

**THE CONSORT SUITE IN THE
GERMAN-SPEAKING LANDS**

(1660-1705)

Volume I

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of

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and that appropriate credit has been given where
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ABSTRACT

Michael Neil Robertson

THE CONSORT SUITE IN THE GERMAN-SPEAKING LANDS

(1660-1705)

Submitted in April 2004 for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

It is likely that most of the composers considered in this dissertation would have thought of themselves as being German, even if they were nominal citizens of the Holy Roman Empire. The end of the Thirty Years War in 1648 had hardly brought lasting peace to Germany: in France, Louis XIV had territorial ambitions, and this brought him into conflict with Leopold I, the Holy Roman Emperor. Despite the political machinations of the period, French cultural influence was very strong in Germany. The music of Jean-Baptiste Lully swept through the German courts during the 1670s and '80s, and remained the dominant influence in German suite writing until the early part of the eighteenth century.

French music was known in Germany long before Lully. Dance music from France was widely disseminated, and this dissertation considers the manner of this dissemination as well as the influence of the *ballet de cour*. But there were parallel traditions of suite writing during this time: suites by town musicians exhibited quite different characteristics from the French courtly suite. Here, concepts of careful organisation came to the fore: town musicians often issued their suites in printed collections that used a variety of techniques to link movements within suites. The collections themselves were often carefully organised: a similar, if not identical, sequence of movements could be used throughout a collection, and suites themselves could be arranged in ascending order of key. This dissertation will also study two particular trends of suite composition in Leipzig and Hamburg. In Leipzig, composers such as Rosenmüller and Pezel offered performers a choice, not of individual dances, but of movement sequences. In Hamburg, Becker and Reincken were part of a late flowering of variation techniques that had been popular at the start of the century. The trio suite is considered as a separate genre, as are the suites written by composers such as J. H. Schmelzer at the imperial court of Vienna.

Throughout, the dissertation deals with questions of instrumentation, national style, organisation and whether suites were intended to be abstract instrumental music or functional dance music. It ends with four case studies that indicate the trends in suite writing at the start of the eighteenth century.

CONTENTS, Vol. I.

<i>Acknowledgements</i>	i
<i>Abstract</i>	ii
<i>Contents, Vol. I</i>	iii
<i>Contents, Vol. II</i>	iv
<i>INDEX PICTURARUM</i>	v
<i>INDEX EXEMPLORUM MUSICORUM</i>	vi
<i>INDEX TABULARUM</i>	x
<i>Abbreviations and Library Sigla</i>	xii
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
1 'Very noble it was, and a great pleasure to see' - Defining the Suite	1
2 'They correspond to one another in tone and invention' - The Municipal Suite	37
3 Variation and Choice - Leipzig and Hamburg: Two Individual Traditions	69
4 'As much variety and novelty as could be contrived to pleas the court' - The Courtly Suite before 1680	105
5 'And all the compositions of the towne were strained to imitate Babtist's vein' - The Courtly Suite after 1680, <i>part I</i>	131
6 'Ouvertures de Theatre accompagnées de plusiers Airs' - The Courtly Suite after 1680, <i>part II</i>	161
7 'A style of German leading' - Vienna and the Imperial Court of Leopold I	199
8 'Put together and arranged' - The Trio Suite	231
9 'In the well-known French manner of the present time' - Retirada	267

CONTENTS, Vol. II.

Contents of Appendix I.	281
Table: Contents of four manuscript sources by Johann Christoph Pez	282
Table: Contents of manuscripts in A-Wn Mus.Hs.16 583[II]	287
List of scores in Appendix II	289
H. Kradenthaller, <i>Deliciarum musicum</i> , suite I	291-293
J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> vi, '28.Intrada'	294-296
J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> v, '7.Sonatina'	297-300
J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> i, suite IV	301-306
J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> vi, '20.Gagliarda'	307-310
J. Rosenmüller, <i>Sonata da camera</i> , Sonata prima, 'Intrada à5 obligati'	311-314
G. Knüpfer, 'Sonata a7', GB-Ob MS Mus.Sch.c.93	315-324
J. Fischer, 'Ouverture à5', S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.15:11	325-330
J. A. Coberg, 'Ouverture à4', D-B Mus.MS 40 644	331-332
J. Hoffer, 'Parti à4', A-Wn S.m.1809	333-336
Anon., [Balletto], A-Wn S.m.1077	337-346
Anon., <i>Exercitium musicum</i> , 'XX.Allemande'-'XXII.Sarabande'	347-348
J. Kessel, <i>Fünff Stimmige Symphonien</i> , suite II	349-353
Anon., 'Sonata', S-Uu Instr. mus. i hs. 11:10	354-362
J. C. Pez, 'Sonata 6', F-Pn 4°Vm 848 (1-3)	363-377
J. S. Cousser, <i>La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio</i> , Ouverture I, 'Chaconne'	378-380
<i>Bibliography</i>	381

INDEX PICTURARUM

li	Inventarium, ThStA Rudolstadt, Geheimes Archiv B VII 4c Nr.2	2
lii	Hieronymous Janssens, 'Bal sur la terrasse d'un palais'	6
liii	H. Hake, <i>Ander Theil Newer Pavanen</i> , Sonaten, 'register'	12-13
liv	Manuscript CZ-KRa A 4826	21
lv	M. Mersenne, <i>Harmonie universelle</i> , 'Proposition XXV'	27
2i	J. Pezel, <i>Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung</i> , dedication	39
2ii	C. H. Abel, <i>Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen</i> , '51.Sonata Battaglia'	59
2iii	C. H. Abel, <i>Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen</i> , '6.Præludium', 'Sonatina'	62
3i	J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> , i, preface	71
3ii	Pezel, <i>Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung</i> , '11.Intrada'	84
4i	Manuscript D-Kl 2 ^o MS mus.61d ²	109
6i	J-B. Lully, <i>Bellerophon</i> , 'Ouverture'	166
6ii	J-B. Lully, <i>Amadis, tragedie en musique</i> , 'Chaconne'	167
7i	J. H. Schmelzer, 'Sonata Con Ariæ', autograph title	222
8i	J-B. Lully, <i>Proserpine</i> , 'Ritournelle pour Mercure pendant qu'il vole'	253
9i	J. C. Pez, 'Intrada a 2.Hautbouas...!', 'Intrada'	278
9ii	J. Kuhnau, <i>Neüer Clavier Übung Andrer Theil</i> , allemande and courante	279

INDEX EXEMPLORUM MUSICORUM

1a	Anonymous manuscript S-Uu Ihre 281-2, '38.Ballet' and '39.Ballet'	7
1b	Anon., 'Ballet Royal du Dereglement', (F-Pn Rés. F 499) <i>ouverture</i>	16
1c	'Ballet von Zusammenkunft...', 'Actus 2. Jupiter', '2.Entree' and 'Suite'	17
1d	J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> , ii, 'II.Ballet de Coloumbe', '7.Intrada'	18
1e	Three versions of 'La Duchesse'	20
1f	G. Muffat, 1682 <i>Armonico tributo</i> , first sonata, <i>Grave</i>	23
1g	C. Rosiers, <i>Pieces choisies a la maniere Italienne</i> , Sonata III, 'Allemanda'	24
1h	M. Cazzati, <i>Correnti balletti galiarde a3 è 4</i> . 'La Guastallesa à3'	27
1j	J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> , ii, '19.Courante'	29-30
1k	P. H. Erlebach, <i>VI. Sonate</i> , 'Courante'; <i>VI. Overtures</i> , '2.Air Courante'	31
1l	'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten' 'Actus 7. Luna'	33
2a	H. Kradenthaller, <i>Deliciarum musicalium Erster Theil</i> , '1.Sonatina'	41
2b	P. Peuerl <i>Neue Padouan, Intrada, Däntz und Galliarda</i> , movement openings	47
2c	J. W. Furchheim, <i>Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung</i> , 'Ballo', 'Courant. 2.', 'Sarabande'	49
2d	D. Speer, <i>Musicalisch-Türckischer Eulen-Spiegel</i> , movement openings	51-52
2e	Manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.11:23, sarabande	53
2f	'Praeludium a4, Allemand a5, Courant a5, Saraband a5, Chique a5...', gigue	60-61
2g	E. Reusner, <i>Musicalische Gesellschafts</i> , '9.Courant'	64
2h	J. W. Furchheim, <i>Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung Mit 5. instrumenten</i> , 'Præludium'	65
3a	J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> vi, '10.Ballo'	72-73
3b	J. Pezel, <i>Musica vespertina Lipsica</i> , '9.Prælude'	74
3c	J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> i, '16.Sarabande'	76
3d	Movement linking in J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> iii	78
3e	Sarabandes in: J. Pezel, <i>Musicalische Gemüths</i> , J. Rosenmüller, <i>Sonata da camera</i>	81
3f	F. E. Niedt, <i>Handleitung zur Variation</i>	88
3g	J. Theile, 'Sonata à 4 viol di Jos: Theil'	89-90

3h	D. Becker, <i>Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte</i> , '5.Sonata à4' and '6.Allmand à4'	93
3j	D. Becker, 'Sonata à3 Violini con Fagotto'	95
3k	D. Becker, 'Sonata à4 2 Violini & due Violad.', allemande	96
3l	Movement linking in Becker, 'Sonata à 3 Violini con Fagotto D:Becker'	97
3m	D. Becker, 'Sonata à4 2 Violini & due Violad.', sarabande	99
3n	J. A. Reincken, <i>Hortus musicus</i> , third suite	99-100
3p	J. A. Reincken, <i>Hortus musicus</i> 'Sonata 11 ^{ma} .'	101
4a	'Bransles à4 del Sigr: David Pohlen ex G ^h ', 'Simple'	117
4b	E. Reusner arr. Stanley, <i>Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung</i> , 'Ballo.41' and 'Ballo.42'	121
4c	G. Bleyer <i>Lüst-Music ander Theil</i> , '1.Gavotte'	122
4d	G. W. Druckenmüller, <i>Musicalisches Tafel-Confect</i> , 'Partie IV', '1.Brandle'	127
4e	G. W. Druckenmüller, <i>Musicalisches Tafel-Confect</i> , 'Partie V', '1.Allem[ande]'	128
5a	J. S. Cousser, <i>Composition de musique</i> , 'Prelude à 2.Dessus'	144
5b	P. H. Erlebach, <i>VI. Overtures</i> , trios in '5.Air la Plainte' and 'Overture [VI]'	145
5c	B. A. Aufschnaiter, <i>Concors discordia</i> , 'Overture[III]'	147
5d	'Overture a Hautbois 1 ^{mo} . et 2 ^{do} . Taille Basson', 'Overture'	151
5e	J. C. Pez, 'ouvert. del Sigr Petz... in D', 'Overture Cio VVni. Oboe Vla. e Basso...'	152
5f	Manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:7, '30.Chaconne'	153-154
5g	Anon, 'la 2e. Suite', 'Gigue'	155
5h	J. S. Cousser: <i>Erindo, Oder Die Unstrafliche Liebe</i>	156
5j	J. S. Cousser: the openings of the movements from <i>Julia</i>	157
6a	J-B. Lully, <i>Roland</i> (LWV 65) <i>overture</i>	165
6b	G. Muffat, <i>Florilegium II</i> , <i>overture</i> to the final suite, opening bars	165
6c	G. Muffat, <i>Florilegium I</i> , '39.Chaconne'	168
6d	P. H. Erlebach, 'Overture I'; J. S. Cousser, 'Overture I ^{er} .'	172
6e	P. H. Erlebach, 'Overture VI', opening bars	172
6f	P. H. Erlebach, <i>VI Overtures</i> , fourth suite, '7.Air Gavotte'	173

6g	J. Fischer, <i>Tafel-Musik</i> , '10.Ouverture'	176
6h	J. Fischer, <i>Tafel-Musik</i> , '5.Menuet, qui se joue alternativement avec le suivant'	177
6j	J. Fischer, 'Ouverture à 4 Ex C \flat ...' 'Gique Anglozice'	178
6k	Balletti ad duos Choros: Authore D: Joanne Fischer, 'Intrada'	179
6l	G. Muffat, <i>Armonico tributo</i> , fifth sonata, 'Passacaglia', <i>grand couplet</i>	181
6m	J. C. F. Fischer, <i>Le journal du printemps</i> , second suite, 'Ouverture'	185
6n	J. A. S., <i>Zodiaci musici</i> (Augsburg, 1698), fourth suite, 'Allemande'	186
6p	B. A. Aufschneider, <i>Concors discordia</i> , third suite, 'Fantasia'	187
6q	Manuscript D-DS Mus.MS 1221, first suite, 'Ouverture'	190
6r	D-DS Mus.MS 1221, 'Allemande'; <i>Pieces pour le violon</i> , 'Allemande...'	191
6s	D-DS Mus.MS 1227, fourth suite, 'Allemande'	193
6t	M. d'Ardespin, ballet music for <i>L'Eraclio</i> , 'Sinfonia'	195
6u	Manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:13, 'Final'	196
7a	'Aria di S:M: Cæsarea', 'Intrada'	202
7b	'Ariæ ad ingressum suæ Maiestatis et egressum', 'Retirada'	205
7c	J. H. Schmelzer, 'Der Ninfen Ballet', 'Allemande'	206
7d	'Ballete De S. Mayeste Imperiale'; 'Di S. M. C. Leopoldo...', 'Allemande: 30 ^a '	208
7e	'Ariæ ad ingressum suæ Maiestatis et egressum', 'Intrada'	209
7f	J. Hoffer, 'Parti à. 4. Samt getantz worden...', 'Minuett'	211
7g	A. Poglietti, 'Ballets à 5. d. Al: de Pogl.', 'Branle'	216
7h	J. H. Schmelzer, 'Monstri Ballett... den 16. Febr. 1665', 'Retirada'	220
7j	J. H. Schmelzer, 'Folgt das Lamentierliche auß leuthen...', 'Campanelle'	223
7k	A. A. Schmelzer, 'Balletto von gartnerinnen...', 'Intrada N ^o 193'	225
7l	J. Pachelbel, 'Partie a 4', 'Finale'	227
8a	J-B. Lully, <i>Le Temple de la Paix</i> , editions by Pointel and Ballard, <i>ouverture</i>	232

8b	L. Knöp, <i>Ander Theil Newer Galliarden</i> , 'I.Paduana' and 'II.Galliard'	236-237
8c	L. Knöp, <i>Ander Theil Newer Galliarden</i> , 'X.Courante' & 'XII.Courante'	238
8d	J. Kessel, <i>Fünff Stimmige Symphonien</i> , '15.Courant' and '16.Ballett'	245
8e	D. Becker, <i>Sonaten und Suiten</i> , 'XLI.Allmandt', and Ms 281-3 '41'	247
8f	D. Becker, <i>Sonaten und Suiten</i> , 'II. Allmandt'	248
8g	J. H. Schmelzer, 'Treza 97 ^a '; J. Pezel, <i>Bicinia variorum</i> '28.Treza'	250
8h	Anonymous manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus. i hs.11:10., 'Allemanda'	252
8j	J. Gumprecht, 'Sarabande' in J.E. Rieck, <i>Neuer Allemanden</i>	254
8k	C. Rosiers, <i>Pieces choisies, a la maniere Italienne</i> , 'Sonata XII'	255
8l	J. C. Pez, 'Pez 17', 'Ouverture XI'	258
8m	J. C. Pez, <i>Sonata da camera a tre</i> , 'Adagio 14' and 'Adagio 26'	259
8n	P. H. Erlebach, <i>VI.Sonate</i> , 'Sonata prima'	261
8p	P. H. Erlebach, <i>VI.Sonate</i> , 'Sonata seconda', 'Courante'	262
8q	J. F. Meister, <i>Il giardino del piacere</i> , 'La Musica Ottava'	263
9a	J. J. Fux: <i>Concentus musico-instrumentalis</i> , 'Serenada à 8.', 'Intrada'	271
9b	J. J. Fux, <i>Concentus musico-instrumentalis</i> , 'Aire francoise'-'Aria Italiana'	272
9c	J. S. Cousser: <i>Apollon enjouié</i> , fourth suite, 'Chaconne'	275
9d	J. S. Cousser: <i>Apollon enjouié</i> , fourth suite, 'Chaconne', bars 89ff	276
9e	'Intrada. à 2 Violin. 1 Viol. è Cont: di J. C. Pez', 'Intrada'	277
9f	J. C. Pez, 'Pez 11', 'Aria'	277

INDEX TABULARUM

1.1	Strain analysis of movements entitled 'Ballet' in <i>Exercitium musicum</i>	8
1.2	Organisation of movements in J. Besard, <i>Thesaurus harmonicus</i>	10
1.3	Movements from the first part of 'Ballet Royal du Dereglement des Passions'	15
2.1	Allemandes, sarabandes and gigues as opening and closing movements	44
2.2a	Apparent suite organisation in B. C. Wust (comp.), <i>Continuatio exercitii musici</i>	56
2.2b	Apparent suite organisation in B. C. Wust, <i>Continuatio exercitii musici secunda</i>	57
3.1	Possible suite groupings in J. C. Horn, <i>Parergon musicum</i> , vi	77
3.2	J. Rosenmüller, <i>Sonata da camera</i> in part-book and index orderings	80
3.3	Contents of J. Pezel, <i>Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung</i>	82
3.4	Details of sinfonias in J. Rosenmüller's <i>Sonata da camera</i>	83
3.5	Contents of selected suites in J. Pezel, <i>Delitiae Musicales, oder Lust-Music</i>	84
3.6	Contents of D. Becker, <i>Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte</i>	91
3.7	Contents of the suites by D. Becker in manuscript D-Hs M B/2463	94
4.1	Selected contents of manuscripts D-Kl 2° MS mus.fol.61	110-112
4.2	Concordances between S-Uu Instr.mus.hs 409 and D-Kl 2° MS mus.fol.61	113
4.3	Suites that start with an allemande in A. Drese, <i>Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden</i>	125
4.4	Partyen I-VII in G. W. Druckenmüller, <i>Musicalisches Tafel-Confect</i>	127
5.1	Five manuscript sources containing music by J-B. Lully	135-136
5.2	Movements, and their keys, in <i>Ouwe[r]ture du Triomphe de l'amour</i>	138
5.3	Selected movements from manuscript SV-X Mus.MS 6	139
5.4	Excerpts from R. Keiser, <i>Hercules und Hebe</i> in S-VX Mus.MS 6	140
5.5	Movements in 'Cinquieme Partie' in A-Wn Suppl. mus. 1813	140
5.6	Movement details in anonymous manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:7	142
5.7	Concordances between <i>Julia</i> and <i>La cicala della cetra</i> (Stuttgart, 1700)	157
6.1	Contents of the six suites in J. S. Cousser, <i>Composition de musique</i>	163
6.2	P. H. Erlebach, <i>VI Ouvertures</i> . Dance movements	171

6.3	Contents of J. Fischer, <i>Tafel-Musik</i> and <i>Musicalische Fürsten - Lust</i>	175
6.4	Contents of the seven suites in G. Muffat, <i>Florilegium primum</i>	183
6.5	Contents of the 'Suittes mise en partition par Mr. Barre à Hanover. 1689'	189
6.6	Contents of the suites 'Mise en partition à Hanover 1689. Par Mr. Babel'	192
7.1	Opening movements of the <i>balletti</i> in (A-Wn Mus.Hs.16 583[I])	203
7.2	Suites by Poglietti in CZ-KRa that contain branles	214
7.3	Contents of the suites in J. Hoffer, 'Parti à.4'	219
7.4	Movements and keys in two <i>balletti</i> by J. H. Schmelzer	219
7.5	Keys in J. H. Schmelzer, <i>Sacro-profanus concentus musicus</i> , 'Sonata II a otto'	221
7.6	Contents of A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 808	227
8.1	J. C. Seyfrid <i>Erster Theil neuer Balletten, Allemanten, Arien, Couranten und Sarabanden</i>	234-235
8.2	Possible suite groupings in N. B. N. (comp.), <i>Exercitium musicum</i>	239
8.3	English music in <i>Exercitium musicum</i>	241
8.4	Suite collections in manuscript GB-Lbl Add.MS 31438	242
8.5	Possible suite groupings in manuscript S-Uu Ihre 281-3	243
9.1	Contents of J. J. Fux, <i>Concentus musico-instrumentalis</i>	269
9.2	The contents of 'N.1. Seranada à 8' in Fux, <i>Concentus musico-instrumentalis</i>	270
9.3	Contents of J. S. Cousser, <i>La cicala della cetra d'eunomio</i>	273

ABBREVIATIONS

AMA V/I	<i>Caroli de Liechtenstein Castelvorno episcopi Olumucensis operum artis musicae collectio Crem-sirii reservata i</i>
AMA V/I	<i>Caroli de Liechtenstein Castelvorno episcopi Olumucensis operum artis musicae collectio Crem-sirii reservata ii</i>
BuxWV	<i>Buxtehude-Werke-Verzeichnis</i>
EM	<i>Early Music</i>
LWV	<i>Chronologisch-thematisches Verzeichnis sämtlicher Werke von Jean-Baptiste Lully</i>
RISM A/II	International Inventory of Musical Sources after 1600
TWV	<i>Georg Philipp Telemann Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke</i>

LIBRARY SIGLA

A-Wn	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
B-Br	Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I ^{er} .
CZ-KRa	Kroměříž, Archibiskupský zámek. hudeni sbirka
D-B	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz
D-HRD	Arnsberg-Herdringen. Schlossbibliothek
D-Dl	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek
D-DS	Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek
D-Hs	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitäts-Bibliothek Hamburg Carl Von Ossietzky
D-JE	Jever, Marien-Gymnasium
D-Kl	Kassel, Landesbibliothek und Murhardsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel
D-LEm	Leipzig, Städtische Bibliotheken
D-OB	Ottobeuren, Benediktiner-Abtei, Bibliothek
D-ROu	Rostock, Universität Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek
D-SWs	Schwerin, Stadtbibliothek
D-SÜN	Sünching, Schloss
D-WD	Wiesentheid, Musiksammlung des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid
D-W	Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek
F-Pn	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
GB-DRc	Durham, Cathedral Library
GB-Lbl	London, British Library
GB-Ob	Oxford, Bodleian
PL-Kj	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellonska
S-Uu	Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket
S-VX	Växjö, Lansbiblioteket i Växjö

Note:

Library sigla are those given in RISM A/II.

Preface

It is likely that most of the composers considered in this dissertation would have thought of themselves as being German, even if they were nominal citizens of the Holy Roman Empire. Even in Vienna, it is telling that the word 'German' ('Teutschen') could be used in conjunction with the Holy Roman Emperor. Leopold I's style of dancing was described in an early biography as 'a form of German leading' ('eine Art von einer Teutschen Führung').¹ But Germany was not a single entity: rather, it was a number of autonomous individual states and principalities of varying sizes.

The area that these states covered had shrunk as a result of the Thirty Years War: Sweden enjoyed considerable territorial gains along the Baltic and North Sea coasts, and France reached the Rhine for the first time. The house of Habsburg also suffered at the hands of France. They were 'never able to recover the position within the [Holy Roman] empire that had been held for a short time by Ferdinand II'.² The German states were theoretically part of the Holy Roman Empire and its legislative framework, but especially after the ending of the Thirty Years War in 1648, they became increasingly independent. In fact, the Empire after 1648 was 'a political power only in a passive sense'.³ For the purposes of this dissertation, we can describe the German lands in a geographical sense as stretching from the Baltic and North Sea coasts in the north to the Bavarian lands of the ruling Wittelsbach family in the south, and from the borders of the Spanish Netherlands in the west to the Archduchy of Austria and the Kingdom of Bohemia in the east.⁴ France made further inroads into German territory when it formally annexed the ten imperial cities of Alsace, including Strasbourg, in 1681.

Any comprehensive study of the suite throughout this entire area would require greater length than this dissertation permits: with one exception, I have regretfully excluded the Austrian suite. The exception is the imperial court in Vienna. The rivalry between Leopold I and Louis XIV, the two great absolutist rulers of the time, had profound consequences for the German lands. In addition, Leopold I was one of the most musically aware rulers of this time. If a major part of this study will be spent in considering the influence of music from the court of Louis XIV, it is fitting that we should also consider the development of the suite at the imperial court. Likewise, little mention has been made of the lute suite, which surely demands a

study of its own, and it is to be hoped that such a study will be forthcoming before too long.

I have used the term 'consort' to denote ensembles of two or more instruments in addition to the continuo. Works for single instrument and continuo have been excluded. I have also excluded viol consorts of the type by Johann Michael Nicolai 'a 3 viol da gamba' (manuscript GB-DRc MS Mus.D 10). These suites for viols alone are a different genre from the other types of consort suite considered here, and would benefit from study elsewhere.

It is my intention to consider the suite in terms of a complete, self-contained entity. Any study of all the individual movement types that appear in the German suite would result in excessive length. However, there are times when the development of individual movement types, such as the Lullian *ouverture*, has also played a part in the development of the suite as a whole. Here, these movement types will be given full consideration.

Seventeenth-century German music is beset with problems of movement nomenclature and inconsistency of spelling. Spelling of movement titles can differ within the same manuscript part and, just as frequently, within a set of printed parts. For example, in many of the trio suites by Johann Christoph Pez, a movement named 'bourée' in one source becomes a 'gavotte' in another. I have not attempted to impose standardisation where none has previously existed, and I have retained the original spellings of all quoted movement names or titles. Original spellings and accents have been retained for all textual quotations, even where there are errors or inconsistencies. Confusion can also easily arise between ballet, ballett, ballo and balletto. These terms are used generically to describe complete suites, and also to describe individual movements, but without any sort of consistency. For clarity, I shall use 'ballet' to denote music that was danced on stage, the italicised *ballett* and *ballo* for individual dances. Likewise, *balletto* and *balletti* are used to denote the singular and plural of the Viennese suite. Primary sources often fail to distinguish between 'courante' and 'corrente': I have used courante as a generic term throughout. I have modernised the seventeenth-century convention of using a 'v' as a 'u'. The terms *à4* and *à5* have been used to denote four- and five-part ensembles. I have used *ouverture* throughout: it is the one spelling that seems to bring a degree of consistency.

The musical examples within the text and in Appendix II attempt to reproduce their sources as closely as possible: they are not intended to be examples of modern critical editing. Obvious printing and scribal errors have been corrected without comment, but reconstructed material has been presented on small staves or with cue-sized notes. For clarity, I have used modern bar lines throughout, even when they do not appear in the sources. In both printed and manuscript sources, the use of ties, particularly at the end of dance movement strains, is often inconsistent: such inconsistencies have been allowed to stand. Where editorial ties have been added, they are identified by a vertical line through the tie. Where dots, rather than tied notes, have been used to extend the value of a note across the bar line, they have been reproduced in the examples. Clefs have been changed to reflect modern usage, but all clef changes are shown as incipits at the start of each movement. Articulation and dynamic markings are

shown as they appear in the sources, but bass line figures have been placed under the notes to which they refer. In most cases, accidentals only apply to the note that immediately follows, and sharps are frequently used for the same purpose as the present-day natural. Flats may also be used to cancel sharps. Where natural signs are used in the sources, they are reproduced in the examples.

In some sources, lines are drawn to indicate first and second time bars, and these are also reproduced in the examples. In triple-time movements, black note heads are sometimes used without stems, and are usually referred to as 'colourations' by modern scholars.⁵ They appear to indicate hemiolas, though their use is often inconsistent.⁶

There is considerable scholarly disagreement over the use and influence of modes in the seventeenth century.⁷ Solely for identification, I have employed the terms of modern tonality in all discussions of key and relationships between keys. Where it has been necessary in the text to differentiate between notes of different pitches, I have used the system where c' is the middle of the modern piano keyboard, c" is the octave above, and c the octave below.

For clear identification of manuscripts, I had originally intended to use RISM A/II numberings wherever possible. Unfortunately, the RISM A/II database has often proved to be inaccurate. Therefore, I have only used RISM A/II references where they are required to illustrate a specific point.

Throughout this dissertation, the principal discussions will be those dealing with organisation, instrumentation, origin, genre and national style. I shall also discuss whether suites, and movement types, were intended for performance as dance music, or as instrumental music. One question of instrumentation applies to nearly all the types of suite discussed here, and it is appropriate to address this now. Were the viola parts of *à4* and *à5* ensembles, especially the lower ones, played by viols or by members of the violin family? It has been suggested that viols made a 'frequent appearance in the scoring of the new Lutheran church music ... Ensembles consisting of three viols with two violins superimposed were common'.⁸ In Buxtehude's church music, there are examples where he 'uses viole da gamba for the middle parts in a five-part mixed ensemble'.⁹ Certainly, viols were specified in some suites although this was often a case of the viola da gamba doubling the bass line, or playing an elaborated version of it. On the other hand, Alessandro Poglietti, a Viennese court organist, wrote *à5* suites where a viola da gamba is required to play an inner part, rather than the bass, while an ensemble of two violins, three viola da gambas and continuo is specifically required for a single suite in Dietrich Becker's 1668 *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*. But elsewhere in Becker's collection, the viola da braccio is specifically required for the inner parts. It is one of many collections that ask for the viola da braccio, but many inner parts are simply labelled viola and there is little clue as to the real identity of these instruments. In the end, the use of viola da braccio seems to have been widespread, but we should not ignore the possibility that many viola parts were played by the instruments that happened to be available.

Notes:

1. [E. G. Rinck], *Leopolds des Grossen Röm. Käysers wunderwürdiges Leben und Thaten*, 4 vols. (Leipzig, 1709), i, 94.
2. R. Vierhaus, trans. J. Knudsen, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1988 repr. 1991), 10.
3. *Ibid.*, 10.
4. See W. R. Shepherd, *Shepherd's Historical Atlas* (ninth edition, New York, 1964), 123
5. See M. B. Collins, 'The performance of Coloration, Sesquialtera, and Hemiola (1450-1750)', Ph.D. diss. (Stanford University, 1963).
6. For example, see the close of '14.Courante' in Appendix II, 303.
7. For a discussion of modern writings on modes, see M. G. Vaillancourt, 'Instrumental ensemble music at the court of Leopold 1 (1658-1705)', Ph.D. diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1991), 103-161.
8. L. Robinson, 'Viol, Germany and the Low Countries from c. 1600' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxvi, 679-683.
9. K. J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude, organist in Lübeck* (New York, 1987), 368.

'Very noble it was, and a great pleasure to see'

Defining the Suite

It is not an exaggeration to say that the suite has often been regarded as something of a poor relation to the sonata. This seems to have been the case even at the start of the eighteenth century. Philipp Heinrich Erlebach's manuscript inventory of music and instruments at the court of Rudolstadt lists sonatas by instrumental groupings, whereas most of the suites in the inventory are thrown together as '47 Partien'. (Illustration 1i reproduces the relevant page of the *Inventarium*, ThStA Rudolstadt, Geheimes Archiv B VII 4c Nr.2.) Likewise, the 'Distinta Specificatione. Dell Archivio Musicale per il Servizio della Cappella, e Camera Cesaiea Prima', an inventory of music at the court of Leopold I in Vienna, lists different categories of sonatas; suites are barely mentioned (A-Wn S.m.2451).

There were exceptions: under the heading 'Balletti', the 1695 inventory of the music assembled for Bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno at Kroměříž contains a separate and detailed list of the suites in the collection.¹ But early twentieth-century German scholarship continued to elevate the sonata at the expense of the suite. Karl Nef wrote in 1921:

The clearest signs of this departure from the dance, and the search for a new higher form, come from Rosenmüller, who in 1682 (in Braunschweig) publishes no more suites, but "Sonate à 2,3,4, et 5 Stromenti" compiled from varied and free movements.²

Nef achieved a great deal in his research into the history of the suite, but, following his lead, the concept of the sonata as a higher form persisted throughout most of the century. Friederich Noack described the sonata as being 'a free and new creation, the highest aspiration in artistic circles'.³ The suite was merely 'a new genre of secular music'.⁴ In addition, the so-called 'classical order' was imposed upon the suite, presumably in an attempt to give it a readily identifiable sonata-like hierarchy and structure. This 'classical order' imposed a uniform framework on the suite in the form of specific dances placed in a specific order. Thus, every example of the genre could then be judged in terms of its relationship to this order. Tobias Norlind had already moved towards this in his 1906 *Zur Geschichte der Suite* when he identified the allemande, courante and sarabande as 'principal dances' ('Haupttänze').⁵ This line of argument persisted throughout the twentieth century, and David Fuller's article on the suite in the 1980 edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* defined the so-called 'classical suite' as:

Illustration li:

Inventarium, ThStA Rudolstadt, Geheimes Archiv B VII 4c Nr.2.

Allsland Teutsche Opern, wie auch
Italiänische u. Teutsche Ariën.

SONATEN:

8. Sonata, à Violino Solo.

27. Sonata, à 2 Stromenti.

56. Sonata, à 3 Stromenti.

32. Sonata, à 4 Stromenti.

90. Sonata, à 5 Stromenti.

58. Sonata, à 6 Stromenti.

10 Bücher in weis Papier gefasst, worinnen unter
andere Sonaten und Partien geschrieben.

34 Sonata, à 7. 8. 9. 10 &c: Stromenti

47. Partien

Bedriechte Sachsen:

Frankösishe Operen. in französischer Sprache geschrieben und
aus dem Dänischen übersezt, welche der
Hochwürdig. Graf. Hr. Ludwig Friedrich
Johann von Sachsen aufgesetzt worden. ald:

- (1) Achil et Polix.
- 2) Persee.



a historical fact but not a taxonomic necessity, and it need not be defined narrowly. It is understood to be a group in one key containing allemande, courante, sarabande and gigue in that order.⁶

Despite his stricture that 'it need not be defined narrowly', Fuller used the concept of a classical order as a means of comparison throughout the section of the article that deals with the seventeenth-century suite. A similar, but less dogmatic, approach was adopted by Paul Whitehead in his 1996 PhD dissertation.⁷ He identified the allemande, courante, sarabande, gigue sequence as a 'pan-German phenomenon', but qualified this by suggesting that:

Particular dance groupings need to be viewed within the context of a diffuse and pluralistic repertoire that expressed itself in kaleidoscopic terms.⁸

However, this did not stop him from identifying one particular sequence of movements that did not conform to a particular pattern as being 'idiosyncratic'.⁹ More satisfactory is David J. Buch's definition of early French suites as:

A flexible hierarchy of types of movements, marked by a sense of proportion (and perhaps decorum) achieved by a somewhat loose ordering of dances of a specific meter, character and tempo.¹⁰

Later chapters will show that Buch's 'flexible hierarchy' is nearer to a true definition of the German suite than so-called classical orderings of movements. Given that certain dances, and certain groupings of dances, are found far more frequently than others, I shall argue that the internal organisation within suites, where it exists, is principally concerned with relationships between movements, and concepts of key. The ordering of suites within collections, both manuscript and printed, is just as important: a particular sequence of movements could be repeated throughout a collection, and suites could be grouped in ascending order of key. I shall demonstrate how concepts of organisation within individual suites, and within collections of suites, were subject to wide regional variation. There have also been attempts by modern scholars to create additional categories for specific areas within the suite genre. John Daverio has suggested that the term 'chamber suite' should be used for suites containing an abstract opening movement, and Paul Whitehead has used 'composite suite' for the same purpose.¹¹ However, such terminology can be misleading: 'chamber suite' has been used in a variety of contexts, most of them linked with the use of a small orchestra. Likewise, 'composite suite' has been used to describe pastiche suites with movements taken from a number of different sources.¹² The one generally accepted term in most modern scholarship is 'variation suite'. This is used in the context of a suite with thematically or harmonically linked movements, and I will use this term when appropriate to do so.

The word 'suite' itself was used extensively in court and diplomatic circles throughout the seventeenth century to denote an entourage. Its use as a generic label for a sequence of dances was limited: publishers of printed editions seem to have preferred a term such as 'parthia' or, more usually, a list of the type of movements to be found in the collection. Even when 'suite' was used generically, it was usually to denote a series of dances following an initial

abstract movement. For example, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach refers to 'VI Ouverturen nebst deren Suiten' in the preface of his 1693 *VI Ouvertures, Begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs, nach Französischer Art und Manier*, and Dietrich Becker entitled his 1674 trio collection *Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten*. There are, of course exceptions: in the manuscripts copied at the Hanover court by Babel and La Barre, (D-DS Mus.MS 1227 and Mus.MS 1221) 'suite' is used in the modern sense of including all movements, abstract and dance, within a specific sequence.

Publishers only seem to have regularly used 'suite' as a generic term after the end of the seventeenth century. Thus, Fischer's *Tafel-Musik* collection of 1702 was issued as *Tafel-Musik Bestehend In Verschiedenen Ouverturen, Chaconnen, lustigen Suiten, auch einem Anhang von Polnischen Däntzen à 4. & 3. Instrumentis*. But in the catalogues issued by Roger, the Amsterdam publisher, two entries are often given for suite publications: one describes the pieces as 'suinte' and the other as 'sonata da camera'.¹³ Indeed, Roger seems to have preferred the latter term for some of his suite publications. His edition of Pez's op. 2 trio suites was published as *Sonate da camera a tre, Due flauti et basso del signore Christophoro Pez opera seconda*. This may be Roger's attempt to give his editions a universal appeal, but it still demonstrates a link between suite and sonata da camera. In his 1703 dictionary, de Brossard similarly equates the two titles:

The second type concerns sonatas that are called 'da Camera', that is to say, suitable for the chamber. These are really suites of several short pieces suitable for dancing, and are composed in the same mode or key.

