the pastor, and singing a multi-voice motet from *Florilegium Portense* by Erhard Bodenschatz. The question to what extent the pupils were really involved vocally or instrumentally in the performance of the concerted *Music* is the subject of a discussion which will be dealt with extensively in Chapters V and VI.

That the main task of the pupils was to support the congregation in singing is shown by two articles in Johann Matthias Gesners *Schulgesetze* (School laws) of 1733. <sup>A</sup> At the beginning of each school day all pupils were to sing the hymns which they would sing in the congregation on the following Sunday or Feast-day, in order to avoid mistakes. Furthermore, the pupils had to join in with the precentor during congregational singing, in order to show, 'that they were there to sing' (daß sie Singens wegen da sind). This was especially important at the beginning and end of the divine service, when the number of congregants present was much smaller (Chapter IX).

In Leipzig Bach had a double function: as *Cantor* at the *Thomasschule* he was responsible for the liturgical choral music in the churches in Leipzig, and as *Director musices* (*Kapellmeister*, chapel master) for the concerted *Music*. Bach clearly saw himself in Leipzig primarily as the chapel master, which led to disagreements with members of the Council. He only saw the *Music* as his direct responsibility. He did not conduct the liturgical choral music in the first choir himself: he left that to the prefect. <sup>3</sup> Bach was used to working with professional musicians in Weimar and Köthen, with whom he was able to achieve good results quickly. In

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. with Johann Kuhnau [see endnote <sup>K</sup>, § 11], Johann Mattheson, *Der Musicalische Patriot*, Hamburg 1728, p. 64, Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Critischer Musikus*, ed. Leipzig 1745, Das 78. Stück (1740), p. 713f. and J.S. Bach (*BD* I, no.19, p. 55), Memorandum 1730 (see n. 4), r. 3, 48, 88f., 95, 97, 99, 120, 146. See also endnote <sup>Q</sup>. Other terms also occur with Bach, e.g. 'Musicalische Stücke' (*BD* II, no. 14, p. 17), 'Kirchen-Stücke' (Memorandum 1730, r. 45); 'Concert Musique' (*BD* I, no. 34, p. 88), 'Musicalische Kirchen Stücke', (*Ibid.*) and 'Figural Music' (Memorandum 1730 r. 153).

<sup>2</sup> Martin Geck, 'Bach's art of church music and his Leipzig performance forces: contradictions in the system', *Early Music* 31/4, 2003 (Geck 2003/II), p. 563f.

<sup>3</sup> *BD* II, no. 383, p. 274.

his memorandum of 1730 (*Entwurf*, hereafter 'Memorandum')<sup>4</sup> he pointed to the Dresden court as an example of good musical organisation.<sup>5</sup> That he sought the help of experienced adults for his cantatas - his direct responsibility - is therefore all the more understandable.<sup>5</sup>

### The choirs and 'Cantoreien' of the Thomasschule

The pupils at the Thomasschule were divided into two groups: approximately 100 *externi* and 55 *alumni*. An *alumnus* was (like an *externus*) a pupil who had not yet left school; this deviates from the current meaning of the word, in which *alumnus* refers to a former student.

The *externi* paid school fees, but did not have to participate in the church music, and usually did not. They usually lived at home in Leipzig or had a boarding house there. The *alumni*, however, received free food and lodging, but in return had the obligation to participate in the church music. This system was set up especially for orphans and children of poor parents. One of the 55 *alumni* occupied a special sponsored position, and the sponsor was allowed to appoint the pupil. This pupil was not expected to contribute to church music. *Alumnus* positions were sought after; rector and cantor traditionally determined the admission of new *alumni*. The singing voice and musical skills played an important part in this.

At their admission most *alumni* were 13-16 years of age; the youngest c. 11, the oldest c. 20 years old.<sup>6</sup> They usually left school at the age of 20 to 23 and, if they had completed the school, remained for seven to eight years; in practice, this was often shorter (five to six years).<sup>7</sup> Thus the pupils of the Thomasschule were on average about 18 years old. The lowest class was *Stufe VII*, the highest *Stufe I*. The lowest three classes were considered to be the lower grades, the highest four the upper grades. All pupils received music lessons, which for the lower classes were given by one of the lower class teachers for four hours on different days each week. Bach himself was responsible for the four hours of music instruction in the upper classes. These lessons were held in the *Sekundanerauditorium* (the school's largest hall) in the Thomasschule, in which a small organ was present. But as Bach regularly failed to attend; he then left the instruction to the prefect.<sup>8</sup> The *alumni* in the highest classes had to spend an extra two hours a week practising their musical skills. Rehearsals for Sunday church music took place on Saturday afternoons and on Sundays prior to the services.<sup>9</sup>

This organization was unique in Germany. Since the 17th century the choir of the Thomasschule had been known as the best school boys choir in all of Germany. The term 'choir' here also includes instrumentalists. Numerous wealthy citizens contributed to the system, for example, with bequests. The *Nikolaischule* did not have such a system: the pupils did

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<sup>4</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, *Kurtzer, iedoch höchstnötiger Entwurf einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben*. Letter to the Leipzig Council, 23. August 1730, *BD I*, nr. 22 ('Memorandum 1730'), p. 60ff. Detailed references to line numbers follow the reproduction in *BD*.

<sup>5</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach, The learned musician*, New York / Oxford 2000, p. 347f.; Geck 2003/II, p. 559f.

<sup>6</sup> Michel Maul, "welche ieder Zeit aus den 8 besten Subjectis bestehen muß. Die erste 'Cantorey' der Thomasschule - Organisation, Aufgaben, Fragen", *BJ* 99, 2013, p. 16; *Ibid.*, "Dero berühmter Chor. Die Leipziger Thomasschule und ihre Kantoren 1212-1804", Leipzig 2012, p. 83f.

<sup>7</sup> Armin Schneiderheinze, 'Bachs Figuralchor und die Chorempore in der Thomaskirche', *Beiträge zur Bachforschung*, Heft 1, Leipzig 1982, p. 33f.; Maul 2012, p. 83f.

<sup>8</sup> Arnold Schering, *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leipziger Kirchenmusik*, Leipzig 1936, p. 34f.

<sup>9</sup> Maul 2013, p. 63.

not have to participate in church music, because this obligation was bought off with a contribution to the *Thomasschule*.<sup>10</sup>

According to the old Latin *Schulgesetze 1634* of the *Thomasschule* the cantor divided 32 of the 54 *alumni*, on the basis of their qualities, into four 'Cantoreien' of eight pupils each, including a prefect.<sup>11</sup> In first instance the task of these *Cantoreien* did not concern normal church services (see below). In the weeks after the second Sunday of Advent the classified pupils prepared themselves in the afternoon for the New Year's Singing (*Currende*), which took place during the first two or three weeks of January. The four *Cantoreyen* went around the houses collecting money. The repertoire included motets in Renaissance style. The number of eight singers was related to the ability to sing eight-part motets. In addition to two regular singers for each voice type, *Lückenbüßern* (reserves) were often assigned. In the account books only the permanent eight singers are paid; the reserves are not mentioned; possibly they were paid by the permanent singers who dropped out. *Luminants*, who carried lanterns, were also paid (to some extent). *Externi* did not participate in the system. After the New Year's Eve singing, the third and fourth *Cantoreien* no longer had any relevance; the second hardly did.<sup>12</sup>

The *Erste* (first) *Cantorei* was the elite choir.<sup>13</sup> The eight singers, selected by the cantor because of their good voices, sang in the district with the most important houses. <sup>c</sup> After New Year they were always the ones to perform at funerals, weddings and parties, under the direction of the cantor or prefect, and thus collected relatively large sums of money. They were obliged to rehearse together outside the regular music lessons. Singing in the first *Cantorei* was a desirable status that brought in a lot of money; sometimes the singers earned more than a teacher. At the end of the winter semester, i.e., at Easter, some of the oldest students left the school, and their places in the first *Cantorei* were granted by Bach to other *alumni*. But every year in Advent a completely new arrangement was made.<sup>14</sup> Extra practice encouraged competition. The better the pupils did, the more chance they had of being assigned to the first *Cantorei*. After their voice transition the pupils were no longer usable as soprano or alto; they were therefore no longer paid. Many tried (according to Bernhard Friedrich Richter in 1907, looking back at the practice in the 19th century) to postpone the transition as long as possible.<sup>15</sup> Most *alumni* never managed to get through to the first *Cantorei*; others sometimes only for half a year; a full-time stay during the entire *alumni* life never occurred. More than once it was considered to change the system so that the income would be divided over all *alumni*, for instance in 1745 by the Council's representative, *Schulvorsteher* Carl Friedrich Trier. <sup>d</sup> But it never came to that: it would be at the expense of the quality of the popular first *Cantorei*, which would reduce the income: sponsorships and legacies were

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<sup>10</sup> Konrad Küster, *Bach Handbuch*, Kassel 1999, p. 185f.