Le second genre comprend les *Sonates* qu'ils appellent *da Camera*, c'est à dire, propres pour la Chambre. Ce sont proprement des suites de plusieurs petites pieces propres à faire danser, & composées sur le même Mode ou Ton.¹⁴

But very few manuscripts or printed editions in Germany used the term 'sonata da camera'. Indeed, its use in Johann Rosenmüller's 1667 *Sonata da Camera cioe Sinfonie* is entirely the result of the collection being published in Venice rather than Germany: had the collection been published in Germany, the title page would probably have avoided a generic term, and limited itself to the usual list of movement types.¹⁵ To give another example, the Frankfurt am Main publisher, Balthasar Christoph Wust, issued a collection of suites in the previous year with the following title: *Continuatio Exercitii Musici, Bestehend in außerlesenen Allemanden, Balletten, Gavotten, Giquen, Couranten und Sarabanden, Welche theils von den besten Violisten dieser Zeit mit Discant und Baß gesetzt*. A German edition of Rosenmüller's collection would surely have been described in a similar way. However, while 'suite' may not have been used regularly until the end of the seventeenth century, there is evidence for its occasional use as a collective term at an earlier time. The French dancing master, de Lauze, used 'suite' in conjunction with the branle sequence in his 1623 *Apologie de la Danse et la Parfaicte Methode de L'enseigner tant aux Cavaliers quaux Dames*:

As regards the last variation of steps in the suite of branles, they are done to the last two couplets of the last of these.

Pour la dernière diversité des pas de la suite des bransles, ils se font sur les deux derniers couplets du dernier d'iceux.¹⁶

As well as the occasional use as a collective term, 'suite' or *en suite* was sometimes added to the title of individual movements, especially courantes. This happened in both manuscript and printed editions. What was the precise meaning of suite when used in this way? The answer appears to come from the way in which dances such as the courante were often performed. The courante, along with the branle sequence, was closely associated with France and French royalty. Indeed, it appears the courante was the favourite dance of Louis XIV himself. Pepys describes how a courante was danced at the English court of Charles II on 31st December 1662:

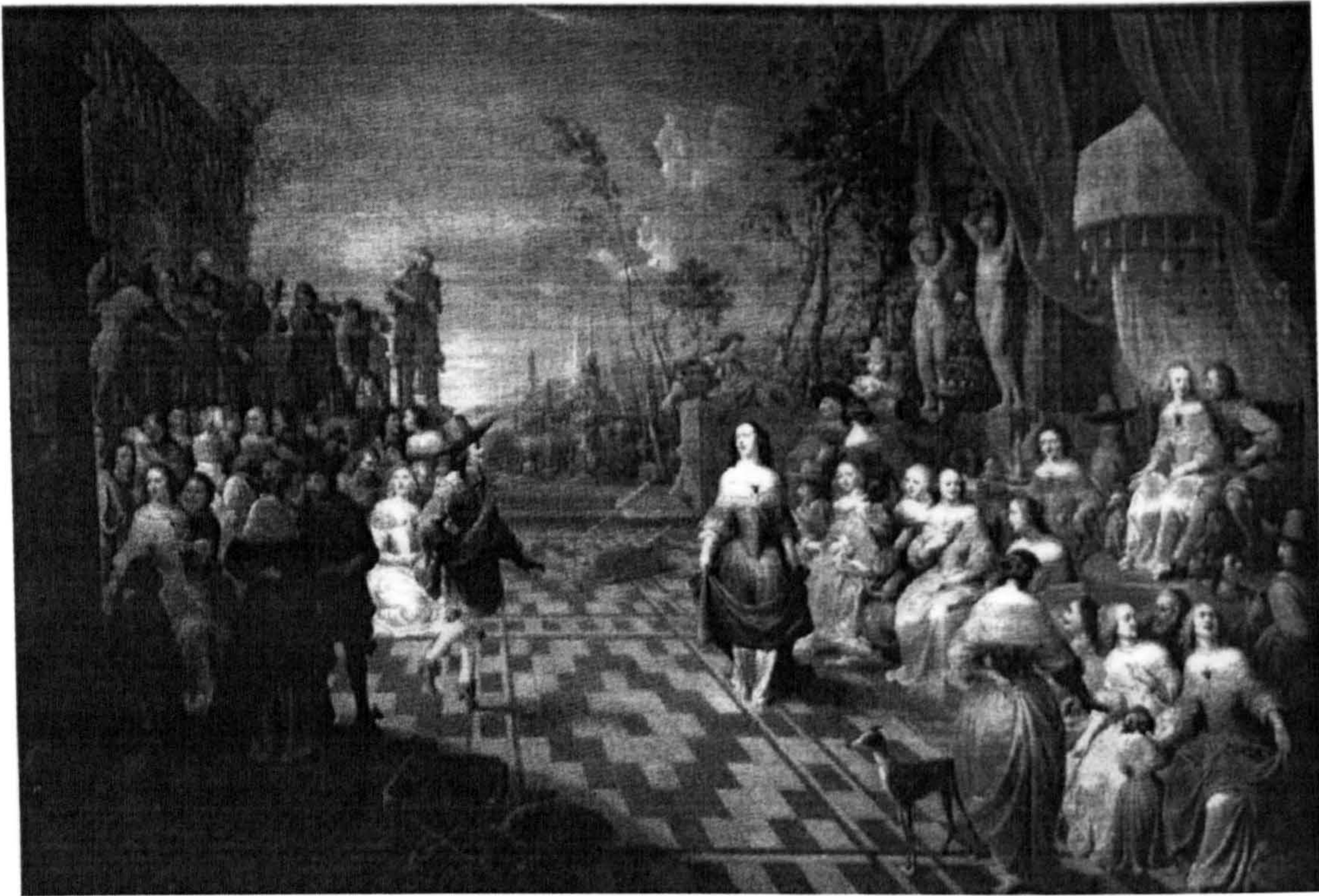
After that, the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the Lords, one after another, other ladies. Very noble it was, and a great pleasure to see.¹⁷

Charles' court was probably no different from many others in Germany in the way that it followed French fashion, and there is every reason to think that the courante was probably danced in this way throughout much of Europe. Indeed, a painting of 1658 by Hieronymus Janssens (sometimes known as 'le Danseur') appears to show exactly the same process: a single couple are dancing, and a further series of couples wait at the side, (the lower left hand corner of the painting) presumably to take their turn. The painting is reproduced in Illustration Iii. If a number of couples were taking part in a dance in this way, a large amount of music would have been required. Clearly, each strain of a dance would need to be repeated a large number of times, and more than one piece of music would be required if endless repetition were to be avoided. It is also possible that the musicians did not know in advance the number of people taking part, and that extra movements were grouped together as a defence mechanism to ensure that enough music was available, whatever the circumstances.¹⁸ It is reasonable to conclude that the term *en suite* applies to groups of dance movements gathered together in this way; given the style of social dancing described above, it is not surprising that more courantes seem to have been brought together *en suite* than any other type of dance.

It is not clear if such groups of dances were performed with or without a break between the individual movements, but the fact that all *en suite* movements were always in the same key seems to indicate that there was not. As we shall see in the following chapters, the Kassel manuscripts D-Kl 2^o MS mus.fol.61 (hereafter fol.61), Wust's 1660 printed collection *Exercitium musicum*, and the tablature manuscript of French-style music copied in Stockholm (S-Uu Instr. mus.hs 409) all contain such courante sequences. An example of different types of dances being played *en suite* can be found in the Dresden 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten', which will be discussed later in this chapter. In the end, it is clear that the reason for joining movements in this way seems to have had little to do with any musical construction: the joining together was primarily to fulfil the requirements of the dance.

Illustration iii:

Hieronymous Janssens, 'Bal sur la terrasse d'un palais' (Le palais des Beaux-Arts de Lille).



Ballett, *balletto* and *balletti* were all used at various times, and in various places, as generic terms for the suite. As we shall see in Chapter 7, *balletto* and *balletti* were particularly used in this way in Vienna. *Ballett* was also widely used, not as a term for a complete suite, but, seemingly, as a label for individual movements. However, there appears to be little consistency within these movements. *Ballett* movements always seem to be in duple-time, lively, and with a crotchet pulse. But there, any similarity ends. Example 1a shows two consecutive *ballett* movements from the trio manuscript S-Uu Ihre 281-2. Ihre 281-2 has a broadly similar repertoire to *Exercitium musicum*, and it probably comes from a similar time. The bass part has not survived, but I have provided a reconstruction. Both movements carry the same title and both are in duple time, but there, any structural similarity ends. *Exercitium musicum* itself contains a number of *balletts*, and it is not surprising to find that two quite different varieties of the movement are included within this heading. Table 1.1 provides details. But in fol.61, it would seem that 'ballet' was used as a term for music having a direct association with dance music from dramatic works.¹⁹ As we shall see later in this chapter, Luder Knöp also used the Italian version of the term, *ballo*, seemingly to describe much the same thing. In Italy itself, Maurizio Cazzati used the term collectively as well as for specific movements. His *Correnti balletti galiarde a3 è 4*, originally published some time before 1651, not only contains individual movements entitled 'balletto', but a sequence of movements all marked 'del balletto'.²⁰

In his dictionary, de Brossard considered the 'Balletto veut dire Ballet' to be 'a type of dance, starting with a quaver upbeat' ('une espece de dance dont l'air commence par une

Example 1a:

Anonymous manuscript S-Uu Ihre 281-2, '38.Ballet' and '39.Ballet'.

38.Ballet

[Cantus I]
[Cantus II]
[Bassus Continuus]

39.Ballet

[Cantus I]
[Cantus II]
[Bassus Continuus]

Croche en levant').²¹ However, even this fairly loose definition cannot be considered to be completely reliable: for example, it does not agree with '39.Ballet' from Example 1a. In modern times, Richard Hudson also considered the *balletto* to be a specific dance, but lamented a 'lack of... uniformity'.²² Certainly, it seems that *ballett* or *balletto* was always associated with duple-time movements, particularly in the second half of the century, and I have been unable to find a single triple-time example from this period. However, Hudson suggests that, before 1660,

Table 1.1:Strain analysis of movements entitled 'Ballet' in *Exercitium musicum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1660).

Movement title	Time signature	Upbeat to each strain	Number of bars in first strain	Number of bars in second strain
XVII. Ballett	♩	♪	6	6
XXIX. Ballett	♩	♪	6	6
XXXIIX. Ballett	♩	♪	4	4
LI. Ballett	♩	none	8	8
LII. Ballett	♩	none	5	5
LV. Ballett	♩	none	5	5
LVI. Ballett	♩	none	5	5
LVII. Ballett	♩	none	5	5

Note:

The second strain of 'XVII. Ballet' has an upbeat of two semiquavers.

some *balletts* contained sections that were 'occasionally triple' in metre.²³ These problems of definition suggest that many composers of dance music did not recognise, or feel bound by, conventions of genre or title.

This may have been a question of ignorance rather than anything else; it is probable that many musical traditions in Germany were lost or fragmented as a result of the Thirty Years War. Indeed, the war left the German lands in an impoverished condition that enveloped all levels of society. Although Veronica Wedgwood argued that some of this impoverishment was a result of social conditions in the earlier part of the century, she was still in no doubt after two world wars that 'never before, and possibly never since, in [Germany's] history had there been so universal a sense of irretrievable disaster, so widespread a consciousness of the horror of the period which lay behind'.²⁴ In addition, the plague returned to western and southern Germany in the 1630s. By 1650, as a result of war and pestilence, the population of Germany fell, for the first time, below that of France.²⁵ Even after the end of the Thirty Years War, the political situation was far from stable. The weakness of the Spanish branch of the Habsburg royal family gave Louis XIV the opportunity to exercise his territorial ambitions: the problem of the Spanish succession was to dominate European politics until well into the next century. In fact, it has even been argued that 'the half century which began in the later 1660s saw inter-state struggles which changed the political face of Europe more, and more lastingly, than any since the reign of the Emperor Charles V five generations earlier'.²⁶ There is no doubt that the towns were quicker to recover than the smaller courts, and, as we shall see in

Chapter 4, life at court for a musician in the 1650s and 1660s was not always easy. Delayed or unpaid salaries appear to have been a common problem, as was the constant threat of unemployment. Indeed, this problem was still apparent in the next century: in his 1719 *Musikalische Discurse durch die Principia der Philosophie deducirt*, Johann Beer complained that 'there are numerous courts which, at the least sign of stress, will lay off or reduce their staff'.²⁷

Against this background, it was perhaps inevitable that trends established at the beginning of the century were not always maintained. The first two decades had started promisingly enough with a number of major publications: Haussman, Brade, Schein, Franck, Peuerl and Praetorius were among the many who issued published collections of ensemble dance music. But collections of dance music were not just confined to ensembles. Jean-Baptiste Besard was a Burgundian lutenist working in Germany; his *Thesaurus harmonicus divini laurencini Romani* for lute was published in 1603. The collection, published by Besard himself, mostly contains music by other composers, but it clearly demonstrates the type of careful ordering that was to become a feature of German printed editions. Table 1.2 details the contents of the collection as given in the 'Index materiaram huius operis'. It shows how they were divided into ten books. Examples of clear organisation are also to be found in Paul Peuerl's 1611 *Newer Padouan, Intrada, Däntz und Galliarda*, and especially in Johann Hermann Schein's 1617 *Banchetto musicale Newer anmutiger Padouanen, Gagliarden, Courenten und Allemanden à5*. In both these collections, the clarity of organisation also extended to individual suites with dances being thematically and harmonically linked.²⁸ The collections also suggest a move away from grouping by movement type to one of grouping by key. However, this trend was not fully established until later in the century.

In terms of size, the 1612 publication of *Michael Praetorij, C. Terpsichore Musarum Aoniarum Quinta Darinnen Allerley Frantzösische Däntze und Lieder* stands ahead of anything in the seventeenth century: there are more than three hundred dance movements. The dances are in four, five and six instrumental parts. *Terpsichore* has been described as having 'loosely-constructed suites of dances'.²⁹ But these are not suites in terms of this dissertation: they are sequences of like dances such as the twelve branle movements and seven gavottes that appear at the opening of the collection. *Terpsichore* shows the types of dances that were in circulation in early seventeenth-century Germany. According to the preface, the melodies of the dances were taken from the compositions of French violinists and dancing masters, and some of the material is also found in the manuscripts that André Danican Philidor retrospectively copied at the end of the century for Louis XIV's library.³⁰ It also appears that some of the French material dates from the mid-sixteenth century. But not all the material is of French origin: there are dances of English, Italian and Spanish origin.

It is impossible to know just how much material published during the Thirty Years War has been lost, but it is reasonable to assume a decrease in the number of printed editions issued between 1630 and 1650. It is also clear that, in most of the surviving printed editions, there was a move away from the careful organisation of the first two decades of the century to more

Table 1.2:

Organisation of movements in J. Besard, *Thesaurus harmonicus divini laurencini Romani, nec non praestantissimorum musicorum* (Cologne, 1603).

Movements	Libro	Folio
Præludia, quæ continentur	primo	1
Fantasiæ	secundo	13
Madrigalia, & Villanellæ	tertio	37
Cantiones gallicæ, & AIRS de court	quarto	57
Pass' emezi	quinto	83
Galliardæ	sexto	102
Allemandes	septimo	128
Branles & Balletz	octavo	139
Voltes, & Courantes	nono	152

Note:

The tenth book is listed separately as 'containing miscellanea' ('Decimus liber continent miscellanea quædam').

disparate collections of dances and occasional suites. Georg Zuber's 1649 *Pad. Gall. Arien. Ball. Cour. Sarab. u. einer Sonate m. 5. St.* is listed in Göhler's *Messkatalogen*, but has been subsequently lost.³¹ However, it seems likely that a sequence of numbered movements headed 'Gregorius Zubern 1^{do}.|1649.|a.5' in manuscript GB-Lbl Add.MS 31438 was copied from this edition. Unfortunately, a reconstruction of the printed edition is not possible as Add.MS 31438 contains no more than a treble line. It is also impossible to tell if the copyist of the manuscript kept to Zuber's original order, but the dances do seem to be deliberately grouped by key. On the other hand, there does not appear to be any attempt to group like movements together, or to make any linked pairings of dances.

In contrast, pairings of dances are to be found among the fifty movements that make up Johann Christoph Seyfrid's 1656 trio collection *Erster Theil neuer Balletten, Allemanten, Arien, Couranten und Sarabanden*. In addition, there are two three-movement sequences of dances that seem to suggest suite groupings. The first group is in G minor, and the second in D minor:

18.Allamant / 19.Sarabanda / 20.Aria.

23.Allamant / 24.Couranta / 25.Sarabanda.

No such sequences are to be found in the second volume of *Neuer Paduanen, Baleten, Arien, Couranten und Sarabanden*, which was published three years later. Here, most of the dances

are *balletts*, courantes and sarabandes: some movements are grouped together in pairs, but most appear to be nothing more than seemingly random combinations. Perhaps this collection is little more than a gathering together of dances from the ballroom or stage.

Different concepts of organisation are apparent in Hans Hake's 1654 *Ander Theil Newer Pavanen, Sonaten, Arien, Balletten, Brandlen, Couranten, und Sarabanden, Mit 2.3.4.5. und 8 Instrumenten mit dem Basso Continuo*. Illustration 1iii reproduces the index from this collection. Here, movements are ordered by ensemble size, starting with two violins without basso, and finishing with choirs of violins and trombones ('1. Cohr, Violinen, und 1.Cohr, Trombonen'). There are also groupings of four or more movements by key: numbers 6-10 are all in G major, 17-20 in A minor, 21-24 in D minor and 25-28 are in D major. These groups of four movements all follow the same sequence:

Pavan / Ballet / Courant / Saraband.

The addition of a second sarabande in the first grouping (movements 6-10) is entirely consistent with the concept, discussed earlier, of *en suite* movements. In addition to these larger sequences, there are times when Hake was clearly thinking of suite groupings, though they appear to be subservient to his overall plan of organisation by sonority. Taken as a whole, it is possible to see a trend in these printed editions. Although there were exceptions, such as Johann Vierdanck's 1637 *Erster Theil newer Pavanen, Gagliarden, Balleten und Correnten*, the careful organisation typified in *Banchetto musicale* and *Thesaurus harmonicus* did not last beyond the 1620s. As we shall see in Chapter 2, concepts of careful organisation were not resurrected until later in the century. Although it is still possible to discern elements of these concepts in many of the collections that appeared in the late 1640s and throughout the 1650s, they are mostly less rigorous and are not always applied consistently throughout collections.

Recent research has suggested possible links between the French staged ballets, the *ballet de cour* and development of the German suite.³² The merits of this claim will be discussed in the following chapter, but there can be no doubt that the suite was closely linked to courtly entertainment, particularly that of the French court. Even in the more easterly parts of Europe where French music seems to have had less influence, this association was still present. Many of the suite manuscripts in the Liechtenstein collection in Kroměříž have the title 'Balletti Francesi', even if such suites are hardly French.³³ French dancing masters 'who found eager clients across the European continent and in the British Isles' educated the German aristocracy and their courts in dance, etiquette, fashion and behaviour.³⁴ There can be no doubt that the dancing masters also took a large part in festive productions; indeed it seems that they were sometimes responsible for the composition of the music. As we will see in the next chapter, the preface of Adam Drese's 1672 *Erster Theil/Etlicher Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Balletten, Intraden und andern Arien* talks about the 'fashionable French pieces' of the dancing masters, and the Dresden dancing master, François de La Marche, appears to have been responsible for at

Illustration liii:

H. Hake, *Ander Theil Newer Pavanen, Sonaten, Arien, Balletten, Brandlen, Couranten, und Sarabanden, Mit 2.3.4.5. und 8 Instrumenten mit dem Basso Continuo* (n.p., 1654) 'register'.

Register.	
	Diese ersten 5. seynd ohne Bass.
1. Sonata	} mit Zwo Violinen.
2. Courant	
3. Sonata	
4. Courant	
5. Courant	
	Diese seynd mit dem Basso Continuo
6. Pavan	} mit Zwo Violinen & Bass.
7. Ballett	
8. Courant	
9. Saraband	
10. Saraband	
11. Ballett	
12. Courant	
13. Saraband	
14. Ballett	
15. Courant	
16. Saraband	
17. Pavan	
18. Ballett	} mit Zwo Violinen & Bass.
19. Courant	
20. Saraband	
21. Pavan	
22. Ballett	
23. Courant	
24. Saraband	
	25. Pavan

least part of the 1667 'Ballet der Glückseligkeit'.³⁵ Lack of evidence makes it difficult to accurately determine just how much music the dancing masters did supply, but, even if we cannot be certain about their specific compositions, it is clear that they were able to influence music in other ways. Georg Muffat claims that he was 'sought out' by Christian Krünner, the dancing master at the Passau court, 'to compose totally new Arias utilizing certain useful ideas he had conceived, Arias which could be danced to in costume and which could utilize theatrical effects in order to be more impressive'.³⁶

Register.	
25. Pavan	} mit Zwo Vorstimme Violinen & Bass.
26. Ballet	
27. Courant	
28. Saraband	
29. Pavan	} mit Drey Vorstimme Violinen & Bass.
30. Ballet	
31. Courant	
32. Saraband	
33. Pavan	} mit 1. Violin. & Alt. Tenor. Bass.
34. Brandle	
35. Brandle	
36. Brandle	} mit Zwo Cornetten, & 3. Trombonen.
37. Aria	
38. Aria	
39. Aria	
40. Aria	} mit 5. Trombonen.
41. Pavan	
42. Pavan	} mit 1. Cohr. Violinen, und 1. Cohr. Trombonen.
43. Pavan	

If nearly all the music used at court entertainments has been lost, some of the printed libretti still survive. From these, it appears that many German courts used the French *ballet de cour* as a model for festive music and dance. James Anthony describes a typical *ballet de cour* in the first half of the seventeenth century as comprising '*récits, vers, entrées*, and usually a concluding *grand ballet*'.³⁷ By the time of Louis XIV's accession, introductory *ouvertures* were, at times, also part of this scheme. The *récits* were not recitatives in the conventional sense, but merely sung music for a single voice and the '*vers pour les personnages* were rhymed verses distributed among the spectators'.³⁸ The manuscripts in F-Pn (F-Pn Rés. F 494, 496, 497, 498 and 499) are part of a number retrospectively compiled in the 1690s by André Danican Philidor from material of at least forty or more years earlier. They are amongst the most important sources of French music from the *ballet de cour*.³⁹ (Hereafter referred to as the 'Philidor MSS'.) The

indexes of movements and dates suggest that a great deal of care was taken in their preparation, but the musical text is often inaccurate.

Philidor seems to have copied only the dance music from his sources: there is no vocal music in any part of the manuscript collection. Of course, he may not have had the vocal music available to him; or he may have extracted, and then grouped together, only the dance movements. The latter would hardly be surprising. Manuscripts of excerpts from the dramatic works of Lully were in wide circulation when Philidor was producing his manuscripts, and the same process of extraction may well have been applied. There is also an interesting parallel with the retrospective manuscript collections made at the Viennese Imperial court of ballet music by Johann Heinrich and Andreas Anton Schmelzer.⁴⁰ Philidor copied some movements in their full five-part instrumentation, but most are in two-stave, treble and bass format. Some are also incomplete: the staves for the lower instruments have been ruled, but only the top part has been filled in.

Table 1.3 details the movements from the first part of the 'Ballet Royal du Dereglement des Passions' (Rés.F 499).⁴¹ Even if the movements listed in Table 1.3 do not represent a complete *ballet de cour*, they do provide us with indicators of how the mid-century French ballet was constructed. All the movements share a common key centre of G. This practice is largely reflected throughout the Philidor MSS: if there is a departure to another key, it is usually only for the duration of a single movement.⁴² For example, apart from the '9^e. Entrée' which is in B \flat major, all the movements in the second part of the 'Ballet Royal du Dereglement' are centred upon G minor or G major. The manuscripts also indicate that, by 1650, an *ouverture* was becoming the increasingly recognised way in which to start a ballet. Branles and courantes are noticeably lacking.⁴³ Example 1b gives the first strain of the *ouverture* to the first ballet of the 'Ballet Royal du Dereglement', which opens Rés.F 499. Here, we can see the characteristic dotted rhythms that link the *ouverture* and the duple-time entrée. The second strain, not shown in the example, is broadly similar.

Any assessment of the music in the German equivalents of the *ballet de cour* is hampered by lack of evidence. Usually, it is only the printed libretto that has survived. Thus, the survival of both libretto and music (D-Dl Mus.2/F/31) from the Dresden 1678 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten' is of great importance. The Dresden court hosted occasional gatherings of the various arms of the ruling family, and this ballet was given as part of the 1678 celebrations. Elector Johann Georg II personally took part as the allegorical figure of Nimrod in what has been described as 'one of the greatest festivities of his reign'.⁴⁴ The identity of the composer is not known. Almost certainly, the French dancing masters at Dresden must have played a large part in the preparation of the music. The texts of the vocal sections are in German. A note at the beginning of the manuscript lists the order of the seven characters and their voices, which include two 'Capell knabe' (boy trebles) singing the parts of 'Luna' and 'Cupido'. After the opening 'Prologus' for Cupid, the music for each of the seven 'planets' is

Table 1.3:

Movements from the first part of the anonymous 'Ballet Royal du Dereglement des Passions' (F-Pn Rés.F 499).

Movement title	Key	Time signature
Ouverture	G minor	c and c̣
1. ^e Entrée 6 titans	G minor	c
2. ^e Entrée	G minor	c̣
3. ^e Entrée. Silene pere Nourissier de Bacchus	G major and G minor	c̣ and 3
4. ^e Entrée Baccus (<i>sic</i>)	G minor	c̣
5. ^e Entrée Darius	G major	c̣
Les mesme	G minor	c̣
6. ^e Entrée 5 Arimaspes	G minor	2
7. ^e Entrée 2 Marinieres suivent Thyphis	G minor	c̣
8. ^e Entrée Jason Castor Pollox Zethes et Calais	G minor	c̣
9. ^e Entrée 6 Compagnons D'Ulisse	B \flat major	c̣
10. ^e Entrée les 4 Vents	G minor	c̣

contained within individual sections entitled 'Actus', and all of the latter have the same basic structure. Each 'Actus' is brought to a close by three entrées, each comprising two *en suite* dances: in each case a duple-time dance is followed by one in triple time. Example 1c gives the second entrée and its associated *en suite* movement from 'Actus 2. Jupiter'. Following the French custom, a grand ballet, here entitled 'Haupt-Ballet', brings the entire work to a close. Clearly, the 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten' is in the tradition of the French *ballet de cour*. As it appears to be the only example of music used for German court festivities of this nature that survives in anything like a complete form, we cannot say with any degree of certainty that it is typical of a particular genre.⁴⁵ However, given that Dresden exerted a considerable degree of influence on the surrounding courts, it would be surprising if the 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten' were an isolated example.

Volumes II and IV of Johann Caspar Horn's *Parergon musicum* are both entitled 'Grossen Balletten', although they do not include any vocal music in the manner of the 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten'. Volume II was issued in 1663, and the largely similar Volume IV in 1672. They are usually, but incorrectly, grouped together with suites in the later German-Lullian style.⁴⁶ In fact, Horn's sequences of obvious character movements correspond closely to the sequences of entrées and airs found in the French ballets from

Example 1b:

Anon., 'Ballet Royal du Dereglement', (F-Pn Rés. F 499) *ouverture*.

Ouverture

The image displays three systems of musical notation for an overture. Each system consists of five staves: a top staff in treble clef and four lower staves in bass clef. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, rests, and dynamic markings like 'p' (piano). The music is written in a historical style with a clear five-part instrumental texture.

the first half of the century. The clear influence is not Lully's stage works, but the pre-Lullian *ballet de cour* as typified in the Philidor manuscripts.⁴⁷ In any case, only a small proportion of Lully's stage music had been written by 1663, and it is unlikely to have been known in Germany at this time. Following the example of the *ballet de cour*, all the movements in each of Horn's ballets are in the same key. On the other hand, Horn was either clearly ignorant of French instrumentation, or he chose to ignore it. His five-part scoring does not use the one violin, three viola and bass combination of the French. Instead, he uses the pairs of violins and violas favoured by the Italians. Example 1d shows '7. Intrada' that opens 'II. Ballet de

Example 1c:

'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten', (D-DI Mus. 2/F/31) 'Actus 2. Jupiter', '2. Entree' and 'Suite'.

2. Entree

Suite

The image displays two musical systems. The first system, titled '2. Entree', consists of two systems of four staves each. The top system is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 7/8 time signature. The bottom system is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The second system, titled 'Suite', also consists of two systems of four staves each. The top system is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 3/4 time signature. The bottom system is in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. Both systems feature complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines across all staves.

Coloumbe' in the second volume of *Parergon musicum*. But Horn's possible ignorance could be explained by the frequent two-, or even one-, part transmission of French dance music in Germany: he may have never seen a fully scored example of music from a *ballet de cour*.

This method of transmitting dance music in two parts was common throughout Europe. It was left to other musicians to fill in the inner parts in any way that they desired. Praetorius, in the preface to *Terpsichore*, and Philidor, in F-Pn Rés. F 494, both acknowledge this practice.⁴⁸ However, it is also clear that some music was circulated as no more than a single melodic line.

Example 1d:

J. C. Horn, *Parergon musicum* ii (Leipzig, 1663) 'II. Ballet de Coloumbe',
'7. Intrada'.

7. Intrade.

The musical score is arranged in three systems. The first system includes staves for Violino I, Violino II, Viol. I di Braccio, Viol. II di Braccio, Violone, and Continuo. The second system continues the Violino I and Violino II parts, with trills (tr) indicated above certain notes. The third system continues the Violino I and Violino II parts, with dynamic markings of *forte* and *piano* placed above the staves. Measure numbers 1, 6, and 5 are visible at the bottom of the first system, and 5, 6, and piano are visible at the bottom of the third system.

Roger North linked this with the work of, among others, the dancing masters, and clearly had little time for it:

Dancing masters, common fiddlers, or other ignoramuses, make tunes, and then go to their betters to put bases to them.⁴⁹

We can see the results of this form of single-line transmission by comparing three versions of the anonymous courante known as 'La Duchesse'. This was a popular piece in

France and Germany, and remained in dance treatises until the middle of the eighteenth century.⁵⁰ Example 1e compares a four-part version from D-Kl 2° MS mus.61d⁴[II], a trio version from Balthasar Christoph Wust's 1660 *Exercitium musicum*, and a keyboard version from the so-called 'Hintze' manuscript, US-NH 21.H59.⁵¹ The bass line and harmonies of each version are all different, and we must assume that only the top part of this dance, and not the bass, was available. Manuscript CZ-KRa A 4826 in the Liechtenstein collection in Kroměříž allows us to see the copyist at work as he added inner parts and a bass line to an existing treble line. This hitherto unrecognised source of Lully's music contains five movements from *Le Temple de la Paix* (LWV 69) and ten from *Achilles et Polixene* (LWV 74).⁵² Lully died before he could finish *Achilles et Polixene*, and it was completed by P. Collasse.

A 4826 is also unfinished. It is a four-part score: the movements extracted from *Le Temple de la Paix* are complete, the material from *Achilles et Polixene* does not fare so well. Only the *ouverture* is complete. Six of the following dances have a treble and bass line with staves left blank for the two inner parts, and the remaining three dances have only the treble line. All the other staves in these three are left blank. Illustration liv reproduces a page of this manuscript, and shows where the copyist finished adding the bass part to the existing treble line. It is, of course, possible that the scribe was merely copying from another manuscript, but the crossings out and alterations make this unlikely. None of the bass lines in any part of this manuscript match the bass part given in Ballard's printed editions of LWV 69 and 74. Equally, where inner parts do exist, they are totally unlike those in the five-part instrumentation of the printed editions. Clearly, the case for A 4826 being the product of a single-line transmission of Lully's and Collasse's music is a strong one.

This is further supported by a second hitherto unrecognised source of Lully's music in the Liechtenstein collection. CZ-KRa A 873 is a set of parts containing five movements from *Le Temple de la Paix*. These five movements are also to be found in A 4826 in exactly the same arrangements, and it is probable that the parts in A 873 were copied from the completed sections of A 4826.⁵³ Vejvanovský, the Kroměříž court trumpeter, composer and copyist, has been identified as the copyist of A 873, and he may have been responsible for A 4826.⁵⁴ Not surprisingly the parts in A 873 were written with considerably more care than the score of A 4826, but the handwriting style of the two manuscripts is similar. Given the similarity between the two manuscripts, it seems certain that both are the work of the same person. Thus, we can observe the entire process: the single-part Lullian source was copied into A 4826, and a bass line was added, followed by the two inner parts. Movements from the completed sections of A 4826 were then copied into the individual parts of A 873.

This form of dissemination allowed, perhaps encouraged, flexibility in instrumentation. As we shall see in later chapters, it was common in dance music for the five-part instrumentation of one violin, three violas and bass to be reduced to four by simply omitting the third viola part. In instrumentation with two violins and two violas, both viola parts were

Example 1e:

Three versions of 'La Duchesse': *Exercitium musicum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1660); manuscript US-NH 21.H59; manuscript D-Kl 2° MS mus.61d 4[II].

CVI La du Chesse.

Musical score for 'CVI La du Chesse'. It consists of three staves: Cantus I (treble clef), Cantus II (treble clef), and Bassus Continuus (bass clef). The music is in a minor key and 3/4 time. The first staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The third staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

La Duchesse.

Musical score for 'La Duchesse' in keyboard format. It consists of two staves: the upper staff is in treble clef and the lower staff is in bass clef. The music is in a minor key and 3/4 time. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lower staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

La Duchesse. Courante figuree.

Musical score for 'La Duchesse. Courante figuree' in keyboard format. It consists of four staves: the upper staff is in treble clef, and the lower three staves are in bass clef. The music is in a minor key and 3/4 time. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lower three staves have a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Musical score for 'La Duchesse' in keyboard format, starting with a double bar line. It consists of three staves: the upper staff is in treble clef, and the lower two staves are in bass clef. The music is in a minor key and 3/4 time. The upper staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lower two staves have a bass clef and a key signature of one flat.

Note:

For clarity, the ornaments in the keyboard version have been omitted.

Illustration liv:
Manuscript CZ-KRa A 4826



sometimes considered to be optional, thus allowing a further reduction to two violins and bass. The suite was not alone in this respect, sonatas also existed in similar three-part reductions; but we can be certain that flexibility of instrumentation was a feature of German suite composition.

For some German musicians, there was an important distinction to be made between the French and the Italian manner. For example, the 'Grossen Balletten' of Volume II of *Parergon musicum* were in the 'jovial French manner' ('nach der lustigen Frantzösischen Manier'), but the contents of Volume I were written in the 'current Italian manner' ('nach der ietzigen Italiänischen Manier'). However, there are few such specific references to the Italian manner within the German suite repertoire. Apart from the first volume of *Parergon musicum*, Charles Rosiers' 1691 *Pieces choisies a la maniere Italienne* is the only surviving printed edition to specifically mention it. On the other hand, Matthias Kelz's 1658 *Primitiae musicales seu concertus novi harmonici. Italis dicti: le sonate, intrade, mascarade, balletti, alemande, gagliardi, arie, volte, serenade, è sarabande* is one of a number of title pages that imply Italian influence by their choice of language. This is not to say that all German composers cared little about such matters. A number of sources specifically mention the French manner, if not the Italian. Furthermore, in his preface to his 1693 collection of trio suites, *VI. Sonate à violino e viola da gamba col suo basso continuo*, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach complains that he was unable to prevent the printer from using French dance titles rather than the Italian ones that he had requested. It obviously mattered to him that 'Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, Variatio und Gique' should not be

confused with 'Allamanda, Corrente, Sarabanda e Variata und Giga'.⁵⁵

It is important to see how seventeenth-century musicians understood and viewed the distinctions between the Italian and French styles. 'Proposition XV' of Marin Mersenne's 1636 *Harmonie universelle* attempts some explanations, but his opening is not promising:

This proposition is very difficult to explain, as much because it seems that music desires certain delicacies and diversions that cannot be in sympathy with vehemence, harsh passions, and particularly with anger.

Cette proposition est tres-difficile à expliquer, tant parce qu'il semble que la Musique desire de certaines delicatesses, & des agreemens qui ne peuvent compatir avec la vehemence, & la rudesse des passions, & particulierement avec la cholere.⁵⁶

According to Mersenne, it is the emotions of joy, love and hope that provide the ingredients of 'des airs François'. In contrast, the Italians are considered to use

more vehemence than us in order to express the strongest passions of anger by their inflection, especially when they sing their verses for the theatre imitating the scenic music of antiquity.

plus de vehemence que nous pour exprimer les plus fortes passions de la cholere par leurs accents, lors particulierement qu'ils chantent leurs vers sur le theatre pour imiter la Musique Scenique des anciens.⁵⁷

Over one hundred years later, writers were still having difficulty: Quantz suggested that the Italian manner of playing was 'arbitrary, extravagant, artificial, obscure, frequently bold and bizarre' while the French manner was 'slavish, yet modest, distinct, neat and true in execution'.⁵⁸

Much of our information about stylistic issues in Germany comes from the printed editions of music by Georg Muffat that were issued during the last two decades of the century. The prefaces to his two *Florilegium* collection of suites are particularly well known, and are readily available in English translations.⁵⁹ In these prefaces, Muffat offers extensive advice on performance practice, but he gives very little idea of what he considers to be the stylistic elements within the music itself. The nearest he comes to that is in his assertion that Lully's music 'completely avoid[s] irregular runs, frequent and ill-sounding leaps'.⁶⁰ Even this may not be as straightforward as it seems: Eric Chafe has suggested that the target of Muffat's criticism could have been Heinrich Biber.⁶¹ Biber and Muffat served together in Salzburg at the court of Archbishop Max Gandolph, and it seems there may have been some rivalry between the two.

For greater clarity, we have to look to the foreword of Muffat's 1701 *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik*, where he speaks of 'the brisk liveliness of the ballet arias which spring from the Lullian fountain, but also contain certain melancholy, exquisite affects of the Italian manner'.⁶² Example 1f shows the 'Gravè' from the first suite in Muffat's 1682 *Armonico tributo*: it would appear to be an illustration of what he meant by melancholy and exquisite affects. Example 1g quotes from Rosiers' 1691 *Pieces choisies a la maniere Italienne*, which shows a similar association of the Italian manner and dissonant melancholia.

Example 1f:

G. Muffat, 1682 *Armonico tributo* (Salzburg, 1682) first sonata, *Gravè*.

The musical score is presented in two systems. The first system includes staves for Violino I, Violino II, Viola I, Viola II, and Cembalo è Violone. The tempo is marked 'Gravè' and the dynamic is 'Tutti'. The second system shows a dynamic progression from *forte* to *piano* to *pp*. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

Muffat was also not alone in linking French ballet music with brisk liveliness; indeed, this concept of the French manner seems to have been quite widespread. 'Lively suites' were also mentioned on the title page of Johann Fischer's 1706 *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust*, a collection very much in the Lullian style, and we have already seen how Horn's ballet music was said to be in the 'jovial French manner'. Clearly, it would be unwise to equate the French manner with everything that was described as being lively (*lustigen*). The word '*lustigen*' was often used in title pages, and Briegel's 1672 collection of vocal music, *Musicalishes Tafel-Confect*, is typical in its description of the contents as being '*lustigen Gesprächen und Concerten von 1.2.3. und 4. Sing-Stimmen*'.

Even if the title pages are an unreliable guide in this respect, many of the prefaces specifically ask for a lively pulse in the performance of their French-style dances. As we have already seen, the preface to Hans Hake's 1654 *Ander Theil Newer Pavanen* states that the branle movements in the French manner should be played 'with a swift pulse' ('mit einem geschwinden Tact'). Likewise, the preface to Lüder Knöp's 1660 *Ander Theil Newer Paduanen, Galliarden, Arien, Allemanden, Balletten, Couranten, und Sarabanden, Mit 2. und 3. Stimmen nebenst dem Basso*

Example 1g:

C. Rosiers, *Pieces choisies a la maniere Italienne* (Amsterdam, 1691), Sonata III, 'Allemanda'.

Allemanda

Flauto Primo.

Flauto Secondo.

Basone.

Continuo suggests that the French music in the final section should be 'played with a lively pulse' ('mit einem lustigem Tact'). The preface to another printed collection from the same year, Wolf Ernst Rothe's *Erstmahlig Musicalische Freuden-Gedichte* expresses virtually the same sentiments:

The following friendly reminder is intended for everyone as a most important observation: the ballets, courantes, and sarabandes in the French manner must be played with a lively bow-stroke and a rapid pulse in order to achieve the [proper] style.

Hiernechst wolle ein Jeder die freundliche Erinnerung in besten vermercken / daß die Balletten, Couranten, und Sarabanden nach Frantzösischer Art / mit einen frischen Strich und geschwinden Tact auff daß sie die Manier erlangen / gespielt werden müssen.

Muffat was clearly reflecting an established tradition in this matter, but we should be wary of taking everything that he says at face value. Some of his statements are clearly unreliable: for example, his claim on the title page that *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik* contains 'douzes rares Concerts, d'un style nouveau' is hardly accurate considering that much of the music is reworked from the earlier *Armonico tributo*. In any case, a distinction that merely equates French music with liveliness and Italian music with melancholia is obviously an over-simplification.

For Knöp, one aspect of the French manner was the issue of instrumentation. His collection of suites and dances, *Ander Theil Newer Paduanen, Galliarden, Arien, Allemanden, Balletten, Couranten, und Sarabanden*, is clearly divided into three sections.⁶³ In his preface, Knöp describes the last of these suites as being 'set in the French manner with a bass and treble' ('nach der Frantzosischen Manier mit einem Bass und Discant gesetzt'). The 'Discant' part may be played by 'various [i.e. many] violins in unison' ('mit unterschiedlichen Geigen in unisono'). Here is a clear reference to the two-part dissemination of dance music that I have discussed earlier. Knöp is not entirely correct in implying that this is specifically a French concept, but his suggestion that the top line may be played by 'unterschiedlichen Geigen' is, as we shall see, fully in accordance with French performance practice. The music in Knöp's 'French' section is also intended to provide an obvious contrast to that in the previous sections. The movement numerals are even changed from Roman to Arabic. The first and second sections mostly contain movements grouped in pairs, paduans and galliards predominate in the first section, allemandes and courantes in the second. The third section has six clearly defined sequences of movements. In a section that purports to be French in manner, it is curious that each of these sequences is given an Italian collective title of 'ballo'. Perhaps this was to avoid confusion at the printing stage with the two movements in the second section entitled 'ballett'. Apart from the sarabande that concludes every *ballo*, many of the movements in this section are untitled. Only 'Ballo Secundo' and 'Ballo Tertio' do not include courantes in their sequence of dances, and four of the six *balli* contain a *bataglia*. Despite the dubious linguistics of the titles, it does seem that Knöp intended his *balli* to reflect the type of dance sequence usually associated with the French staged ballet. The similarities with parts of Adam Drese's 1672 *Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Balletten, Intraden und andern Arien* are striking. Apart from the opening preludes used by Drese, the suites in *Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden* and the *balli* in *Ander Theil Newer Paduanen* are remarkably similar in construction. There is good reason to think that the named suites in Drese's collection are extracts from genuine dramatic works.⁶⁴ Perhaps Knöp's *balli* fulfil the same purpose.

Like Knöp, Drese considered his collection to be in the French manner. His preface and its implications for performance are discussed in Chapter 2, but we should notice here the similarity between Knöp's and Drese's concepts of instrumentation. Drese's pieces are scored for four-part strings rather than the two parts of Knöp's collection, but the preface confirms that the practice of reinforcing the upper part remains the same. As we shall see in later chapters, this practice was common in German music written in the French style throughout the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth. There is even some evidence that suggests that printed editions of music in the French manner were sold with extra treble and bass parts. For example, there are two copies of the 'Bassus' part of Jean Sigismund Cousser's 1682 *Composition de musique* in the exemplar held in F-Pn (Mus.Vm⁷1484). It is possible, though unlikely, that this extra part was purchased separately, but its very existence within a set does further indicate

how widespread outer part doubling was in this particular repertoire. Such part doubling was an important component of the *Frantzösischen Manier*.⁶⁵

Even for those German musicians unable to travel to Italy, it was still relatively easy to have experience of Italian music. Italian singers were greatly in demand throughout Germany. Italian church music had a wide circulation in northern Germany, and, as we shall see in Chapter 4, Italian operas were produced at the larger courts. Indeed, it seems that few north German composers could escape Italian influence.⁶⁶ However, this influence was linked with vocal genres. Perhaps the difficulty that German composers had in defining an Italian instrumental style in their suite writing was a result of this association of Italy and the voice. In addition, most printed collections of Italian dance music were arranged in a different way to those in Germany. Before the 1680s, suites were far less likely to figure in Italian collections. Instead, collections often comprised groupings by movement type: dances could also be organised individually, or in pairs. Suite groupings, if they appeared at all, were in the minority. Of the twenty-four dances in Vitali's 1668 *Balletti, correnti, gighe, allemande, e sarabande*, there are only two sequences of movements that could possibly form suite groupings. Both 'Corrente seconda' and 'Corrente terza' are followed by a *giga* and a *sarabanda*. Each group of three movements shares a common key. Occasionally, specific suite groupings are indicated. Maurizio Cazzati's *Correnti balletti galiarde a3 è 4*, originally published sometime before 1651, has five of its movements marked as:

Entrata del baletto / baletto / trezia del balletto / galiarda del balletto / corente del balletto.⁶⁷

Balletto is here being used in two ways: as a specific term for the second movement, and a generic term to establish an association between the other movements. Thus, the contrast between these Italian collections and those published in Germany at around the same time is clear. German collections are ordered and structured in a way that Italian collections are not: for German composers, the *Italiänischen Manier* had little to do with concepts of organisation and structure.

If the *Italiänischen Manier* did not apply to the organisation of movements within a suite, it certainly applied to specific dances. There was a marked difference between the French courante and the Italian *corrente*. Illustration 1v gives an example of a courante in 'Proposition XXV' of the second book of Mersenne's *Harmonie universelle*.⁶⁸ Example 1h shows the first strain of 'La Guastallesa à3' from Cazzati's *Correnti balletti galiarde a3 è 4*. The greater rhythmic complexity of the French courante is clear. The only cross-rhythm in Cazzati's *corrente* is a *hemiola* at the end of the first strain. But even in the single line of Mersenne's example we can see the rhythmic ambiguity that extends over several bars at a time. However, German composers did not always appear to be aware of these characteristics. If we again turn to the Italian and French volumes of Horn's *Parergon musicum*, it might be expected that he would have taken the opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of national styles by composing an Italian *corrente*

Illustration 1v:

M. Mersenne *Harmonie universelle*, ii, 'Proposition XXV' (1636, Paris).

Courante à la Reyne de l'onzième Mode:



Example 1h:

M. Cazzati, *Correnti balletti galiarde a3 è 4*. 'La Guastallesa à3' (Venice, 1659).

La Guastallesa à 3.
Corente Seconda.

Violino Primo

Violino Secondo

Violone

Spinetta O Chitarone



6 5 # # # 6

6 6 6 # #

(etc)

and a French courante. However, he does no such thing. Example 1j compares two of Horn's courantes. The first, '22.Courante' from Volume I, is ostensibly in the Italian style, and the second, from Volume II, in the French. As we can see, the two are remarkably similar. Phrase lengths in the so-called French '19 Courante' balance each other rather more predictably than in the so-called Italian example; but this is true of many of the dances in Horn's ballet music, perhaps out of consideration for the dancers. In fact, if we use Cazzati's 'La Guastallea à 3' (given earlier in Example 1h) as a comparison, it is clear that, whatever he proclaims in the volume title, Horn's '22.Courante' is closer to Mersenne's courante than Cazzati's *corrente*. In other words, the courantes that Horn proclaims to be in the Italian manner lean far more towards French models than Italian.

Horn is not completely representative in this respect. We have already seen that Erlebach complained that his printer had set movement titles in the wrong language, and it is clear that he took stylistic considerations far more seriously than Horn. Example 1k compares the first strains of an Italian *corrente* (misnamed courante) from his *VI. Sonate à violino e viola da gamba col suo basso continuo* with a French courante from *VI. Ouvertures Begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs, nach Französischer Art und Manier*. The courante from the latter shows all the rhythmic interest and subtlety of the example by Mersenne given earlier. The Italian version from the trio has a far more straightforward rhythmic structure with a single *hemiola* at the end of the strain. (Another *corrente* by Erlebach is given as Example 8p in Chapter 8.) Clearly, Erlebach understood the differences between the two versions of this dance.

It is important to remember that, especially in court circles, French instrumental music and Italian vocal music often existed side-by-side. The same co-existence is true of extra-musical influences. As we shall see in Chapter 4, the court of Queen Kristina in Stockholm was noticeable for its devotion to French dance music. There was a French violin band in residence, and the repertoire was overwhelmingly French-inspired. However, at the same court, and at the same time, books for the Queen's library were being collected in Italy. All over Europe, buildings were being erected in the Italian style, and Italy, perhaps even more than Paris, was an essential part of the itinerary of any travelling nobility. Many German court musicians were given leave from their duties in order to spend time studying in Italy.⁶⁹ While they were there, 'they were often expected to engage the services of Italian musicians on behalf of their employer'.⁷⁰ Surprisingly, an Italian musician, Paolo Mazzuchelli, was admitted in 1659 to the *Hofkapelle* in Kassel thus demonstrating that an Italian could even be employed in a *Hofkapelle* that was run along French lines.⁷¹ Further evidence of a juxtaposition of French and Italian influences can be found in the Dresden 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten'. As we have seen, much of this work reflects the influence of the *ballet de cour*. But even here, the vocal music, corresponding to the *récits* and *vers* of the *ballet de cour*, is not French like the dances, but a mixture of Italian-style recitative and aria. Example 1l reproduces the openings of a recitative and aria from 'Actus 7. Luna'.

Example 1j:

J. C. Horn, *Parergon musicum i* (Erfurt, 1663), '22.Courante'.

22.Courante.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled '22.Courante.' by J. C. Horn. The score is arranged in six staves, labeled from top to bottom as: Cantus I, Violino II, Viol. I. di Braccio, Viol. II. di Braccio, Violone, and Continuo. The music is written in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The score is divided into three systems, each containing six measures. The first system is followed by a measure number '6'. The second system includes a repeat sign in the first measure and a measure number '6' at the end. The third system also includes a measure number '6' at the end. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

However, in the end, the conclusion must be drawn that German composers were not always completely certain about the differences between French and Italian styles. Even if there were not a specifically identifiable German style, I shall argue in the following chapters that German composers brought concepts of order to the suite throughout the repertoire. Dividing the suite into categories based on the French and Italian styles would, at best, lead to

Example 1j (cont):

Horn, *Parergon musicum* (Erfurt 1663) ii, '19. Courante'

19. Courante. (L'Adolescence & les quatre saisons de l'Année.)

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled '19. Courante. (L'Adolescence & les quatre saisons de l'Année.)'. The score is arranged in three systems, each containing six staves. The instruments are labeled on the left: Violino I, Violino II, Viol. I di Braccio, Viol. II di Braccio, Violone, and Continuo. The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. The first system includes measure numbers 5, 6, 5, and 6 at the bottom. The second system includes measure numbers 8 and 8 at the bottom. The third system includes measure numbers 6 and 6 at the bottom.

uncertainty. Instead, I propose a division based on the courts and on the towns. The latter category, which I shall term the municipal suite, principally represents the work of town musicians. Most of this category is found in printed editions, and only occasionally in manuscripts. For this reason, municipal suites are more likely to be found in groups that are often organised along specific lines. The internal structure of individual suites can also be subjected to organisation with common themes or harmonies providing recognisable links between movements,

Example 1k:

P. H. Erlebach, *VI. Sonate à violino e viola da gamba col suo basso continuo* (Nuremberg, 1694) Sonata Quinta, 'Courante'; *VI. Ouwertures* (Nuremberg, 1693) *Ouwerture II*, '2. Air Courante'.

Courante

Violino

Viola da Gamba

Continuo

6♭ 5♭ 6

6 6 6♭ 5 5 3 6 6 5 4 3

2

Detailed description: This musical score is for a piece titled 'Courante'. It consists of three staves: Violino (Violin), Viola da Gamba, and Continuo. The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The Violino part features a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes, including a trill (tr) in the final measure. The Viola da Gamba part provides a rhythmic accompaniment with similar note values. The Continuo part is a bass line with notes and figured bass symbols. The first system includes figured bass symbols 6♭, 5♭, and 6. The second system includes a more complex set of figured bass symbols: 6, 6, 6♭, 5, 5, 3, 6, 6, 5, 4, 3, and a '2' below the final measure.

2. Air Courante

Premier Dessus.

Second Dessus.

Haute Contre.

Taille.

Quinte.

Basse.

6♭ 6 15 6 6 6

Detailed description: This musical score is for a piece titled '2. Air Courante'. It consists of six staves for different vocal parts: Premier Dessus (First Soprano), Second Dessus (Second Soprano), Haute Contre (High Tenor), Taille (Tenor), Quinte (Alto), and Basse (Bass). The key signature has one flat and the time signature is 3/4. Each vocal part has a melodic line with trills (t.) marked above certain notes. The Basse part includes figured bass symbols: 6♭, 6, 15, 6, 6, 6.

both dance and abstract. On this basis, the variation suite is one of the most important components of what might be termed the municipal style.

The courtly suite is more likely to be associated with works originally intended for the stage. As we shall see in Chapter 5, Lully's dramatic works were widely disseminated throughout Germany, and Lullianism exerted a profound influence on the courtly suite in the last two decades of the century. Before the 1680s, the courtly suite was still a reflection of

Example 1k (cont.):

The image displays a musical score for a trio, consisting of six staves. The top two staves are in treble clef, and the bottom four staves are in bass clef. The music is written in a single system with vertical bar lines. Below the bottom staff, there is a line of figured bass notation: 6 6 5, 6 6 6 5, 6 6 6 6. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks such as 't' and 'l'.

Note:

For clarity, the alternative violin part has not been given in the trio excerpt.

courtly entertainment. Most examples of the suite from this time are far more likely to be found in manuscript, and are far less likely to be gathered together in organised collections. As a result of this link with courtly entertainment, the number of town musicians associated with the courtly suite is quite small. On the other hand, a number of courtly musicians wrote suites and issued collections of the type more usually associated with town musicians. In addition, the suite in Vienna developed along quite different lines, and this will be dealt with separately in Chapter 7. I shall also argue for the separate identity of the suite written by the Leipzig school of composers and this will also be discussed separately in Chapter 3. The trio suite for two treble instruments and bass also merits separate consideration, and will be discussed in Chapter 8.

Example II:

'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten' (D-DI Mus. 2/F/31) 'Actus 7. Luna'.

[Recitativo]

Diana

Ich Lu - na Di - an - a bin hier. Ich kom - me zu beg - län - tzen die

[basso]

Wal - der Forst und Grent - zen und ja - ge nach Ge - bühr.

|||

Aria

Diana

Kufft mir auch die munt - ren Fisch - er daß Sie hier zu Tan - tze gehn,

[basso]

dann so stehn Wild u:[nd] fis - che des - to fri - scher

Notes to Chapter I:

1. The inventory is reproduced in *AMA V/I*, 41-76.
2. 'Am deutlichsten bemerkt man dieses Abrücken vom Tanz und dieses Suchen einer neuen höheren Form bei Rosenmüller, der im Jahr 1682 (im Braunschweig) nicht mehr Suiten, sondern aus freien Sätzen mannigfaltig zusammengesetzte "Sonate a 2,3,4, et 5 Stromenti" herausgibt'. K. Nef, *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suiten* (Leipzig, 1921), 74.
3. 'Die Sonate war eine freie und neue Schöpfung der höchsten und gebildeten Künstlerkreise'. F. Noack, *Sinfonie und Suite* (Die Orchestermusik i, Leipzig, 1932), 22.
4. 'eine neue Gattung weltlicher Musik'. *Ibid.*, 22.
5. T. Norlind, 'Zur Geschichte der Suite' in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, vii (Leipzig, 1905-6), 187.
6. D. Fuller, 'Suite' in S. Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 1980), xviii, 339.
7. P. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources of Instrumental Music, 1630 to 1700', Ph.D. diss. (University of Pennsylvania, 1996).
8. *Ibid.*, 174.
9. *Ibid.*, 170.
10. D. J. Buch, 'The Influence of the *Ballet de cour* in the Genesis of the French Baroque Suite' (*Acta Musicologica* LVII, 1985), 96-7.
11. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources', 159.
12. For example, see Fuller, 'suite' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxiv, 676.
13. As one of many examples, Pez's op. 2 trio suites were advertised in Roger's catalogue of 1706 (GB-Lbl Hirsch IV 1114.a.) as 'Neuf suites de Mr Pez à 2 flûtes ou violons & Basse Continue qui sont son Opera seconda'. A later entry in the same catalogue lists them as 'Sonata da Camera à 2 flauti col basso continuo, del Signore Christophoro Pez, Opera seconda'.
14. S. de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique, contenant une explication des termes Grecs, Latins, Italiens, & François les plus usitez dans la Musique* (Paris, 1703; repr. ed. F. Knuf, Hilversum 1965) entry for 'Suonata', 118-9.
15. For a discussion of the sonata da camera and its position in the Italian repertoire, see P. Allsop, *The Italian 'trio' sonata from its origins until Corelli* (Oxford, 1992), 53-59.
16. F. de Lauze, (trans. J. Wildeblood), *Apologie de la Danse* (London, 1952), 143-4.
17. R. C. Latham & W. Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. (London, 1970-83, repr. 1995), iii, 300.
18. I am grateful to Jennifer Thorp for this suggestion.
19. A further discussion of D-Kl 2° MS mus. fol.61 follows in Chapter 4.
20. This suite is discussed later in the chapter.
21. de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique*, entry for 'Balletto veut dire Ballet' 6.
22. R. Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto and the Tanz*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), i, 178-186.
23. *Ibid.*, i, 179.
24. C. V. Wedgwood, *The Thirty Years War* (London, 1938; 2nd. edn., London, 1963, repr. 1999), 510-11. It is noteworthy that this statement is retained in the second edition of this book, made after two world wars.
25. R. Vierhaus, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1988, repr. 1991), 3.
26. M. Anderson, *War and society in Europe of the old regime 1618-1789* (London, 1988, repr. Guernsey, 1998), 77.
27. H. W. Schwab, 'The Social Status of the Town Musician' in W. Salmen (trans. H. Kaufman & B. Reisner), *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century* (New York, 1983), 37.
28. *Banchetto musicale* is further discussed in Chapters 2 and 3. A modern edition of *Neuer Padouan* can be

- found in *P. Peuerl und I. Posch: Instrumental- und Vokalwerke*, ed. K. Geiringer, DTÖ, lxx, Jg. xxxvi/2 (1929, repr.).
29. As well as the quotation, the material in this paragraph has been taken from M. Praetorius, *Dances from Terpsichore*, in ed. B. Thomas (*Early Dance Music* 14, London 1989).
 30. The 'Philidor' manuscripts are discussed in Chapter 4.
 31. Göhler 2, 1726.
 32. See Buch, 'The influence of the *Ballet de cour*'.
 33. The Liechtenstein collection in Kroměříž is discussed in Chapter 7.
 34. D. J. Buch, *Dance music from the Ballets de cour, 1575-1651; historical commentary, source study, and transcriptions from the Philidor manuscripts* (Stuyvesant, NY, c.1993), 8.
 35. See H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden from Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke, 2002), 182-3. The preface to Drese's collection is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.
 36. D. Wilson, (ed. & trans.) *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2001), 28.
 37. J. Anthony, *French baroque music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (Rev. and expanded edn., Oregon, 1997), 45.
 38. *Ibid.*, 45.
 39. The earliest music in these manuscripts apparently dates from the 1570s. See Buch, *Dance music from the Ballets de cour*, preface, xiii.
 40. This is further discussed in Chapter 7.
 41. Buch suggests that Philidor's date of 1652 is incorrect, and that the ballet dates from 1648. His listing of the contents of this ballet does not agree with the titles given by Philidor. See Buch, *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour*, 90-91.
 42. This conclusion is mostly based on the lists of movements and keys given in Buch, *Dance Music from the Ballets de Cour*, appendix B.
 43. *Ibid.*, appendix B. The implications of the lack of courantes and branles in the Philidor Mss. are discussed in Chapter 4.
 44. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 152 & 184.
 45. See H-G. Hofmann, 'Singballett' in L. Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1998), Sachteil 8, 1409-1411. I am grateful to Samantha Owens for bringing this article to my attention.
 46. M. Vaillancourt, 'Instrumental ensemble music at the court of Leopold I (1658-1705)' Ph.D. diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1991), 238; Whitehead, 'Austro-German printed sources', 193-7.
 47. The differences between the Lullian and pre-Lullian styles are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.
 48. Buch, *Dance Music*, 43.
 49. M. Chan & J. C. Kessler (eds.), *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge, 1990), 173.
 50. F. Lancelot, *La Belle Dance Catalogue Raisonné fait en l'an 1995* (Paris, 1996), 356.
 51. S. Rampe (ed.), *M. Weckmann Sämtliche Freie Orgel- und Clavierwerke* (Kassel, 1991), 80.
 52. *AMA V/2*, entry 880, lists it under 'Anonyma: B'.
 53. *AMA V/2*, entry 858, gives a date of 1680 for the watermark. However, this cannot reflect the date of copying, as LWV 69 was not written until 1685. A 4826 and A 873 are further discussed in Chapter 7.
 54. *AMA V/2*, entries 858 and 880. These entries fail to comment on the similarity of the hand writing in the two manuscripts.
 55. P. Erlebach, *VI. Sonate à Violino e Viola da Gamba col suo Basso Continuo* (Nuremberg, 1684).
 56. M. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique* (Paris, 1636; repr. in 3 vols., 1965), 'Traitez de la Voix, et des Chants', ii, 371.
 57. *Ibid.*, ii, 371.
 58. J. J. Quantz, trans. E.R. Reilly, *On Playing the Flute* (New York, 1966), 335.

59. D. K. Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2001), 11-65.
60. Ibid., 113.
61. E. T. Chafe, *The Church Music of Heinrich Biber* (Studies in Musicology no. 95, Ann Arbor, 1987), 17.
62. Wilson, *Georg Muffat*, 71.
63. The division of this collection, and the music in sections one and two, is discussed in Chapter 8.
64. Details of these suites are given in Chapter 2.
65. The instrumentation of the courtly suite is further discussed in Chapter 5.
66. G. Webber, *North German church music in the age of Buxtehude* (Oxford, 1996), 62.
67. The date of this collection is discussed in W. Apel, *Italian Violin Music of the Seventeenth Century* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1990), 124.
68. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle, 'Traitez de la Voix, et des Chants'*, ii, 171.
69. Webber, *North German church music*, 44.
70. Ibid., 47.
71. C. Engelbrecht, *Die Kasseler Hofkapelle im 17. Jahrhundert und ihre anonymen Musikhandschriften aus der Kasseler Landesbibliothek* (Kassel, 1958), 42.

'They correspond to one another in tone and invention'

The Municipal Suite

The preface to Johann Hermann Schein's 1617 *Banchetto musicale* states that the suites in this collection 'correspond to one another in tone and invention'.¹ As we shall see, the correspondence in *Banchetto musicale* was in the grouping of suites by ascending order of key, and the linking together of movements within suites. But although he may have been one of the first, Schein was not the only seventeenth-century town musician to use clear, careful organisation in his individual suites and collections of suites. This chapter will show how this type of organisation became an essential part of the suite associated with town musicians, hereafter the municipal suite.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, comparisons between court and town seem to have often favoured the latter, and foreign travellers in Germany appear to have been generous in their praise of the municipalities. The sentiments expressed in Claude Jordan de Colombier's *Voyages Historiques de L'Europe* are typical:

This town [Nuremberg] is to be highly recommended for its grandeur, and has a circumference of three French leagues. It is enclosed by three cut-stone walls and flanked by 183 towers. It has a large and deep moat. Its library is filled with a great number of very rare books and manuscripts, and its arsenal is provided with everything necessary for defence [of the town]. There are some very fine churches.

(Cette Ville est très-recommandable par sa grandeur, qui a trois grandes lieuës de France de circuit; elle est ceinte de trois murailles de pierre de taille, flanquées de 183. Tours, & d'un Fossé large & profond: Sa Bibliotheque est remplie d'un grand nombre de Livres & Manuscrits très-rares; son Arsenal est garni de tout ce qui peut servir à sa défense. Il y a de très-belles Eglises).²

Colombier's observations come from 1698, but a similar picture of flourishing town life is presented nearly fifty years earlier in *The History of the Sacred and Royal majesty of Christina Alessandra Queen of Swedland*. The entry for 20th October 1655 reads:

Auspurge is one of the fairest, most noble and famous Cities of Germany, seated in a very pleasant plain, abundantly watered with streams which make the ground most fertile. The structures are great and magnificent, the streets large and long, and the traffique very great. 'Tis replenisht with Merchants, and opulent Citizens, the Town-house is one of the most beautifullest Fabriques of Germany, and the rest are noble and majestick.³

This seems to suggest that recovery from the Thirty Years War was probably quicker for the larger towns than it was for the smaller courts, but the rate of this recovery was anything but

uniform. In the words of Rudolf Vierhaus:

Many a significant and vital city never recovered, or recovered only very slowly: others grew as residential cities, ports, or trading centers; and still others were transformed in their character into garrison or administrative cities.⁴

Although the Hanseatic League trading association, which had started in the fourteenth century, had little influence by the end of the seventeenth century, it was trade, especially foreign, that enabled this comparatively rapid recovery in some ports and towns. As de Blainville, a Spanish diplomat, observed in 1705: Nuremberg 'is twice as large as Francfort, and the Commerce carried on renders it very rich and populous'.⁵ The financial stability offered by the larger towns clearly enabled lively traditions of instrumental composition: in addition to Nuremberg and Augsburg, Lübeck, Rostock, Frankfurt am Main and Bremen were all prosperous trading centres where music flourished. It is telling that Hamburg and Leipzig, two of the towns with the greatest trading influence, developed their own traditions of suite writing. These two traditions will be dealt with separately in the following chapter.

Towns and cities were largely self-governing: de Blainville wrote that 'Cologne is governed by its Chapter and by its Magistrates, consisting of two Burgo-masters and 49 Councillors'.⁶ But in some cases, ruling families still had some influence on town governance, and this included the power to levy taxation. De Blainville noted that the Elector of Cologne 'nominates a Magistrate who is Judge in Criminal Causes' and commented on the 'exorbitant Contributions' that the Elector levied 'every Day from this City'.⁷ The members of the rich merchant families that became civic burghers were clearly patrons of the arts, though it is doubtful if the reasons underlying this patronage were often anything more than attempts to procure status as leaders of municipal society. Illustration 2i shows the list of dedicatee civic dignitaries given at the start of Johann Pezel's 1672 *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung*.⁸ Such dedications and lists of patrons seem to suggest that civic patronage was an important aspect of municipal music making, although it is difficult to define the precise nature of this patronage.

It appears that many German composers personally financed their own printed editions. Printing techniques in seventeenth-century Germany remained largely unchanged: most instrumental music was set in moveable type where each note carried its own staff lines, note head and stem. Beaming of notes smaller in value than a crotchet was possible, but it appears that this was rarely used in German editions of consort music before the 1690s. Only a small number of suite collections were engraved: Reincken's *Hortus Musicus*, probably printed in the late 1680s, August Kühnel's *Sonata ô Partite* (1698) and Johann Pachelbel's *Musicalische Ergötzung* (?1691) are the only surviving examples. Many editions seem to have been set by printers who lacked expertise in music.⁹ This sometimes resulted in unexpected problems. In Wolf Ernst Rothe's *Erstmahlig Musicalische Freuden - Gedichte*, published in Dresden in 1660 by Wolfgang Seyfferts, there is the following note at the head of 'XIIX. Alemanda â5':

NB. The following eight pieces or dances are all one key, and because there are not enough semi-

Illustration 2i:

J. Pezel, *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung* (Leipzig, 1672) dedication.

Denen Wohl-Ehrenvesten / Vorachtbaren und Wohlfürnehmten
Herren

Hn. Christoph Röttingern.
Hn. Joachim Eckolden.
Hn. Gottfried Eggern.
Hn. Georg Wincklern.
Hn. Martin Köppeln.
Hn. Georg Völckern.
Hn. Joachim Bohnen.
Hn. Friedrich Conrad Jägern.
Hn. Johann Theodor Kochen.
Hn. Gottfried Friesen.

Weitberühmten Kauff- und Handels-Leuten in Leipzig/

Meinen insonders Großgünstigen / Hochgeehrten Herren
und grossen Gönnern.

tones, the [key signatures] must be spread out. Therefore, at the start of these eight pieces, a competent musician has to be especially careful to notice the order of semitones and tones, applying them to the staves that follow.

NB. Folgende 8. Stück oder Tantze sind alle eines Clavis und weil man nicht so viel Semitoni hat / hat müssen abgebrochen werden / Dahero ein verständiger Musicus in acht zu nehmen hat / wieder anfang dieser 8. Stücken alß die erste Zeile mit Semitonen verzeichnet / die andern auch so folgen müssen / oder tonnen darzu geschrieben werden.

Clearly, the anonymous printer did not have the necessary equipment to deal with a key signature of two sharps when applied to a sequence of eight movements. Even when a composer acted as his own publisher, there was no guarantee of good quality work. The standards of accuracy were higher with the more experienced publishers and printers, but few editions were close to being free of error.

Few printed editions give any real information about the circumstances of musical performances in towns and cities. The title page of Isaac Posch's 1621 *Musicalische Tafelfreudt* had the following suggestions for performance:

[Some of the movements in this collection] may be played at noble Lords' and Potentates' tables, also at princely Banquets and Weddings and used on all string instruments for good cheer.

wie solche an fürnemer Herren und Potentaten Tafeln, auch auff Adelichen Panqueten und Hochzeiten gemusiciert und auff allen Instrumentalischen Saytenspielen zur fröligkeit gebraucht werden mögen.¹⁰

Such occasions as the presence of visiting royalty may also have required the performance of instrumental music. The *Diarii Europæi* records the arrival and short stay in Hamburg of Queen

Kristina of Sweden, during which she was 'entertained with charming music' ('und mit einer lieblichen Music belustigen liesse').¹¹ There is rather more information about the Sunday evening concerts of *Abendmusik* that took place in St. Mary's Church in Lübeck. These concerts had been started by Franz Tunder in the 1640s, and their organisation was entrusted to Buxtehude from 1668 until his death in 1707. By the end of the century, they were celebrated in the Lübeck guidebook as:

The great Abend-Music, consisting of pleasant vocal and instrumental music, presented yearly on five Sundays between St. Martin's and Christmas ... This happens nowhere else.¹²

Even if it were understandable for a guidebook to suggest that these concerts were unique, there does not appear to have been anything else on the same scale elsewhere. As we shall see, concerts of instrumental music were also given in Hamburg Cathedral during the 1660s and '70s, and there is no reason to think that this practice was not repeated elsewhere. Not all suites were probably intended for performance in this manner. The preface to Hieronymus Kradenthaller's 1675 *Deliciarum musicalium Erster Theil* appears to imply that it was specifically intended for domestic music making:

These Deliciæ Musicales of mine are not the same in length and do not have those qualities that are usually attributed to virtuosi; instead they should be used at will [to provide] delectation.

denen diese meine Deliciæ Musicales lang nicht gleichen werden/und ist nicht dahin gemeinet denen Virtuosen etwas vor zuschreiben/sondern welchen es beliebig zur Delectation zu gebrauchen.

The simplicity of many pieces in the collection by this Regensburg organist is shown in the opening sonatina of the collection, which is given in Example 2a.

According to the printed part-books, most suites written by town musicians after 1660 appear to be scored for a four- or five-part string ensemble. However, the part-books may not present a complete picture. Town musicians were expected to play a number of instruments. In Daniel Speer's novel, *Haspel-Hannß*, the fictional musician, 'Bobbin Jack', becomes a town musician and is expected to play the 'trumpet, recorder, viol and trombone'.¹³ Elsewhere in the novel, he serves an apprenticeship as a bass viol player, and also plays the zither. Speer appears to be accurate in his portrayal of the town musician being expected to play both wind and string instruments, so it is surprising that there seems to be such a limited use of wind instruments by town composers. The third volume of Kindermann's 1643 *Deliciæ studiosorum* specifically names *cornetti* and recorders as an alternative to violins, and a trombone or *fagott* instead of a string bass. As we have seen, this may have reflected standard practice amongst town musicians throughout the century: if so, it is curious that Kindermann should be so specific when other printed editions are silent on the matter. The title page of Johann Theile's 1683 Hamburg publication, *Sonaten, Prael, Allem, Cour, Arien & Chiquen* gives a number of alternatives for all the parts except the first violin:

Example 2a:

H. Kradenthaller, *Deliciarum musicalium Erster Theil* (Nuremberg, 1675) '1.Sonatina'.

1.Sonatina.

Violino I
Violino II
Violetta
Violon
Cembalo

6 6 4 3 6
7 6 1 4 3 5 6
6 4 1 4 1

For 3 parts: 2 Violinen and 1 Fagotto or Viola da Gamba: alternatively, 1 Violino and 2 Viola da Gamba, or 1 Trambona or 1 Fagotto, [all] in addition to the B[asso] c[ontinuo].¹⁴

Unfortunately, this edition is now lost. Even if the provision of alternatives was simply an attempt by the composer or publisher to widen the commercial appeal of the collection, the implication seems to be that there was no shortage of wind players in Hamburg, even if gambists were in short supply. In addition, this may be an example of how suites could be played with a mixture of wind and string instruments: it would certainly explain the appearance of a single movement for '2.Violino: 2.Cornetto è Basso' in Becker's *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* when the rest of the collection is devoted to string music.¹⁵

As well as alternatives of instrumentation, inner parts could sometimes be omitted. In Daniel Speer's three 'quodlibet' collections of popular songs and instrumental music, the title pages describe the viola parts as being 'optional' ('ad placitum'). Rosenmüller's 1667 *Sonata da*

camera also carries similar instructions. As we shall see in Chapter 8, there are also manuscript arrangements of movements from *Sonata da camera* where the two violas have been omitted in order to produce trios. In Scheffelhut's 1685 *Lieblicher Frühlings-Anfang oder Musicalischer Seyten-Klang*, the four-part instrumentation of the collection is for two violins, 'Viola di Braccio', 'Bassus Viola' and a figured bass part. According to the preface: 'if necessary, the Viola di Braccio can be omitted from the Allemands, Courants, Sarabandes and Arias' ('die Viola di Braccio kan wol im Rohtfall in den Allemanden, Couranten, Ballo, Sarabanden und Arien außgelassen werden'). The preludes and giges that start and end the suites in this collection are not included in this list, and presumably these must use the full instrumentation.

There are also times when a similar process is written into the instrumentation, and is therefore not optional as it is in *Lieblicher Frühlings-Anfang*. For example, in each suite of Furchheim's 1674 *Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung*, the five instrumental parts of the opening sonatas are reduced to four in the following movements by the combining of the two violin parts into a single unison part. This kind of part reduction within a single suite may represent a specifically German tradition. It seems to have been first used by Schein in his *Banchetto Musicale* where the final allemande of each suite is in four instrumental parts rather than the five used for the preceding movements. The tradition may have started as an attempt to highlight the melody in dance movements, and this may be the case in Furchheim's collection. But Volume V of *Parergon musicum* by the Leipzig composer J. C. Horn contains sonatas that change from five to four parts, and back again, within the course of the movement.¹⁶ In Horn's case, the tradition had clearly moved beyond dance movements.