<sup>11</sup> Maul 2013, p. 23f.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. 2012, p. 88f.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. 2013, pp. 23f., 30f. Some pupils, who did not participate in singing in the *Kantoreien*, and continued to sing in the church, were specially compensated. *BD* II, 173 and 174, p. 135. For the selection process, Bach wrote several reports on the musical abilities of the students. See for example *Dokumente GLT VIII/C* 40-50, p. 60ff.

<sup>15</sup> Bernhard Friedrich Richter, 'Stadtppfeiffer und Alumnus der Thomasschule in Leipzig zu Bachs Zeit', *BJ* 4, 1907, p. 51f.; Maul 2013, p. 33f.

often specifically intended for the first *Cantorei*. Moreover the teachers of the upper grades (the four *obern Praeceptores*: rector, conrector, cantor and tertius) also shared in the income.<sup>16</sup>

The New Year's *Cantoreien* had no direct liturgical function. The term *Cantorei* was mostly (but not exclusively) used for the New Year's *Cantoreien*. Johann Kuhnau speaks of the 'four *Cantoreien* for singing at New Year' (4 Cantoreyen zum Neu-Jahrs-Singen), but in church of 'my first choir' (meinem ersten Chore).<sup>17</sup> Bach himself hardly ever mentioned the *Cantoreien*: he always spoke of the 'musicalische Chor' (musical choir), 'Chorus musicis' or simply 'Chor' (choir). In the *Schulordnung* (school rules) of 1723 a distinction was made between the *Cantoreien* and the *Chorus Musicus* or even the whole *Coetus*. Trier did not distinguish between the two words, but the later cantor Johann Adam Hiller also wrote about 'Kirchenchöre' (church choirs), and in addition about 'Leichen- und WochenCantoreyen' (funeral service choirs and week choirs).<sup>18</sup>

For the singing of liturgical church music all 54 *alumni* during Bach's time in Leipzig were divided by the cantor into four groups, which participated in the services on Sundays, and which will be referred to here as the 'Sunday Choirs'. In addition, all *alumni* were expected to participate in services on weekdays according to a certain schedule. For this purpose they were divided into six week choirs. To avoid misunderstandings a clear distinction is always made in this study between the Sunday choirs and the (New Year's) choirs.

It is obvious that the four *Cantoreien* would have formed (the core of) the Sunday choirs, and there are indications of this. In the first place there is a formulation in the *Schulordnung* of 1723, which suggests that the *Cantoreien* would have taken care of the liturgical music in the church services:<sup>19</sup>

The **conrector**, **cantor** and all **teachers** are [...] to be present in the church with their boys as soon as the service begins, [...] and not to allow any of the boys belonging to the *Cantorei* to leave earlier.

(Der **Conrector**, **Cantor** und sämtliche **Praeceptores**, sollen [...], so bald der Gottesdienst angehet, mit ihren Knaben in der Kirche seyn, [...] und keinen derer Knaben, welche zur **Cantorey** gehören, ehe davon zu gehen verstatten.)

And:

Because even today the schoolboys, who are attending the divine service, are divided into four *Cantoreien* [...]

(Dieweil auch ietziger Zeit die Schul-Knaben, welche den Gottesdienst abwarten, in 4 **Cantoreyen** eingetheilet)

In the second place Bach wrote (in connection with a conflict about the appointment of a prefect and his functioning in the church services) that according to the *Schulordnung* he had the right, together with the rector, to appoint eight singers per cantorium and always to choose a prefect from among them.<sup>E</sup> From this it may be deduced that the prefects of the first three *Cantoreien* were also the prefects of the Sunday choirs. After all Bach refers to the school rules to prove his right to appoint a prefect for the first Sunday choir, whereas the rules only speak

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<sup>16</sup> Maul 2013, p. 29f.

<sup>17</sup> Johann Kuhnau 'An die Hochlöblicher Iniversität zu Leipzig Unterdienstliches Memorial', 1717, in Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, Zweiter Band, Leipzig 21916 (Spitta II), p. 862f.

<sup>18</sup> Maul 2013, p. 53f.; see also endnote D.

<sup>19</sup> Schulordnung 1723, V.VII and XIII.VIII.

of the *Cantoreien*. 17th century documents show beyond doubt that the eight members of the first *Cantorei* then formed the core of the first Sunday choir.<sup>20</sup> But above all, if the elite *Cantorei* always had to operate as a group, it must almost certainly have formed the core of the first Sunday choir for reasons of efficiency. It is obvious that this also applied to the second *Cantorei*. For singing solos in church the pupils were not paid separately.

### The constitution of the first Sunday choir

In the first half of the 17th century only two churches were to be served (*Thomaskirche* and *Nikolaikirche*). The cantor had the choice of using only the members of the first *Cantorei* for the concerted music in the first Sunday choir, or of also using the other about nine *alumni* assigned to the first Sunday choir. The same applied to the prefect of the second choir: here eight members of the second *Cantorei* were available, in addition to the other *alumni*. In the 18th century this changed. The number of churches to be served doubled (from 1699 the *Neue Kirche*; from 1712 the *Peterskirche*). The *alumni* now had to be divided over four Sunday choirs, but in 1709 the Council appeared unwilling to increase the number of *alumni*.<sup>21</sup> From 1701 onwards the cantors were additionally instructed to teach their pupils how to play various instruments.<sup>F</sup> The intention of this was to spare the congregation the costs of hiring instrumentalists, which costs were common in the 17th century. This further reduced the number of *alumni* to be used for singing in the first Sunday choir.<sup>22</sup>

After 1712 the first two Sunday choirs alternately served the *Thomaskirche* and *Nikolaikirche*. In addition to the liturgical choral music, concerted music was performed. In the first Sunday choir, conducted by Bach himself, this music was of a higher standard than in the second choir, where no cantatas by Bach himself were performed; instrumentalists may have played here only on feast days. In the *Neue Kirche*, the third choir sang only liturgical choral music; concertante music was performed here by university students under the direction of the organist. The fourth choir in the *Peterskirche* did not even sing motets. On feast days (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, and Reformation Day) the performers of the cantata from the first Sunday choir had to repeat it one hour later in the *Paulinerkirche* (university church).

<sup>23</sup>

A vocal choir of eight singers was not uncommon in German churches.<sup>24</sup> The *Schulordnung* of 1723 also mentions eight singers per choir.<sup>G</sup> Bach evidently found this insufficient: in 1729 he wrote to the Council that Sunday choirs 1, 2 and 3 should each consist of twelve singers,<sup>H</sup> and he repeated this in his memorandum of 1730. As an argument he mentioned the possibility to also perform double-choir (Bodenschatz) motets in case of illness. In other words: to be sure that there were really eight singers if necessary.

In distributing all *alumni* among the four Sunday choirs, an average of seventeen *alumni* were probably assigned to the first choir during Bach's years. The ages of the seventeen members of the first Sunday choir in 1744/45 ranged from 13 to 24; an average of 18 to

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<sup>20</sup> Maul 2013, p. 43.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. 2012, p. 171.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 148f.

<sup>23</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Die Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs, J.S. Bach, Sämtliche Kantaten, Motetten, Choräle und Geistliche Lieder 18* [NBA small format], Kassel 2007, p. 15.

<sup>24</sup> Ute Poetzsch, 'Chor im 18. Jahrhundert? Zur Diskussion um <Bachs Chor>', *Concerto* 237, 2011, p. 28f.; Joshua Rifkin, 'More (and Less) on Bach's Orchestra', *Performance Practice Review* 4/1, 1991, p. 6; Maul 2013, p. 45.

19.<sup>25</sup> Eight members, as mentioned above, probably also formed the members of the first New Year's *Cantorei*. Naturally they were primarily deployed for the concertante music and the Bodenschatz motets. One can only speculate about the other members of the first Sunday choir. Together with the *Cantorei* members they probably sang the chorales and liturgical responses. They were probably also available as reserves in case of illness. Possibly these other *alumni* were not musical and / or did not have a good voice and / or were not yet experienced enough.<sup>26</sup> Obviously, their distribution over the four voice types was also not always in proportion. Some of them probably served as instrumentalists during the concerted music (§ V.2 and VI.3).

### The changes in 1723 and 1729

Because the memorandum drafted by Bach in 1730 is of great importance to a number of conclusions in this study, the circumstances and events that led to Bach's sense of urgency are discussed in some detail below.