Paul Whitehead seems to misunderstand the title pages to Balthasar Christoph Wust's 1666 *Continuatio exercitii musici* and 1670 *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda* collections when he states that the title pages allow performance by 'a single violin and bass instrument'.¹⁷ This is not the case. The title page to *Continuatio exercitii musici* reads as follows:

Exquisite allemandes, ballets, gavottes, giges, courantes and sarabandes, set for the treble and bass by the leading violinists of our time, but in order to find favour with lovers of fine music, there have been additionally composed two voices and a general bass to match the first fifty pieces, so that all of them are [now] for two treble parts, viola and two basses.

außerlesenen Allemanden, Balletten, Gavotten, Giquen, Couranten und Sarabanden, Welche theils von den besten Violisten dieser Zeit mit Discant und Baß gesetzt / den Liebhabern aber der edlen Music zu gefallen zwey Stimmen und General Baß neben den ersten funffzig Stücken darzu componirt / und also alle mit zweyen Discänten / einer Braccio und zweyen Bässen.

On the title page of *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda*, the treble and bass pieces are said to be 'enlarged with two [additional] instruments and continuo, and all of them have two treble, one viola and two bass parts' (mit zweyen Stimmen und General-Bass vermehrt/und also alle mit zweyen Discanten einer Braccio und zweyen Bässen). There is no suggestion of performance by the outer parts alone. As we have seen in Chapter 1, dance music was often transmitted in two-stave versions: Wust was merely describing the process of arrangement and enlargement of

two-stave sources.

The preface to *Banchetto musicale*, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, indicates the importance of key in the way that suites and collections were organised. We have also seen in Chapter 1 that suites can be normally defined by the use of a single key throughout a sequence of dances. The only regular exception to this is in suites linked to the Viennese tradition.¹⁸ However, two suites in the second volume of Kradenthaller's *Deliciarum musicalium*, published in 1676, also provide exceptions. The final suite of the collection appears to use more than one key for its sequence of dance movements although the exact constitution of this suite is unclear. The sequence starts with a series of movements in E \flat major: these are followed by a courante in B \flat major, an aria in B \flat minor, a *trezza* and aria both in B \flat major. Perhaps these last four movements were added for the performer to use in any way he desired. But in the second suite of the collection, there can be no doubt that Kradenthaller makes use of three different keys. The movements, and their keys, are:

6.Sonatina [F major] / 7.Ballo [F major] / 8.Aria [F minor] / 9.Gagliarda [F major] /
10.Aria [A \flat major] / 11.Trezza [F major] / 12.Aria [F major]

The combination of F major and F minor, followed by A \flat major and a return to F major, strongly suggests the influence of Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, although there is no evidence that Kradenthaller ever travelled to Vienna. On a musical level, there is nothing in *Deliciarum musicalium* that can match the work of Schmelzer. But Kradenthaller's pieces are well crafted and frequently rise above the commonplace. The sonata of the opening suite of *Deliciarum musicalium* has already been given as Example 2a. The complete suite is given in Appendix II.

Town composers tended to employ a narrower range of dance movements than their colleagues in the courts. Table 2.1 lists the use of allemandes, sarabandes and giges as opening and closing movements in selected collections of municipal suites issued between 1660 and 1688. The table indicates that the allemande was by far the most popular movement with which to open a suite or a sequence of dances. The presence of an introductory abstract movement, such as a sonata, to preface a suite does not appear to have made any difference to the use of the allemande as the first in a series of dances.

The sarabande was regularly employed as the closing movement in a suite until the late 1660s. Richard Hudson has identified three types of sarabande: the sung Spanish sarabande, the fast French sarabande, later imported into Italy, and the last to emerge, the slow French sarabande.¹⁹ It appears that the type used in most municipal suites corresponds to the fast French, or Italian, model. Hudson suggests that the fast French sarabande is recognisable by its 'distinctive rhythmic figure' of $\frac{3}{4}$ $\text{♩} \text{♩} \text{♩} | \text{♩} \text{♩}$, but we should be wary of applying this distinction to the German variety.²⁰ German composers did not always keep to this rhythm.

As the second half of the century progressed, the gigue gradually usurped the sarabande as the most popular choice of closing movement. Paul Whitehead suggests that the use

Table 2.1:

Allemandes, sarabandes and giges as opening and closing movements in selected municipal suite collections.

Composer	Date	Title	Place	Opening movements	Closing movements
N.B.N. (ed.)	1660	<i>Exercitium musicum</i>	?	Allemande [x10]; Intrada [x2]; others [x3]	Sarabande [x11]; Gigue [x2]; others [x2]
Rothe	1660	<i>Erstmahlig Musicalische Freuden - Gedichte</i>	Altenburg	Allemande [x5]; Ballo [x8]	Sarabande [x11]; others [x2]
Beck (ed.)	1666	<i>Continuatio exercitii musici</i>	?Frankfurt	Allemande [throughout]	Sarabande [x13]; Gigue [x2]; other [x1]
Druckenmüller	1668	<i>Musicalisches Tafel-Confect; Bestehend in VII. Partyen</i>	Schwäbisch Hall	Allemande [x3]; other [x1]	Sarabande [x1]; Gigue [x3]
Becker	1668	<i>Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte</i>	Hamburg	Allemande [x3]; other [x1]	Sarabande [x1]; Gigue [x3]
Beck (ed.)	1670	<i>Continuatio exercitii musici secunda</i>	Frankfurt	Allemande [x21]; Intrada [x2]; others [x2]	Sarabande [x23]; Gigue [x2]
Reusner	1670	<i>Musicalische Gesellschafts ergetzung</i>	Brieg	Allemande [throughout]	Gigue [x9]; other [x1]
Kessel	1672	<i>Fünff Stimmige Symphonien, Sonaten, ein Canzon, nebst Allmanden, Couranten, Balletten und Sarabanden</i>	Oels	Allemande [throughout]	Sarabande [x7]; Gigue [x1]
Pezel	1672	<i>Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung</i>	Leipzig	Allemande [throughout]	Gigue [throughout]
Abel	1674	<i>Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen ... Pars prima</i>	Hanover	Allemande [throughout]	Gigue [throughout]
Becker	1674	<i>Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten</i>	Hamburg	Allemande [x7]; other [x1]	Gigue [throughout]
Furchheim	1674	<i>Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung / Mit 5. instrumenten</i>	Dresden	Allemande [throughout]	Gigue [throughout]
Kradenthaller	1675	<i>Deliciarum musicalium, Erster Theil</i>	Regensburg	Allemande [x1]; Aria [x5]; other [x1]	Gigue [throughout]
Abel	1676	<i>Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen...Pars secunda</i>	Hanover	Allemande [throughout]	Sarabande [x2]; Gigue [x9]; other [x1]
Kradenthaller	1676	<i>Deliciarum musicalium, Anderer Theil</i>	Regensburg	Allemande [x2]; Aria [x5]; others [4]	Sarabande [x1]; Gigue [x5]; others [x5]
Scheffelhut	1685	<i>Lieblicher Frühlings-Anfang oder Musicalischer Seyten-</i>	Augsburg	Allemande [throughout]	Gigue [throughout]
Reincken	1688	<i>Hortus musicus</i>	Hamburg	Allemande [throughout]	Gigue [throughout]

of the gigue as a closing movement had gained 'favored status' by the 1670s, and Table 2.1 largely confirms this.²¹ German giges seem to have developed their own particular characteristics. Bruce Gustavson describes these as 'propulsive duple-compound meter, an emphasis upon counterpoint, and the literal or approximate inversion of the first strain's theme in the second strain'.²² This 'propulsive' quality no doubt assisted greatly in the adoption of the gigue, and not the sarabande, as a finale. In addition, the counterpoint of the closing gigue could produce a satisfactory symmetry to balance the counterpoint of an opening sonata. *The New Grove* (2001) links the introduction of the gigue into the German suite with the keyboard works of Johann Jacob Froberger, one of the most widely travelled musicians of the seventeenth century.²³ Between 1649 and 1653 alone, he visited Dresden, Brussels, Utrecht, London, Paris and Regensburg.²⁴ Rudolf Rasch has described 1649 as 'a pivotal year': he defines it as marking the start of the dissemination of Froberger's keyboard music throughout Europe.²⁵

The popularity of Froberger's keyboard suites continued until well into the eighteenth century, and a number of them were issued in printed editions by the Amsterdam publishing houses. In these Amsterdam editions, the sequence of movements was changed in order to move the gigue, which Froberger seems to have usually placed second, to the end of the suite.²⁶ I have been unable to find evidence of the same type of change in consort suites. But manuscript D-W Cod-Guelf.34.7 Aug. appears to show giges being added to existing suites that previously ended with a sarabande. This manuscript contains a little-known collection of suites entitled 'Violino et Viola Sol. Di Giovan Giacomo Froberger'. The suites are laid out on two staves, and the unfigured 'viola' bass line is presumably for viola da gamba. The collection is dated 1662 and the copyist is named as 'Jacobo Ludovico', a musician working in Gotha. All three of the suites attributed to Froberger follow the same sequence of allemande, courante, sarabande and gigue. But there are reasons to think that the giges were added as an afterthought. Apart from the giges, the movements of each suite share a common key. As a change of key for a concluding movement is not something that is found elsewhere in Froberger's suites, it is reasonable to conclude that someone else added the giges. This type of addition of a concluding gigue seems to be an isolated incidence. As we can see in Table 2.1, a single collection might contain both sarabandes and giges as concluding movements.

There can be little doubt that the variation suite, as it is now known, is one of the most important genres of suites by town musicians. According to Alexander Silbiger, 'variation sets were often included among suites during the period, and the designation 'partite' was applied to both genres'.²⁷ Although Silbiger was principally concerned with the keyboard suite, his comment is equally valid for the consort repertoire. The variation suite used the techniques of variation to link two or more movements of a suite together. The most common technique was the use of the same, or similar, melodic fragment at the start of two or more movements. These melodic fragments are usually known as 'head-motifs'.

Although variation suites were rare in France, they were known in England and Ger-

many for much of the seventeenth century.²⁸ Modern scholars have tended to confine the variation suite to the early part of the century: Karl Nef considered Paul Peuerl's 1611 *Neue Padouan, Intrada, Dantz und Galliarda* to be 'the formal high point of the variation suite', while Paul Nettl considered the influence of what he called 'the through-variation suite' to be over by 'around 1650'.²⁹ The 1986 *New Oxford History of Music* suggests that 'the variation technique [in Germany] was largely abandoned or treated very casually [after 1635]'.³⁰ *The New Grove* (London, 2001) does allow that 'suites of thematically related dances continued to be written throughout the 17th century and into the 18th', but also suggests that 'the vitality had gone out of the variation suite [by 1637]... the only systematic collection of variation suites to be published was the *Hortus musicus* [by Reincken]'.³¹ Only Robert S. Hill has argued against 'the present music-historical perspective [that] predominantly gives the Variation suite a special place at the beginning of the 17th Century'.³² But Hill limits his support for the later importance of the variation suite to the works of Johann Adam Reincken and, in the following chapter, I shall argue for the existence of a tradition of suite writing, based not only on works of Reincken, but on a late resurgence of the variation suite that flourished in Hamburg from the 1660s until the 1680s.

Nef's assessment of Peuerl's 1611 *Neue Padouan* may be exaggerated, but the collection was clearly an important and influential one. The collection is made up of ten suites, each with the same sequence of dances:

Padouan / Intrada / Dantz / Galliarda.

If the use of an intrada as the second movement seems strange, we should not forget that the paduan was frequently used as an introductory movement until at least the 1650s. The collection also contains two additional pairs of paduan and *dantz*. Variation techniques are not used consistently in every suite, but Example 2b shows how Peuerl linked 'XVII Padouan', 'XVIII Intrada' and 'XX Galliarda' of the fifth suite of the collection. The techniques are used in a comparatively straightforward way: the linking head-motif only has the three notes D,G,D.

Perhaps a more balanced view of the early history of the German variation suite comes from Herman Beck: he suggests that it was not just Peuerl, but Johann Hermann Schein who 'laid the foundations to the subsequent history of the German suite'.³³ Schein was educated in Leipzig, and returned there to become *Thomaskantor* from 1616 until his death in 1630. *Banchetto musicale* was published in Leipzig in 1617. This collection of twenty suites is one of the finest to be issued in Germany before the Thirty Years War, not only on account of its organisation as a collection, but also because of its outstanding musical quality. Its influence can barely be overestimated, and I shall be returning to it a number of times in this dissertation. The collection follows a similar format to Peuerl's *Neue Padouan*: according to the preface, it contains:

padouans, galliards, courantes and allemandes, all placed in such an order that they correspond to one another in tone and invention.

Example 2b:

P. Peuerl, *Neue Padouan, Intrada, Dantz und Galliarda* (Nuremberg, 1611), movement openings in the fifth suite.

XVII Padouan

Cantus
Altus
Tenor
Basis (sic)

XVIII Intrada

Cantus
Altus
Tenor
Basis (sic)

XIX Dantz

Cantus
Altus
Tenor
Basis (sic)

XX Galliarda

Cantus
Altus
Tenor
Basis (sic)

Source:

P. Peuerl, I. Posch, *Instrumental- und Vokalwerke*, ed. K. Geiringer, DTÖ, lxx, Jg. xxxvi/2

darin wirstu finden Padouenen, Gagliarden, Courenten, und Allemanden, welche in der Ordnung allwege also gesetzt / daß die beyders in Tono und inventione einander sein respondiren.

The movements of each suite remain in a single key. The same movement sequence is used throughout:

Padouana / Gagliarda / Courente / Allemande / Tripla.

As we have seen, the final allemande and 'tripla' variation are $\dot{a}4$ while the remainder of each suite is $\dot{a}5$. Only six of the twenty suites do not contain some form of melodic linking between one or more of their movements. The material used for the linking is lengthier than that used by Peuerl, sometimes extending over several bars. But perhaps the most interesting use of movement linking is between the concluding allemande of each suite and its 'tripla' variation. In each case, the variation is a triple-time recasting of the associated allemande.

This re-working of a duple-time movement into a triple-time one was a universally known technique dating from the previous century. For example, it had appeared in *Liber primus leviorum carminum omnis fere generis tripudia complectens* issued in 1571 by the Louvain publisher Pierre Phalèse. In most seventeenth-century examples of triple-time re-casting, it was usual for one bar of the duple-time movement to correspond to two bars of the triple-time movement. This has a clear parallel in the seventeenth-century concept of musical measure, derived from the mensural system, known as the *tactus*.³⁴ In this way, two notes of the *tactus* of a movement in common time become three notes in a time signature of C3/2. Praetorius termed the latter 'tactus inaequalis minore' or 'proportio sesquialtera'.³⁵ In the later part of the century, triple-time re-casting was usually confined to allemandes and courantes, and the relationship of the *proportio* was modified so that $\text{C} \downarrow \downarrow$ corresponded to $\text{C}3/2 \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$. The *proportio sesquialtera* time signature of C3/2 became the standard one for courantes in municipal suite collections. Given the continuing awareness of the *tactus* in dance music of the seventeenth century, we should not ignore the possibility that allemandes and courantes linked in this way should be played with a common pulse that reflects the *proportio*.

Later in the century, the variation suite enjoyed a revival of popularity in Hamburg. If it did not enjoy the same popularity in other parts of Germany, some of its techniques, especially movement linking, were widely used in municipal suite collections, though rarely in courtly suites. By the 1660s and beyond, it was the allemandes and courantes that were most likely to be linked. But there were exceptions: in Johann Wilhelm Furchheim's 1674 *Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung*, the *ballo*, second courante, and sarabande from the third suite of the collection are all melodically linked at the start of each movement. (See Example 2c.)

Movement linking was mostly carried out in the treble part. At other times, triple-time recasting was briefly used for the first few bars of a movement or strain. The use of a common bass line to link movements was much rarer. Niedt recommends it as a basis for improvisation in his 1706 *Handleitung zur Variation* and it is found in the works of Daniel Speer.³⁶ Like Niedt,

Example 2c:

J. W. Furchheim, *Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung* (Dresden, 1674) third suite, 'Ballo', 'Courant. 2.', 'Sarabande'.

Ballo
presto

[Violino I]
Violino II
Viola I
Viola II
Violon
Bassus Continuus

6 8 6 17 5 6 6

Courant. 2.

[Violino I]
Violino II
Viola I
Viola II
Violon
Bassus Continuus

6 8 6 17 5

Sarabande

[Violino I]
Violino II
Viola I
Viola II
Violon
Bassus Continuus

6 16 6 4 3

Speer was a theoretician: in addition to his satirical novels, his treatise *Grund-richtiger...Unterricht der Musicalischen Kunst* was published in 1687. Suites are included in three 'quodlibets', collections of popular songs and instrumental music. I have not been able to establish a link between the melodic material of the suites and German popular songs. The two suites in the 1668 *Musicalisch-Türckischer Eulen-Spiegel* have the same instrumentation of two violins, two violas and bass. As we have seen, the two viola parts are optional. As well as various melodic links, a common bass line links the openings of all six movements in the first suite and this is shown in Example 2d. The linking material in these bass lines is mundane, and Speer uses exactly the same tonic-leading note-tonic sequence in the bass line of the second movement of the following suite. It is not clear if this is a deliberate linking of material across suites. If it is, then Speer was showing far more imagination than he did in the music itself. The suites are musically uninspiring, and little more than barely competent.

It is possible that the mixture of dance and contrapuntal movements in Johann Guth's 1675 *Novitas musicalis* was influenced by Bononcini's *Varij fiori del giardino musicale*, published in Bologna in 1669. The latter comprised groups of dance movements, sonatas and 'Canoni studiosi'. According to its title page, Guth's collection is mainly devoted to 'canons and fugues for 2, 3 and four voices, along with a general bass'. A single suite is included in the collection:

23.Aria / 24.Courant / 25.Ballet / 26.Gigue.

Not surprisingly in a collection devoted to counterpoint, there is an imitative opening to the aria, and both strains of the gigue start in canon. The suite is far more competent than Speer's, but Guth's desire to incorporate contrapuntal devices at every opportunity makes the result rather stilted.

Given the strong link between the municipal suite and publication, we should consider the possibility that isolated municipal suites in the municipal style were copied from now-lost printed collections. One such example is the manuscript suite 'â5. Allemand: Courante: Sarab: Gigue é Bourre di Sig: Heinrich Broh' (S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.1:11). It is possible that 'Broh' may be a mis-spelling of 'Groh', and that the suite may be part of the collection listed in C.F. Becker's 1855 catalogue, *Die Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* as 'Groh, H, Tafel-Ergötzung in zwölf Suiten. Nürnberg, 1676'.³⁷ The parts are incomplete and 'Violino.1' is lacking the 'Bourre'.

Likewise, the anonymous manuscript suite S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.11:23 may come from a now-lost printed collection. If there were an opening sonata, it has not survived as part of this suite, and there are five dance movements, an allemande, courante, ballo, sarabande, and an untitled finale that is clearly a gigue. The openings of the allemande and courante are linked melodically. This suite could be the work of one of a number of composers. There is the inescapable impression that many town musicians were content to turn out dance movements that were competent but little more. The sarabande of this suite offers a good illustration of

Example 2d:

Movement openings in D. Speer, *Musicalisch-Türkischer Eulen-Spiegel* (n.p., 1688).

33. Sonata. à 5. 2. Viol. 2. Violaë

Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola I. Ad Placitum.
Viola II. Ad Placitum.
Continuus.

34. Ballet à 5. Viol.

Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola I. Ad Placitum.
Viola II. Ad Placitum.
Continuus.

35. Courant à 5. Viol.

Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola I. Ad Placitum.
Viola II. Ad Placitum.
Continuus.

this. It is given complete in Example 2e. It relies on a well-established formula, but that is all. Niedt's only musical comment on the sarabande was that it 'must have eight measures in each reprise' and this rather confirms the formulaic approach to dance movements that is apparent in the work of some town musicians.³⁸

I argued in the opening chapter that we should not attempt to define the suite by the imposition of a so-called 'classical' sequence of movements, and in the case of the municipal suite, it is the structure of the collection as a whole that often appears to be the most important factor. Individual movements, and the construction of individual suites, are almost a secondary

Example 2d (cont.):

36. Gavotto à 5. Viol.

Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola I. Ad Placitum.
Viola II. Ad Placitum.
Continuus.

The score for Gavotto à 5. Viol. is in 5/4 time and B-flat major. It consists of five staves. The first two staves are for Violino I and Violino II. The next two staves are for Viola I Ad Placitum and Viola II Ad Placitum. The bottom staff is for Continuus. The music is characterized by a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

37. Sarab. à 5. Viol.

Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola I. Ad Placitum.
Viola II. Ad Placitum.
Continuus.

The score for Sarab. à 5. Viol. is in 5/4 time and B-flat major. It consists of five staves. The first two staves are for Violino I and Violino II. The next two staves are for Viola I Ad Placitum and Viola II Ad Placitum. The bottom staff is for Continuus. The music is characterized by a slow, steady rhythm with long note values. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

38. Gique à 5. Viol.

Violino I.
Violino II.
Viola I. Ad Placitum.
Viola II. Ad Placitum.
Continuus.

The score for Gique à 5. Viol. is in 5/4 time and B-flat major. It consists of five staves. The first two staves are for Violino I and Violino II. The next two staves are for Viola I Ad Placitum and Viola II Ad Placitum. The bottom staff is for Continuus. The music is characterized by a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-5 below the notes.

consideration. As we have also seen in the opening chapter, there was a gradual return during the 1650s and '60s towards the type of careful organisation that distinguished collections such as *Banchetto musicale* at the start of the century. An example of this can be found in the organisation by sonority of Hans Hake's 1654 *Ander Theil Newer Pavanen, Sonaten, Arien, Balletten, Brandlen, Couranten, und Sarabanden*, which has already been discussed in Chapter 1. Perhaps the decline in printed editions during the time of the Thirty Years War caused musicians to seek out music from an earlier time.

Paul Whitehead has suggested that 'the music [in printed sources] might be arranged in an actual performing order ... or it might reflect some altogether more abstract criterion'.³⁹

Example 2e:

Manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.11:23, sarabande.

Sarrab:

For some suite collections issued before 1660, this appears to have some validity. And there is no doubt that, in some cases, he is right to question the relationship between printed and playing order. Publishers and printers may also have inserted material at will, or in error. For example, Johann Weichmann's 1649 *Ander Theil Newer zweystimmiger Ballet, Couranten, und Sarabanden* contains twenty-nine movements, mostly in pairs, arranged in ascending order of key from C major. The sequence is interrupted after the D minor pair by the insertion of a pair of movements in G minor, '7 Ballet' and '8 Courant'. Both these movements have a key signature of one flat, and it is possible that the printer confused these movements with the following F major pairs that have the same key signature. As we shall see later, Wust's *Continuatio exercitii musici* contains an even clearer suggestion of movements being misplaced.

Collections may also have been intended to give an element of personal choice to the performer. Wolf Ernst Rothe was probably a town musician in Altenburg. His 1660 *Erstmahlig*

Musicalische Freuden - Gedichte contains forty-nine dances, and there appears to be some grouping of movements by key. But problems arise within these groupings. For example, the dances in the following sequence are all in D major:

XIIX.Alemanda ♪ / XIX.Courant ♪ / XX.Sarabanda ♪ / XXI.Ballo ♪ / XXII.Courant ♪ /
XXIII.Sarabanda ♪ / XXIV.Ballo ♪ / XXV.Sarabanda ♪.

It is possible that this was intended to be a single sequence of movements. Equally, it could also represent three sequences each starting with an allemande or a *ballo*. Rothe's intentions are unclear, so the most likely solution is that the performer was free to make a personal choice.

If personal choice is only implied in Rothe's collection, it is mentioned specifically in the last section of Nicolaus Hase's 1656 collection, which has the following note:

Here I have composed several dances in the Polish manner for the music lover, for both his inner pleasure and physical pleasure, which can be used, according to his art, as he feels fit.

Hiebey habe dem Music-Liebhaber nechts den Gemüth-Ergetzungen /auch zur Leibsbeuregung etliche Tänze nach Pohnischer Arth gesetzt /welches er nach seiner Kunst /geneigt /gebrauchen wolle /dem ich mich empfehle.

We shall also see in the next chapter that personal choice seems to have played a large part in the Leipzig tradition.

Whitehead's suggestions of differences between printed and playing order appear unlikely for most collections issued after 1660. This can be demonstrated in the 1685 *Lieblicher Frühlings-Anfang oder Musicalischer Seyten-Klang* collection by the Augsburg teacher and instrumentalist, Jacob Scheffelhut. There are eight suites, all of which use the following movement sequence:

Præludium / Allemand / Courant / Ballo / Saraband / Aria / Gique.

It is hard to see how any other ordering of these movements could accurately reflect Scheffelhut's intentions for performance, and the printed order surely reflects the playing order. Even in isolated manuscript suites such as Furchheim's 'A 5.Prælud: Alemand. Courrant. Sarab: è Gique di J.W. Forchheim' (S-Uu Instr.mus. i hs. 3:12), there seems no reason to suggest that the movements were copied in anything other than the playing order. This is borne out by another copy of the suite in CZ-KRa, which gives an identical movement order.⁴⁰

We can also see the progressive tightening of organisational concepts by comparing Wust's 1666 *Continuatio exercitii musici* with his *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda* of four years later. Wust was principally a Bible publisher, but he seems to have had a particular association with music. The composers in the collection are not identified: they are merely referred to in the preface of *Continuatio exercitii musici* as 'the foremost composers of our time' ('von den fürnehmsten Componisten dieser Zeit'). According to their title pages, both the 1666 and 1670 volumes were 'issued and produced by Johann Hector Beck' ('herrauß gegeben und verfertigt

durch Johann Hector Beck'). Beck was a town musician in Frankfurt, although he had been dismissed from this post for a time as a result of 'indecent behaviour'.⁴¹ The title pages, along with the preface, would seem to imply that Beck was the arranger of these volumes, and not the composer.⁴² His status as arranger is confirmed by the appearance of 'XXVII Courante' from *Continuatio exercitii musici* and 'LXXXV Courante à 4' from *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda* in the manuscript source GB-Lbl Add.MS 31438. Here, they are part of a sequence of movements marked 'Gregorius Zubern 1^{do}. 1649. a.5 | u[nd] Franckfurt am Maÿn 1660'. This would appear to be Zuber's otherwise lost collection, *Paduanen, Galliarden, Arien, Balletten, Cour. Sarab. und einer Sonate* published in Lübeck in 1649, and reissued in 1660.⁴³

Hitherto, it has not been recognised that the only known exemplar of the 1666 volume, *Continuatio exercitii musici Bestehend in außerlesenen Allemanden, Balletten, Gavotten, Giquen, Couranten und Sarabanden* must be a second edition.⁴⁴ The title page of the 1670 volume, *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda Bestehend in außerlesenen Paduanen, Intradan, Allemanden, Balletten, Gavotten, Giquen, Couranten und Sarabanden* follows on immediately after the end of the 1666 volume: thus, the two parts of the S-Uu exemplar were printed as a whole. There can be little doubt that *Continuatio exercitii musici* was originally issued on its own: Göhler 2 gives 'Joan-Hectoris Beck Continuatio Exercitii musici' and the abbreviated date of 1666.⁴⁵ Clearly, it sold well; it must have been worthwhile for Wust to reissue it as part of one large collection containing both *Continuatio exercitii musici* and *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda*. The latter does not have its own preface: the one for *Continuatio exercitii musici* has to serve both volumes.⁴⁶ Tables 2.2a and 2.2b list the probable organisation of suites in *Continuatio exercitii musici* and *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda*. There is no formal identification of suites in either volume, but the table is based on the assumption that an allemande signals the start of a fresh suite. In *Continuatio exercitii musici*, the two suites in B \flat major present a problem in the ordering of their movements. They are given in the following order:

LX.Allemande / LXI.Courante / LXII.Sarabande.

LXIII.Allemande / LXIV.Ballet / LXV.Courante / LXVI.Sarabande / LXVII.Gavotte /
LXVIII.Ballet / LXIX.Gique / LXX.Courante / LXXI.Sarabande.

At first sight, the order of both suites does not seem to be particularly unusual, apart from the addition of a second ballet movement in the second suite. In any case, there are also two courantes in this same sequence. The problems arise with movement linking: the openings of 'LX. Allemande', 'LXII.Sarabande' and 'LXIV.Ballet' are all linked thematically. Linking across a pair of suites in this way would be most unusual: it is far more likely that the printer simply confused the two ballet movements. 'LXIV' was probably placed in the wrong suite, and as a result, 'LXVIII' may have been moved to a later place in the movement sequence. In Table 2.2a, I have returned both ballet movements to their seemingly rightful place.

The suites in both volumes are clearly defined, though those in the first volume are

Table 2.2a:

Apparent suite organisation in B. C. Wust (comp.), *Continuatio exercitii musici* (Frankfurt am Main, 1666).

Movement numbers	Movement titles	Key
I - VIII	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue / Gavotte / Gavotte[II] / Sarabande[II].	D minor
IX - XVI	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue / Gavotte / Gavotte[II] / Sarabande[II].	G minor
XVII - XXIV	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue / Gavotte / Ballet / Sarabande[II].	D major
XXV - XXXII	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue / Gavotte / Gavotte[II] / Sarabande[II].	F major
XXXIII - XLI	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue / Gavotte / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande[II].	C major
XLII - L	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue / Gavotte / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande[II].	C minor
LI - LIX	Allemande / Courante / Courante[II] / Sarabande / Gigue / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande[II] / Gavotte.	A minor
LX, LXIV, LXI, LXII †	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande.	B \flat major
LXIII, LXVIII, LXV - LXXI †	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gavotte / Gigue / Courante / Sarabande[II].	B \flat major
LXXII - LXXV	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande.	B minor
LXXVI - LXXXI	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gavotte / Gigue.	E minor
LXXXII - LXXXV	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue.	E minor
LXXXVI - XCI	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Gigue / Sarabande.	A major
XCII - XCV	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande.	G major
XCVI - XCIX	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande.	G major
C - CIV	Allemande / Ballet / Courante / Sarabande / Sarabande[II].	G major

Note:

† denotes a suggested change to the original movement order.

Table 2.2b:

Apparent suite organisation in Wust, *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda* (Frankfurt am Main, 1670).

Movement numbers	Movement titles	Key
I-V	Paduana à4 / Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Ballett à4 / Sarabande à4.	A minor
VI-IX	Allemande / Courante / Ballett / Sarabande.	A minor
X-XIII	Allemande à4 / Ballett à4 / Ballett à4 / Sarabande à4.	A minor
XIV-XVII	Ballett à4 / Courante [à4] / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	A major
XVIII-XXI	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Ballett à4 / Sarabande à4.	B \flat major
XXII-XXV	Allemande à4 / Gavotte à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	B \flat major
XXVI-XXIX	Allemande à4 [B \flat] / Gavotte à4 [g] / Courante à4 [B \flat] / Sarabande à4 [B \flat].	B \flat major / G minor
XXX-XXXIII	Allemande à4 [B \flat] / Gavotte. à4 [g] / Courante à4 [B \flat] / Sarabande à4 [B \flat].	B \flat major / G minor
XXXIV-XXXIIX	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Ballett à4 / Sarabande à4 / Gique à4.	C major
XXXIX-XLII	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Ballett à4 / Sarabande à4.	C major
XLIII-XLVII	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Ballett à4 / Sarabande à4 / Gique à4.	C major
XLVIII-LI	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Ballett à4 / Sarabande à4.	D major
LII-LX	Intrada à4 / Ballett à4 / Ballett à4[II] / Ballett à4[III] / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4 / Ballett à4[IV] / Courante à4[II] / Sarab.[II].	D major
LXI-LXIII	Allemande à 4 Violen / Courante. à 4 Viola / Sarabande à4.	D major
LXIV-LXVI	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	E minor
LXVII-LXIX	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	E minor
LXX-LXXII	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	E minor
LXXIII-LXXV	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	E minor
LXXVI-LXXVIII	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	F major
LXXIX-LXXXII	Allemande à4 / Ballet à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	F major
LXXXIII-LXXXVI	Allemande à4 / Ballet à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	F major
LXXXVII-XCI	Intrada à4 / Ballet à4 / Canaria à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	G major
XCII-XCIV	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	G major
XCV-XCVIII	Allemande à4 / Courante à4 / Allemande à4 / Sarabande à4.	C minor
XCIX-CII	Allemande à4 / Ballet à4 / Courante à4 / Sarabande à4.	D minor

rather more diverse in their choice of movements than those in the second. At the start of the first volume, it is possible, but by no means certain, that Beck added movements to what were originally allemande, ballet, courante, sarabande and gigue sequences. There is some evidence of the grouping of suites together by key, though not in any progressive order. As in Kradenthaller's *Deliciarum musicalium*, the clue to the start of each suite comes from the use of a particular movement. Allemandes appear to be used for this purpose more than any other movement. In addition, most of the material in the collection is grouped in ascending order of key. A group of movements at the end of the collection form a seemingly unconnected sequence: perhaps they were added to bring the total number of movements to more than one hundred, and thus match *Continuatio exercitii musici*.

The suite at the middle point of *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda* presents a contrast to those either side of it. It has nine movements rather than the three- four- or occasionally five-movement sequences found in the rest of the collection. The contrast is further highlighted by a change of instrumentation: two violins, viola and bass become violin, two violas and bass. The inclusion of a suite in a different style from the rest of the collection is found in other municipal suite collections. The most popular alternative was a single branle suite, mostly placed at the end of a collection, and Becker's *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* contains two such branle suites. But branles were not the only means of providing contrast: in the second volume of Abel's *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*, there is a colourful contrasting suite starting with a 'Sonata Battaglia'. The first violin part to the start of this movement is given in Illustration 2ii. The sounds of battle are clearly portrayed.

Finally, there are suites by court musicians written in the municipal style. As we have seen in the opening chapter, conditions of employment at the courts were sometimes precarious, and musicians could easily find themselves out of work. Although there is no specific evidence that any of the following suites or collections were linked with applications for municipal posts, the composers in each case were seemingly interested in becoming town musicians. Publication was clearly effective in helping to secure a municipal post: Pezel, on the strength of his published collections, was apparently offered the post of 'principal musician' in Bautzen in 1680 without the need for any audition.⁴⁷ After an unsuccessful application for a post in Hamburg, Clemens Thieme was employed at the court in Zeitz between 1663 and 1668. The title of his suite in manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.9:3a/b describes him as 'Capellae magister in Zeitz', an indication that it must have been copied during this time. However, it is possible that a suite so clearly intended to be in the municipal style may have been associated with Thieme's Hamburg application. Although the sonata has a separate shelfmark from the movements that follow it, the wrapper lists the sonata and its following movements as being part of the same work. In each of the instrumental parts, the movements all follow each other without a break. They are:

Illustration 2ii:

C. H. Abel, *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1676) '51. Sonata Battaglia'.

51. Sonata Battaglia.

Sonata à5 / Præludium à4 / Allemand à5 / Courant à5 / Saraband à5 / Chiquæ à5.

We have seen how German composers sometimes varied the instrumentation within their suites, particularly by changing from $\grave{a}4$ to $\grave{a}5$. The second abstract movement in this suite provides a further example. The two violin parts are combined to make the reduction. In addition, Thieme does not restrict himself to a common key centre. The sonata, prelude, allemande and courante are all in $B\flat$ major, but the sarabande and the start of the gigue are in G minor. The latter quickly moves to $B\flat$ major, and it is this key in which the movement finishes. The gigue is given as Example 2f. As we shall see in Chapter 7, this type of circular key scheme is often found in the works of J. H. Schmelzer. But if Thieme's suite dates from around 1663, it would represent a very early use of such a key scheme, possibly even earlier than Schmelzer's.

Manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.9:3c is a further copy of the same suite, but without the gigue. The instrumentation of two violins and bass might suggest that it is a trio reduction, made by omitting the two viola parts of Instr.mus.i hs.9:3a/b. But the title of the sonata still retains its $\grave{a}5$ designation, and there are three copies of the bass part, which suggests a large ensemble. In any case, the fine part writing in much of the suite would be ruined by the omission of the viola parts. Perhaps they have not survived in this source. Thieme was clearly an accomplished musician. In contrast to the formulaic approach to dance movement writing that I discussed earlier, he brings genuine imagination as well as craftsmanship to his dances, and the

Example 2f:

'Praeludium a4, Allemand a5, Courant a5, Saraband a5, Chique a5, ab Authore Clemens Time, Capellae magister in Zeitz' (S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.9:3a/b) gigue.

Chiquæ a5

The musical score is arranged in six staves. The top staff is Violino I, Violino II, Braccio I, Braccio II, Fagotto o violone, and Continuo. The score is in 12/8 time and features a complex rhythmic pattern. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Continuo part starting on a 6. The second system continues the piece, with the Continuo part starting on a 6, 7, 6, 6, 6, 6, 6, 7, 6. The third system continues the piece, with the Continuo part starting on a 6.

Example 2f (cont):

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of six staves. The first system includes a bass line with the following fingering numbers: 5, 4, 5, 4, 5, 4. The second system includes a bass line with the following fingering numbers: 5, 4, 1, 6, 6.

suite deserves to be better known.

For much of his career, Clamor Heinrich Abel was not a town musician: he was employed at the courts of Celle and Hanover. During his time at the latter he issued the two volumes of *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*. Not surprisingly, the first, dated 1674, was dedicated to his princely employer. But the second, issued in 1676, was dedicated to the 'Burgermeistern / Syndicis' at Bremen. If this was a hint that Abel wished for a position at Bremen, it was unsuccessful. A further volume of *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*, this time for a single violin and bass, was issued in 1677. Here, Abel named each dedicatee burgher individually. But success was still limited: he was not given an appointment in Bremen until 1694.

In all ten suites that make up the first volume of *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen*, the abstract movement preceding the dance sequences is divided into a 'Præludium' and an *allegro* 'Sonatina'. Illustration 2iii shows how the first violin part of '6.Præludium' and its accompany-

Illustration 2iii:

C. H. Abel, *Erstlinge Musicalischer Blumen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1674) '6. Præludium', 'Sonatina'.

(8)

6. Præludium.

adagio. allegro.

forte. piano.

Sonatina.

Allegro.

ing 'Sonatina' are grouped together as one movement. With one exception, all the suites have the following sequence of movements:

Præludium / Sonatina / Allemanda / Corrente / Sarabanda / Gique.

The exception is in the second suite of the collection, which contains an extra sarabande and gigue. As well as the twin abstract movements that start each suite, the dances themselves, particularly the allemandes and giges, are frequently substantial in length. Perhaps this was a deliberate attempt to impress the listener. Abel does not always rise to the musical challenge that he sets himself by writing at length, and there is too much reliance on the repetition of phrases or note sequences. Perhaps he realised this, for the 1676 second volume is simpler and musically more successful.

At the time of publication of his 1670 *Musicalische Gesellschafts ergetzung bestehend in Sonaten, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Gavotten, und Gigen*, Esaias Reusner was a lutenist at the court of the Duke of Silesia in Brieg. The collection is not part of the courtly tradition, but follows the style of a municipal suite collection. Reusner moved to a brief university appointment in Leipzig only two years after the publication of *Musicalische Gesellschafts ergetzung*. Perhaps the publication was intended to provide an example of his work to the university authorities. It is

made up of ten suites, nine of which have the following sequence of movements:

Sonata / Allemanda / Courant / Sarab[ande] / Gavotte / Gigue.

The tenth suite omits the gavotte, and replaces the gigue with a second courante. The long list of errata at the start of the violin part-book suggests that Reusner did not have much control over the early stages of the printing process. The instrumentation is for violin, two violas and bass. The lengthy sonatas are multi-sectioned: perhaps Reusner, like Abel, was deliberately trying to impress. No doubt as a result of Reusner's courtly background as a lutenist, the courantes are in the French manner, and are typically complex in their phrasing and rhythm. Example 2g shows the opening of the splendid '9.Courant' from the second suite of the collection. Like Theime's example discussed earlier, the strength of the suites in this collection is in the quality of their dance movements. This is surely attributable to Reusner's work as a lutenist, but again demonstrates how courtly composers often brought a quality of imagination to their dance movements that is sometimes lacking in the work of the town composers.

Johann Wilhelm Furchheim was a court musician at Dresden, and the present-day existence of manuscript copies of his music in such geographically diverse places as Kroměříž and Uppsala suggests that his music was widely disseminated. As we have seen, his 1674 *Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung Mit 5. instrumenten* shows many of the characteristics of a municipal collection. The title page of the 'Violino I' part-book is missing. It is likely that a further page containing a dedication is also missing. The collection is made up of three multi-sectioned sonatas and three suites. There is no relationship between the sonatas and the suites. Like Abel and Becker, Furchheim uses two abstract movements to start each suite. Unlike Abel, Furchheim makes each sonata and prelude a separate movement in the same manner of Becker's sonatas and preludes in manuscript D-Hs M B/2463.⁴⁸ But unlike Becker's 'Praeludi allabrevi', Furchheim's preludes are not contrapuntal movements. The 'Præludium' from the third suite is typical of the collection and is shown in Example 2h. Similar *cantus firmus*-like upper parts are also found in the other preludes. The sonatas that start each suite are simpler than the three stand-alone sonatas at the start of the collection: they are in a simple A-B-A format with the repeat of the first section simply being labelled 'Ut supra'. The sonata of the fifth suite has a brief *adagio* coda following the 'Ut supra' repeat.

As we have seen earlier in the chapter, the $\dot{a}5$ sonatas are followed by $\dot{a}4$ preludes and dance movements in which the first and second violins play in unison. All three suites employ a similar sequence of movements. The first and second suites have the following sequence:

Sonata / Præludium / Allemande / Couranta 1 / Couranta 2 / Sarabande / Gigue.

The third suite inserts a ballo between the two courantes. The inclusion of two courantes might seem to suggest the French *en suite* practice considered in the opening chapter. The courantes themselves are not as complex as those by Reusner, but they are substantial movements, and

Example 2g:E. Reusner, *Musicalische Gesellschafts* (Brieg, 1670) '9.Courant'.

9. Courant.

longer than most examples in municipal suites. The remainder of the dances often show considerable subtlety. As in Reusner's case, it seems reasonable to cite his experience as a court composer. But Reusner was also aware of the organisational concepts in municipal suite collections and *Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung* does contain some movement linking. Curiously, Furchheim does not always link the usual allemande and courante pair: in the third suite, the linking is between the *ballo*, second courante and sarabande.

Bernd Baselt is not completely incorrect in suggesting that the arrival of German-Lullianism 'finally sealed the fate of the old variation suite'.⁴⁹ As we shall see, the variation suite continued to exist, albeit in its parallel keyboard tradition, into the following century.⁵⁰ But by the end of the 1680s, the municipal consort suite was becoming something of a rarity, and Baselt is certainly right in linking this decline to the spread of Lullianism throughout the German courts. It also appears that Frenchmen could be appointed to municipal posts. The Frenchman Roger Morell was made a town musician in Wismar in 1694, even though 'his knowledge of music, in the French manner, was quite different from the German music here'.⁵¹ If this demonstrates that the Lullian style was still unknown in some areas of Germany in the 1690s, the appointment may also be seen as an attempt to remedy the situation. Suites and collections written in the early part of the eighteenth century by composers such as Cousser, Pez

Example 2h:

J. W. Furchheim, *Musicalische Taffel-Bedienung Mit 5. instrumenten* (Dresden, 1674) third suite, 'Præludium'.

Præludium
presto

[Violino I]
Violino II
Viola I
Viola II
Violon
Bassus Continuus

This system shows the beginning of the piece. The Violino I and II parts play whole notes. The Viola I and II parts play a rhythmic eighth-note pattern. The Violon and Bassus Continuus parts play whole notes. The tempo is marked 'presto'.

This system continues the musical texture from the first system, with the same instrumental parts and rhythmic patterns.

This system concludes the musical score. The figured bass notation at the bottom of the system is: 16, 6 3, 4, 8 5 4, 7 3.

and Fischer all had their origins in Lullianism. They owed little to the municipal tradition of the seventeenth century.

We shall see that there were some fine suites written in Hamburg and Leipzig. Elsewhere, it is reasonable to say that town musicians do not always seem to have been greatly inspired by the writing of dance movements. It seems that in their attempts to gain favour in the municipalities, some of the best examples of municipal suite writing came not from town musicians, but from their colleagues at court.

Notes to Chapter 2:

1. J. H. Schein, *Banchetto musicale 1617*, ed. D. Krickeberg (Kassel, 1967).
2. [C. Jordan de Colomnier] *Voyages Historiques de L'Europe Tome VI...Par Mr. De B.F. Nouvelle Edition* (2nd edition, Amsterdam, 1718), 200-1.
3. J. Burbery (trans.), *The History of the Sacred and Royal Majesty of Christina Alessandra Queen of Swedland With the Reasons of her late Conversion to the Roman Catholique Religion* (London, 1658), ii, 116-7.
4. R. Vierhaus, trans. J. Knudsen, *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1988 repr. 1991), 50.
5. De Blainville, trans. G. Turnbull & W. Guthrie, *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Other Parts of Europe ... by the late Monsieur de Blainville*, 3 vols. (London, 1757), i, 218, entry for 26th June, 1705.
6. *Ibid.*, 93, entry for 21st March, 1705.
7. *Ibid.* 93, entry for 21st March, 1705.
8. This collection is discussed in Chapter 3.
9. H. Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, NY, 2003), 57.
10. Text and translation, the latter with minor alterations, taken from H. Beck (trans. R. Kolben), *The Suite* (Anthology of Music 26; Cologne, 1966), 39.
11. Philmeri Irenici Elisii, *Diarii Europæi* (Frankfurt am Mayn, 1667), xiv, 413.
12. K. J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude Organist in Lübeck* (New York, 1987, repr. 1993), 57.
13. H. Howey, 'The lives of Hoftrompeter and Stadtpfeiffer as portrayed in three novels of Daniel Speer' in *Historical Brass Society Journal* iii (1991), 72.
14. A. Göhler (comp.), *Verzeichnis der in den Frankfurter und Leipziger Messkatalogen der Jahre 1564 bis 1759 angezeigten Musikalien* (Leipzig, 1902), 2, entry 1539.
15. The contents of *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* are listed in Table 3.6, and the collection is further discussed in Chapter 3.
16. Later use of this tradition in Leipzig is dealt with in Chapter 3.
17. P. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources of Instrumental Music, 1630 to 1700', Ph.D. diss. (University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 376.
18. The Viennese suite is discussed in Chapter 7.

19. R. Hudson, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne. The historical evolution of four forms that originated in music for the five-course Spanish guitar* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), ii, xvi-xx.
20. *Ibid.*, ii, xvi.
21. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources', 174-178.
22. B. Gustavson (ed.), *Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198* (17th Century Keyboard Music 22; New York and London, 1987), introduction, vii.
23. D. Fuller, 'Suite' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxiv, 665-684.
24. See R. Rasch, 'Johann Jacob Froberger's travels 1649-1653' in C. Hogwood (ed.), *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe* (Cambridge, 2003), 19-35.
25. *Ibid.*, 19.
26. H. Schott (ed.), *J.J. Froberger, œuvres complètes pour clavecin* (Paris, 1992), ii. preface.
27. A. Silbiger (ed.), *Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. KN 147* (17th Century Keyboard Music 9; New York and London, 1988), introduction, vi.
28. See Gustavson (ed.), *Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. Ant. Pract. 1198*, introduction, vii.
29. C. Nef, *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig, 1921), 35; P. Nettel, *Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Studien zur Musikwissenschaft viii, Vienna, 1921), 61.
30. W. Kolneder, 'Music for instrumental ensemble, 1630-1700' in G. Abraham (ed.), *Concert Music (1630-1750)* (New Oxford History of Music vi, Oxford, 1986), 186-232.
31. Fuller, 'Suite' in *The New Grove*, (2001), xxiv, 665-684.
32. R. S. Hill, 'Stilanalyse und Überlieferungsproblematik' in A. Edler & F. Krummacher (eds.) *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit. Bericht über das Lübecker Symposium 1987* (Kassel, 1990), 205.
33. H. Beck (trans. R. Kolben), *The Suite* (Anthology of Music 26; Cologne, 1966), 39.
34. See G. Houle, *Meter in Music 1600-1800* (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 1987).
35. *Ibid.*, 21.
36. Niedt's treatise is discussed in the following chapter.
37. C. Becker, *Die Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts oder Systematisch-Chronologische Zusammenstellung* (Leipzig, 1855), 292. There is no mention of this collection in E. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft ii, Kassel, 1934).
38. F. E. Niedt, *Handleitung zur Variation* (Hamburg, 1706); translated as *Friederich Erhardt Niedt / The musical guide* (trans. P. Poulin & I. Taylor; Oxford, 1989), 171.
39. Whitehead, 'Austro-German sources', 126.
40. 'Balletti: a:5: 1 Violino. 4. Violetta: Ao 1666 Die 22: 7bris Scriptum' (CZ-KRa A 825).
41. E. Kjellberg & P. Whitehead, 'Beck, Johann Hector' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), iii, 43.
42. Meyer takes the opposite view and lists Beck as the composer. See Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik* 186. The collections are also entered under Beck's name in RISM B 1522 and B 1523.
43. *Ibid.*, 258, also Göhler 2/1726. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources' 464, lists the edition as being lost.
44. S-Uu Utl. instr.mus.tr.1-5.
45. Göhler, 2/78.

46. I am grateful to Anders Edling, the music librarian at S-Uu for his help in providing information concerning the binding of these two volumes.
47. See H. W. Schwab, 'The Social Status of the Town Musician' in Salmen, W. (ed.), trans. H. Kaufman & B. Reisner, *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th. Century* (Sociology of Music No. 1, New York, 1983), 33-59.
48. The sonatas and suites by Becker in this manuscript are discussed in the following chapter.
49. B. Baselt, 'Philipp Heinrich Erlebach und seine VI Ouvertures, begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen Airs, nach französischer Art und Manier (Nürnberg 1693)' in G. Fleischhauer, W. Ruf, B. Siegmund, F. Zschoch (eds.), *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 49* (Michaelstein, 1996), 10.
50. The continuation of the municipal suite tradition in keyboard music at the start of the eighteenth century is further discussed in Chapter 9.
51. Schwab, 'The Social Status of the Town Musician', 37.

Variation and Choice

Leipzig and Hamburg: Two Individual Traditions

Hamburg has been described as 'the most flourishing musical city of the North German region', and Leipzig 'the most significant trade centre for eastern Europe'.¹ As a result of this dominant trading position, both cities were quickly able to recover from the ravages of the Thirty Years War. In Leipzig, the ravages of war had been particularly severe, but the only lasting legacy of this time seems to be the absence of the permanent music-printing establishments that had been in existence at the end of the previous century.

I shall argue in this chapter that Hamburg and Leipzig possessed their own traditions of municipal suite writing. In Leipzig, this flourished for most of the century; in Hamburg, the tradition was seemingly at its height during the 1660s, '70s and '80s. In both traditions, the variation suite played a central part. Hamburg can be considered to be the home of the final, and perhaps best, versions of the genre, but Leipzig composers were also heavily dependent on its techniques. If the Hamburg tradition was based on a revival of an earlier style, the Leipzig tradition was a force for much of the century, and I shall discuss it first.

In most respects, Leipzig music making was no different from that of Hamburg or any other town or city. Support and patronage for Leipzig's musicians and composers came from the wealthy merchant classes. Although the preface to Rosenmüller's 1654 *Studenten-Music* complains about the circulation of unauthorised manuscript copies of his music, it seems that most instrumental collections were issued as printed editions. An important difference between Leipzig and elsewhere was in the regular use of student musicians, presumably from the university. Rosenmüller's *Studenten-Music* was written for just such a body of players, and it is likely that the students and amateurs who made up Leipzig's *Collegium musicum* played many of the suites and collections discussed in this chapter. Most Leipzig suite collections use four- or five-part string ensembles, which frequently included the use of the *Fagott* or, in its later form, the bassoon. The title page of the 1717 *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister oder gründlicher Erklärung der Frantzösischen Tantz-Kunst*, a treatise by the Leipzig dancing master Gottfried Taubert, shows just such an ensemble.² This is confirmed in the text of the treatise, where the bassoon, along with the violone, is described as 'belonging together with the French dance' ('als Violinen mit Violonen und Bassonen untermenget zum Frantzösischen Tantzen schicken'). Taubert also

mentions trumpets, drums and oboes, but this appears to be a reflection of eighteenth-century practice. I have not been able to find any use of drums and oboes in Leipzig suites, although Johann Caspar Horn gives trumpets as an alternative to *cornetti* in the last volume of his *Parergon musicum*.

Apart from the prefaces to *Parergon musicum*, where a medical and philosophical background is implied, little is known about Horn. Walther's *Musikalisches Lexikon* calls him 'a doctor at Dresden' and also mentions a connection with Frankfurt am Main.³ It appears that he spent most of his working life in Leipzig, moving to Dresden some time in the 1680s. There are six volumes to *Parergon musicum*, and there is no doubt that the four volumes containing suites are among the most important of the suite collections issued by Leipzig composers in the seventeenth century.⁴ Volume six of the collection (hereafter, *Pm VI*) is unusual in requiring combined wind and string ensembles of up to twelve parts. When suitable players or instruments were not available, Horn's preface suggests the following alternatives:

The director may choose the players and instruments according to the circumstances. Therefore, in order to facilitate these alternatives in the music, the string parts have been set for the wind as well. Therefore:

1. Instead of the Cornettinen, Trombetten are also quite acceptable (however only in the first 6 pieces), in the same way, Schalmeyen or also Flautinen may be used; also, the string choir can be further augmented by such means.

2. One can arrange or omit the middle parts according to taste or circumstances. However, in the last three pieces, the inner voices must be heard distinctly and it is essential that as many instruments as possible are included.

3. Likewise, the Violon can be left out, as long as the bassoon (or a further Trombone) is available. However, when the Fagott is not present, the Violon should not play from its own part, but from the Basso Continuo.

Finally, the more parts, the better. With this, Goodbye.

(The original text is given in Illustration 3i.) There are further alternatives offered within the part books: violas for trombones and *flautini* for *cornetti*. The preface allows the substitution of trumpets for *cornetti*, but this would need some minor adjustment in order for the second part to be playable on a trumpet. The context makes it clear that when Horn says 'the more parts, the better', he is not referring to the reinforcement of instrumental parts, but to having as many inner parts available as possible. Example 3a shows the second strain of '10.Ballo' from *Pm VI*. The alternation of wind and string choirs is typical of all the larger-scale suites in this volume, and shows how skilfully Horn manages the polychoral writing. As our knowledge of Horn's life is so limited, it is difficult to know where he might have learned to write in this way. Both Vejvanovský, the Kroměříž court composer and trumpeter, and J.H. Schmelzer used choirs of instruments in a similar manner. But apart from the widely circulated equestrian ballet music that Schmelzer had written for the 1667 imperial wedding celebrations, it is unlikely that Horn had experience of Schmelzer's or Vejvanovský's music. '28 Intrada' from the final twelve-part suite of *Pm VI* is given complete in Appendix II. It not only demonstrates Horn's deftness in handling this type of instrumentation, but the high quality of the music itself.

Even if we cannot be certain that Horn ever came into contact with music by Schmel-

Illustration 3i:

J. C. Horn, *Parergon musicum*, vi (Leipzig, 1676) preface.

An den Music-Liebenden.



Als Directorium kan zwar nach Gelegenheit der Personen und Instrumenten eingerichtet werden. Es ist aber zu erinnern/weil diese Musica-
lia benehm̄t den Violon zugleich auff blasende Instrumenta gesetzt sind/
daß 1. an statt der Cornettinen auch gar füglich Trombetten, (ie-
doch nur die ersten 6. Stücke) ingleichen Schalmeien/oder auch Flauti-
nen können gebraucht werden; Doch ist solcher gestalt der Violon-
Chor desto vollstimmiger anzuordnen. Was 2. die Mittelstimmen
anbelanget/kan man solche nach Belieben und Gelegenheit bestellen/oder
auslassen; biß auff die letzten 3. Stücke/worinnen die Mittel-Partien sich alleine hören lassen/
und also nothwendig so viel möglich/besetzt seyn müssen. Ebenfalls 3. so kan auch der
Violon ausgelassen werden/wenn der Fagott (oder an statt dessen eine Trombone) besetzt
ist. Wenn aber der Fagott gar nicht darbey seyn kan/so soll auch der Violon nicht 2. Part,
sondern aus dem Basso Continuo mitgespielt werden. Schließlichen: Je mehr
Partien, je besser Gracie. Hiermit lebe wohl!

zer or Vejvanovský, we can be certain that he heard the Leipzig tower music, and this may have been an influence on *Pm VI*. Tower music was mainly written for wind instruments, although three *Kunstgeiger* string players joined the town *Stadtpfeifer* wind players in the early seventeenth century.⁵ For much of his professional career, Johann Pezel was associated with tower music. He also seems to have enjoyed a good relationship with the wealthy merchant classes and with the university, but was turned down for the post of *Thomaskantor* in 1676.⁶ It is probable that his 1685 *Fünff-stimmigte blasende Music* reflected some of the tower music repertoire. Elwyn Wienandt dismisses the title page as 'lacking any evidence of artistic preparation', the music as 'functional', and gives little consideration to the collection as a whole.⁷ It is true that parts of *Fünff-stimmigte blasende Music* contain movements that seem to have little in common with each other, but four suites are included in the collection, even if they are not identified as such. Each one of the four uses some form of variation technique, and they do not deserve Wienandt's description of them as mere 'dance movements'.⁸

According to the preface given earlier, the inner parts of some of Horn's suites could be omitted 'according to taste or circumstances'. As we have seen, Horn was doing no more than reflecting a widespread practice. Pezel also uses such changes of instrumentation, but in a different manner and to create a deliberate change in sonority. In his 1669 *Musica vespertina Lipsica*, all the sonatas or sonatinas that open suites in this collection have *à5* instrumentation. Only one suite remains in five parts throughout. In the remainder, the instrumentation of the movements that follow the sonatas is reduced to four, three, and even two parts. This reduction is achieved by the doubling of parts. Example 3b shows the opening of '9. Prælude': both

Example 3a:

Horn, *Parergon musicum*, vi, '10.Ballo'.

10.Ballo [Second strain]

Cornettino I
Cornettino II
Trombone I
Trombone II
Fagotto
Violino I
Violino II
Viola I
Viola II
Violono
Basso Continuo

6 6 7 8 1 4 1 1

6 4# 6 4#

Example 3a (cont):

violin parts and both viola parts are doubled to produce an $\partial 3$ texture. The title page of *Musica vespertina Lipsica* suggests that the music can be played by anything from one to five parts ('mit 1.2.3.4. oder 5. Stimmen zu spielen'). The two-part instrumentation is reserved for the final suite. This is an extended branle suite, and presumably represents Pezel attempting to write in the French manner. All the movements, including the opening capriccio, are written $\partial 2$ with the single treble line being written in all the violin and viola part-books. We have seen that French dance music was often circulated in two-part treble and bass versions: perhaps Pezel considered this to be the normal style of French instrumentation.

Pezel retained $\partial 5$ instrumentation for sonatas. But we have seen that Horn, in the 1676 fifth volume of *Parergon musicum* (hereafter, *Pm V*), extended this part reduction to sonatas as well as dances. While *Pm V* is mostly in the $\partial 5$ combination of two violins, two violas and bass, there are passages within each suite, including the opening sonatinas, where the violins play in unison creating a four-part texture. These passages are clearly marked in the part-books, and the preface contains the following instruction:

Remember that, in this fifth volume, where the Sonatinas contain a section with both violins in Unisono (which likewise appears in the Couranten and Balletten and is marked *), the violins must take care to start each bow stroke at exactly the same time.

Bey diesem fünfften Theil ist zu erinnern / weil die Sonatinen eine Clausul mit sich führen / darinnen beyde Violinen in Unisono gehen (welches denn ebenfals bey den Couranten und

Example 3b:

J. Pezel, *Musica vespertina Lipsica* (Leipzig, 1669) '9. Prælude'.

9. Prælude.

Balletten geschiehet / und mit * gezeichnet stehet) So ist darauff acht zu haben / daß die Violinen
sein gleich in einen Strich zusammen mögen gespielt werden.

'7. sonatina' from the second suite of *Pm V* is reproduced with Horn's markings in Appendix II.

In the previous chapter, I argued that the 1660s seemed to mark a change in the organisation of municipal collections containing dance music. In Leipzig, this trend towards clearer organisation of dances into suites may have happened a good deal earlier. The first twenty movements of Rosenmüller's 1645 *Paduanen, Alemanden, Couranten, Balletten, Sarabanden, Mit drey Stimmen Und ihrem Basso pro Organo* are divided into four suites with the same sequence of movements. In addition, all four are arranged in ascending order of key, and Rosenmüller makes frequent use of variation techniques. The influence of Schein's *Banchetto musicale* is clear. But Leipzig composers, especially Horn, were clearly prepared to extend Schein's concepts of organisation. The first volume of Horn's *Parergon musicum* (hereafter, *Pm I*) is probably the most carefully organised suite collection of the entire century. Perhaps Horn's background in philosophy made him anxious to demonstrate his intellectual and musical prowess in what was probably his first printed collection of music. It was issued by the Erfurt printer and publisher Johann Birckner in 1663, and reissued in 1670 by the Leipzig publisher Fromman. The printer of the second edition was probably Felßecker in Nuremberg. The standard of Birckner's edition is remarkably high: that of Fromman's is lamentably low. The sixty movements of *Pm I* are divided into fifteen suites, all with the same four-movement sequence:

Allemande / Courante / Ballo / Sarabande.

Each suite is laid out on facing pages so that the performer sees the complete composition without needing to turn a page. The suites themselves are placed in ascending order by key, firstly major and then minor. But in the latter sequence, E \flat minor is replaced by E \flat major. Horn makes considerable use of a wide variety of variation techniques in all but two of the suites. Examples of this can be seen in the fourth suite of the volume, which uses re-casting to link the allemande and courante. The treble-line melody and rhythm of the opening of these two dances is also hinted at in the following *ballo*. Example 3c shows '16. Sarabande' from this suite, which also demonstrates how, in comparison with some of the examples in the previous chapter, the dances in *Pm I* are well-crafted and attractive music. The entire fourth suite is given in Appendix II.

It seems that at least part of Horn's organisational experiment was appreciated by other musicians: a manuscript copy of the *violone* part from *Pm I* (S-VX Mus.MS 5.) is set out so that all the movements of a suite are included on the same page. However, it is telling that none of the other volumes is arranged in the same way. Perhaps Horn found sequences of four dances to be too limiting. But deliberate and careful organisation is still present elsewhere in *Parergon musicum*. Of the eight suites in the third volume (hereafter *Pm III*), seven have the same sequence of movements:

Intrada / Allemande / Courante / Ballo / Sarabande / Chique.

Unfortunately, *Pm III* has not been preserved complete. Only the first violin and *continuo* part-books survive. In *Pm V*, Horn follows a near-identical pattern to *Pm III*: only the opening movement of each suite is changed: intradas are replaced by sonatinas.

But Horn did not always organise his collections around dance types. As we have seen, *Pm VI* is remarkable for its instrumentation: in the manner of Hans Hake's 1654 *Ander Theil Newer Pawanen*, the suites are arranged in ensemble groupings that go from seven to twelve parts.⁹ Table 3.1 gives details of the contents of this volume. *Pm VI* was published in 1676. But the nature of the dances, and the mixture of suites and seemingly unconnected movements, is nearer to the suite collections issued in the 1660s, if not the 1650s. Perhaps the contents of the volume, albeit unpublished, were originally put together much earlier. Leaving aside questions of the date, its music is arguably the finest in the entire six volumes. Like Example 3a shown earlier, '20. Gagliarda' is typical of this quality. It is given in Appendix II, and shows the imaginative introduction of quaver and crotchet figuration at the end of a movement otherwise made up principally of minims and semibreves. It is exactly this type of attention to detail that distinguishes many of the dances in this volume. A further volume of suites by Horn, *Allerhand anmuthige Sonatinen, Allemanden, Couranten, Balletten, Sarabanden vnd Giquen mit finff Stimmen*, was published in Leipzig in 1677. Unfortunately, it has not survived and is only known from its listing in a nineteenth-century catalogue.¹⁰

As we have seen in the previous chapter, some municipal collections contain a suite

Example 3c:

J. C. Horn, *Parergon musicum*, i (Erfurt, 1663) '16.Sarabande'.

16.Sarabande

Cantus I.

Violino II.

Viol. I. di Braccio

Viol. II. di Braccio

Violone

Continuo

5 6

5 5 6

deliberately set in a different style from the other suites in the collection. Horn's final suite of *Pm* III contains movements that are quite different from the rest of the volume:

43.Suite / 44.Courant / 45.Lamente / 46.Sarabande / 47.Serenata / 48.Ballo / 49.Saltirelle / 50.Chique.

Presumably, the use of the word suite is an indication to the performer that these movements form a complete sequence. As well as the unusual selection of movement types, Horn uses equally unusual ways of linking movements, and the entire sequence of movements is a spectacular illustration of variation techniques. Extracts from '43.Suite', '44.Courant', '48.Ballo' and '49.Saltirelle' are given in Example 3d. '43.Suite' is linked to '44.Courant', and '48.Ballo' to the '49.Saltirelle', but neither pair links material from the start of the movements in the usual manner. Instead, Horn makes the first link between the second section of '43.Suite' and the start of the second strain of '44.Courant'. In similar fashion, the passages from '48.Ballo' and '49.Saltirelle' are taken from the start of the second strains of their respective movements. Horn uses a recasting technique for this latter link; one bar of common time *ballo* is equal to two bars of triple-metre *saltirelle*. There are further links in the bass lines at the openings of '44.

Table 3.1:Possible suite groupings in Horn, *Parergon musicum*, vi.

Instrumentation	Key	Movements
Violino I, Violino II, Cornettino I, Cornettino II, VioIa ò Trombone I, Viola ò Trombone II, Fagotto, Basso Continuo.	C major	3.Intrada à 7 / 4.Intrada à7 / 5.Gagliarda à7 / 6.Sarabande fugue à7.
Violino I, Violino II, Viola I, Viola II, Cornettino I, Cornettino II, Trombone I, Trombone II, Fagotto, Violono, Basso Continuo.	G major	7.Intrade à10 / 8.Intrade [II] à10 / 9. Courante / 10.Ballo / 11.Sarabande.
Violino I, Violino II, Viola I, Viola II, Cornettino I, Cornettino II, Trombone I, Trombone II, Fagotto, Violono, Basso Continuo.	G major	12.Intrade à10 / 13.Courante / 14. Ballo / 15.Chique / 16.Sarabande.
Violino I&II, Viola I&II, Flautino ò Cornettino I, Flautino ò Cornettino II, Flautino ò Cornettino III, Trombone I&II, Fagotto, Violono, Basso Con- tinuo.	C major	17.Intrade à11 / 18. Allemande / 19. Courante / 20.Gagliarda / 21.Ballo / 22.Chique / 23.Sarabande.
Violino I&II, Viola I,II&III, Flautino ò Cornettino I, Flautino ò Cornettino II, Flautino ò Cornettino III, Trombone I&II, Fagotto, Violono e Basso Continuo.	E minor	24.Intrade à12 / 25.Courante / 26. Ballo / 27.Sarabande.
Violino I&II, Viola I,II&III, Flautino ò Cornettino I, Flautino ò Cornettino II, Trombone I,II&III, Fagotto, Violono e Basso Continuo.	A minor	28.Intrade à12 / 29.Gagliarda / 30. Sarabande.

Courant' and '49.Saltirelle,' and the same harmonic pattern is used at the openings of '43.Suite' and '45.Lamente'. Horn's use of multiple variation techniques in this suite is close to that of Becker and Reincken in Hamburg.¹¹

None of the suites I have discussed in this chapter so far uses techniques or concepts that are any more than an expansion of those found in the municipal suite repertoire as a whole. But there is one feature that sets the Leipzig tradition apart: movement types are sometimes repeated within the same suite, either singularly or in groups. For example, the third suite of Pezel's *Musica vespertina Lipsica* contains the following:

15.Sonatina / 16.Prælude / 17.Allemande / 18.Courente / 19.Ballet / 20.Courente[II] / 21.
Sarabande / 22.Allebreve / 23.Gigue.

As we can see, this repetition is not related to the type of *en suite* pairings discussed in Chapter 1; here, '19.Ballet' separates the two courantes. More often, whole groups of movement types are repeated. Rosenmüller's *Studenten-Music* has the following sequence of movements:

Example 3d:

Movement linking in J. C. Horn, *Parergon musicum*, iii (Leipzig, 1672).

43. Suite
adagio. *allegro.*

Violino I.
 Basso continuo

44. Courant
 [start of second strain]

Violino I.
 Basso continuo

48. Ballo
 [second strain]

Violino I.
 Basso continuo

49. Saltirelle
 [start of second strain]

Violino I.
 Basso continuo

8. Paduan / 9. Alemanda / 10. Courant / 11. Courant [II] / 12. Alemanda / 13. Courant / 14. Ballo / 15. Sarabanda.

Even if courantes 10 and 11 were intended as an *en suite* pairing, it would appear that there are two sets of dance movements, one beginning with '9. Alemanda' and the other beginning with '12. Alemanda'. Rosenmüller's sequence can hardly be the result of a publisher's error: in the preface to this collection, he emphasised that the movements had been placed in the correct order. In any case, these are not isolated examples: the repetition of movement types within the same suite appears in many other Leipzig collections. Why were these extra movements included: were they played in the written order, or did they offer some form of alternative? There is no comment on the matter from contemporary writing or collection prefaces, but Rosenmüller's 1667 *Sonata da camera cioe sinfonie alemande, correnti, balletti, sarabande* may provide an answer. Johann Rosenmüller studied at Leipzig University, and was appointed organist of the *Nicolaikirche* in 1651. But four years later, he was banished from Leipzig for suspected homo-

sexuality, and eventually made his way to Venice. It was here that the 1667 collection was published. If Schein's *Banchetto musicale* is arguably the finest suite collection from the early part of the century, Rosenmüller's *Sonata da camera* can make a similar claim for the 1660s and '70s. Details of the suites in *Sonata da camera* are given in Table 3.2. Many Italian printed editions include an index ('Tavola'), and the index in Rosenmüller's collection gives a different sequence of movements to that of the part-books. As a result of Karl Nef's arbitrary dismissal of this index, the alternative ordering of the movements is hardly known.¹² (See Table 3.2.) Two of the twelve suites in this collection have repetitions of movement type in the part books, but not in the index. It is possible that the 'Tavola' is merely a truncated list although this would be unusual, if not unique, amongst Italian publications. But it seems more likely that the Venetian publisher was drawing attention to a concept of suite ordering that was unknown in Italy. The implication of the *Sonata da camera* index appears to be that, in suites written by Leipzig composers, there is a choice of movements or movement sequences available to the performer. Thus, Rosenmüller's intentions in the third suite of the collection, which has been described as 'an improbable configuration', become clear.¹³ Using the 'Tavola' order of 'Sinfonia Terza con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Intrata, Ballo, e Sarabanda. à5.obligati' as a guide, the following choices of movement sequences are all possible:

1. Sinfonia Terza / alemanda[I] / correnta[I] / ballo / sarabanda
2. Sinfonia Terza / alemanda[I] / correnta[I] / intrata / ballo / sarabanda
3. Sinfonia Terza / alemanda[II] / correnta[II] / correnta[III] / intrata / ballo / sarabanda.

Despite its Italian publication, *Sonata da camera* seems to have been widely circulated in Germany, and a reprinting followed in 1671.¹⁴ Pezel may well have been using Rosenmüller's collection as an example, for the same concept of choice is demonstrated even more clearly in the former's 1672 *Musicalische Ergetzung*. There are ten suites in the collection: all start with an intrada and end with a gigue. Only the 'Violino I' part-book survives. Example 3e compares '9.Sarabande' from *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung* with Rosenmüller's 'Sarabanda' from the first suite of *Sonata da camera*. The similarity between the two is clear. Table 3.3 lists the contents of *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung*. All the suites start with an intrada, and end with a sarabande and gigue pairing: seven of the ten suites in the collection have sequences of dances that contain duplication of movement types. Pezel appears to indicate the alternative groupings by starting each one with an allemande. Thus, in the fourth suite of the collection, there are at least five possible sequences of dances to place between the intrada and the sarabande and gigue pairing:

1. 31 Intrade / 32 Allemande / 33 Courente / 34 Gauotte / 35 Sarabande / 46 Gigue
2. 31 Intrade / 36 Allemande / 37 Courente / 38 Ballet / 39 Sarabande / 46 Gigue
3. 31 Intrade / 40 Allemande / 41 Courente / 45 Sarabande / 46 Gigue
4. 31 Intrade / 42 Allemande / 43 Sarabande / 46 Gigue
5. 31 Intrade / 44 Allebreve / 45 Sarabande / 46 Gigue.

Table 3.2:

Movements in J. Rosenmüller, *Sonata da camera* (Venice 1667) in both their part-book and index orderings.

Sinfonia Prima: part-books	Sinfonia Prima / Alemanda / Correnta / Intrata à 5. obligati / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Prima: Tavola	Sinfonia Prima con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Intrata, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Seconda: part-books	Sinfonia Seconda / Alemanda / Correnta / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Seconda: Tavola	Sinfonia Seconda con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Serabanda.
Sinfonia Terza: part-books	Sinfonia Terza / Alemanda.[I] / Correnta.[I] / Ballo / Sarabanda / Intrata / Alemanda.[II]; Correnta[II] / Correnta[III].
Sinfonia Terza: Tavola	Sinfonia Terza con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Intrata, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Quarta: part-books	Sinfonia Quarta / Alemanda / Correnta / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Quarta: Tavola	Sinfonia Quarta con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Quinta: part-books	Sinfonia Quinta / Alemanda / Correnta / Intrata à 5. obligati / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Quinta: Tavola	Sinfonia Quinta con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Intrata, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Sesta: part-books	Sinfonia Sesta / Alemanda / Correnta / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Sesta: Tavola	Sinfonia Sesta con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Settima: part-books	Sinfonia Settima / Alemanda / Correnta / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Settima: Tavola	Sinfonia Settima con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Ottava: part-books	Sinfonia Ottava / Alemanda / Correnta / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Ottava: Tavola	Sinfonia Ottava con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Nona: part-books	Sinfonia Nona / Alemanda / Correnta / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Nona: Tavola	Sinfonia Nona con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Decima: part-books	Sinfonia Decima / Alemanda / Correnta / Ballo / Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Decima: Tavola	Sinfonia Decima con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Sarabanda.
Sinfonia Undecima: part-books	Sinfonia Undecima / Alemanda.[I]; Correnta.[I]; Ballo / Sarabanda / Alemanda.[II]; Correnta.[II]
Sinfonia Undecima: Tavola	Sinfonia Undecima con la sua Alemanda, Correnta, Ballo, e Sarabanda.

It may not be a coincidence that the first three of these possible combinations is similar in movement type and order to the following fifth and sixth suites. Perhaps Pezel was offering a deliberate guide to the choice of movement sequence available in the fourth.

A further example of movement choice comes from Horn's *Pm* VI. The second suite of the volume has the following movements, all in G major:

7.Intrade à10 / 8.Intrade à10 / 9.Courante / 10.Ballo / 11.Sarabande.

This is not an example of a suite starting with two abstract movements: in all the cases where this happens, the movement types are quite different. Horn's movement type is the

Example 3e:

J. Pezel, *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung* (Leipzig, 1672) '9.Sarabande'.

Rosenmüller, *Sonata da camera*, first suite, 'Sarabanda'.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is labeled '9.Sarabande' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Sarabanda'. Both are in 3/2 time and G minor. The Pezel piece features a more intricate melodic line with many sixteenth notes, while the Rosenmüller piece is simpler, primarily using quarter and eighth notes.

same. It is likely that Horn offered two intradas in the same suite to provide a choice. Thus, the suite can start with a simple intrada, or a more complex one. There is a difference between this type of movement choice and the seemingly unconnected movements found in many collections from the 1640s and '50s. In the latter, the performer is seemingly invited to take his choice of movements from anywhere in the collection. The choice offered to performers in the Leipzig tradition is confined to movements, or sequences, within an individual suite.