Bach's appointment to Leipzig seems to have been a compromise. According to Ulrich Siegele, the City Council was divided into two factions. One faction, with Gottfried Lange and Adrian Steger as its most important representatives, was orthodox Lutheran and loyal to the Elector, and was interested in musical forms such as opera and concerted church music, and wanted to put Leipzig on the map as a modern city. This faction saw Bach as a chapel master, who would perform concerted music primarily with students. The other faction, with Abraham Christoph Platz, Jacob Born and Christian Ludwig Stieglitz as important representatives, would have been more pietistic, wanted modest church music with the available *alumni* and city musicians and a good teacher at the school. This faction saw in Bach primarily a cantor. Bach understood his position to be primarily that of chapel master: his position as Latin teacher he transferred to a colleague, with the approval of the Council.<sup>27</sup> In this he was supported by the former faction. The seeds of the later problems in Leipzig would thus have been present from the start. Firstly, Bach could never please the Born-Stieglitz faction as chapel master; secondly, at the school he was seen less as a colleague; and finally, at the university he was not seen as an equal, because he had not graduated from university.<sup>28</sup> Klaus Eidam disagrees with Siegele: he found no evidence of the existence of different political groups in the council protocols.<sup>29</sup> Michael Maul believes that also the faction Lange-Steger in 1729 considered solving school problems more important than the relationship with Bach, who did not show any sensitivity to the problems identified by the Council.<sup>30</sup>

Already since 1709 members of the City Council had been busy adapting the *Schulordnung*. One of the reasons was to close a gap that had existed since the cantorate of Sebastian Knüpfer between the teachers of the lower and upper grades. The latter, among them the rector Johann Heinrich Ernesti (Fig. 2a), 71 years old in 1723, and all cantors since Knüpfer, were not prepared to give up their financial privileges in favour of the much less

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<sup>25</sup> Schneiderheinze 1982, p. 34.

<sup>26</sup> Schulordnung 1723, V.V. See eindnoot G

<sup>27</sup> *BD I*, no. 12, p. 34f.; *Ibid.* no. 23, p. 67.

<sup>28</sup> Ulrich Siegele, 'Bachs Stellung in der Leipziger Kulturpolitik seiner Zeit', *BJ* 70, 1984, pp. 7-43; *Ibid.*, 'Bach and the domestic politics of Electoral Saxony', *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. John Butt, Cambridge 1997, pp. 17-34; Geck 2003/II, p. 564f.

<sup>29</sup> Klaus Eidam, *Das Wahre Leben des Johann Sebastian Bach*, Munich, Zurich, 1999, p. 165f.

<sup>30</sup> Maul 2012, at pp. 182 and 216.

well-paid teachers of the lower school. This negatively influenced the atmosphere at the school, as pupils abused it; consequently discipline left much to be desired.<sup>31</sup> A second reason was the growing dissatisfaction with the fact that in the eyes of the Council too much attention was paid to music education.<sup>32</sup> During a school visitation in 1717 Kuhnau and the three other upper grade school teachers protested against the new plans. In 1723, however, the new rules came into effect, although they had not been approved by either the consistory or the school.<sup>33</sup> An important change was that from then on the new *alumni* were no longer selected solely on the basis of their musical abilities, but also on the basis of their school skills. The selection was now ultimately made by the *Schulvorsteher*; the rector and cantor could only advise.<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether Bach was aware of this change when he took office; in any case he did not protest against it at the time.<sup>34</sup> In 1737 Bach wrote that he did not acknowledge the school rules of 1723, because they had never been approved.<sup>35</sup> As long as the old rector Ernesti lived and Gottfried Conrad Lehmann was *Schulvorsteher*, the new rules were hardly put into practice. But in 1729 Ernesti died. During the rectorless era the new *Schulvorsteher* Stieglitz exercised his rights to appoint non-musical pupils as *alumni*, with the approval of the reigning mayor Lange, in 1723 still Bach's most important ally in the Council.<sup>36</sup>



Fig. 2a/b/c. Rectors of the Thomasschule.

From left to right: Johann Heinrich Ernesti; Johann Matthias Gesner; Johann August Ernesti.

To bolster his position, Bach wrote a report, describing the musical abilities of the 21 prospective *alumni*.<sup>37</sup> He needed 44 boys to sing in all the churches, he wrote to the *Schulvorsteher*, and if not all the *alumni* were musical and could sing, he would not make it. In 1729, Bach wrote that only half of the *alumni* finally accepted were musical; only a few of the remaining new pupils would he be able to train as useful musicians. If this policy continued, Bach would, after some years, be able to use only half of the *alumni* for services.<sup>38</sup> When, in

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. , p. 160-166.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. , p. 173f.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., pp. 167-208.

<sup>34</sup> Maul 2012, p. 208; Maul 2013, p. 54f.

<sup>35</sup> BD I, no. 40, p. 99.

<sup>36</sup> Maul 2012, p. 214f.

<sup>37</sup> BD I, no. 63, p. 131f.

<sup>38</sup> Maul 2012, p. 216.

1730, subsidies for hired student singers were also withdrawn and transferred to the *Neue Kirche*, Bach sounded the alarm with his memorandum. In it, he described in detail how many and which people he needed for a *wohlbestallte Kirchenmusik* (well-appointed church music) and stated that the Council's policy was far from adequate. However, he gave no concrete suggestions for improvement. It is striking that Bach's complaints corresponded fairly closely to those of his predecessor Kuhnau in 1709.<sup>39</sup> A response from the Council is not known. Nevertheless, some students continued to receive compensation after 1730. Perhaps it was not a coincidence that Bach seems to have lost interest in writing new church music from that moment on. He described his dissatisfaction with the obstructive Council in the above-mentioned letter to his student friend Georg Erdmann.<sup>39</sup>

The situation for Bach improved when the new rector Johann Matthias Gesner (*fig. 2b*) took over in 1730, but Gesner left four years later. He was succeeded by the young Johann August Ernesti (*fig. 2c*). In 1736 a conflict between Bach and Ernesti over the appointment of prefects got completely out of hand. Ernesti publicly discouraged pupils from spending much time on music. In the protest letter of 1737 mentioned above, Bach once again confirmed that, according to the *Schulordnung*, he and the rector had the right to recruit eight singers per *Cantorei* and to choose a prefect from among them. Later in the same year Bach was appointed by the Elector in Dresden as royal court composer after years of waiting, which may have afforded him protection. The prefect question may have been partly decided in Bach's favour in 1738; however, documents are lacking. Ultimately, the new rules did not change the *Cantoreien* system or the privileges of the singers until 1876, but the influence that the 'wunderliche und der Music wenig ergebene Obrigkeit' (bizarre and to music barely inclined government) had on Bach's enthusiasm for church music has apparently been frustrating.<sup>40</sup>

*The 'Erste Cantorey' in Leipzig was famous throughout Germany. The eight best singers at the Thomasschule were used to collect a great deal of money by singing, especially around New Year's, at the homes of prominent families, and at weddings and funerals. This first Cantorei almost certainly formed the core of Bach's first Sunday choir, which probably consisted of about seventeen schoolboys. Its primary task during services was to support congregational singing and to sing liturgical responses and a-capella motets.*

## 2. Who were Bach's singers in his cantatas and passions?

### Boy sopranos and falsettists in the 17th and 18th century

The liturgical choral music was performed by the vocal choir. The singers of this choir could also be employed as ripienists in the *Music*. But young singers, and in particular boy sopranos, were for various reasons usually not suitable to serve as concertists in concerted church music. At first they were too inexperienced to sing, and during music lessons and as a member of the vocal choir they only gradually learned to master the Italian style. As soon as they

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<sup>39</sup> *BD I*, no. 23, p. 67f.

<sup>40</sup> Maul 2012, e.g., p. 218f.

were able to do so, the voice transition soon set in, and they were useless for a short year. And in the special case that a boy was able to sing well, he soon became too arrogant to be able to participate properly, according to Johann Mattheson in Hamburg in 1739.<sup>L</sup> Thus, instructing the young sopranos and altos almost always yielded satisfactory results for a short time. After that, their tenor or bass voice was not yet sufficiently developed to sing virtuoso arias well and loudly. As soon as they were able to do so, they soon left school. This problem was widely complained about.<sup>41</sup>

The problem lay not primarily with liturgical choral music (this had always been sung by boys' choirs), but with the high demands made on modern concerted music: according to Bach himself, taste had 'changed astonishingly' (verwunderens-würdig geändert) in the 18th century.<sup>B</sup> More mature singers were therefore widely employed: they were more experienced, needed to breathe less frequently, had a steadier, louder tone, a greater range and were better able to sing embellishments in cadences.<sup>42</sup> For sopranos and altos this meant that they had to sing falsetto after the voice transition.<sup>M, 43</sup> Mattheson was able to have women sing in church in Hamburg;<sup>44</sup> this was exceptional in Germany and unthinkable in Leipzig. Johann Beer, himself a boy soprano and later a falsetto singer, explained in 1719 the advantages of using good adult sopranos over poorly singing boys.<sup>N</sup> Falsetto singers had to learn this way of singing immediately, as soon as the transition presents itself, according to Johann Friedrich Agricola.<sup>O</sup>

In the 18th century the transition was usually completed between the middle of the seventeenth and eighteenth life year of life,<sup>45</sup> although Agricola mentioned the age of 14; this seems to be on the early side. It is known that some boy sopranos and altos did continue singing until their nineteenth; Heinrich Schütz apparently did so until after his twentieth year.<sup>46</sup> The transition lasted about a year. Only after the 18th/19th year of life was the voice fully resilient.<sup>47</sup> Apparently the transition manifested itself earlier and earlier in the course of the centuries. Around 1900 the age of 14-16 is mentioned as the age at which the transition takes place.<sup>48</sup> Around 1960 the transition for English boys took place on average at the age of

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<sup>41</sup> Martin Geck mentions Praetorius, Schütz, Bernard, Krieger, Kuhnau, Telemann, Bach, Mattheson, Harrer and Doles among others as choirmasters whose complaints have been preserved. Martin Geck, 'Bach's Soprane, eine Bestandsaufnahme', *Concerto* 180, 2003 (Geck 2003), p. 13f.