Apart from Horn's experimental first volume of *Parergon musicum*, abstract movements were rarely absent from suites in the Leipzig tradition after 1660: there are few suites that do not have an introductory sonata, sonatina, sinfonia or intrada. All the suites in Rosenmüller's *Sonata da camera* start with a sinfonia, which is, in effect, a multi-sectioned sonata. They are detailed in Table 3.4. As we can see, the basic structure of C; 3/2; C; 3/2 remains the same for each sinfonia, but within this structure, Rosenmüller allows himself some variation. The common-time third section never changes its *allegro* designation, but the 3/2 sections on either side are sometimes *allegro*, and sometimes *adagio*.

The sonatinas that Horn uses to open the suites in *Pm V* are similar to those by Rosenmüller, but without the final 3/2 section. Horn gives the option in each sonatina of repeating the opening section at the end. W. S. Newman misunderstood this: he asserts that Horn's sonatinas 'can be repeated at the end of the suite, according to his foreword'.¹⁵ This is incorrect and can only be based on a mistranslation or a misunderstanding of the word 'Clausul'. Horn's preface is clear and unambiguous:

It is permissible, after the last section of the sonatinas, to play the first section again and thus close.

Nächst diesen so kan man auch bey den Sonatinen nach der letzten Clausul die erste repetiren / und damit schliessen.

As we have seen, Horn appears to have offered two types of intrada at the start of the

Table 3.3:Contents of Pezel, *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung*.

Suite 1	1 Intrade / 2 Allemande / 3 Courente / 4 Allemande / 5 Courente / 6 Allebreue / 7 Courente / 8 Gauotte / 9 Sarabande / 10 Gigue.
Suite 2	11 Intrade / 12 Allemande / 13 Sarabande / 14 Allemande / 15 Courente / 16 Allebreue / 17 Courente / 18 Ballet / 19 Sarabande / 20 Gigue.
Suite 3	21 Intrade / 22 Allemande / 23 Sarabande / 24 Allemande / 25 Courente / 26 Allebreue / 27 Courente / 28 Gauotte / 29 Sarabande / 30 Gigue.
Suite 4	31 Intrade / 32 Allemande / 33 Courente / 34 Gauotte / 35 Sarabande / 36 Allemande / 37 Courente / 38 Ballet / 39 Sarabande / 40 Allemande / 41 Courente / 42 Allemande / 43 Sarabande / 44 Allebreue / 45 Sarabande / 46 Gigue.
Suite 5	47 Intrade / 48 Allemande / 49 Courente / 50 Gauotte / 51 Sarabande / 52 Gigue.
Suite 6	53 Intrade / 54 Allemande / 55 Courente / 56 Gauotte / 57 Sarabande / 58 Gigue.
Suite 7	59 Intrade / 60 Allemande / 61 Courente / 62 Allemande / 63 Courente / 64 Gauotte / 65 Sarabande / 66 Gigue.
Suite 8	67 Intrade / 68 Allemande / 69 Courente / 70 Ballet / 71 Sarabande / 72 Gigue.
Suite 9	73 Intrade / 74 Allemande / 75 Courente / 76 Gauotte / 77 Sarabande / 78 Allemande / 79 Sarabande / 80 Gigue.
Suite 10	81 Intrade / 82 Allemande / 83 Courente / 84 Allemande / 85 Sarabande / 86 Allemande / 87 Courente / 88 Gauotte / 89 Sarabande / 90 Gigue.

second suite in *Pm* VI. The simple, common-time, single-section '8.Intrade à10' and the complex multi-sectioned '7.Intrade à10' are both typical of the varieties that are found in the Leipzig repertoire as a whole. Illustration 3ii gives the violin line of '11.Intrada' from Pezel's 1672 *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung*. It is typical of the single section type of intrada in this collection. There are two repeated strains, but the whole is only twelve bars long. Six of the sixteen intradas that open Pezel's 1685 *Fünff-stimmigte blasende Music* follow the same format. Similar examples can also be seen in Horn's *Pm* III, which was published in the same year as *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung*. Like Pezel's examples, these intradas are noticeable for their brevity: the longest in *Pm* III only lasts for seventeen bars. Pezel's single-section intradas were probably taken from, or influenced by, his tower music compositions: Horn would have certainly heard Pezel's examples of this type. It is reasonable to assume that Horn's intradas are modelled on Pezel's, and not the other way round.

The 'Intrata à5 obligati' from the first suite of Rosenmüller's *Sonata da camera*, shows the more extended type of intrada. It is given complete in Appendix II. Like many of the sonatas in

Table 3.4:Details of sinfonias in Rosenmüller's *Sonata da camera*.

Title	Key	Individual section details
Sinfonia Prima	F major	C: grave - 3/2: allegro - [C]: allegro - 3/2: allegro.
Sinfonia Seconda	D major	C: allegro - 3/2: adagio - [C]: allegro - 3/2: adagio.
Sinfonia Terza	C major	C: grave - 3/2: allegro - [C]: allegro - 3/2: allegro.
Sinfonia Quarta	G minor	C: [unmarked] - 3/2: adagio - [C]: allegro - 3/2: [adagio].
Sinfonia Quinta	D minor	C: allegro - 3/2: allegro - [C]: allegro - 3/2: allegro.
Sinfonia Sesta	A minor	C: allegro - 3/2: adagio - [C]: allegro - 3/2: adagio.
Sinfonia Settima	G major	C: grave - 3/2: allegro - [C]: allegro - 3/2: allegro.
Sinfonia Ottava	E minor	C: grave - 3/2: allegro - [C]: allegro - 3/2: allegro.
Sinfonia Nona	B \flat major	C: [unmarked] - 3/2: allegro - [C]: allegro - 3/2: allegro.
Sinfonia Decima	A major	C: grave - 3/2: allegro - [C]: allegro - 3/2: allegro.
Sinfonia Undecima	C minor	C: grave - 3/2: adagio - [C]: allegro - 3/2: adagio.

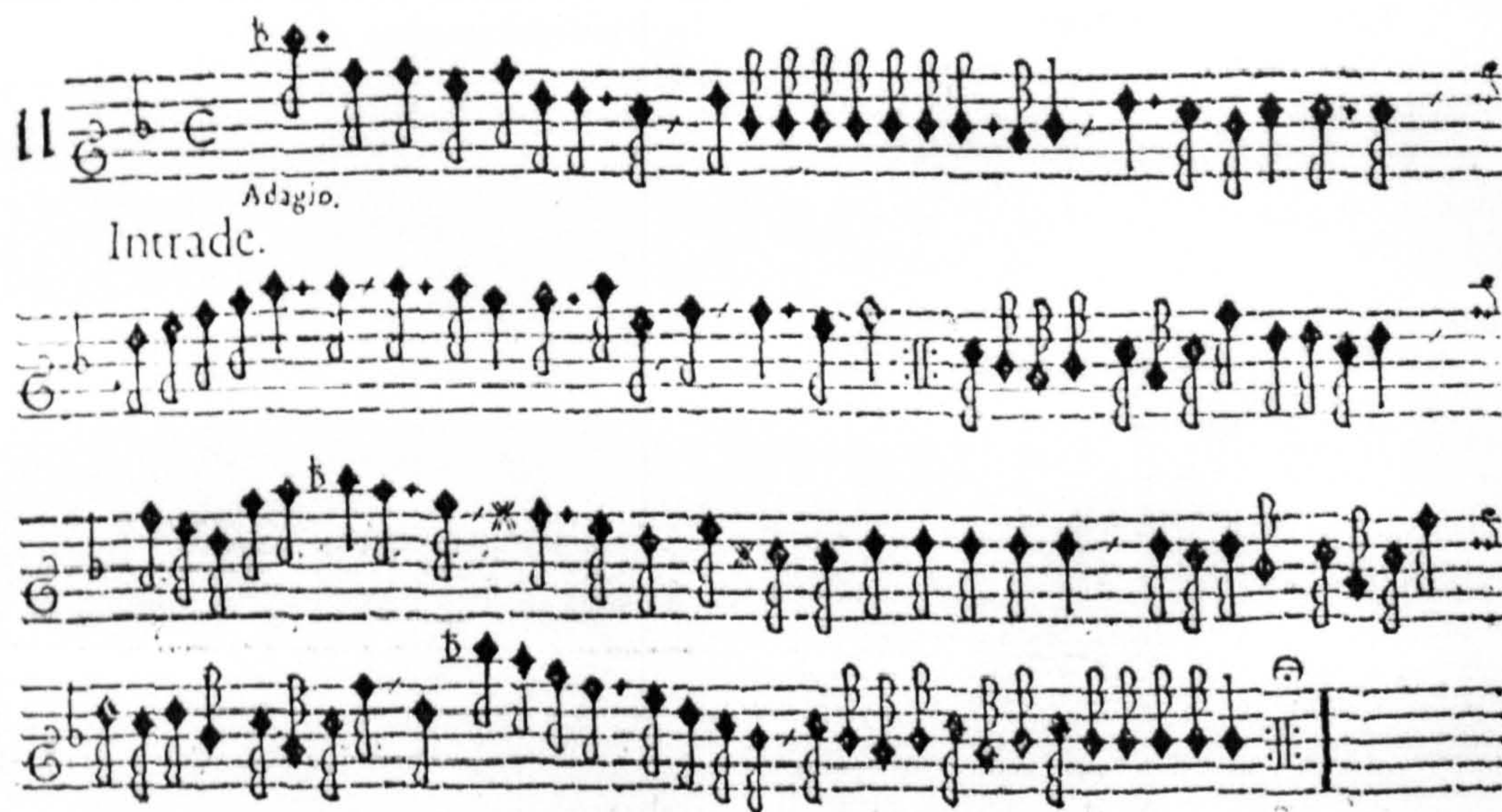
Leipzig suite collections, this second type of intrada combines common-time sections with triple-metre sections, the latter usually in 3/2. However, the main difference between the extended intrada and sonatas is usually one of scale: the sonatas are multi-sectioned, but the intradas have just one common-time section and one triple-metre section.

A different use of abstract movements is suggested in Pezel's 1678 *Delitiae musicales, oder Lust-Music*. Pezel's collection of sonatas entitled *Opus musicum sonatarum* has been described as his 'finest musical accomplishment'.¹⁶ Although some of the abstract movements rely too heavily on empty sequences of repeated notes and chords, the suites of *Delitiae musicales* cannot be far behind in accomplishment. Six of the seven suites in the collection start with a 'Sonata à5' and end with a 'Conclusio à5'. The remaining suite substitutes a paduan for the sonata. In the third, fourth, and fifth suites of the collection, one or more abstract movements break up the dance sequences. Table 3.5 lists the contents of these three suites. The straightforward sequence of dances in the third suite is interrupted by the 'Intermedium à5', but suites four and five have dance movements of the same type either side of the *regeneratio* and *intermedium*.

However, Pezel does not appear to be offering alternative sequences of movements. It

Illustration 3ii:

Pezel, *Musicalische Gemüths-Ergetzung*, '11. Intrada'.

**Table 3.5:**

Contents of selected suites in J. Pezel, *Delitiae Musicales, oder Lust-Music* (Frankfurt am Main, 1678).

Place in collection	Movement numbers	Movement titles
Suite three	21-27	Sonata à5 / Allemande à4 / Courente à4 / Intermedium à5 / Sarabande à4 / Chique à5 / Conclusio à5.
Suite four	28-36	Sonata à5 / Allemande à4 / Courente à4 / Regeneratio à5 / Allemande à4 / Courente à4 / Sursum Deorsum à4 / Chique à4 / Conclusio à5.
Suite five	37-47	Sonata à5 / Allemande à4 / Courente à4 / Sarabande à4 / Intermedium à5 / Allemande à4 / Courente à4 / Allegro à4 / Sarabande à4 / Chique à4 / Conclusio à5.

seems that the function of these abstract movements is to provide a halfway point within their respective suites. If any misunderstanding still remains in the mind of the musicians, the Latin titles emphasise the point: Pezel moves from the sonata to the *regeneratio* or *intermedium* middle point via a sequence of dances. A further set of dances leads to the final *conclusio*. Pezel emphasises the importance of the abstract movements by using a device that we have seen elsewhere in the municipal repertoire: they are given *à5* instrumentation, but nearly all the dance movements are in *à4* instrumentation. In the latter, the two violin parts are doubled in order to reduce the number of parts.

Despite Rosenmüller's complaint, quoted earlier, regarding unauthorised manuscript copies of his music, there are few copies of individual suites by Leipzig composers. Where

manuscripts of Leipzig suites do exist, they often appear to be copies or arrangements from printed editions such as the excerpts from Rosenmüller's *Sonata da camera* that appear in the so-called Rost manuscript (F-Pn Rés.Vm⁷ 673).¹⁷ But Georg Knüpfer's suite for two violins, three violas, bassoon, and 'Violon con Continuo' does not appear to have been part of a printed collection and is only preserved in manuscript GB-Ob MS Mus.Sch.c.93. Georg appears to have been the brother of Sebastian Knüpfer who held the post of Cantor at the *Thomaskirche* in Leipzig from 1657 until 1676. Margaret Crum has shown how this manuscript, one of a number originating in Leipzig, came to be in the Music School collection in the Bodleian library.¹⁸ The manuscript contains a sonata followed by an aria, gigue and sarabande. The sonata is in G major and the dances in B minor, perhaps suggesting that, despite the common instrumentation, there are two separate works here. But the sarabande has a five-bar common-time conclusion in G major, thus restoring the key of the opening. There can be little doubt, therefore, that sonata and dance movements were all conceived as one work. As we have seen, the Viennese concept of using more than one key within a single suite was known elsewhere, but was still comparatively rare. Knüpfer's arrangement of a series of dances in one key surrounded by abstract music in another is possibly unique. Although Knüpfer's use of seven instrumental parts is not, at times, very assured, the music is attractive and deserves to be better known. For this reason, the entire suite is given in Appendix II.

It has been suggested that the manuscript suite entitled '8. Allemand, Courant, Ballet, Sarab: à 1.Violin. 2. Viol: di Bracc: è Violon. s. Cembalo. di S.K. Assieg. 1672' (S-Uu Instr. mus.i hs.4:4) is the work of Georg Knüpfer's brother, Sebastian.¹⁹ All the parts except the second viola carry the name 'Assieg'. As we shall see in Chapter 7, Assieg's name appears on a number of manuscripts that clearly originated in Vienna. The music appears to be harmonically complete as it stands, albeit in a low tessitura. But RISM A/II suggests that a further violin part is 'possibly missing'.²⁰ The attribution to Sebastian Knüpfer seems to be unlikely, especially on stylistic grounds. Knüpfer has been described as 'a worthy predecessor of Bach'.²¹ This rather dull suite could hardly be described in the same way.

As we have seen, the French style of composition and performance was widely emulated in the German courts, if not the towns and cities. In the 1670s and 80s, the influence of Lully was at its height. The French manner appears to have been recognised in Leipzig, though not always understood. Chapter 1 discussed the second and fourth volumes of Horn's *Parergon musicum* in conjunction with French courtly dance. According to their title pages, both volumes contain ballet music in the French manner, and it seems Horn was aware of the sequences of dances that were common in the *ballet de cour*. It also seems that Pezel was aware of some aspects of the French style, and I have already argued that the *à2* instrumentation in the final suite of *Musica vespertina Lipsica* was an attempt to imitate the French manner. But we cannot always be sure of the depth of Pezel's knowledge. For example, in *Musica vespertina Lipsica*, he changes the traditional six-movement branle sequence of:

branle / gay / amener / double / montirande / gavotte.²²

The *double* and *montirande* are placed after the *gavotte* rather than after the *amener*. Of course, it is possible that Pezel simply got the order wrong in this instance. But even by the end of the century, it seems that there was still some resistance to Lully's influence. The preface to Johann Kuhnau's 1696 keyboard collection *Frische Clavier Früchte* warns against the dangers of preferring music solely on the grounds that it was foreign. Presumably, 'foreign' meant music in the French manner.

The Hamburg Tradition

In Hamburg, as in Lübeck, performances of instrumental secular music may have taken place in one of the number of large churches in the city. Certainly, the preface to Becker's *Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten* states that secular instrumental pieces had been performed in church in Hamburg, a possible reference to the public concerts in the cathedral organised by Matthias Weckmann.²³ In addition to Weckmann and Becker, Johann Theile, Johann Adam Reincken and Christoph Bernhard were among the many musicians active in Hamburg between 1660 and 1700. The violinist Johann Schop was also a leading musical figure in Hamburg until his death in 1667. The dedication to Becker's *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* pays tribute to Johann Schop's part in improving the 'Hamburg instrumental music', but it is not clear if Becker was referring to the standard of playing or the repertoire.

The Hamburg tradition flourished during the 1660s, '70s and '80s, and centred on a revival of the variation suite. It offered an expanded use of variation techniques and placed a great emphasis on the relationship of movements within a suite. There was less emphasis on the careful structuring of complete collections, although Reincken's *Hortus musicus* used collective organisational techniques that were typical of many other examples from elsewhere in the municipal repertoire. Robert S. Hill has rightly pointed to the strong connection between the variation suite of this time and the keyboard repertoire.²⁴ Reincken's keyboard suites often contain the same type of linking techniques as *Hortus musicus*. Both Handel and the Hamburg composer Johann Mattheson made use of variation techniques in their keyboard suites, albeit in a limited form, well into the following century.

William Brade was an English musician working in Hamburg in the early part of the century. The 1614 *Neuwe ausserlesene Paduanen und Galliarden* was one of a number of Brade's collections published in Germany. It has been argued that 'Brade was not the sort of musician who would have been especially interested in reworking one piece closely to produce another'.²⁵ Nevertheless, a number of pieces in the collection contain movement linking of various types, and it is clear that the variation suite must have been known in Hamburg at this time. But unlike Leipzig, it seems that there is no surviving evidence of variation suite

composition in Hamburg between the time of Brade and the 1660s. Dietrich Becker, one of the most important figures in the tradition, arrived in Hamburg in 1662. But he had come from working as a court musician in Celle, and it is unlikely that he brought a tradition of variation suite writing with him. Until further evidence comes to light, it is not possible to discover the reasons for the revival of this type of suite writing in Hamburg.

Although primarily intended for keyboard players, the theoretical treatise that deals most comprehensively with variation techniques is Friederich Erhardt Niedt's *Musicalische Handleitung*. All three parts of *Musicalische Handleitung* were published in Hamburg in the early eighteenth century. Niedt died before the publication of the third part, but Mattheson saw it through to press. Niedt himself never lived in Hamburg: he studied at the University of Jena during the early 1690s and took up a position in Copenhagen at the end of the same decade.²⁶ But he presumably visited Hamburg in connection with the publication of the first and second parts of his treatise. Presumably, he also had contact with Mattheson.

The second part of the treatise, the 1706 *Handleitung zur Variation*, deals with Niedt's version of variation techniques in suite writing. The purpose of the volume is clearly spelled out on the title page:

and how Preludes, Chaconnes, Allemandes, Courantes, Sarabandes, Minuets, Giges, and the like may be easily constructed from a simple Thorough-bass, as well as other necessary instructions.

und aus einen schlechten General-Bass Præludia, Ciaconen, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Menueten, Giquen und bergleichen leichtlich verfertigen könne samt andern nötigen Instructionen.²⁷

The treatise was not intended for experienced musicians: as Hill has observed, '[Niedt] wanted to show the pupil how improvisations or compositions can be structured, and how the activity of figured bass playing led the pupil to [musical] understanding, virtually without external help'.²⁸ This probably explains why Niedt paid comparatively little attention to such techniques as the recasting of complete duple-time movements into triple-time ones. But he was clearly aware of their existence: in Chapter XII of *Handleitung zur Variation*, he gives an example of an allemande that is later re-cast into a courante.²⁹ Here, the relationship between the two movements is the traditional one, which I have discussed earlier, of *proportio sesquialtera*. This is the closest that Niedt comes to reflecting genuine variation suite practice of the seventeenth century.

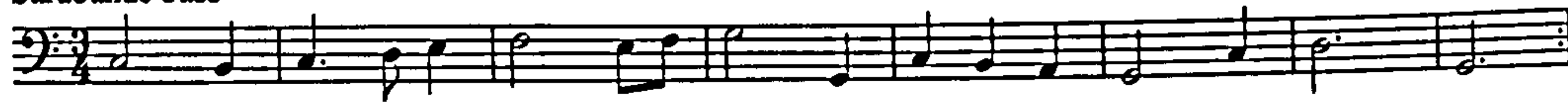
The main function of *Handleitung zur Variation* is to show how the same bass line, albeit with modifications, can be used for every movement of a suite. Example 3f shows the first strain of a 'Courante bass' followed by the corresponding part of a 'Sarabande bass'. In both cases, Niedt included a figured bass that demonstrated how to retain the same harmonic pattern for each dance. Example 3f also shows the openings of the complete courante and sarabande that Niedt constructed from these bass lines and figured harmonies. We can see from

Example 3f:F. E. Niedt, *Handleitung zur Variation* (Hamburg, 1706).

Courante bass

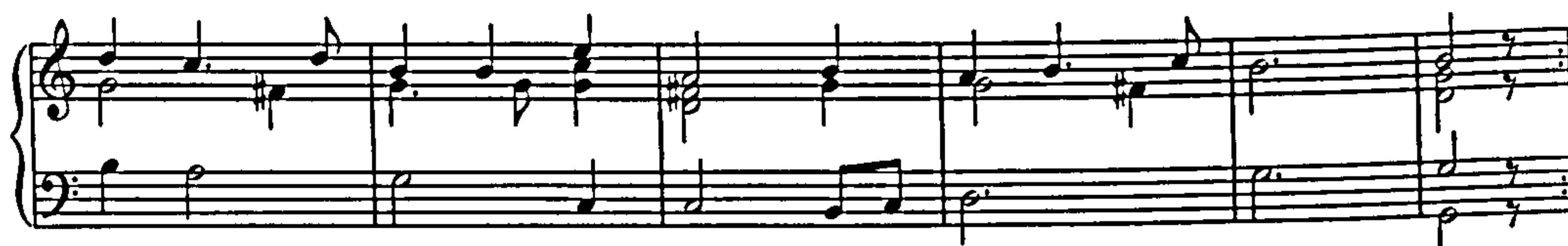


Sarabande bass



4 6 6 4 6 4 3 6 7 8 14 6 4 1
 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2

Courante



Sarabande

**Source:**

F. E. Niedt, *Handleitung zur Variation* (Hamburg 1706); trans. P. Poulin & I. Taylor, *Friederich Erhardt Niedt / The musical guide* (Oxford, 1989) 169-172.

this that the thematic material of each dance is not the same. There is an important distinction to be made here. Niedt was demonstrating how to construct various dances over a common bass line and harmonies; he was not showing how different dance movements could be linked by the use of the same melodic material. Thus, Niedt's work has little in common with the type of variation techniques used by Becker and Reincken in their consort suites. Niedt may have been influenced by the Hamburg tradition, but he was not part of it.

Unlike Becker and Reincken, Johann Theile was not a long-time resident of Hamburg. He seems to have met Reincken and Buxtehude in Lübeck before arriving in Hamburg in 1675 where he remained for ten years.³⁰ He has been identified as one of the musicians, all with strong Hamburg connections, in the well-known painting by Johannes Voorhout entitled 'Domestic music scene'.³¹ A manuscript suite by Johann Theile (S-Uu Instr.mus. i hs. 9:1) clearly demonstrates aspects of the Hamburg tradition. There are six movements:

Sonata à4 / Allemande / Courante / Ballo / Sarabande / Chique.

Example 3g shows the opening of each movement. Unfortunately, the violin part for the gigue

Example 3g:

J. Theile, 'Sonata à 4 viol di Jos: Theil' (S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.9:1).

The image displays four systems of musical notation for a four-violin suite by J. Theile. Each system includes staves for Violino primo, Viola 1ma, Viola 2da, and Violone. The first system is titled 'Sonata à 4.' and is in common time (C). The second system is titled 'Allemande' and is in common time (C). The third system is titled 'Courante' and is in 3/4 time. The fourth system is titled 'Ballo' and is in common time (C). The score shows the beginning of each movement, with various musical notations such as clefs, key signatures (two sharps), and rhythmic values. Fingering numbers (6) are visible at the end of some lines in the Allemande and Ballo sections.

is lost. It is possible that this suite was included in Theile's now lost collection of 1683, *Sonaten, Prael, Allem, Cour, Arien & Chiquen*. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the instrumentation of this collection allows several options, but the basic combination of violin, two inner parts and bass agrees with the violin, two violas and bass of Instr.mus.i hs.9:1. The openings of the sonata, allemande, courante, *ballo* and sarabande are all melodically linked, and this may have applied to the gigue as well. In addition, the bass lines and harmonic structure at the openings of the courante and *ballo* are related, and the duple-time *ballo* is re-cast to become a triple-time sarabande. From this we can see that the movement linking is comprehensive, and takes place

Example 3g(cont):

The image shows two musical staves for a string quartet. The top staff is titled 'Sarabande' and is in 3/4 time. It features four staves: Violino primo (treble clef), Viola 1ma (alto clef), Viola 2da (alto clef), and Violone (bass clef). The bottom staff is titled 'Chique' and is in 12/8 time. It also features four staves for the same instruments. Below the Chique staff, there are several numbers indicating fingerings: 6 5 6, 6 5 6, 6 6 6, 6 7 6, 6 6 # 6, 5 6.

on more than one level. It is the use of more than one type of linking technique and the seeming delight in making these techniques as intricate as possible that are the principal features of Hamburg suite tradition.

This can also be seen in the work of Dietrich Becker. Becker had started his professional career as a court musician, first at Stockholm and then at the court of Duke Christian Ludwig in Celle. Although he left for Hamburg in 1662, well before the Celle *Hofkapelle* was rearranged along French lines by Princess Eléonore Desmier d'Olbreuse, he probably gained experience of writing in the French manner during this time.³² He became a town musician in Hamburg, and remained there until his death in 1679. *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* was issued in 1668, and this was followed in 1674 by the trio collection *Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten*.³³ A second volume of trios, published in 1679, is mentioned by Göhler, but presumably lost: Meyer gives details of its contents.³⁴ A further volume, *Musicalische Lendt-Vruchten bestaend in dry, vier, vyf, Instrumentale-Hermoniale stemmen*, was published in Antwerp in 1673. It was no more than a partial re-issue of *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*: all the dance movements except the paduans were omitted. There is no evidence that Becker had any direct influence on what may have been a pirate edition. Like some of the movements in Rosenmüller's *Sonata da camera*, further extracts from *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*, albeit in reduced instrumentation without the viola parts, also found their way into the 'Rost' manuscript. Manuscript GB-DRc MS D² is one of a number of English manuscripts that contain pieces from Becker's collection.³⁵

Table 3.6 lists the contents of the suites in *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*. Much of the collection is organised by instrumentation. However, the suites themselves are also the subject of deliberate organisation through the linking of movements. The most interesting suite is the

Table 3.6:Contents of D. Becker, *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* (Hamburg, 1668).

Num- bers	Titles	Instrumentation	Key
1	Sonata à3.	Violino I - Violino II - Violon - Basso Cont.	G major
2	Sonata à3.	Violino I - Violino II - Violon ò fagott - Basso Cont.	G major
3	Sonata à3.	Viol: I - Violino II - Viola da gamba - Basso Cont.	A minor
4	Sonata à3.	Violino I - Viol: II - Basso Cont.	A minor
5-9	Sonata à4 / Allmand à4 / Courant à4 / Sarband à4 / Giquæ à4.	Violino I - Violino II - Viola - Basso Cont.	C minor
10-14	Sonata à4 / Allmand à4 / Courant à4 / Sarband à4 / Giquæ à4.	Violino I - Violino II - Viola - Basso Cont.	E minor
15	Sonata à5.	Violino I - Violino II - Viola - Viola da Braccio - Basso Cont.	F major
16	Paduana à5.	Violino I - Violino II - Viola - Viola da Braccio - Basso Cont.	G minor
17	Paduana à5.	[Violino I] - [Violino II] - Viola - Viola da Braccio - [Basso Cont.]	A major
18	Sonata à5.	Violino I - Violino II - Viola - Viola da Braccio - Basso Cont.	B \flat major
19	Sonata à5.	Violino I - Violino II - Violino III - Violino 4 - Basso Cont.	G minor
20-22	Ariae à5 / Ballet à5 / Sarband à5.	Violino I - Violino II - Violdag.1 - Violadag. 2 - Violadag. 3 - Basso Cont.	D major
23-27	Sonata à5 / Allmand à5 / Courant à5 / Sarband à5 / Giquæ à5.	Violino I - Violino II - Viola - Viola da Braccio - Basso Cont.	G major
28	Canzon à4. 2 Viol: 2. Cornettino è Basso.	Violin. I - Violino II - Cornetto I - Cornetto 2 - Basso Cont.	C major
29	Brandle à4 / Gay / Amener / Gavott / Courant.	Violino - Viola - Viola da Braccio - Bassus.	C major
30	Brandle à4 / Gay / Amener / Gavott / Courant.	Violino - Viola - Viola da Braccio - [Bassus].	B \flat major

'Ariæ à5' / 'Ballet à5' / 'Sarband à5' .sequence that makes up movements 20-22. It is set apart by its instrumentation for two violins, three viola da gambas and basso continuo. In addition, its sequence of movement types does not appear anywhere else in the collection. The 'Ariæ' has two main sections. The music at the end of the first section is also used again to form a *coda* after the second section. This movement is similar to the multi-sectioned arias found in Lüder Knöp's *Ander Theil Newer Paduanen* published in Bremen in 1660. Considering the strong trading links and the comparatively short distance between Bremen and Hamburg, there must be a strong possibility that Becker knew Knöp's collection.

Becker's branle suites at the end of the collection are the four-movement type with the addition of a courante.³⁶ While the four-movement branle suite was little used in France, it is clear that a complete contrast was intended by the introduction of music strongly associated with the French manner. Becker had clearly learnt about instrumentation in the French manner from his time at Celle: the two violin parts double one another to give a reinforced upper line above the two viola parts and bass. However, Becker departed from standard French practice by introducing movement linking into the second of the two branle suites. Here, he uses a short head-motif to link all the movements except the courante.

Becker's head-motifs are often no longer than three or four notes. Movements are also linked in the bass, not by common bass lines, but by head-motifs that are used in a similar fashion to those in the treble part. Example 3h shows the opening and closing sections of '5.Sonata à 4'. Becker clearly recalls the opening of the sonata in its final bars. The bass line at this point then becomes, in slightly altered form, the bass line of the opening of the following allemande. (This is also shown as part of Example 3h, and marked with brackets.) There are further melodic links, using a different head motif, between this allemande, the *allegro* section of the sonata and the following courante and gigue. Only the sarabande is not involved in the linking process.

The *d5* suite is less successful than the others in the collection. Perhaps Becker was re-using earlier material. He appears to be experimenting with inversion of the head-motifs, and much of the thematic material in the suite is based on an ascending or descending scale. At times it is difficult to know if there is an intentional link between movements, or if any similarity is coincidental. The material is not sufficiently distinctive. *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* exists in a modern edition, but despite this, the suites remain little known.³⁷ If they do not represent Becker's best work, they are still a worthwhile addition to the Hamburg tradition.

Four further suites by Becker exist in manuscript D-Hs M B/2463.³⁸ This eighteenth-century manuscript, of English origin, is the only source for these suites. On stylistic grounds, there is no reason to doubt Becker's authorship. Dating is more of a problem. All but one of the courantes in these suites are in the French manner, and this possibly points to Becker's time at Celle. But we shall see that the suites of M B/2463 offer greater technical sophistication than

Example 3h:

Becker, *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*, '5.Sonata à4' and '6.Allmand à4'.

5.Sonata à4.

Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Violon
Basso Cont[inuo]

[ending, 5.Sonata]

6 6 7 6 1

6 6 1 1 6 6 8 4 1 1

6.Allmand à4.

Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Violon
Basso Cont[inuo]

5 6 1 6 1 7 4 1

those in *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*, and were presumably written later. Perhaps Becker took the courantes from earlier suites. The suites in M B/2463, and their contents, are listed in Table 3.7. There is also an additional sonata by Becker in the manuscript. It has no connection with the suites.

The music in this manuscript is of a very high quality throughout, and is arguably Becker's best work as a suite composer. The instrumentation of the first suite is for three violins, bassoon and continuo; the remainder is for two violins, two viola da gambas and bass. Becker's bassoon part in the first suite does not simply double the bass. Virtuosity is required in the solo that is given in the opening sonata. (See Example 3j.) All four suites use two abstract move-

Table 3.7:

Contents of the suites by D. Becker in manuscript D-Hs M B/2463.

Suite title	Movements	Instrumentation	Key
Sonata â 3 Violini con Fagotto D:Becker	Sonata Praeludi allabrevi Allemande Courant Sarabanda Gique	Violin 1, Violin 2, Violin 3, Fagotto, Bass.	C major
Sonata â4 2 Violini & due Violdagambae	Sonata Praeludi allabrevi Allemande Courant Sarabande (<i>sic</i>) Gique	Violin 1, Violin 2, Gamba 1, Gamba 2, Bass.	A minor
Sonata â4 2 Violini & due Violdagamba	Sonata Praelud. Allabrevi Allemande Courante Simpel Sarabanda Gique	Violin 1, Violin 2, Gamba 1, Gamba 2, Bass.	F major
Sonata â4 2 Violini & due Violad.	Sonata Prelud: Allabrevi Allemande Courante Simpel Ballett Sarabande Gique	Violin 1, Violin 2, Gamba 1, Gamba 2, Bass.	A minor

ments to preface the sequence of dances with a 'Praeludi allabrevi' following each multi-sectioned sonata. These preludes are single-strain movements all using contrapuntal techniques, though none of them is a strict fugue. Three of the four suites follow the same order of sonata, prelude, allemande, courante, sarabande and gigue. The fourth suite inserts a 'ballett' between the courante and sarabande.

In these suites, Becker excels in his use of variation techniques, although he follows *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* in not including re-cast pairs of allemandes and courantes. But in every other area, Becker explores new levels of intricacy and ingenuity. This can be clearly seen in the fourth suite in the manuscript. The linking material for the entire suite is based around the four notes A,E,F,E. Example 3k shows the allemande, where Becker imaginatively

Example 3j:

'Sonata à 3 Violini con Fagotto D:Becker' (M B/2463).

Sonata
adagio

(Violino I)

(Violino II)

(Violino III)

(Fagotto)

(Basso Continuo)

Fagotto solo

divides the linking material between the two violin parts. (It is marked by an asterisk in the example.) Neither part, on its own, contains the entire thematic link, which only becomes apparent when both parts are played together.³⁹ It is ingenious procedures such as this that typify the suites in this manuscript, and the Hamburg tradition as a whole.

In the first and second suites, Becker sets out the linking material in the opening bars of the sonata. This material in the first suite is brief, even minimal: it comprises just three notes, G,A,G. Example 3l shows the openings of all the movements in the first suite. In the third suite, Becker uses the notes F,G,A for the same purpose. In all these manuscript suites, Becker shows a considerable subtlety in the way that he handles variation techniques. As in *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*, Becker's linking material often imitates Peuerl's in its brevity and simplicity, but unlike *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*, there is never any doubt about Becker's use of this material. His intentions are set out with the greatest clarity, even when he is at his most ingenious.

Only the first suite includes a bassoon part but, as we have seen, the instrument has a virtuoso solo in the sonata, and there are other opportunities for display in two of the three

Example 3k:

'Sonata â4 2 Violini & due Violad.' (M B/2463) allemande.

Allemande

(Violino I)

(Violino II)

(Viola da Gamba I)

(Viola da Gamba II)

(Basso Continuo)

6 5 6 # # # 6

remaining sonatas. Some of dances are noticeable for their brevity. The *ballo* of the final suite is six bars long. But there is great variety in the dances themselves. As the accented 6/4/2 chord at the start of the second bar of the sarabande in Example 3m shows, Becker is not afraid of using striking dissonance. The suites in M B/2463 are among the best examples of their kind.

Johann Adam Reincken was an important figure in the Hamburg musical establishment from the mid-1660s until his death in 1722. He knew Buxtehude well, and was partially responsible for the establishment of the Hamburg opera in 1678. He is thought to be the principal figure in the foreground of Voorhout's 'Domestic music scene' painting.⁴⁰ The air of affluence displayed in the painting is also present in what seems to be Reincken's only collection of consort suites. As we have seen, the collection was not printed in moveable type, but expensively engraved. *Hortus musicus* is undated, but the Frankfurt and Leipzig trade catalogues give the date of the publication as 1688.⁴¹ It is not known who the engraver was. Perhaps Reincken did it himself. The collection must be later than the four suites in M B/2463, as Becker died in 1679. It is likely that Reincken heard Becker's suites, either in the Hamburg public concerts, or in the type of music making suggested by Voorhout's painting. There are four part-books in *Hortus musicus*: 'Violino Primo', 'Violino Secundo', 'Viola [da gamba]' and a figured 'Bassus Continuus'. For much of the time, the string bass plays a slightly elaborated version of the continuo. It is only truly independent in some sections of the sonatas. Most of the time, therefore, the music is in three-part instrumentation. But as one of the most important examples of the Hamburg tradition, it needs to be discussed in relation to other examples of that tradition, and not in the chapter dealing with trios.

In *Hortus musicus*, Reincken combined Becker's variation suite techniques with the organisational concepts of the municipal suite collection. There are six suites arranged in ascending order of key: A minor, B \flat major, C major, D minor and E minor with a final suite in A major.

Example 31:

Movement linking in Becker, 'Sonata à 3 Violini con Fagotto D:Becker' (M B/2463).

[Sonata]
Adagio

(Violino I)
(Violino II)
(Violino III)
(Fagotto)
(Basso Continuo)

Praeludi allabrevi

(Violino I)
(Violino II)
(Violino III)
(Fagotto)
(Basso Continuo)

Allemande

(Violino I)
(Violino II)
(Violino III)
(Fagotto)
(Basso Continuo)

Each suite has the same sequence of movements:

Sonata / Allemand / Courant / Sarband / Gique.