<sup>42</sup> Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Bach Stilgerecht aufführen - Wunschbild und Wirklichkeit, 1984-1991', *Bach und die Nachwelt* IV, hrsg. v. Joachim Lüdtke, 2005, p. 203f.

<sup>43</sup> Schering 1936, p. 43f. Geck mentions many examples of such singers: Geck 2003, p. 15f.

<sup>44</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Hamburg 1739, p. 482, § 19.

<sup>45</sup> Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann, *Musicalischer Trichter*, Frankfurt an der Spree 1706, p. 36; Andrew Parrott, *The Essential Bach Choir*, Woodbridge 2000, p. 13; Schulze 2005, p. 203; Jos van Veldhoven, "Zoals de componiste het heeft bedoeld", *De geheimen van de Matthäus-Passion*, Nederlandse Bachvereniging, Amsterdam 2010, p. 131.

<sup>46</sup> Andrew Parrott, 'Bach's chorus: a 'brief yet highly necessary' reappraisal', *Early Music* 24/4, 1996, p. 577, n. 9.

<sup>47</sup> Wolfram Behrendt, 'Stimmphysiologische Untersuchungen zur Leistungsfähigkeit und zum vermutlichen Klangcharakter des Knabenchores zur Amtszeit Bachs', *Beiträge zur Bachforschung*, Heft 2, Leipzig 1982, p. 19f.

<sup>48</sup> J.H. Letzer, *Methodiek van het Zangonderwijs in Lagere Scholen en Zangscholen*, Schoonhoven 1897, p. 55.

13, nowadays it often occurs at the age of 11-12, which causes great problems for choirs with boy sopranos and altos. The cause of the decline of this age would be a changed diet. <sup>49</sup>

### Adjuvants

Choirboys, even the singers of the first *Cantorei*, were therefore often not good enough to sing as concertists (soloists) in concerted church music. In 1710 from the university of Leipzig the candidate Johann Friedrich Fasch wrote that performances of concerted music would not be possible without the cooperation of students of the university. <sup>50</sup> These students, who usually got lessons from good musicians, were often also members of the *Collegium Musicum*. Lorenz Christoph Mizler wrote in 1736 that well-known virtuosos often emerged from among them. <sup>51</sup> Bach's predecessors Johann Schelle and Johann Kuhnau had chartered an alto, a tenor and a bass from among the students, with financial assistance from the Council. In 1704 Kuhnau complained that students did not want to participate in the church services without compensation, as they were more attracted to the services in the *Neue Kirche*. <sup>52</sup> In 1709 Kuhnau repeated his complaints. Students were drawn away to the *Neue Kirche* and to the opera (then conducted by Georg Philipp Telemann). Without students, a motet was possible, but a "Vollstimmige Music" (multi-voiced piece of church music) could not be realised. A suitable bass singer could not be found among the *alumni*. *Alumni* would in any case only be suitable as ripienists, not as concertists. <sup>53</sup> In 1717 Kuhnau complained again. <sup>54</sup> By 1720 nothing had apparently changed: according to Kuhnau the students still preferred to play music in the *Neue Kirche*, where (now under the direction of organist Georg Balthasar Schott) more modern church music was performed. <sup>54</sup> In 1723 Mayor Lange expressed the hope that the new cantor would be able to motivate students to cooperate. <sup>55</sup> Apparently, he considered the cooperation of students important.

Soon after he took office, Bach evidently refrained from using ripienists, except in the case of large-scale cantatas and passions (§ VI.2). He also wrote fewer virtuoso soprano arias. This suggests that he had too few good-quality singers at his disposal. In 1725 he wrote a letter to Elector Friedrich August I of Saxony about the remuneration for services in the university church, the *Paulinerkirche*. He noted that music-loving students willingly and voluntarily worked with him as vocalists or instrumentalists without receiving any remuneration. <sup>56</sup> This cannot refer to the services in the *Paulinerkirche*, because those were led by Johann Gottlieb Görner. And, as mentioned, Bach wrote his memorandum in 1730 partly because of the subsidies for students withdrawn by Lange (and transferred to the *Neue Kirche*). From 1724 to 1729 two students were usually paid by the Council. Possibly Lange assumed that Bach, now that he had taken over the leadership of the *Collegium Musicum*, could easily charter students. But these were still more attracted to the *Neue Kirche*. The student vocal quartet in this church

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<sup>49</sup> 'Choirs in deep trouble over voices breaking early', *The Telegraph*, 9 October 2010.

<sup>50</sup> Geck 2003/II, p. 562.

<sup>51</sup> Lorenz Christoph Mizler, *Musikalische Bibliothek*, Erster Theil, 1736; BD II, no. 387, p. 277f.

<sup>52</sup> Johann Kuhnau, 'An [...] den regierenden Herrn, Bürgermeister zu Leipzig [...] Dienstgehorsamstes Memorial', 1704, in Spitta II, p. 854.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. 1717, in Spitta II, p. 861f.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 'Project, welcher Gestalt die Kirchen Music zu Leipzig könne verbeßert werden', 1720, in Spitta II, p. 668; Schering 1936, p. 42f.; Andreas Glöckner, '... daß ohne Hülffe derer Herren Studiosorum der Herr Cantor keine vollstimmende Music würde bestellen können...', *Bemerkungen zur Leipziger Kirchenmusik vor 1723 und nach 1750*, *BJ* 87, 2001, p. 131f.; Geck 2003/II, p. 560.

was part of the *Collegium*.<sup>55</sup> Illustrative is Bach's testimony to Altnickol in 1747, in which he states that the latter participated in the services as a violist, cellist or bass singer, and that this enabled him to make up for the lack of bass singers at the *Thomasschule*, as basses were unable to reach maturity due to premature departure, according to Bach.<sup>R</sup> And in 1749, mayor Born once again recalled the school's lack of good sopranos.<sup>56</sup> Apparently, Bach's plea for stipends for students had little but some success: after 1730 several stipends for students were recorded.<sup>57</sup> And Bach's performance of cantatas for large ensembles on high days would not have been possible without auxiliaries (*Adjuvanten*). As the memorandum shows, Bach tried to recruit the singers of recitatives and arias during the *Music from the alumni*:<sup>S</sup>

The group of singers is formed in this city from the pupils of the *Thomasschule* [...] and consists of] *concertists* and *ripienists*.

(Die Vocalisten werden hiesiges Ohrts von denen Thomas Schülern formiret [...] als: Concertisten und Ripiënisten).

When this was not sufficiently possible, he had to call in *Adjuvanten*.<sup>T</sup> The fact that he actually called in this help is evident from a number of testimonials written by him for private pupils, mostly students, in support of their application attempts.<sup>58</sup> Student Johann Christoph Hoffmann stated in 1734 that he

'assisted at Mr. Chapel Master Bach's Church Music, now for more than four years, as bass singer.'

(bey des HErrn Capell-Meister Bachens Kirchen Music nun mehro 4 jahr, als Bassiste, assistiret [...].)<sup>59</sup>

For the required *adjuvants*, one must think primarily of university students, especially former *Thomaner*, and of Bach's private students.<sup>60</sup>

According to a number of contemporary authors, Bach would have had many more opportunities to realise a large line-up of musicians.<sup>61</sup> They argue that Bach was able to draw

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<sup>55</sup> Bernd Heyder, 'Bachs Aufführungsbedingungen', in *Das Bach-Handbuch 2*, Reimar Emans / Sven Hiemke (editors), Laaber 2007, p. 90f.

<sup>56</sup> *BD V*, no. B587a, p. 174.

<sup>57</sup> Parrott 2000, p. 109f.

<sup>58</sup> Christoph Gottlob Wecker, *BD I*, no.60, p. 129; possibly also Johann Christian Weyrauch, *BD I*, no.67, p. 135f.; Bernhard Dieterich Ludewig, *BD I*, no.74, p. 142; Johann Christoph Altnickol, *BD I*, no.81, p. 148f.; Christoph Birkmann, *BD III*, no.761, p. 211.

<sup>59</sup> *BD II*, no. 356, p. 253. Hans-Joachim Schulze compiled in 1984 a survey of student assistants who received compensation: Hans-Joachim Schulze, 'Studenten als Bachs Helfer bei der Leipziger Kirchenmusik', *BJ* 70, 1984, p. 45-52.

<sup>60</sup> Andrew Parrot: 'Bach's Chorus, beyond reasonable doubt', *Early Music* 26/4, 1998, p. 639f.

<sup>61</sup> Schneiderheinze 1982, p. 33; Günther Wagner, 'Die Chorbesetzung bei J. S. Bach und ihre Vorgeschichte. Anmerkungen zur "hinlänglichen" Besetzung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 43/4, 1986, p. 292f.; Christoph Wolff, 'Bach's Chorus: stomach aches may disappear!', *Early Music* 26/3, 1998, p. 540; Christoph Wolff, 'Bach's Chorus: an amplification', *Early Music* 27/1, 1999, p. 172; Ton Koopman, 'Bach's chorus and orchestra', *De wereld van de Bach-cantates* 3, ed. Ton Koopman / Christoph Wolff, Abcoude 1998, p. 241; Andreas Glöckner, 'Bemerkungen zur vokalen und instrumentalen Besetzung von Bachs Leipziger Ensemblewerken; Alumne und Externe in den Kantoreien der

at will on a large group of other volunteers, such as externals and colleagues, who would gladly have offered their help without remuneration. After all, Bach apparently always knew how to make up for shortages: on feast days cantatas were performed for large ensembles. Then he must have had sufficient adjuvants at his disposal. Bach is said not to have mentioned these helpers on purpose in order not to damage his argument. As he always had these extra co-workers at his disposal, he would undoubtedly have made grateful use of them, these writers claim. However, there are no indications for the regular participation of large numbers of other adjuvants: they are hardly mentioned in the sources.<sup>62</sup> The fact that such helpers are not mentioned in the receipts and financial reports does not necessarily mean that they did not sing. However, logic leads us to the conclusion that Bach would be acting against his own interest if he failed to mention other adjuvants: the members of the Council must have known about the participation of such extra forces.

A look at the different types of adjuvants leads to the following picture.

1. Externi were exempt from the singing obligation of *alumni*. According to the school rules of 1723, externi were not even allowed to sing in the first *Cantorei* (and so in the first Sunday Choir); they also lacked the proper training. It is therefore unlikely that they would have participated in the first choir anyway.<sup>U</sup> Candidate *alumnus* Gotthelf Engelbert Nietzsche was tested by Bach and found capable, but became an *externus* anyway.<sup>63</sup> It has not been shown that he sang in the first choir. An exception was apparently made for an *alumnus* on leave of absence with written permission. He or she had to find a replacement from the circle of the *externi*.<sup>64</sup>
2. That colleagues would have sung along is pure speculation; their status makes it unlikely. Moreover, they attended services only in the *Thomaskirche* (with the exception of the conrector (vice-principal)). Their function there was to supervise the pupils of alternately the first and the second Sunday choir;<sup>V</sup> to that end they had permanent seats on the *Schülerchor* (§ I.1). In the *Nikolaikirche* their participation was thus excluded anyway.
3. That other volunteers also cooperated is also speculation: their cooperation is not mentioned anywhere.

Apparently, there was no question of large quantities of adjuvants being used regularly. Even if Bach was able to charter them easily, this does not prove that he actually used them regularly during the performances of his cantatas.<sup>65</sup>

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Thomasschule zur Zeit Bachs', in *Vom Klang der Zeit*, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 86f.; Andreas Glöckner, 'On the performing forces of Johann Sebastian Bach's Leipzig Church Music', *Early Music* 38/2, 2010, p. 217; Andreas Glöckner, ' "The ripienists must also be at least eight, namely two for each part": The Leipzig line of 1730 - some observations', *Early Music* 39/4, 2011, p. 582f. [Beverley Jeroold, 'Performance conditions, standards and Bach's chorus', \*The Musical Times\*, Winter 2017, p. 55-70, op p. 63f.](#)

<sup>62</sup> Parrott 2000, p. 103f.; Schulze 1984, p. 45f.

<sup>63</sup> Wolff 1999, p. 172.

<sup>64</sup> *Varia, die Alumnen der Thomasschule betr. 1648-1829*, Leipziger Stadtarchiv, cited in Glöckner 2011, p. 583f.

<sup>65</sup> Parrott 2000, p. 10f.; Andrew Parrott, 'Bach's chorus: the Leipzig line; A response to Andreas Glöckner', *Early Music* 38/2, 2010, p. 223.

Only in the case of cantatas for large ensembles he must have used a larger number of adju-  
vants (probably students), possibly paid out of his own pocket (as is known from Kuhnau).<sup>66</sup>

### **Bach's singers**

Apparently, it was rare for Bach to have a Thomas pupil sing solo as a tenor or bass in con-  
certed church music, even though according to Armin Schneiderheinze the age of tenors and  
basses at the *Thomasschule* was 18-24. However, his calculation assumes that all *alumni* of the  
first Sunday choir sang along.<sup>67</sup>

Not only at the *Thomasschule*, but throughout Germany, there was a distressing lack  
of good boy sopranos. From September 1723 to May 1724, Bach wrote hardly any technically  
demanding solo soprano parts; when BWV 21.3 (*Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis*) was reperformed,  
he had the tenor sing the soprano arias. In addition, he often had a slide trumpet or slide  
horn play along with soprano parts.<sup>68</sup> Bach thus sought his sopranos primarily among his  
alumni, and then of course in the first choir. One or two of these sopranos were always ex-  
empted from New Year's singing while retaining their financial compensation, to prevent  
them from being unavailable for singing in the churches due to illness.<sup>69</sup>

In 1730 Bach was delighted with the arrival of Christoph Nichelmann as a 'foreign' (= Prussian) *alumnus*, who apparently could sing so well that Bach immediately took him on as *erster Discantist* (first soprano).<sup>w</sup> Nichelmann, born in 1717, was then about 13 years old. By 1733 he had already left school. Another soprano from those years whose name is known is Christian Friedrich Schemelli, *alumnus* from 1731 to 1734. He was 18 to 21 years old and probably a falsettist; Bach called him a *Sopranist*. However, the wording of Bach's certificate suggests that he was not involved in the first choir.<sup>x</sup> Schneiderheinze calculated that the age of sopranos and altos among alumni was 13 to 20.<sup>70</sup> It is most likely that, depending on availability, Bach used both boys and falsettists for the soprano and alto parts in his cantatas. One can assume that, in the absence of good sopranos, he called upon sopranists and altoists among the students for assistance. It is known that students were part of the *Collegium Musicum* under Melchior Hoffmann as sopranist and altoist, that they sang in the *Paulinerkirche* and the *Neue Kirche*,<sup>71</sup> and that there were even two sopranists and an altoist singing in *Das Grosse Concert* (Fig. V.1). Bach already knew sopranists and altoists in Arnstadt, Weimar, Lübeck, Weißenfels and Köthen. Martin Geck believes that Bach, as chapel master, would make use of these adults as a matter of course. In his memorandum Bach wrote that in the past not only a bassist and a tenor, but also an altoist, were recruited from among the students. According to Geck, these words make it clear that Bach would also have sought an alto among the students.<sup>72</sup> However, the text contains the words 'ja auch', which should probably be interpreted here as: 'yes, even'.<sup>y</sup> Bach would then have meant 'some vocalists, such as a bass, a tenor, yes, even an alto'.<sup>73</sup> If this interpretation is correct, then Bach did not

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<sup>66</sup> Koopman 1998, p. 240f.

<sup>67</sup> Schneiderheinze 1982, p. 33f..

<sup>68</sup> Geck 2003, p. 17. See also Chapters XXX and XXXI in this study.

<sup>69</sup> *BD* II, nos. 173 and 174, p. 135f.

<sup>70</sup> Schneiderheinze 1982, p. 37.

<sup>71</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte*, Hamburg 1740, p. 117f.

<sup>72</sup> Geck 2003/II, p. 560.

<sup>73</sup> It seems, in other words, that Bach implied: I too ask for a bass and a tenor; my predecessors even asked for an altoist as well; I won't even go that far.

call upon sopranists and altoists from the students until at least 1730. There are no names known of these outside the alumni. It is known that in 1784 Bach's cantor Johann Friedrich Doles had eight singers at his disposal in the first choir, including three falsettists. Apparently these were older alumni. It is likely that Bach's practice was no different, and that he did make use of falsettists, but then mainly from the older alumni. We may also assume that alumni from all voice groups were used as falsettists if necessary.<sup>74</sup> Bach's wishes regarding his singers are described in chapter XV.

*Soprano and alto parts in concerted church music were sung either by young school-boys, or by older ones (over 18 years of age) with falsetto voices. Adjuvants – university students or private pupils of Bach - were often needed as bass and tenor.*

### 3. Who were Bach's instrumentalists?

City musicians, pupils, adjuncts and Gesellen



**Fig. 3.** Johann Gottfried Reiche. Portrait from 1726 by Elias Gottlob Haussmann (1695-1774). Oil on canvas, 85 × 71.5 cm. Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Leipzig.

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<sup>74</sup> Glöckner 2001, p. 136f.

Large cities in Germany often employed city musicians who played representative music at official occasions; in addition they provided dance and tower music. It could also be their job to perform concerted music during church services. According to Beverly Jerold the status of professional musicians was low but safe. They were often illiterate, but could play many instruments, albeit, precisely because they did not limit themselves to one instrument, usually not very virtuoso. They were mainly practically oriented, not theoretically trained. Moreover, their wind instruments seem to have been poorly intoned. Jerold even wonders whether city musicians were mainly ripienists.<sup>75</sup> In the preface to the 1745 reissue of his work *Der Critische Musicus* Johann Adolph Scheibe, active in Leipzig until 1735, also writes about the poor quality of city musicians in general.<sup>z</sup> Their student-assistants were called *Gesellen*. Apparently they spent a lot of time with their masters to gain experience.