Unlike Becker, Reincken makes extensive use of re-casting techniques: four of the six courantes are linked with their preceding allemandes in this way. In the third suite, Reincken

Example 31 (cont):

Courante

(Violino I)
(Violino II)
(Violino III)
(Fagotto)
(Basso Continuo)

Sarabanda

(Violino I)
(Violino II)
(Violino III)
(Fagotto)
(Basso Continuo)

Gique

(Violino I)
(Violino II)
(Violino III)
(Fagotto)
(Basso Continuo)

seems to be closely following Becker's example: he sets out the basis for the movement linking at the start of the sonata. Example 3n shows the opening of the movements in this suite. The head-motif in the 'violino primo' part at the start of the sonata is found at the start of the *allegro* section of the same movement, and in all movements except the sarabande. Like Becker, Reincken sometimes leaves a movement without any links. As well as the head-motif in the

Example 3m:

Becker, 'Sonata à4 2 Violini & due Violad.' (M B/2463) sarabande.

Sarabande

(Violino I)
(Violino II)
(Viola da Gamba I)
(Viola da Gamba II)
(Basso Continuo)

6 6 6 4 #
4 6 5
2 3

Detailed description: This musical score is for a Sarabande in 3/4 time. It features five staves: Violino I, Violino II, Viola da Gamba I, Viola da Gamba II, and Basso Continuo. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The piece is characterized by a slow, steady eighth-note accompaniment in the lower parts, with the upper parts playing a more melodic line. The score is divided into four measures, with a repeat sign at the end of the fourth measure. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 below the notes.

Example 3n:

J. A. Reincken, *Hortus musicus* (n.p., n.d.) third suite.

Sonata I lma
Lento

Violino Primo
Violino Secundo
Viola
Bassus Continuus

5 6 6 6 7
[4]

Detailed description: This musical score is for the first movement of a sonata, marked 'Lento'. It features four staves: Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, Viola, and Bassus Continuus. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The piece is characterized by a slow, steady eighth-note accompaniment in the lower parts, with the upper parts playing a more melodic line. The score is divided into four measures, with a repeat sign at the end of the fourth measure. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 below the notes.

[Sonata I lma]
Allegro:

Violino Primo
Violino Secundo
Viola
Bassus Continuus

6 5 6 5 6 6 6 6
4

Detailed description: This musical score is for the second movement of a sonata, marked 'Allegro'. It features four staves: Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, Viola, and Bassus Continuus. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The piece is characterized by a fast, rhythmic eighth-note accompaniment in the lower parts, with the upper parts playing a more melodic line. The score is divided into four measures, with a repeat sign at the end of the fourth measure. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 1-4 below the notes.

Example 3n (cont.):

Allemand 12ma

Violino Primo

Violino Secundo

Viola

Bassus Continuus

6 6 7 5 6 6 4 6 2 6

Courant 13tia

Violino Primo

Violino Secundo

Viola

Bassus Continuus

♭ 6 5 6 6 5 ♭ 3 4 3 5 6 5 ♭ 6 5 6 6 6 | |

treble, there is also one in the bass. The same rising phrase can be seen at the openings of the sonata, the allemande and the courante. Unlike Niedt's common base lines, this bass-line head-motif is not combined with any harmonic implication. Reincken varies the harmonies each time. The use of linking material is not confined to short melodic head-motifs. Repeated notes are used to link all the movements of the second suite, and again, Reincken highlights this at the opening of the sonata, almost as if he is setting out a proposition.

As we have seen, the viola part contains solo passages, but only in the sonatas. These are similar to the opportunities for display given by Becker in his sonatas that open the suites in M B/2463. Example 3p shows an extract from the solo in 'Sonata 11ma' of the third suite of *Hortus musicus*. This example also serves to further highlight the close relationship between the suites of M B/2463 and *Hortus musicus*. But there is also one important difference: Becker was a violinist and obviously wrote idiomatically for strings. By comparison, Reincken's writing seems at times to suggest keyboard origins, though it is unlikely that the collection is an arrangement of keyboard music. Perhaps it was this feature that prompted J.S. Bach to undertake his own

Example 3n (cont):

Saraband 14ta

Violino Primo

Violino Secundo

Viola

Bassus Continuus

6 6 7 7 6 6 6 7 7 6 6 7 7

Gigue 15ta
Allegro

Violino Primo

Violino Secundo

Viola

Bassus Continuus

6 6 6 6 5 6 6 7 8

Example 3p:
Reincken, *Hortus musicus* 'Sonata 11ma.'

Sonata 11ma
adagio

Violino Primo

Violino Secundo

Viola [da gamba]

Bassus Continuus

[Violino Primo tacet]

[Violino Secundo tacet]

Solo *adagio*

5 6 4 2 6 3 5 6 7 5 8

keyboard transcription of some of the movements from *Hortus musicus*. The musical level of Reincken's work may not reach that of Becker's at his best, but the collection is an outstanding example of the Hamburg tradition. There are no surviving examples of consort writing in the Hamburg tradition after *Hortus musicus*. It appears to be the final example of consort suite writing within the Hamburg tradition.

Notes on Chapter 3:

1. G. Webber, *North German Church Music in the age of Buxtehude* (Oxford, 1996), 74.
2. G. Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister oder gründlicher Erklärung der Frantzösischen Tantz-Kunst bestehend in drey Büchern* (Leipzig, 1717; repr. ed. K. Petermann, Munich, 1976), 964.
3. J. Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig, 1732; repr. Kassel, 1953), 319.
4. Volumes II and IV of *Parergon musicum* contain ballet music for the stage. They are considered in Chapter 1.
5. See G. B. Stauffer, 'Leipzig' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xiv, 511-524
6. See Wienandt, *Johann Pezel (1639-1694) A Thematic Catalogue of his Instrumental Works* (New York, 1983), preface, xii.
7. Ibid., preface, xvi.
8. Ibid., preface, Table 2.
9. The index of Hake's collection is given in Chapter 1, Illustration Iiii.
10. C. Becker, *Die Tonwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts oder Systematisch-Chronologische Zusammenstellung* (Leipzig, 1855) entry: Becker, 1677.
11. Becker's and Reincken's work will be discussed later in the chapter.
12. K. Nef, *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Instrumentalmusik* (Leipzig, 1921), 9.
13. P. Whitehead, 'Austro-German printed sources', 186.
14. In E. H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft ii, Kassel, 1934), 239, the 1667 edition is listed as lost. But there is every reason to think that the exemplar in GB-Ob Mus. Sch. c.158a-f is the first edition.
15. W. S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Baroque Era* (3rd edn., New York, 1972), 230.
16. Wienandt, *Johann Pezel*, preface, xvi.
17. The Rost manuscript is discussed in Chapter 8.
18. M. Crum, 'Music from St Thomas's, Leipzig, in the Music School Collection at Oxford' in Hertrich E. & Schneider H. (eds.), *Festschrift Rudolf Elvers zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing 1985), 97-101. See also M. Crum, 'James Sherard and the Oxford Music School Collection' (n.p., n.d.) held in GB-Ob.
19. RISM A/II, 190.006.428
20. Ibid., 190.006.428
21. G. J. Buelow, 'Knüpfer, Sebastien' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xiii, 699-701.
22. The branle suite is discussed in Chapter 4.
23. See A. Silbiger, 'Weckmann, Matthias' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxvii, 199-202.
24. See R. S. Hill, 'Stilanalyse und Überlieferungsproblematik' in A. Edler & F. Krummacher (eds.), *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit. Bericht über das Lübecker Symposium 1987* (Kassel, 1990), 204-214.
25. W. Brade, *Pavans and Galliards for six instruments (1614)*, ed. B. Thomas (London, 1992), preface.
26. A full biography of Niedt is given in the introduction to F. E. Niedt (trans. P. Poulin & I. Taylor), *The Musical Guide* (Oxford, 1989).

27. Niedt, *The Musical Guide*, 56-7.
28. 'Niedt schrieb sein Buch nicht für Ausgebildete, sondern für Anfänger. Er wollte dem Schüler zeigen, wie er Improvisationen oder Kompositionen strukturieren kann und wie sich diese Tätigkeiten vom Generalbaßspiel auf fast selbstverständliche Weise ableiten lassen'. Hill, 'Stilanalyse', 205.
29. Niedt, *The Musical Guide*, 164-5 & 168.
30. See J. Mackey, 'Theile, Johann' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxv, 345-347.
31. The painting is now in the Hamburg Museum für Hamburgische Geschichte. It has been discussed in detail in C. Wolff, 'Das Hamburger Buxtehude-Bild. Ein Beitrag zur musikalischen Ikonographie und zum Umkreis von Johann Adam Reincken' in A. Grassmann & W. Neugebauer (eds.), *800 Jahre Musik in Lübeck* (Lübeck, 1982), 64-77.
32. See Chapter 4.
33. *Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten* is further discussed in Chapter 8.
34. Göhler 2/90; Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik*, 187. I have been unable to trace Meyer's exemplar.
35. For details of the Durham manuscripts, see B. Crosby, *A catalogue of Durham Cathedral music manuscripts* (Oxford, 1986), 51-52.
36. Four- and six-movement branle suites are discussed in Chapter 4.
37. The suites in *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* have been published in H. Bergmann & U. Grapenthin (eds.) *Diederich Becker Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte (1668) und Hamburger Handschrift, Das Erbe deutsche Musik*, cx (Kassel 1995). There is also an on-line edition, ed. J. Tufvesson, at <http://www.lysator.liu.se/~tuben/scores>.
38. Ibid.
39. The start of this movement has been changed in the modern edition so that the rhythm of the first violin part matches that of the other parts. But the manuscript reading reproduced in the example may not be an error. See similar movement openings in Appendix II, 297 and 347.
40. See Wolff, 'Das Hamburger Buxtehude-Bild' and K. J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude, organist in Lübeck* (New York, 1987), 109-111.
41. Göhler 2, entry 1223.

'As much variety and novelty as could be contrived to pleas the court'

The Courtly Suite before 1680

I argued in the opening chapter that, despite the presence of musicians in Germany with first-hand knowledge of French and Italian music, the German concept of national style in music was, at best, often flawed. I therefore proposed a more satisfactory division of the suite into municipal and courtly categories. Music was not the only area where such divisions could be made: Rudolf Vierhaus has suggested that 'Courtly culture lacked a popular dimension and was far removed from the life of commoners in the cities'.¹ While the concept of a popular dimension might be questionable in seventeenth-century Germany, there is no doubt that Vierhaus's general comparison is apposite. Travellers of the period often compared court and town. Perhaps the most critical description of areas governed by German nobility came from Lady Mary Wortley Montague:

*'Tis impossible not to observe the difference between the free towns, and those under the government of absolute princes, as all the little sovereigns of Germany are. In the first there appears an air of commerce and plenty. The streets are well built and full of people, neatly and plainly dressed. The shops are loaded with merchandize, and the commonalty are clean and chearful. In the other you see a sort of shabby finery, a number of dirty people of quality tawdered out; narrow nasty streets out of repair, wretchedly thin of inhabitants, and above half of the common sort asking alms.'*²

Although Lady Wortley Montague's somewhat vituperative report should be treated with caution, the general opinion of travellers does seem to have been in favour of the towns. As we shall see in Chapter 5, travellers were not always well received by German nobility, and this may explain the seeming bias against the courts. Many German courts, especially the smaller ones, were places of arrogant presumption; daily protocol was often based on an attempted imitation of the court of Louis XIV. Despite Louis' territorial ambitions, which were a cause of constant anxiety in many of the German lands, French court culture was to dominate the German courts, almost without exception, until well beyond the end of the century. Indeed, it seems that, in the seventeenth century, political rivalry, or even military conflict, presented no barrier to the spread of cultural and social influences.

For those German rulers that could afford it, lavish spectacle and entertainment in the form of opera and dance were clearly important parts of the post-war recovery. Munich and Dresden were foremost in this. In Munich, the celebration in 1662 of the baptism of an heir,

Maximilian Emanuel von Wittelsbach, 'outdid in scale and variety virtually any other seventeenth-century festivity anywhere, those at Vienna, Florence and Paris included'.³ The whole entertainment lasted for eight days with opera, tournament and drama. Perhaps the court had been spurred on by Louis XIV's spectacular celebrations of his own wedding just a few months earlier. In Dresden, dynastic events were celebrated in a similar, if not quite as spectacular, fashion: the wedding of the Elector's daughter, Erdmuthe Sophie, in 1662 was marked by celebrations lasting from 18th October to 13th November. The meetings of the various branches of the Elector's family, a feature of Dresden courtly life in the 1670s, also provided another excuse for festive entertainments.⁴ The celebration given for this purpose in 1678 included equestrian events, shooting contests and hunts, plays, operas and two ballets.⁵ The elector personally took part in the 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten'.⁶ These entertainments were primarily to impress ambassadors and visiting royalty, but there can be little doubt that there was a love of spectacle for its own sake. Roger North's 'as much variety and novelty as could be contrived to pleas the court' was a comment on the English court of James I, but it could have applied equally well to virtually any court in Germany.⁷

However, courtly life throughout Germany should not be seen as a constant round of entertainment for the nobility. In comparison with Dresden, Munich and others elsewhere in Europe, many German courts were poverty-stricken at the end of the Thirty Years War. In many cases, it took a further ten or even twenty years to recover. It had not helped that the plague had returned to Germany in the 1630s with the resulting fall in population and decline in court income through taxation. Many courts in the 1650s and 1660s could not maintain anything but the smallest of musical establishments. Salary arrears were not uncommon, even for musicians in senior posts; for lesser musicians, the situation could be even worse. George Arnold a 'former violinist' at the Darmstadt court was owed no less than twelve years' back pay at the time of his retirement: he only received it on the condition that he continued to be available for occasions when more players were needed.⁸ Despite the impression of opulence, it is clear that the budget for the music was extremely limited in many of the smaller, and even medium-sized, courts. As well as bringing players out of retirement, musicians could also be hired from local towns and cities. In Gotha, instrumentalists and singers were hired for a royal wedding in 1666, but only on condition that they were local and provided their own music.⁹ By these standards, the court at Hessen-Kassel seems to have been comparatively well off in 1654 when it was able to list the services of seven *Musikanten* in addition to the organist and *Kapellmeister*.¹⁰

There was an improvement during in the 1660s. In the courts of southwest Germany, where French influence was particularly strong, Hessen-Kassel, Baden-Baden, Halle, Gotha, Darmstadt and the Palatine court in Heidelberg were able to produce French ballets during this period.¹¹ At the Württemberg court in Stuttgart, ballets were part of 'a long tradition of large-scale musical-theatrical entertainments' given to celebrate royal events.¹² Four were

performed in the 1660s, and two more in the 1670s, but the war with France that broke out in 1674 no doubt limited the opportunities for further court entertainment.¹³

As well as being governed by financial considerations, the size and importance of each *Hofkapelle* was also heavily dependent on the whim of each individual ruler. In Wolfenbüttel, for example, Duke August the Younger was succeeded on his death in 1666 by Rudolf August who had little interest in music or the theatre. Accordingly, the size and scope of the musical establishment was drastically cut. It was not until his brother, the cultured and music-loving Anton Ulrich, became co-ruler in 1685 that matters really improved. The style of music-making could also change at the behest of the ruler, or his consort. At Schwerin, Princess Isabella Angelika von Montmorency founded a French violin band in 1664.¹⁴ Six Frenchmen were part of this band at its instigation, and it seems likely that several German players could be added to this number. By 1671, there were twelve musicians, nine of whom were French. In 1676, the Celle *Hofkapelle* was re-arranged along French lines by Princess Eléonore Desmier d'Olbreuse, and a Frenchman, Philippe de Vigne (1640-1728), was put in charge of the music.¹⁵ At the court of Hesse-Darmstadt, Princess Elisabeth Dorothea took a particular interest in the music. Following the visit of a group of French musicians to the court in 1683, she completely reorganised the music along French lines.

Wilhelm VI and Wilhelm VII were the landgraves of Hessen-Kassel from 1637 to 1670.¹⁶ The players of their *Hofkapelle* appear to have been mostly German; if a violin band similar to those found at Celle and Schwerin existed at the Hessen-Kassel court, it does not appear to have included any Frenchmen.¹⁷ However, its repertoire was clearly French-orientated, and a good deal of its music was brought in from Paris. This is reflected in the most important source of court music in Germany before the advent of German-Lullianism: the collection of manuscripts in D-K1 gathered together in 2° MS mus.fol.61 (hereafter fol.61). There has been much confusion about these manuscripts: for example, James R. Anthony describes them as 'the so-called Manuscript of Kassel, ... [which] contains 200 pieces that are grouped into twenty "suites"'.¹⁸ The number twenty is certainly open to dispute, but more importantly, fol.61 does not represent a single manuscript. The Kassel manuscripts are, in fact, complete sets of instrumental parts, a large proportion of which are given over to dance music.¹⁹ Much of this confusion must be blamed on Jules Écorcheville who, in 1906, edited and brought together a large number of these manuscripts under the title of *Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVIIe siècle français, publiées d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Cassel*.²⁰ The contents of fol.61 have become universally known through this edition, and Écorcheville's work has been accepted at face value. However, it is clear that considerable license was used in the editing of these sources. As we have already seen, the title phrase 'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Cassel' has caused confusion, but Écorcheville's methods in assembling these twenty suites must also be open to question. In the sources, many of the suites are written in pairs; however, the copyists, almost without exception, provide suitable titles or indications to show unequivocally the end

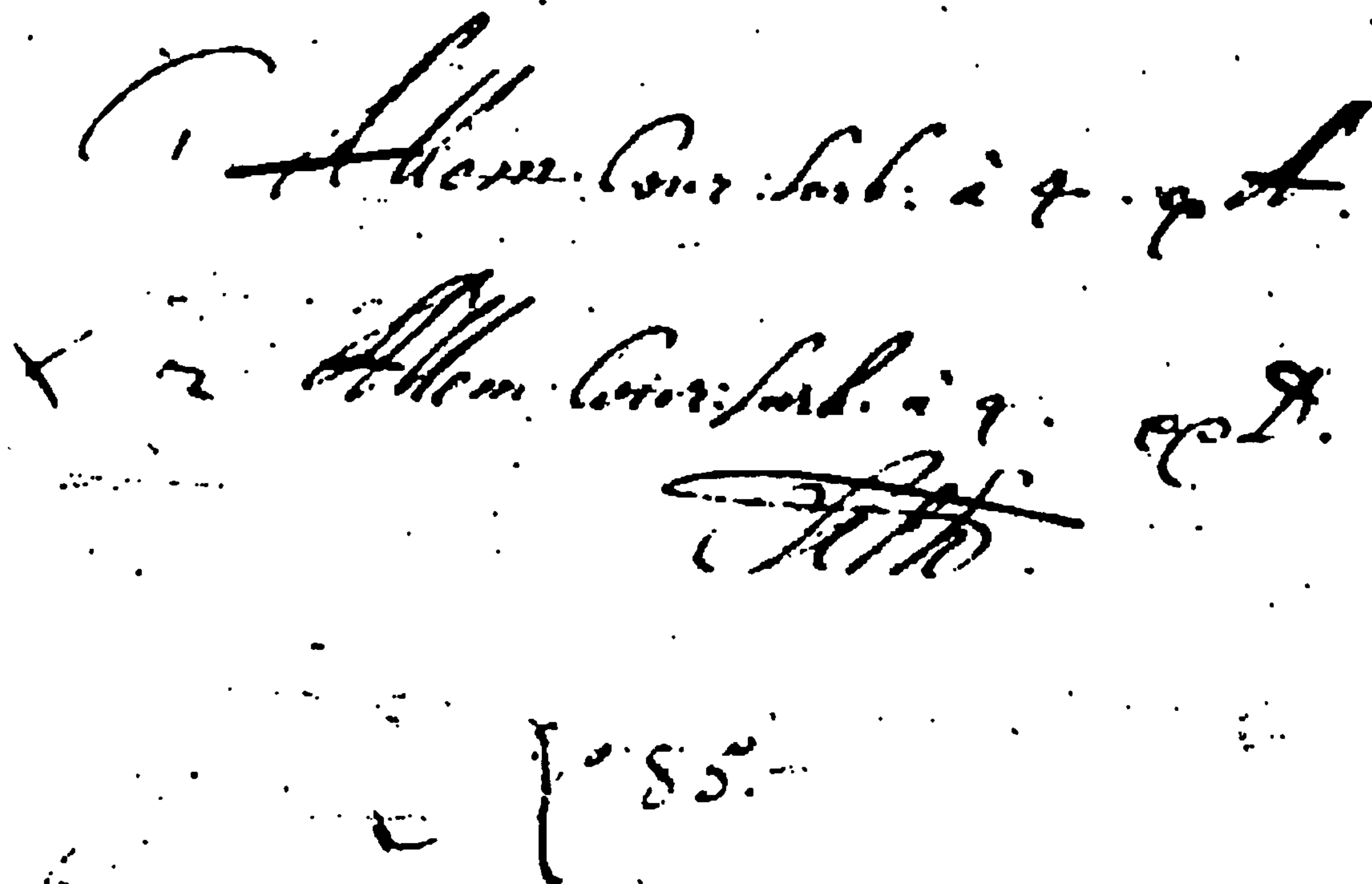
of the first suite and the start of the second one. Where they exist, the wrappers of each manuscript set of parts also make the division of movements clear; even if they were added later, they still represent a valuable guide to the contents. Illustration 4i is a reproduction of the wrapper enclosing 2° MS mus.61d². In his facsimiles, Écorcheville does not show any of these wrappers; neither does he make a comment about them anywhere in his editorial text. For reasons that are never explained, suites that are grouped in pairs in the manuscripts sometimes have their order reversed. More seriously, many are misleadingly combined to suggest a sequence of movements that is at odds with the sources. Table 4.1 gives a selected list of the contents fol.61. The table also indicates where Écorcheville has made editorial changes.

The German composers in fol.61 are relatively easy to identify. The initials 'G.D.' that are given against movements in 2° MS mus.61c and 61h are probably those of Gerhard Diesineer. Diesineer was educated in Kassel and, after a period of time in Paris, returned there in 1660; he probably continued to work at the Hessen-Kassel court until he moved to London around 1673.²¹ David Pohle was employed at Kassel sometime during the 1650s, and it seems likely that the Landgrave of Hessen, the composer of the opening sarabande in 2° MS mus.61f, was Wilhelm VI.²² However, Adam Drese, whose work also appears in the manuscripts, appears to have had no direct connection with the court at all. Two other composers of northern-European extraction must be considered: Gustav Düben, and his father, Andreas. Andreas was *Kapellmeister* at the Swedish court in Stockholm until his death in 1662: Gustav succeeded him in the post and remained in charge of the court music until his own death in 1690. The music of both father and son features strongly in a manuscript clearly reflecting the repertoire of the French violin band resident in Stockholm: S-Uu Instr.mus.hs 409.²³ Unlike fol.61, it is a single manuscript, but, apart from that, there are also strong similarities. A number of suites and individual movements are common to both sources, which include some ascribed to the Dübens in Instr.mus.hs 409. There seems no reason to doubt these attributions, and Table 4.2 gives a list of the concordances between Instr.mus.hs 409 and fol.61. The link between the two courts is further demonstrated by the inclusion in fol.61 of a ballet 'danced at Stockhom' (2° MS mus.61k⁴).

Écorcheville and Jaroslav Mráček have already subjected the identity of the French composers named in fol.61 to a good deal of scrutiny.²⁴ Further work by Peter Holman has identified the composer of 'Ballet du Sr. Nau à 5. ex F. fa ut' (2° MS mus.61d⁵[I]) as Stephen Nau, a Frenchman who spent most of his career in England.²⁵ The only attribution that remains completely unsolved is that of 'La Haye'. One movement in the collection carries this name, 'Sarabande de La Haye' in 2° MS mus.61d³[II]. A similarly named 'Mons: de La Hæy' appears in Instr.mus. hs 409, but there is no evidence to suggest that these two names belong to the same person.²⁶ Given that a significant part of the collection is of French origin, it is perhaps surprising that Écorcheville was only able to find two pieces, 'Libertas' and 'Sarabande Italienne' (both from 2° MS mus.61e) that also exist in French sources. In fact, both these

Illustration 4i:

Manuscript D-Kl 2° MS mus.61d².



pieces come from Luigi Rossi's 1647 opera *Orfeo*, 'the first opera composed specifically for the Parisian court'.²⁷ Unfortunately, I have not been able to add anything else to Écorcheville's list.

The inclusion of music by Pohle and Diesineer indicates that these manuscripts probably represent the repertoire of the Hessen-Kassel court. How then, did the French music in fol.61 get to Kassel? A number of the manuscripts carry initials, perhaps those of the copyist, which appear to be 'C. Th' or 'Ch. Th.'.²⁸ It is possible that this is Christoph Thomas who was employed in the *Hofkapelle* until at least 1660. However, this must remain highly speculative, especially for the later pieces. A link between the courts at Kassel and Stockholm has been suggested on the basis of pieces common to fol.61 and Instr.mus.hs 409.²⁹ However, the evidence points to one person ideally placed to bring French manuscripts to Kassel, and that is Diesineer. As we have seen, Diesineer had spent a number of years in Paris before returning to Kassel, and it is highly likely that he brought many of these pieces with him. Confirmation comes from a payment made from court funds in December 1660. This reimbursed Diesineer for a purchase, made in Paris, of 'various French branles, courantes, sarabandes, ballets etc.'³⁰

A number of changes and additions were made to the Kassel manuscripts, some, it seems, during the course of copying. Apart from the correction of mistakes, the reasons for these changes are not always clear. In 2° MS mus.61b¹, the branle sequence by Lully originally appears to have been followed by a sarabande of unknown origin. The latter was crossed out and replaced by another sarabande, a 'Courante. du Manoir' and the 'Allemande. ex. A la re'. The original, deleted, sarabande was then re-written at the end. This only happened in the top

Table 4.1:

Selected contents of manuscripts D-Kl 2° MS mus.fol.61.

2° Ms. mus. suffix	Composers identified within the manuscripts	Wrapper title	Movements	Vingt suites
61a	Bruslard	Bransles de Mr. Brülär à4. 1664. ex. G.♯ dur N° 86.	[Branle] / Gaÿ / à mener / double / Montirande / Gavotte / 1.Courante en Suite / 2.Courante / 3.Courante / Sarabande / Bourrée.	VI
61b ^{1a}		Bransle à4. le 20ma. 8bris 1668. N°. 87.	[Branle] / Gaÿ / à mener / Gavotte / première Courante en suite / deuxième Courante / 3me Courante / Sarabande / Menuet.	VIII
61b ¹	Dumanoir	Branles Nouveaux à4. ex. A. la re N°. 89.	[Branle] [LWV 31/1] / Gaÿ [LWV 31/2] / à mener [LWV 31/3] / Gavotte [LWV 31/4] / 1. Courante en suite [LWV 31/8] / 2. Courante [LWV 31/10] / Sarabande / Courante du Manoir / Allemande ex A la re / Sarabande[II].	X
61b ²	Dumanoir	Bransles à4. de Mr. du Manoir ex. G.♭ moll. N°. 88.	[Branle] / Gaÿ / à mener / Gavotte / 1. Courante en suite / 2.Courante / 3.Courante / La Sarabande / Courante Madamoisella / Cou- rante La Dauphine / Courante. La Preticuse / Sarabande.	IX
61c	D[iesineer]	N°r. 47 Branle Nouuau 1661	Branle Nouuau de G.D. / Gay / Amener / Gavotte / 1 Courante / 2 ^{ma} Courante / La Sarabande.	XI
61d ¹	Lazarini, Mazüel	Allemande Lazarini à4 ex. G.♯ dur Hier- bey findet sich Courante nouvelle N° 32.	1.Allemand La Zarin ex G.♯ dur, 2.Allemand ex G.♯ dur / Courants nouvelles de Mr. Mazüel 1 / [Courants] 2 / Gigue / Sarabande.	XII
61d ² [I]	Werdier	1 Allem. Cour: Sarb: à4. ex A. 2 Allem. Cour: Sarb. à4. ex D. [?] C Th. N° 85.	Alemande à 4. ex. D. / 1.Courante / 2. Courante / 3.Courant. Mon. Werdier / 4. Sarabande.	XIII [ii]
61d ² [II]		1 Allem. Cour: Sarb: à4. ex A. 2 Allem. Cour: Sarb. à 4. ex D. [?] C Th. N° 85.	Alemande à 4 ex. A / 1.Courante / 2. [Courante] / Sarabande.	XIII [i]
61d ³	Mazüel	1. Allemande. Mazuel. à5 ex. G.♯ dur. 2. Allem: de la Voÿs à5. ex. B moll [?] C Th. N° 82.	Alemande à 5 Mons. Mazuel / I Courante / 2. Cour / 3.Cour / Sarab: / Boureé / Bourée[II].	I

Table 4.1(cont.):

2° Ms. mus. suffix	Composers identified within the manuscripts	Wrapper title	Movements	Vingt suites
61d ³	La Voÿs La Haye	1. Allemande. Mazuel. à5 ex. G. ♯ dur. 2. Allem: de la Voÿs à5. ex. B moll [?] C Th. N° 82.	Allemande. de la Voÿs / Gagliarde / Sarabande de La Haye.	I
61d ⁴	La Croix	1. Allemande. à4. Cour: & Sarab: du Sr. de la Croix. ex. D. sol re, 2. Allemande Adam Dresen. à4. & Courante la Duchesse. ex. D. la re N° 84.	Allemande. du Sr. de la Croix. à4 / 1. Courante / 2. Courante / Sarabande.	VII
61d ⁴	Drese	1. Allemande. à4. Cour: & Sarab: du Sr. de la Croix. ex. D. sol re, 2. Allemande Adam Dresen. à4. & Courante la Duchesse. ex. D. la re N° 84.	Allemande. à4. Sigr Adam Dresen / 1. Courante / La Duchesse. Courante figuree / Bouree.	VII
61d ⁵ [I]	Nau	Ballet du Sr. Nau à5. ex F. fa ut & Allemande. Cour: & Sarab: à5 ex G ♭ moll. [?] C Th. N°. 83.	1. Ballet à5. S. Nau / 2. [Ballet] / 3. [Ballet] / 4. [Ballet] / 5. [Ballet] / 6. [Ballet].	II
61d ⁵		Ballet du Sr. Nau à5. ex F. fa ut & Allemande. Cour: & Sarab: à5 ex G ♭ moll. [?] C Th. N°. 83.	Alemande à5 / Courante / [2. Courante] / [3. Courante] / 4. [Courante] / Sarabande.	II
61d ⁶	Artus, ?Christian Her- wig.	Trois Allemandes avec Cour: Sarb: à4. ex. G. ♭ moll N°. 71.	1. Allemande / 2. Allemande. Christian Herwig, Courante figurée / Gagliarde du Sr. Artus.	XIV
61d ⁶ [III]		Trois Allemandes avec Cour: Sarb: à4. ex. G. ♭ moll N°. 71.	Allemande. ex. G ♭ moll / 1. Courante, 2. Courante / 3. Courante / Bouree.	XIV
61d ⁷		No. 18. Allemande Cour: Sarab: à5. ex. G. ♭ moll & les passe pieds à4. & La Bouree Chris- tiana.	1 Allemand / 2 Courant / 3 Courant / 4 Sara- band.	V [ii]

Table 4.1(cont.):

2° Ms. mus. suffix	Composers identified within the manuscripts	Wrapper title	Movements	Vingt suites
61d ⁷ [III]	Artus	No. 18. Allemande Cour: Sarab: à5. ex. G. ♭ moll & les passe pieds à4. &. La Bouree Chris- tiana.	Les passe pieds. d'Artus / Sarabande / Boureè Geschwind / Courante / Boureè figureè La Christiana.	V [i]
61d ⁸		Allemande. à5. avec Cour: Sarb: & Bransles ex G♭ moll [?] C. Th. N°. 76.	Allemande à5 / 1 Courante Simple / 2. Courante figureè / Sarabande.	III [ii]
61d ⁹		Allemande. à5. avec Cour: Sarb: & Bransles ex G♭ moll [?] C. Th. N°. 76.	Bransles à5 / Gaÿ, à mener / Double / Monti- rande / Gavotte.	III [i]
61e	Pinel	Libertas No. 12.	Libertas / Sarabande Italienne / 1.Courante / 2.[Courante] / 3.Cour. du Sr. Pinelle / Sara- bande.	IV
61f	Landgrave of Hesse		Sarabande de son Alt: de Hesse faite l'an 1650 / Sarabande du Roy / Sarab. / Courante / Sarabande [I] / Sarabande [II] / Frantzösich Liedt, wirdt etwas geschwindt gespielt / Fantasie Les pleurs d'Orpheé, aÿant perdu sa femme / Courante ex G.♭ moll.	XV
61g	Pohle	Le Testament du Sr. Belleuille et Courante et Sarabande à 4 ex F.fa ut Autore D. Pohle.	Le Testament du Sr Belleville à 4 / 1.Courante Simple / 2.Courante / Sarabande / Sarabande [II] / La Boureè.	XVI
61h	D[iesineer]	N°. 48 Ouvertures, Ballets et Allemandes ex Clave F. [plus incipit written in French violin clef].	Ouverture de G.D. / 1.Ballet les inconstans / 2. Ballet / 3. [Ballet] / Allemande de G.D. / Allemande 2.	XVII
61k ¹	Werdier	Allemande & Courante nouvelle de l an 1658 à4. ex C fa ut. No. 33.	1. Courante nouvelle de l'annee 1658 / 2. [Courante] / 3.[Courante] / Sarabande, 2. Allemande verdier / 1.Allemande ex C fa ut.	XVIII
61m		Allemanden a4.	Allemande à4 / Courante 1 / Courante 2 / Sarab: / Gigue.	XX
61m [II]		Allemanden a4.	Allemande à4 / Courante / Sarabande /	--

Notes:

Works by Lully are identified by their LWV numbers.

Manuscript 61m[II] is incomplete, but was not included by Écorcheville, even as part of the section entitled 'Suites incomplètes'.

Table 4.2:

Concordances between S-Uu Instr.mus.hs 409 and D-Kl 2° MS mus.fol.61.

Suffix to 2° MS mus.	Movements in Instr. mus.hs 409	Movements in fol.61	Comments
61d ² [II]	7. Allamanda A[ndreas]: D [üben]: Cap[ellmeister]: 8. 1.Courant A:D: Capp: 9. 2.Courant A:D: Capp: 10. Sarabande.	Alemande à4 ex. A. 1.Courante 2.[Courante] Sarabande	Only three of the four movements in Instr.mus.hs 409 are ascribed to Düben. Both sources agree in movements and order.
61d5 [II]	150. Allamanda G[ustaf] D[üben]. 151. 1.Courante G.D. 152. 2.Courante Mons: A.D. 153. 3.Courant Mons: A.D. 154. 4.Courant Mons: A.D. 155. Saraband G.D.	Alemande à5 Courante [untitled courante] 4.[courante] Sarabande	Both sources agree in movements and order.
61d6 [II]	Allamand / La Croix.	Allemande ex G _b moll. 1.Courante 2.Courante 3.Courante Bouree	Instr.mus.hs 409 source only survives in fragmen- tary condition. Only one allemande extant.
61d8 [I]	178. Courante Mons: A.D. 179. 2.Courante.	Allemande à5 1. Courante Simple 2. Courante figureè Sarabande	Identical part writing and instrumentation in both sources.
61e	Libertas.	Libertas Sarabande Italienne; 1.Courante 2.[Courante] 3.Cour: du Sr. Pinelle Sarabande	Only 'Libertas' is common to both sources. Instru- mentation and lower parts harmonies differ in each source.
61g	139. Serenade Mons: de Belleville.	Le Testament du Sr Belleville à4; 1.Courante. Simple 2.Courante Sarabande Sarabande[II] La Bouree	Lower parts harmonies differ in each source. Fol.61 wrapper ascribes 'Courante et Sarabande á4' to Pohle. Five-part version in S-Uu Instr.mus.hs 134:22 marked 'La Hays'.

Note:

All information regarding Instr.mus.hs 409 is taken from J. S. Mráček (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dance Music in Uppsala University Library, Instr.mus.hs 409* (Musica Svecica Saeculi XVII:5, Monumenta Musicae Svecicae, 8; Stockholm, 1976).

part and its duplicate: all other parts have the revised sequence. Likewise, in 2° MS mus.61d² [I], the movement sequence of the first suite has been changed during the course of copying: originally there was an allemande followed by two courantes and a sarabande. Along with new movement numbers to clarify the order, a third courante was added later. Both the changes here and in 2° MS mus.61b¹ were probably made as corrections, though we must not discount the possibility that they were last-minute additions made by the copyist. Additions, and not corrections, appear to be the reason for changes to 2° MS mus.61d³[I]. Here, it appears that the copyist responsible for the duplicate outer parts for this suite also added the second bourrée. Likewise, a second allemande ('Allemande verdier') was added to 2° MS mus.61k¹ by a different hand, but this time on additional sheets of paper. The copyist also added movement numbers indicating that it should be performed before the existing 'Allemande. ex C fa ut', rather than after it. If the sequences of dances in this manuscript collection were considered a fluid entity, it does not necessarily have implications for the performance of these works. The copyists took care to number any changes and to make the playing order completely clear.

Both four-part and five-part instrumentation is used in fol.61. Apart from the occasional 'basso' marking, no instruments are specifically mentioned. However, there is remarkable consistency throughout the manuscripts. The four-part pieces are nearly all written in the French violin, soprano, alto and bass clefs. Figuring of the bass part is rarely present. The five-part pieces follow the same pattern, but mostly with the addition of an extra inner part with a second-line c clef. There is also frequent duplication of the outer parts, which is entirely consistent with French practice of the time. The duplication mostly results in two copies of each of the treble and bass parts. In one instance, the two sections of 2° MS mus.61d⁷, there are three copies of the upper part, albeit in different hands. Both sections of 2° MS mus.61d⁷ have the same number of manuscript parts: three copies of the violin, three single viola parts, and two copies of the bass. The five-part instrumentation of the first suite is reduced to four in the second: the second and third viola parts are identical.