In Leipzig the council provided for four *Stadtppfeiffer*, who could play trumpet, cornetto, trombone, horn, oboe, bassoon and recorder, and three *Kunstgeiger*, who could play all string instruments. In his memorandum Bach named all the city musicians employed in 1730. Apparently only two string players were employed at that time. Bach (like Kuhnau, see endnote <sup>k</sup>, § 11) was not satisfied with the city musicians, although the virtuoso trumpeter Johann Gottfried Reiche (*fig. 3*), who was a friend of Bach's, and the oboist Johann Caspar Gleditsch, must have been positive exceptions. Bach wrote that politeness forbade him to speak the truth about the qualities and theoretical knowledge of the gentlemen, some of whom were old and some of whom lacked skills.<sup>AA</sup>

That Bach had pupils from his first Sunday choir play instrumental parts in the performance of the *Music* seems undisputed. It was mentioned in §1 that Bach had to train them also to be instrumentalists in order to avoid costs for auxiliary musicians.<sup>F</sup> In his memorandum he wrote that (until 1730 at least) pupils of necessity always took charge of the parts for viola, cello and violone, and often those for the second violinists as well.<sup>T</sup> By this Bach must have meant the ripienists, because one of the *Kunstgeiger* played second violin.<sup>BB</sup>

Letters of recommendation written by Bach show that he allowed pupils (of harpsichord and organ) to take part in performances as vocalists or instrumentalists. These too were usually university students. Bach's sons Johann Christian Friedrich and perhaps Johann Christian, who were *externi*, were also engaged by him.<sup>76</sup> According to his memorandum, Bach regularly had students participate not only as singers, but also as instrumentalists, namely as ripienists on the first and on the second violins; probably also as flautists and harpsichordists.<sup>77</sup> About fifteen students are known to have assisted Bach; most of them at one time or another received a reward.<sup>78</sup>

Some contemporary authors believe that after 1729 Bach could easily have drawn on the members of the *Collegium Musicum*, of which he had taken charge.<sup>79</sup> This is not likely, however: the same arguments can be made against this as for the singers in § 2. Bach may have occasionally been able to tempt students into taking part, for instance in an interesting work like the *Sinfonia* from BWV 174 or other compositions for a larger ensemble, but there are no indications that this was very common.

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<sup>75</sup> Beverly Jerold, 'Bach's Lament about Leipzig's Professional Instrumentalists', *Bach, The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 36/1, 2005, pp. 93-96.

<sup>76</sup> See also *BD I*, nos. 57-82, pp. 127-151.

<sup>77</sup> See endnote <sup>T</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> Schulze 1984, p. 45f.; Parrott 2000, p. 109f.

<sup>79</sup> Glöckner 2011, p. 583.

According to Andreas Glöckner, the cooperation of the *Gesellen* was standard practice. He explains the absence of their names in the Council's books by the fact that they were not paid by the Council. He mentions three *Gesellen* by name (who were obviously not active as such during Bach's entire time in Leipzig).<sup>80</sup> It is likely that one of them, Johann Ferdinand Bamberg, played third trumpet when required. Yet it is noteworthy that in his 1730 memorandum Bach explicitly mentioned only one (anonymous) *Geselle* (for the bassoon part): this suggests that their collaboration was not structural.

***Instrumentalists in concerted music were city musicians, pupils of the Thomasschule and 'Gesellen' of the city musicians. Adjuvants - students or private pupils of Bach - were often employed as violinists and traverso players.***

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Rens Bijma, version 23-11-22

With thanks to Albert Clement and Jos van Veldhoven

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<sup>A</sup> E.E. Hochweisen *Raths der Stadt Leipzig Gesetze der Schule zu S. Thomae*, Leipzig, 1733, p. 13 resp. 17.

T. III, § 3. Sie sollen den gemeinen *Lectiones* mit einem Liede anfangen, bey dessen Anfange ein ieder zugegen seyn soll. Sie sollen aber vornemlich die Lieder singen, welche auf dem nächsten Sonn- oder Fest-Tage in der Gemeine gesungen werden, damit sich die neuen zugleich üben, und daher öffentlich alle Fehler desto eher vermeiden können.

T. III, § 2. Sie sollen sich auch, so viel möglich, vor die Augen der gantzen Gemeinde stellen, ihre Bücher aufschlagen, die Augen und Ohren auf den *Præcentor* richten und, wenn dieser ein Lied mit heller Stimme und vernehmlich angefangen hat, insgesamt munter einstimmen, und also zeigen, daß sie Singens wegen da sind. Dieses aber sollen sie desto fleißiger in Acht nehmen, wenn zum Anfange des Gottesdienstes, oder bey der Austheilung des heiligen Abendmahls, wenige Leute mitsingen, oder wenn die Orgel unter dem Singen nicht gespielt wird.

<sup>B</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, *Kurtzer, jedoch höchstnötiger Entwurff einer wohlbestallten Kirchen Music; nebst einigem unvoorgreiflichen Bedencken von dem Verfall derselben*. Letter to the Leipzig Council, 23. August 1730, *BD I*, nr. 22 ('Memorandum 1730'), r. 118ff.

Da nun aber der itzige *status musices* gantz anders weder ehedem beschaffen, die Kunst um sehr viel gestiegen, der *gusto* sich verwunderens-würdig geändert, dahero auch die ehemalige Arth von *Music* unseren Ohren nicht mehr klingen will, und mann um so mehr einer erklecklichen Beyhülffe benöthiget ist, damit solche *subjecta choisiret* und bestellet werden können, so den itzigen musicalischen *gustum assequiren*, die neuen Arthen der *Music* bestreiten, mithin im Stande seyn können, dem *Compositori* und deßen Arbeit *satisfaction* | zu geben, hat man die wenigen *beneficia*, so ehe hätten sollen vermehret als veringert werden, dem *Choro Musico* gar entzogen. Es ist ohne dem etwas Wunderliches, da man von denen teütschen *Musicis praetendiret*, Sie sollen *capable* seyn, allerhand Arthen von *Music*, sie komme nun aus *Italien* oder *Franckreich*, *England* oder *Pohlen*, so fort *ex tempore* zu *musiciren*, wie es etwa die jenigen *Virtuosos*, vor die es gesetzt ist, und welche es lange vorhero *studiret* ja fast auswendig können, überdem auch *quod notandum* in schweren Solde stehen, deren Müh und Fleiß mithin

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<sup>80</sup> Glöckner 2004, p. 87; Glöckner 2011, p. 583.

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reichlich belohnt wird, *praestiren* können; man solches doch nicht *consideriren* will, sondern läßt Sie ihrer eigenen Sorge über, da denn mancher vor Sorgen der Nahrung nicht dahin dencken kan, üm sich zu *perfectioniren*, noch weniger zu *distinguiren*. Mit einem *exempel* diesen Satz zu erweisen, darff man nur nach Dreßden gehen, und sehen, wie daselbst von Königlicher Majestät die *Musici* *salariert* werden; Es kan nicht fehlen, da denen *Musicis* die Sorge der Nahrung benommen wird, der *chagrin* nachbleibet, auch überdem iede Persohn nur ein eintziges *Instrument* zu *excoliren* hat, es muß was trefliches und *excellentes* zu hören seyn. Der Schluß ist demnach leicht zu finden, daß bey *ceßirenden beneficiis* mir die Kräfte benommen werden, die *Music* in beßeren Stand zu setzen.

<sup>c</sup> E. E. Hochw. Raths der Stadt Leipzig Ordnung Der Schule zu S. THOMÆ, Leipzig 1723 ('Schulordnung'), XIII.XIV.

[...] Es soll aber die erste *Cantorey*, weil sie aus denen geschicktesten *Subjectis* bestehet, in denen vornehmsten Häusern, sonderlich derer Herrn Schul-Patronen und *Inspectoren*, singen, und die übrigen *Coetus* in behöriger Ordnung folgen, also daß, wo der erste *Coetus* aufhöret, der andere, nach diesem der dritte, und so fort, anfangen [...]

<sup>d</sup> Eingabe des Schulvorstehers Carl Friedrich Trier, 1745, Stadtarchiv Leipzig, *Stift. VII. B. 26*, fol. 5-8, in Maul 2013, p. 13; *Dokument GLT VIII/C 89*, p. 104ff.

Es giebt nehmlich bey besagter Schule zweyerley *Cantoreyen*, als die Kirchen- und Neujahrs-Cantoreyen. Die erstere die Kirchen-Cantoreyen werden wieder in zwey Arten eingetheilet, davon die erste, nach den 4. Stadt-Kirchen 4. *Chöre* ausmachtet, und die Kirchen an Sonn- und Fest-Tagen besorget, die Andere Art bestehet aus 6. *Chören*, und wohnet dem Wöchentlichen Gottes-Dienst, Früh in den Haupt-StadtKirchen und Nachmittags, Dienstags und Freytags in der Neuen Kirchen bey. Zu beyden Arten Kirchen-Cantoreyen gehören, nach beygelegter *Specification*, sämtliche *Alumni*, jedoch mit dem Unterschied, daß zu der ersten und andern Sonntags-Cantoreye, die besten *Musici*, und zu der dritten nicht ganz untüchtige Schüler gezogen werden, weil diese eben auch *Motetten etc.* in der Neuen-Kirche singen müssen.

Was die Neujahrs-Cantoreyen anbelanget, so werden jedesmahl vor dem Neuen-Jahr 32. Persohnen von dem *Cantore* ausgelesen, und in 4. *Chöre*, jeden zu 8. Schülern eingetheilet. Diese *Cantoreyen* hören jederzeit, nach Endigung des Neu-Jahr-Umgangs wieder auf, ausser dem ersten *Chor*, welcher zu Besorgung der Hochzeiten und Beysetzungen auf ½ Jahr beybehalten wird.

Woraus denn so viel erhellet, daß zu den Kirchen-Cantoreyen oder *Chören* die sämtliche *Alumni* gehören, die Neu-Jahrs-Cantoreyen aber gegen Ostern, als um welche Zeit die Leichen-Famulatur vergeben zu werden pflaget, meistens nicht mehr *existiren*. Sollte nun E.E. Hochw: Raths *intention* bey Abfassung obberührter Verordnung dahingegangen seyn, daß aus den 2 ersten Sonntags-Cantoreyen, als wozu die besten *Musici* gezogen werden, die zu der Leichen-Famulatur zu benennenden *Subjecta* genommen werden sollten, so ist hingegen, sonder alle Maaßgebung, nicht unbillig in Erwegung zu ziehen, daß der Leichen-Famulus nicht von den *emolumentis*, so von nur besagter 2. *Cantoreyen* herrühren, sondern von den Leichen-Geldern, welche sämtliche *Alumni* nach Beschaffenheit der Leichen verdienen, *salariert* werden dahero etwas hart zu seyn scheinen dürffte, wenn die zur *Music* nicht *qualificirte* Schüler jederzeit dem Famulo von ihren *ratis* abgeben, niemahls aber selbst, wegen der, von der Natur ihnen versagten Gaben, oder wieder Verschulden verlohner Stimme, zu solcher Stelle zu gelangen Hoffnung haben solten, zumahl die in den 2 ersten *Cantoreyen* befindliche *Alumni* ohne dies durch *Praefecturen*, worzu sie nach und nach kommen, und sonst vor andern ergiebigen Zugang haben.

<sup>e</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, Eingabe an das Leipziger Konsistorium, 1737, *BD I*, no. 40, Anlage A, p. 99. [...] Nachdem aber in der Schul-Ordnung *Cap. 13. §. 8.* und *Cap. 14. §. 1.* und 4. deutlich enthalten, daß der *Cantor* die zu jeder derer 4. *Cantoreyen* gehörigen 8 Knaben mit Bewilligung des *Rectoris* annehmen, und daraus vier *Praefectos Chororum* [...] erwählen [...]

<sup>f</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, *Cantoris bey der Thomas-Schule*, Endgültiger Revers, 1723, *BD I*, no. 92, p. 177.

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Demnach E.E. hochweiser Rath [...] einen *Revers*, in nachgesetzten Punkten von mir zuvollziehen begehret, nemlich: [...]

6.) Damit die Kirchen nicht mit unnöthigen Unkosten belegt werden mögen, die Knaben nicht allein in der *Vocal*-, sondern auch in der *Instrumental-Music* fleißig unterweisen.

<sup>G</sup> Schulordnung 1723, V.V.

Die *Cætus Musici* sollen nicht nur in beyden Kirchen, zu *S. Nicolai* und *S. Thomæ*, von dem *Cantore* an Sonn- und Fest-Tagen Wechsels-weise besucht, sondern auch ein gewisser *Numerus* von 8 in der *Music* geübten Schülern, nebst einem *Præfecto*, in die Neue, und 4 andere ebenfalls mit einem *Præfecto* in die Peters Kirche geschickt; hiernächst aber an hohen Fest-Tagen, oder wenn es sonsten angeordnet, der *Præcentor*, was für Stücke in einer der beyden Haupt-Kirchen, da der *Cantor* abwesend, zu *musiciren*, von ihm *instruïret*, zu solchem Ende auch die *Cætus musici*, mit Vorwissen des *Conrectoris*, also ein- und abgetheilet werden, damit sie in der Kirche fortkommen, und die so etwas in der *Music præstiren* können, nicht alle in den ersten *Cætum*, die übrigen aber, welche in dem Singen nicht geübt, in den anderen *Cætum* allein *recipiret* und aufgenommen werden.

<sup>H</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, Appendix to the research report on *alumni* to be appointed in 1729, *BD I*, no. 180, p. 250.

In die Kirche zu *S. Nicolai* als:

Zum ersten *Chor* gehören.

3 *Discantists* / 3 *Altists* / 3 *Tenorists* / 3 *Bassists*.

Zu *S. Thomæ* as:

Zum 2 *Chor*.

3 *Discantists* / 3 *Altists* / 3 *Tenorists* / 3 *Bassists*.

Zur neuen Kirche als:

Zum 3 *Chor*.

3 *Discantists* / 3 *Altists* / 3 *Tenorists* / 3 *Bassists*

Zum 4 *Chor*.

2 *Sopranists* / 2 *Altists* / 2 *Tenorists* 2 *Bassists* etc. And this last *choir* also has to provide for the *Petri Church*. etc.

<sup>I</sup> Schulordnung 1723, VI.I and II.

I. Weil, wie bereits oben erwähnt, diese Schule vornehmlich denen Armen zum besten angeleget und gestiftet, zugleich auch das Absehen auf die Bestellung der *Music* gerichtet worden, so wird zwar dem *Rectori*, was anfangs die hiesigen kleinen Knaben und Bürgers-Kinder anbelangt, welche neben dem Gebet alleine lesen schreiben, *decliniren* und *conjungiren* lernen, dieselbe ohne Unterscheid anzunehmen frey stehen, und ohne sonderbare erhebliche Ursache es niemand verweigern; hingegen soll weder er, noch der *Cantor* Macht haben, ohne Vorbewust und Einwilligung des Herrn Vorstehers, iemand unter die Zahl derer *Alumnorum* aufzunehmen, oder die aufgenommenen zu *dimittiren*, noch auch einige *Officia*, *Beneficia* und Gelder unter sie auszutheilen.

II. Wenn auch Knaben von fremden Orten anhero kommen, und als *Alumni* aufgenommen zu werden verlangen, so hat der *Rector* solche vor allen Dingen dem Herrn Vorsteher zu melden, und selbige so dann fleißig zu examiniren, dabey aber auf die Fähigkeit zur *Music* nicht alleine, sondern vornehmlich auf ein gutes und zum *Studiren* geschicktes *Ingenium* zu sehen, und wenn er sie genugsam *qualificiret* befunden, mit ihrem, wie auch ihrer *Promotorum* oder *Intercessorum* Nahmen, der Knaben Alter, Geburt-Stadt und Verhalten, in ein gewisses Buch einzuschreiben, und so dann mit ermeldten Herrn Vorstehers Einwilligung, in die Schule zu *recipiren* [...]

<sup>J</sup> Schulvorsteher Christian Ludwig Stieglitz, letter to the Council, 1729, *BD II*, no. 262, p. 192f.

[...] daß er zu Bestellung des GottesDienstes was das Singen anbelangt in allen 5. Kirchen 44. Knaben nöthig habe, weil nun viele, so bißher dazu gebraucht worden, von der Schulen gezogen und von denen würclichen *Alumnis* die Kirchen bey weiten nicht versorget werden

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können, as bittet derselbe sowohl der Herr *Rector* es erfordert auch die unumbgängliche Nothwendigkeit bey bevorstehender Besezung der *vacanten* Stellen auf solche *Subjecta* zu *reflectiren*, die zur *Music* und Singen geschickt, [...]

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

But now

11.

solche Kirchen *Music*, wo man die mit großer Mühe abgerichteten Schüler und Studenten, alß das beste *Ornament* entbehren, und sich allezeit mit neuen *Incipienten* von denen [...] Schülern nebenst einigen unter denen Stadt *Musicis* und Gesellen nicht gar zu geschickten *Subjectis*, sonderlich in Feyer Tagen und Meßzeiten [...] behelffen muß [...].

So were

12.

(sonderlich da die aus 8 Personen zusammen bestehenden Stadt Pfeiffer Kunst Geiger und Gesellen zu blasenden *Instrumenten*, nemlich zu 2 oder mehr *Trompeten*, 2 *Hautbois*, oder *Cornetten*, 3 *Trombonen* oder andern dergleichen Pfeiffen, 1 *Fagott*, und einem *Basson* kaum zu langen, und man nicht sehen kan, wo zu der übrigen Geigen *Music*, welche die angenehmste ist, wie sie izeo in ganz *Europa* und auch bey uns starck bestellet wird, da bey denen beyden *Violinen* immer zum wenigsten 8 Personen stehen, und folgentlich zu denen gedoppelt besetzten *Braccien*, zu *Violonen*, *Violoncellen*, *Coloscionen*, Pauken und andern *Instrumenten* mehr, die Leüte herzunehmen seyn, da sie alle in die neue Kirche gezogen werden.) niehmals so sehr als izeo nöthig gewesen, daß die vormahls auff einige Sängler, vornehmlich aber auff einen starcken *Bassisten* (denn von der Schul Jugend sind dergleichen tieffe Stimmen nicht so leichte zu gewarten, so schickt sie sich auch theils wegen ihres steten Anfanges in der *Music*, theils weil sie auch immer die Stimme *mutiret*, und manche jahre nach dem verlohnen guten *Discant* ganz stum bleibt, mehr zu denen Capellstimmen und denen *tutti*, als zum *concertiren*) und zwei ordentliche gute *Violisten* angewendeten *Stipendia* wieder dazu angewendet würden.

<sup>L</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister*, Hamburg 1739, p. 482.

§. 20. Die Knaben sind wenig nutz. Ich meine, die Capell-Knaben. Ehe sie eine leidliche Fähigkeit zum Singen bekommen, ist die *Discant*-Stimme fort. Und wenn sie ein wenig mehr wissen, oder einen fertigen Hals haben, als andre, pflegen sie sich so viel einzubilden, daß ihr Wesen unleidlich ist, und hat doch keinen Bestand.

<sup>M</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Leipzig 1732;

p. 239. Falset-Stimme, Falsetto [*ital.*] heisset:

(2) Bey erwachsenen Sängern, wenn sie an statt ihrer ordentlichen Bass- oder Tenor-Stimme, durch Zusammenzwingen und Dringen des Halses, den Alt oder *Discant* singen. Man nennet es auch deswegen eine unnatürliche Stimme.

p. 247. *Fistuliren*; wird von Sängern gesagt, die natürlicher weise eine grobe und tieffe, gezwungener weise aber, eine helle und hohe Stimme von sich geben können.

<sup>N</sup> Johann Beer, *Musicalische Discourse*, Nürnberg 1719, p. 14.

Könte man aber ein paar gleiche *Castraten* oder *Falsedisten* haben / wär es um so viel besser / weil solche Leute mit grösserm *judicio*, item nicht so zagicht, wie die erschrockene Knaben / und dann auch endlich beständiger singen. Denn kaum kommt ein Knabe zur rechten *perfection*, so ist die Stimme *caduc*, und erfordert hernachmals oft lebenslange *Unterhaltung*. [...]

<sup>O</sup> Johann Friedrich Agricola, *Anleitung zur Singekunst*, Berlin 1757, p. 35f.

Einige Erwachsene Mannspersonen haben, wenn sie singen, nichts als lauter Falsettöne; und diese nennet man eigentlich Falsettisten. Die tiefern Töne werden diesen gemeiniglich saurer, und sind schwächer. Bey dergleichen Sängern kann etwas zur Erreichung des ganzen Umfangs einer hohen Stimme, in lauter Falsettönen, nähmlich daß ein Tenorist einen völligen Sopran, und ein Bassist einen völligen Alt singen kann, etwas beitragen, daß sie sich von der

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Zeit an, da sich in der Jugend die hohe Stimme in die tiefere verwandeln wollte, bemühet haben, immer die hohen Töne noch, auf oben beschriebene Art, heraus zu zwingen, und folglich, durch die Uebung, den Muskeln welche die Luftröhre zusammenziehen, ein größeres Vermögen zuwege gebracht haben, als denen, welche die Luftröhre erweitern. Daß dieses möglich sey, ist aus der Physiologie klar.

<sup>p</sup> From council report 22 April 1723, remark royal councillor and mayor Gottfried Lange, *BD II*, no. 129, p. 95.

*Dn. Cons. Reg.* Es wäre nöthig auf einen berühmten Mann bedacht zu seyn, damit die Herren *Studiosi animiret* werden möchten.

<sup>q</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, Letter to Kurfürst Friedrich August I. of Saxony, 1725, *BD I*, no. 12, p. 38.

[...] und wie man weiß, dass die | *Studiosi*, welche Liebhaber der *Music*, sich allzeit gern und willig dabey finden laßen; So hat sich meinerseits mit denen *Studiosis* einiges Unvernehmen niemals ereignet, sie pflegen auch die *Vocal-* und *Instrumental-Music* bey mir unverweigerlich und bis diese Stunde *gratis* und ohne Entgeld zu bestellen. [...]

<sup>r</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, Testimony for Johann Christoph Altnickol, 1747, *BD I*, no. 81, p. 148f.

[...] dem *Choro Musico* unausgesetzt *assistiret*, indeme Er bald als *Violiste*, bald als *Violoncelliste*, meistens aber als *Vocal-Bassiste* sich *exhibiret*, und also dem Mangel derer auf der *Thomas-Schule* sich befindenden *Bass-Stimmen* (weiln sie wegen alzu frühzeitigen Abzugs nicht können zur Reiffe kommen) ersetzt; [...]

<sup>s</sup> Memorandum 1730, r. 5ff.

Die Vocalisten werden hiesiges Ohrts von denen Thomas Schülern formiret [...] als: Concertisten und Ripiënisten.

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

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

<sup>u</sup> Schulordnung 1723, XIII.VIII.

Dieweil auch ietziger Zeit die Schul-Knaben, welche den Gottesdienst abwarten, in 4 *Cantoreyen* eingetheilet, in deren ieder von dem *Cantore*, mit Bewilligung des *Rectoris*, ihrer acht angenommen, so müssen in der ersten *Cantorey* keine andere als *Inquilini* [= *Alumni*], und welche nach Befinden des *Cantoris* vor andern eine gute Stimme haben, auch in der *Music* geschickt und fertig sind, recipiret werden; wie dann auch der Cantor die, welche er vor tüchtig erachtet, als *Præfectos* gewöhnlicher maßen zu erwehlen, iedoch selbige iedesmahl dem Herrn Vorsteher zu præsentiren hat. [...]

<sup>v</sup> *Ibid.*, V.VII.

[...] Es soll aber die erste *Cantorey*, weil sie aus denen geschicktesten *Subjectis* bestehet, in denen vornehmsten Häusern, sonderlich derer Herrn Schul-Patronen und *Inspectoren*, singen, und die übrigen *Coetus* in behöriger Ordnung folgen, also daß, wo der erste *Coetus* aufhöret, der andere, nach diesem der dritte, und so fort, anfangt [...]

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<sup>w</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, 'Lebensläuffe verschiedener lebenden Tonkünstler', concerning Christoph Nichelmann, 1755, *BD III*, no. 674, p. 106.

Der damalige Cantor bey dieser Schule, Hr. Joh. Seb. Bach, nahm ihn, obwohl als einen Ausländer, dennoch in die Zahl der Alumnorum um desto williger auf, da er allbereit hinlängliche Fertigkeit im Singen mit dahin brachte, um bey Aufführung der Musiken, als erster Diskantist dienen zu können.

<sup>x</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, attestation to Christian Friedrich Schemelli, 1740, *BD I*, no. 77, p. 145.

[...] daß er iederzeit, so lange er unsere Schule zu *S. Thomas frequentiret* allen möglichen Fleiss darinne erwiesen, daß Ihn auch bey denen *Cantoreyen* als *Sopranisten* gantz wohl habe gebrauchen können.

<sup>y</sup> Memorandum 1730, r. 110ff.

Es ist ja *notorisch*, daß meine Herrn *Praeantecessores*, Schell und Kuhnau, sich schon der Beyhülffe derer Herrn *Studiosorum* bedienen müssen, wenn sie eine vollständige und wohl lautende *Music* haben *produciren* wollen; welches sie dann auch in so weit haben *praestiren* können da wohl einige *vocalisten*, als: *Baßist*, u. *Tenorist*, ja auch *Altist*, als auch *Instrumentisten*, besonders 2 *Violisten*, von E. HochEdlen und Hochweisen Raht *a parte* sind mit *stipendiis* begnadiget, mithin zur Verstärckung derer Kirchen *Musiquen animiret* worden.

<sup>z</sup> Scheibe 1745, Vorrede.

p. [23]. [...] den so genannten Stadtpfeifern, Kunstpfeifern, oder zünftigen Musikanten [...] deren größter Theil den musikalischen Pöbel ausmachtet.

[...] ungeachtet oft die wenigsten unter ihnen kaum ihr Instrument zu stimmen vermögend sind [...] Gewiß, diese Leute sind eben diejenigen, welche verhindern, dass die Tonkunst auch bey verschiedenen Leuten von Verstande und Ansehen nicht in Hochachtung kommen kann. Sie machen die Musik niederträchtig, weil sie selbst niederträchtig sind. [...]

p. [24] [...] Ich weiß es auch, daß man selbst unter den Stadtmusikanten einige Männer findet, die dasjenige, was sie täglich sehen, verabscheuen [...]

<sup>aa</sup> Memorandum 1730, r. 48ff.

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

<sup>bb</sup> *Ibid.*, r. 60.

- Herr Rother -- 1 *Violin*.
- Herr Beyer -- 2 *Violin*.