Écorcheville is particularly misleading in matters of key: suites do not change key in the way that he suggests. In fact, the movements of all but one of the suites listed in Table 4.1 remain in the same key. The exception is 2° MS mus.61f. In this suite, there is an inner core of movements in G minor that is preceded by one in D major and followed by a group of four in F major, D minor and G minor. However, these last four movements (starting with the 'Frantzösch Liedt') have been added by another hand, and it is impossible to tell if the opening 'Sarabande de Son Alt. de Hesse: faite l'an 1650' was part of the original scheme. If not, it is possible that this suite originally comprised a courante between two pairs of sarabandes, all in G minor.

Clearly, many of the suites are pastiches, and it is also clear that composers' names are meant to refer to single movements and not an entire sequence. For example, in the sequence of movements that make up 2° MS mus.61d⁴[II], it is most unlikely that the 'Allemande. à4.

Sigr Adam Dresen' is by the same composer as 'La Duchesse. Courante figureè'.³¹ 'La Duchesse' was one of the most widely circulated dances of the period: it exists in a number of French sources and, almost certainly, its origins are French.

Chapter 1 has shown how *en suite* would seem to suggest the playing of movements in immediate succession, and possibly without any break. This implies that dances linked together in this way had their origins as genuine, functional, dance movements. However, it is only the courantes in fol.61 that are marked in this way, though sarabandes and allemandes are also to be found in pairs. The function of the allemande in these suites also raises a further, very important, consideration. As Richard Hudson has pointed out, Drese's allemande is one of a 'substantial' number of allemandes contained in fol.61.³² It seems that the allemande was not danced in France at this time. Mersenne confirms this when he says that allemandes are 'played on instruments, and not danced' ('jouër sur les instruments sans la dancer').³³ Hudson calls this 'astonishing', but reluctantly comes to the same conclusion.³⁴ However, it is clear that French composers continued to write ensemble allemandes, and fol.61 contains a number of allemandes that are clearly of French origin.³⁵ How do these allemandes relate to other movements in a suite? It would be strange if some movements within a sequence were intended for dancing, and some not. Given this apparent contradiction, were the suites in fol.61 that contain allemandes meant for dancing, or were they meant solely for instrumental performance? Hudson is in no doubt that allemandes were danced in Kassel and Stockholm.³⁶ But this is not altogether satisfactory. As we have seen, French culture was a dominant feature at these two courts, especially when it came to dancing; it would be strange if allemandes were being danced in Kassel and Stockholm when they were not being danced in France. Furthermore, there is no mention of the allemande in the index, or in any of the lists of dances, in Gottfried Taubert's 1717 dance treatise *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister oder gründlicher Erklärung der Frantzösischen Tantz-Kunst*.³⁷ There may be good reasons for this: as his title suggests, Taubert may be reflecting practice in France, and not in Germany. In addition, the treatise was written over fifty years later than the probable compilation date of many of the Kassel manuscripts. However, a tradition of German allemande dancing would surely have merited some sort of mention by Taubert. Unfortunately, no German dance treatise from the middle of the seventeenth century appears to have survived to add any further light on the subject. Until further evidence is found, the question of dance or instrumental performance must remain open. However, the evidence, such as it is, would seem to suggest that the presence of an allemande in a suite was an indication that the entire suite was intended to be played instrumentally, but not danced.

The term ballet is only rarely found in fol.61, and its use by the Kassel copyists appears to be no more than a classification. This would appear to be confirmed by the music in 2° MS mus.61h where the 'Ouverture de G.D.' is followed by three movements all entitled 'ballet'. As we have seen, 'G.D.' is probably Gerhard Diesineer who seems to have studied composition in Paris towards the end of the 1650s.³⁸ Not surprisingly, the 'Ouverture de G.D.' closely

resembles the *ouvertures* found in F-Pn Rés F 498 and 499 of the 'Philidor MSS' (see Chapter 1), and ballet movements in this suite may be part of a complete stage work by Diesineer in imitation of the staged ballets that he must have come across during his time in Paris.³⁹ Given that allemandes do not seem to have been danced in France, the pair that end this suite may have come from a quite different source of Diesineer's music, if they are by him at all. The other example of a ballet in fol.61, '1. Ballet à5. S. Nau.' (2° MS mus.61d⁵[I]) is followed by a further five movements that are numbered, but not titled. The movements are not all of the same type: the duple-time '2' and '5' are each followed by triple-time dances. As we have seen, the Dresden 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten' contains similar contrasting pairs of duple- and triple-time dances. Perhaps 2° MS mus.61d⁵[I] is an earlier example of the same process.

We have seen in Table 4.1 how strongly the branle suite is represented in fol.61. This is a clear reflection of the enduring popularity of this sequence of dances throughout the German lands. There are three branle sequences here, two in G major and one in E minor. Mersenne, in his 1636 *Harmonie universelle*, lists the component parts of the branle suite, though he is largely repeating de Lauze's dance treatise, *Apologie de la danse*, published in 1623. Mersenne gives the following list:

Le premier s'appelle *Bransle simple*, ... Le second Branle s'appelle *Gay*, & se danse plus viste que le premier: ... Le troisieme se nomme *Bransle à mener*, ou *de Poitou*, ... Le quatriemes s'appelle *Bransle double de Poitou*: ... Le cinquiesme se nomme *Bransle de Montirandé*, sa mesure est binaire, mais elle est fort viste ... Le sixiesmes s'appelle la *Gavote*, c'est à dire la dance aux chansons: sa mesure est binaire assez grave.⁴⁰

There was also a shorter form of the branle suite that existed outside France: not surprisingly, Mersenne fails to mention it. It has four movements, rather than six, and omits the *branle double* and the *montirande*.⁴¹ Of the six branle suites in fol.61 only two use the full six movement version listed by Mersenne.⁴² However, five of the six have additional movements beyond the basic sequence, although, as we have seen, the movements in the pastiche 2° MS mus.61b¹ may have been changed during the process of copying. These extra movements are mostly courantes followed by a concluding sarabande. The same trend can be seen in the extended branle suites of the 'Bransles à4 del Sigr: David Pohlen ex G \sharp ' (D-K1 4° MS mus.148e). This is clearly a companion manuscript to those in fol.61 and contains three branle suites in G minor, G major and E minor. The movements of each suite are the same:

[Branle] Simple / Gay / à mener / Double / Montirande / Gavotte / 1.Courante / 2.Courante / Sarabande.

The quality of these suites by Pohle is high, and they are attractive works: had they been included as part of Écorcheville's collection, they would surely have been better known. Example 4a gives the 'branle simple' from the opening suite in the manuscript. Clearly, extended branle suites of this type remained very popular in German repertoire until at least the last

Example 4a:

'Bransles à4 del Sigr: David Pohlen ex G \sharp ' (D-Kl 4 $^{\circ}$ MS mus.148e) 'Simple'.

Simple.



decade of the century.

Given the links between music in Kassel fol.61 and Paris, it is important to distinguish the particular courtly activity that influenced the Kassel suites and the German repertoire as a whole. Was it the *ballet de cour*, or another form of dance? James R. Anthony is in no doubt: 'the music in [fol.61] was taken from or modeled on French court ballet dance music'.⁴³ This claim needs some examination. As we have seen, fol.61 contains a number of branle suites. According to David J. Buch, 'Branles are an integral part of the earliest ballets' and he cites two supposed examples in Rés.F 496.⁴⁴ However, as Buch's later work on these manuscripts shows, branles are conspicuous in these manuscripts by their absence. Within the hundreds of individual movements in the Philidor MSS there are only two movements that are specifically named

as branles: '6^{me} Entrée La Mariée au montier' (Rés.F 496), '18^{me} Entrée Le Branle de Metz' (Rés.F 497).⁴⁵ Even allowing for the fact that some of the entrées in other parts of the manuscripts may be unnamed branles, it is still hard to see how, on the available evidence, the branle can be considered to be 'an integral part' of the *ballet de cour*. It has also been suggested that, in the *ballet de cour* between 1653 and 1663, 'the bourrée, gavotte, and sarabande predominate. Also found are the courante, gigue, gaillarde, and chaconne'.⁴⁶ But apart from the sarabande, they are hardly represented in the Philidor MSS. It is true that most, if not all, of these movements appear in Philidor's 1699 printed collection of *Suite de danses pour les violons et hautbois qui se jouent ordinairement aux bals chez le Roy, recueillis ... par Philidor l'ainé* and his 1712 manuscript collection 'Suite de danses (sic) pour les violons et hautbois qui se jouent ordinairement à tous les bals chez le Roy' (F-Pn Vm⁷ 3555). However, as Philidor's titles make clear, his collections are of ballroom dances and not ballets performed on stage. Clearly, there is a need for further research in this area. Much of Buch's attempt to link the *ballet de cour* to the development of the French baroque suite is attractive. But, on this basis, attempts to draw specific parallels between the *ballet de cour* and the type of material found in manuscripts such as fol.61 must be considered unwise.

This is not to say that courantes and branle sequences were not courtly dances; clearly they were. Du Manoir, in his 1664 pamphlet *Le mariage de la musique avec la danse*, wrote that the courante 'delighted the court, and all of France, for many years' ('qui ont ravy la Cour et toute la France depuis quelques années').⁴⁷ Mersenne, writing nearly thirty years earlier, expressed similar sentiments: '*La Courante* is danced more frequently than any other in France' ('*La Courante* est la plus frequente de toutes les dances pratiquées en France').⁴⁸ We have seen Mersenne's detailed description of the branle suite. But he also writes of the branle: 'there are six species, which are now danced at the opening of the ball, one after the other' ('Or il y en a de six especes de Branles, qui se dansent maintenant à l'ouverture du Bal les uns apres les autres').⁴⁹ In the title of the section that includes this description ('Proposition XXIV), Mersenne makes a clear distinction between the ballet and the ballroom: 'Explanation of the types of Branle currently in use in France, at ballets, at balls and at other entertainments' ('Expliquer toutes les sortes de Bransles dont on use maintenant dans la France, tant aux Balets, & aux Bals, qu'aux autres recreations').⁵⁰ Clearly, Mersenne is not ruling out the use of the branle in a staged ballet, but he appears to be suggesting that the principal use of the branle was in the ballroom and, therefore, not on the stage. Both Pepys and Mersenne describe balls being opened by the dancing of a branle.⁵¹ In addition, the opening branle of a ball also appears to have been regularly followed by one or more courantes, and, as we have seen, courantes were a frequent addition to branle suites.⁵² Thus, there appears to be a clear connection between the branle suite, the courante and the ballroom. In addition, the branle suite also appears to have functioned as a type of ballroom overture, and it is possible that the juxtaposition of duple- and triple-time sections of the branle and the *branle gai* had a greater influence

on the Lullian overture than has hitherto been realised.⁵³ Certainly, ballroom dancing seems to have been popular at the German courts, especially the smaller ones that did not have enough money to put on regular staged ballets.

Not all music associated with court composers was circulated in manuscript. Movements from fol.61 also appear in the trio collection published by Balthasar Christoph Wust in 1660 under the title *Exercitium musicum*. The same collection also contains further pieces by some of the French composers represented in fol.61.⁵⁴ There is no evidence that Wust, who worked in Frankfurt am Main, had any connection with the court at Kassel. It is more likely that either Wust had contacts in Paris or that these pieces were in general circulation in Germany. Briegel, Bleyer and Reusner were all court musicians, and all issued printed editions of their music. We should now consider how far these editions reflect court musical practice.⁵⁵ Briegel's 1652 *Erster Theil. Darinnen begriffen X. Paduanen. X. Galliarden. X. Balleten, und X. Couranten. Mit 3. oder 4. Stimmen* in 1652 is organised into pairs of movements, firstly *Paduanen* and *Galliarden*, and then *Balleten* and *Couranten*.⁵⁶ This is more in line with other printed editions of the 1650s: it does not seem to reflect any particular aspect of court practice. Reusner's *Musicalische Gesellschafts ergetzung bestehend in Sonaten, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Gavotten, und Gigueen* has been discussed earlier in Chapter 2. Reusner was a lutenist at the court in Brieg, and a volume of his lute music, *Delitiae testudnis*, had already been published in 1667. This was followed a year later by ten lute suites arranged for strings by Johann Georg Stanley under the title *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung*. Reusner's music was clearly popular, a second edition of *Musicalische Gesellschafts* was issued only two years after the first, and his lute music was widely circulated in manuscript.⁵⁷ But like Briegel's collection, *Musicalische Gesellschafts* does not represent court practice. It is much nearer to the type of collection issued by town musicians that we discussed in Chapter 2.

The contents of *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung* are quite different to those in *Musicalische Gesellschafts*. It is clear that the arrangement of lute pieces by Reusner to make the ten suites of *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung* was done with the full cooperation of the composer. Indeed, Reusner himself was the publisher. The title page tells us that the arranger, Johan Georg Stanley, also worked at the court of Brieg, and the dedication carries both Stanley's and Reusner's names. According to the title page, the pieces are in the 'French manner', and this is confirmed by the instrumentation of one violin, two violas and bass. The use of the same combination in *Musicalische Gesellschafts* suggests that the Brieg *Hofkapelle* was founded along these lines. Although not marked as such, *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung* falls clearly into two sections. The first section contains six suites using the basic order:

Paduan / Allemand / Courant / Saraband / Gavotte / Gigue.

In four of these six suites, a second courante is added after the gigue. The second section of the collection has four suites, all using the same sequence of:

The two *ballo* movements in each suite seem to be complementary and should probably be played together as a single movement in the manner of *en suite* courantes. In each case, the constant dotted rhythms of 'Ballo [II]' are clearly meant to form a contrast with the more even rhythms that have preceded it. Example 4b shows 'Ballo.41' and 'Ballo.42' from the seventh suite of the collection. However, it must not be forgotten that these suites were originally written for the lute, and it is with Reusner's other collections of lute suites that we should make comparison. Unfortunately, the original lute pieces that make up *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung* do not appear to have survived, but the sequence of paduan, allemande, courante, sarabande, gavotte and gigue is found, with only minor differences, in *Delitiae testudnis*. Both *Delitiae testudnis* and *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung* join *Musicalische Gesellschafts* in having suites ending with a courante after a gigue. The sequence of *ballo*, *ballo*, courante, sarabande and gigue is, however, unique to the Reusner-Stanley arrangements; it also seems that Reusner rarely used the *ballo* as movement in his other works.⁵⁸ The outer parts of the suites in *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung* provide attractive music, but, as example 4b shows, Stanley does not appear to have been the most imaginative arranger. The viola parts are often awkward and unconvincing, which detracts from what otherwise might have been a most interesting collection of suites.

Georg Bleyer's collection of suites, *Lüst-Music Nach ietziger Frantzösicher Manier gesetzt*, was issued in 1670. After his musical training in Leipzig, Bleyer served as a courtier and court musician at Rudolstadt. However, he must have maintained his contacts in Leipzig as *Lüst-Music* was published there by Christian Kirchner and contains a dedicatory sonnet by the Leipzig musician, Johann Pezel. *Lüst-Music* is described on the title page as being 'set in the current French manner' ('Nach ietziger Frantzösicher Manier gesetzt'). There are two volumes and an appendix, entitled 'Zugabe' but all were printed at the same time and follow on from each other. Only the first volume has a full title page. Unusually for an edition by a court musician, the publisher was also the dedicatee. In Bleyer's preface, 'Bourreen Gagliarden, Gavotten, &c.' are described as being in the French manner while 'Allemanden, Aire, Chanson' are given as examples of the German manner.

The collection's instrumentation requires consideration as the part-books are simply labelled as 'Violino', 'Altus', 'Tenor' and 'Bassus'. The highest note of the 'Altus' part is d'', which is the same upper limit as many French-style first viola parts. We may assume from all this that the instrumentation here is, without doubt, the same as that used by Reusner, Stanley and most of the German four-part music written in the French manner: one violin, two violas and bass. '1. Gavotte', the opening movement in the second part of the collection, is given as an illustration of this in Example 4c. A single movement from the first part of the collection, 'XXX Gigue', is written in five-part instrumentation with an additional 'violino' part instead of the usual French combination of one violin, three violas and bass.

Example 4b:

E. Reusner arr. Stanley, *Musicalische Taffel-erlustigung* (Brieg, 1668) 'Ballo.41' and 'Ballo.42'.

Ballo.41.

Violino.

Braccio.1.

Braccio.2.

Continuus.

Ballo.42.

Violino.

Braccio.1.

Braccio.2.

Continuus.

Lüst-Music has been described as 'not fall[ing] into readily identifiable types or into stereotypical groupings' and it is certainly true that the strong sense of internal organisation found in many printed editions is absent.⁵⁹ However, this assertion is not entirely accurate: the first twenty-six movements of Volume I are clearly intended to form seven suites. They can be identified by their opening movement or by groupings of key. The remainder of the volume and the subsequent parts of the collection are certainly far more problematic as Bleyer's intentions are not always completely clear. However, it is possible to discern convincing suite groupings from the later part of the collection. A particularly interesting sequence of movements is found near the start of volume II:

Example 4c:G. Bleyer *Lüst-Music ander Theil* (Leipzig 1670) '1. Gavotte'.

I. Gavotte.

Violino.

Altus.

Tenor.

Bassus.

6

6

6

6 5b

6 5b

6 6

IV. Allemand / V. Sarab. / VI. Cour. / VII. Bransle / VIII. Sarrab. / IX. Cour. / X. Chique.

All are in the same key of G minor, and the opening allemande, along with the closing gigue, appear to confirm the status of these pieces as a suite. As we have seen, Bleyer maintained his contact with other musicians in Leipzig, where, as I argued in Chapter 3, the use of duplicated movement types was typical of a specific style of suite writing. However, there is little else in *Lüst-Music* to demonstrate a real affinity with the Leipzig style, and I would suggest that this sequence of movements is more likely to be an example of the title page's 'current French manner'. As we have already seen in Reusner's collections, a second courante was sometimes added to the end of a suite. Bleyer's sequence appears to point in the same direction: the second courante is added later in the sequence and is not part of an *en suite* pair. If, as I have suggested in Chapter I, the *en suite* association of dances was derived from the ballroom, this may be an indication of how the courtly suite was starting to move away from its association

with the stage and the ballroom in order to become a purely instrumental genre. In addition, many of the dances in this collection do not conform to French models. '1. Gavotte' given earlier in Example 4c is typical in this respect, although gavottes starting with an upbeat were known in Vienna. On the other hand, in a collection littered with printer's errors, there is a strong possibility that many of the dance titles are simply wrong or misplaced.

Adam Drese was a court musician and courtier: the title page of his 1672 *Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Balletten, Intraden und andern Arien mit theils darbei befindlichen Doublen, oder Variationen* gives his position as 'Kapellmeister' and 'Chamber Secretary' at the court in Jena. Not all of this large collection of one hundred and fifty movements has been preserved. Only the 'Alt-Viola' and the figured 'Basso' part-books remain.⁶⁰ The 1759 catalogue of music collected by Nicolas Selhof lists the collection as being scored 'a4; Violino, Alto, Tenor & Basso'.⁶¹ The 'Alt-Viola' part is similar to the high viola parts that we have already noticed in Reusner's, Stanley's and Bleyer's collections, and it is reasonable to assume that the instrumentation is again for violin, two violas and bass. Fortunately, the preface was printed in both remaining part-books, and it gives us a most valuable insight into Drese's performing practice. Apart from the final salutation, it is reproduced here in its entirety:

These instrumental pieces and airs have flowed easily from the hand. They generally require a degree of skill and the steady beat usually observed by the dancing masters in their fashionable French pieces. Consequently, the dotted notes, in particular, should be held a little longer each time: the following [notes] should be made that much shorter. Concerning the variations or doubles, several people knowledgeable in music have given me the following advice: as long as the airs have been played in their simple form once or twice, both strains may be varied; and after every undecorated strain, one violin should play a decorated version while the others carry on more quietly and without decoration. When playing in large numbers, two or more violins playing in unison should take the top part, but the lower parts should only be played by single players.

Diese Instrumental-Stücke und Arien, so gut als sie von der hand geflossen / erfordern ins gemein einen feinen geschikten und gleich durchgehenden Takt / wie bey denen jezigen bekandten Frantzöischen Stücken von den Tanz-Meistern beobachtet zu werden pfliget; Worbey / sonderlich die punctirten Noten jedesmahl ein wenig länger: Hingegen aber die nechstdarauff-folgenden um so viel kürtzer zu halten sein wollen. Die Variationes oder Doublen, so ich auf etlicher Music-Verständiger Gutbefinden darzu gebracht / können nach Belieben / wenn die Arien zuvor ein-oder zweymahl schlecht gemacht worden / in beyden Clausulen abgewechselt / und allezeit auff eine schlechte Clausul die variirte /von der einen Violine (in dem die anderen etwas schwächer und schlecht fortgehen) darzugespielt werden. Immassen denn die Ober-Stimme gar wohl mit zwey oder mehr gleichspielenden Violinen (ob schon die untern Partheyen einfach verbleiben /) zu bestellen.

This preface raises a number of important questions. Drese appears to depart from current practice when he suggests that, in larger ensembles, instrumental doubling should be confined to the violin part. Assuming that 'untern Partheyen' is a reference to the inner parts, there is no mention of the bass part, which was usually doubled along with the upper part. As the violin part is lost, Drese's comments on rhythm cannot be placed in their proper context, but some form of rhythmic enhancement seems to be implied where notes are already dotted. The comments on how decorated passages are to be played seem clear enough, and Drese obviously expects each strain of a movement to be repeated several times. Perhaps this is a

tradition inherited from dance music where, in order to accommodate large numbers of dancers, movements were probably repeated many times.

However, the most important part of the preface lies in Drese's opening comments. By suggesting that the 'instrumental pieces and airs' should be played in the style dictated by the French dancing masters, he seems to be implying that they were usually played in a different manner to music specifically intended for dancing. In order to discuss these 'instrumental pieces', we need to consider the contents of the collection.

The largest part of the collection is devoted to suites starting with an allemande and having a common key centre for all their movements: there are twenty-one of these suites. There is also a six-movement extended branle suite with two additional courantes and a sarabande. The most problematical groupings are those that commence with the title 'suite'. There are five of these:

Der Policriten Suite von Intradem, Balletten und Arien.
Der Climenen erste Suite von Intradem, Balletten und Arien.
Der Judithen Svite von Balletten, Intradem und Arien.
Des Cræsus Suite von Balletten, Intradem und Arien.
Der Climenen andere Svite von Intradem, Balletten und Arien.

From their titles, it would seem that these suites have their origins in stage productions, and this supposition is confirmed by Drese's work at Jena, from 1663, as 'director of operatic and other theatre music'.⁶² However, there is much that is problematical about these named suites: many of the movements are lacking their titles: it is often difficult to tell from the existing part-books exactly what type of movement is intended. It is also not clear, in many cases, where a suite should end. Three of the five suites start with a 'Præludium', the opening movements of the remaining two are untitled. However, it is clear that all five opening movements are similar: they are all in a single section with either one or two strains. The term 'Arien' in the titles is obviously generic: most have a ϕ time signature, but a small number are also in triple time. All are relatively short with two repeated strains.

The suites starting with an allemande are more clearly defined. Apart from one suite, all have their movements in the same key. The exception is the suite starting with 'CXXIV. Allemande'. Here, the key of all the movements except 'CXXVI. Courante II' is D minor; the second courante, however, starts in G minor but ends in D minor. This courante is not the only movement in the collection to change key: 'XVII Lameto' starts in B minor and finishes in E minor, but its relationship to the surrounding movements is unclear. Table 4.3 lists the twenty-one suites in the collection that start with an allemande.

In the end, Drese's preface presents more questions than answers. It also seems that he was addressing himself to musicians who were not familiar with courtly music making; his comments regarding the doubling of the top part would hardly be necessary in most *Hofkapellen*. The collection also shows the rather static nature of the courtly suite at this time. As we have

Table 4.3:

Suites that start with an allemande in A. Drese, *Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Balletten, Intraden und andern Arien* (Jena, 1672).

Movement numbers	Movement titles	Key
I-IV	Allemande / Courante I / Courante II / Sarabande.	G minor
V-IX	Allemande / Courante I / Courante II / Sarabande.	E minor
XLV-XLIX	Allemande / Courante I / Courante II / Sarabande / Sarabande [II].	D major
L-LV	Allemande / Courante I / Courante II / Sarabande / Aria / Sarabande [II].	E minor
LVI-LIX	Allemande / Allemande / Aria / Sarabande.	C minor
LXXIX-LXXXI	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	A major
XCIV-XCVI	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	B \flat major
XCVII-XCIX	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	E minor
C-CII	Allemande / [untitled] / Giquè.	C major
CIII-CV	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	B minor
CXV-CXVII	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	E minor
CXIIIX-CXX	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	E minor
CXXI-CXXIII	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	B \flat major
CXXIV-CXXVII	Allemande / Courante I / Courante II / Sarabande.	D minor/G minor
CXXIIIX-CXXXI	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande / Rußen Aria.	B \flat major
CXXXII-CXXXIV	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	C major
CXXXV-CXXXVII	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	C major
CXXXIIIX-CXL	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	B \flat major
CXLI-CXLIII	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	C major
CXLIV-CXLVI	Allemande / Courante / Sarabande.	C major
CXLVII-CI	Allemande / Courante / Aria / Sarabande.	E minor

Notes:

In suite CXXIV-CXXVII, 'Courante II' starts in G minor and ends in D minor. The other three movements are all in D minor. This courante is not the only movement in the collection to change key: 'XVII Lameto' starts in B minor and finishes in E minor, but its relationship to the surrounding movements is unclear.

seen, sequences similar to the allemande, courante-pair and sarabande combinations in *Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden* are also found in both fol.61 and Instr.mus.hs 409. In addition, *Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden* demonstrates how excerpts from works for the stage were being put together well before the spread of Lully's music across Germany. A now-lost further volume of apparently similar music by Drese, *Allem. Cour. Baett. (sic) Intr. u.[nd] andre Arien mit etzlichen Variationen*, is listed by Göhler.⁶³ It appears that this edition was issued in 1672, presumably as the second part to *Erster Theil Etlicher Allemanden*, but as Göhler mistakenly gives the wrong date for the latter, the relationship between the two volumes is not clear.

Georg Wolfgang Druckenmüller's *Musicalisches Tafel-Confect; Bestehend in VII. Partyen / Balleten, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden &c.*, published by the composer in 1668, shows how the same music could be used for dance or for purely instrumental performance. The second suite of the collection is scored for a three-part viola da gamba consort with the third part doubled by a figured continuo part. In the preface, it states that the two upper viola da gamba parts may be played an octave higher on violins when there are not enough instruments, or for dancing ('Wo keine Violen di gam. vorhanden /oder nicht beliebig /oder zu Tantz /kan man die 11. Partie eine Octav höher /mit Violinen versuchen'). It is telling that the suite in question is one of three branle sequences, and therefore French-inspired.

Little is known of Druckenmüller's life and career: it seems that he was a town organist in Schwäbisch Hall, but not a court musician. He is a rare example of a town musician attempting to publish a collection largely in the courtly style. This may explain a number of seeming contradictions in the collection, which also contains elements of the municipal style. In fact, it is clear that Druckenmüller was aiming to produce suites in distinctly different styles of composition and instrumentation. The collection itself is clearly defined; all seven suites are clearly identified. A number of different instrumentations are employed in the collection, and these, together with movements and keys, are detailed in Table 4.4. However, none of the three branle suites follows the established order of movements. In two cases, the *branle double* is omitted from the standard six-movement sequence: in the third, the *branle double* is included, but the gavotte is omitted. The instrumentation also goes against the usual practice. The French-style combination of one violin, two violas and bass is reserved for the suites that reflect the German and Italian manner: the more Italian combination of two violins, two violas and bass is given to two of the branle suites. Was Druckenmüller merely ignorant, or was he attempting a deliberate fusion of styles? It is instructive to compare the opening from 'Partie IV' of this collection (the first strain is given in Example 4d) with the branle by Pohle given earlier in Example 4a. There is clearly a great deal of difference. Pohle was steeped in the courtly tradition and clearly understood the nature of the branle. On this evidence, Druckenmüller did not, or chose to ignore it. However, we should not dismiss the music in *Musicalisches Tafel-Confect*. Example 4e gives the allemande from the fifth suite, and the quality of the music is high.

Table 4.4:

Partyen 1-VII in G. W. Druckenmüller, *Musicalisches Tafel-Confect; Bestehend in VII. Partyen / Balleten, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden &c.* (Schwäbisch Hall, 1668).

Movements	Key	Instrumentation
1.Ballet / 2.[untitled] / 3.[untitled] / 4.[untitled] / 5.Lam. / 6.Viv. / 7.Masc. / 8.Aria / 9.Cour. / 10. Sarab.	D major	Violin 1 - Violin 2 - Viola 1 - Viola 2 - Violon - Continuus.
1.Brandle / 2.Gay / 3.Amener / 4.Montir. / 5. Gavot.	G major	Viol. di gam.[I] - Viol. di gam.[II] - Viol. di gam.[III] - Continuus.
1.Allem. / 2.Courant / 3.Ballo / 4.Sarab. / 5. Chique.	D major	Violin 1 - Violin 2 - Viola 1 - Viola 2 - Violon - Continuus.
1.Brandle / 2.Gay / 3.Amener / 4.Montir. / 5. Gavot.	G major	Violin 1 - Violin 2 - Violon - Continuus.
1.Allem. / 2.Cour. / 3.Sarab. / 4.Chique.	G minor	Violin 1 - Viola 1 - Viola 2 - Violon - Continuus.
1.Brandle / 2.Gay / 3.Amener / 4.Montir. / 5. Double.	D major	Violin 1 - Violin 2 - Viola 1 - Viola 2 - Violon - Continuus.
1.Allem. / 2.Courant. / 3.Sarab. / 4.Chique.	A minor	Violin 1 - Viola 1 - Viola 2 - Violon - Continuus.

Example 4d:

Druckenmüller, *Musicalisches Tafel-Confect*, 'Partie IV', '1.Brandle'.

1.Brandle.

Violin 1.

Violin 2.

Violon.

Continuus.

6 6 6 6 6 5 6 b5 6 5 #

6 6 6 6 b5 6 5

Example 4e:Druckenmüller, *Musicalisches Tafel-Confect*, 'Partie V', '1. Allem[ande]'.

1. Allem.

Violin.
Viola 1.
Viola 2.
Violon.
Continuus.

8 6 76 43 6

The first system of the musical score consists of five staves. From top to bottom, they are labeled: Violin. (treble clef), Viola 1. (alto clef), Viola 2. (alto clef), Violon. (bass clef), and Continuus. (bass clef). The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff (Violin) begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second and third staves (Viola 1 and 2) begin with an alto clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth and fifth staves (Violon and Continuus) begin with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a single system with five staves. Below the staves, there are five measures of music. The first measure is marked with a '3', the second with a '6', the third with a '76', the fourth with a '43', and the fifth with a '6'.

6 1 6 56

The second system of the musical score consists of five staves. From top to bottom, they are labeled: Violin. (treble clef), Viola 1. (alto clef), Viola 2. (alto clef), Violon. (bass clef), and Continuus. (bass clef). The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff (Violin) begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second and third staves (Viola 1 and 2) begin with an alto clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth and fifth staves (Violon and Continuus) begin with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a single system with five staves. Below the staves, there are five measures of music. The first measure is marked with a '6', the second with a '1', the third with a '6', the fourth with a '56', and the fifth with a '6'.

The third system of the musical score consists of five staves. From top to bottom, they are labeled: Violin. (treble clef), Viola 1. (alto clef), Viola 2. (alto clef), Violon. (bass clef), and Continuus. (bass clef). The music is in a common time signature (C) and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff (Violin) begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second and third staves (Viola 1 and 2) begin with an alto clef and a key signature of one flat. The fourth and fifth staves (Violon and Continuus) begin with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is written in a single system with five staves. Below the staves, there are five measures of music. The first measure is marked with a '6', the second with a '1', the third with a '6', the fourth with a '56', and the fifth with a '6'.

The courtly suite before the advent of Lullianism is notable for its great variety. This is not so much in the choice of movements: German court composers seem to have been extremely conservative in their repertoire of dances. Instead, the variety comes from the manner in which these dances were combined into suites. If the later Lullian *ouverture* suites were closely linked with the dramatic works of the Parisian stage, the primary influence on the courtly suite during the 1660s and '70s was not from the stage, but from the ballroom. However, if we accept that the allemande was not danced in Germany, then it seems that the purpose of many of the suites considered in this chapter was to provide music for purely instrumental entertainment. By the 1670s, the courtly suite seems to have lost much of its variety and vitality: it is hardly surprising that the influence of Lully's music swept all before it.

Notes to Chapter 4:

1. R. Vierhaus (trans. J. Knudsen), *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1988; repr. 1991), 68.
2. Lady M. W. Montague, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M—y W—y M—e: written, during her travels in Europe, Asia and Africa*. 3 vols. (3rd edn., London, 1763), i, entry for Nuremberg, 22nd August 1716.
3. H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shews. Tournaments at German-speaking courts in their European context 1550-1730* (Berlin, 1992), 89. The following information concerning the 1662 Munich festivities is also taken from this source.
4. H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court culture in Dresden from Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke, 2002), 151-2.
5. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shews*, 113-118.
6. The 'Ballet von Zusammenkunft u. Wirkung derer VII Planeten' is discussed in Chapter 1.
7. M. Chan & J. C. Kessler (eds.), *Roger North's The Musicall Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge, 1990), 254.
8. E. Noack., *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit* (Beiträge zur Mittelrheinischen Musikgeschichte no. 8; Mainz, 1967), 113.
9. E. Noack, *Wolfgang Carl Briegel. Ein Barockkomponist in seiner Zeit* (Berlin, 1963), 29.
10. Engelbrecht, *Die Kasseler Hofkapelle im 17. Jahrhundert*, 38.
11. See S. Smart, 'Ballet in the Empire' in P. Béhar & H. Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds.), *Spectaculum Europæum, Theatre and Spectacle in Europe, 1580-1750* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 548-569
12. S. K. Owens, 'J. S. Kusser and Italian Opera at the Württemberg Court before Jommelli' in M. Bucciarelli & N. Dubowy (eds.), *Italian Opera in central Europe, 1614-1780* (European Science Foundation, 2004). I am most grateful to Dr. Owens for allowing me to see a pre-publication copy of this article.
13. Ibid.
14. See H. Erdmann, *Schwerin als Stadt der Musik* (Lübeck, 1967), 25-26.
15. H. Müller, 'Celle' in L. Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1995), Sachteil 2, 480-485.
16. Wilhelm VII was an infant at the time of his succession in 1663. Hedwig Sophie von Brandenburg was regent throughout his short reign.
17. See Engelbrecht, *Die Kasseler Hofkapelle*, 38-43.
18. J. Anthony, *French baroque music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau* (3rd edn., Portland, Oregon), 355.
19. The latter parts of the collection appear to be from a later date; they are quite different in terms of content and will not be considered here.
20. J. Écorcheville, *Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVIIe siècle français, publiées d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Cassel*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1906; repr. 1970).
21. P. Holman, 'Diesineer' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), vii, 331-2.
22. The identity of Arattner, the composer of 'Balletti di Cavallo Composita di Georgio Christophoro Arattner' (2^o MS mus. 61i) remains a mystery. It is discussed in relation to J.H. Schmelzer's equestrian ballet music in Chapter 7.
23. For a modern edition of the contents of this manuscript, see Mráček (ed.), *Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dance Music in Uppsala University Library, Instr. mus. hs 409* (Musica Svecica Sacculi XVII:5 Monumenta Musicae Svecicae 8; Stockholm, 1976).
24. Écorcheville, *Vingt suites d'orchestre*, i, 9-28; Mráček, *Seventeenth-Century Instrumental Dance Music*, 11*-21*.
25. P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers, the Violin at the English court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993, repr. 1995), 249-50.
26. RISM A/II gives the fictional name 'Delahaye' as the suggested composer of the pieces in Instr.mus. hs 409 by Mons: de La Hæy' Records 190.008.141-5.
27. L. Bianconi, *Music in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987; repr. 1989, 1992) 237. I am grateful to Peter Holman for pointing out the connection.
28. Israël suggests the latter: C. Israël, *Uebersichtlicher Katalog der Musikalien der Ständischen Landesbibliothek zu Cassel* (Kassel, 1881), 64.

29. P. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 249.
30. Engelbrecht, *Die Kasseler Hofkapelle*, 40.
31. E. H. Meyer *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft ii, Kassel, 1934), 196 attributes this piece to Drese, and *The New Grove* (2001) follows without comment. See G. Kraft, & P. Downey, 'Drese' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), vii, 585. The various versions of 'La Duchesse' are discussed in Chapter 1.
32. R. Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto and the Tanz*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), i, 181.
33. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle contenant la théorie et la pratique de la musique* (Paris 1636; facs. edn. in 3 vols., 1965), 'Traitez de la Voix, et des Chants', ii, 164-165.
34. Hudson, *Allemande*, i, 149.
35. See Table 4.1.
36. Hudson, *Allemande*, i, 181.
37. G. Taubert, *Rechtschaffener Tanzmeister oder gründlicher Erklärung der Frantzösischen Tantz-Kunst* (Leipzig, 1717; facs. repr. ed. K. Petermann, Munich 1976).
38. Holman, 'Diesineer' in *The New Grove*, vii, 331-2.
39. Ibid.
40. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Traitez de la Voix, et des Chants', ii, 167.
41. Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 314.
42. The details of these six suites are given in Table 4.1.
43. Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, 355.
44. Buch, 'The influence of the Ballet de cour', 98. Buch incorrectly cites Rés.F 496 as the source of 'Le Branle de Metz'.
45. Buch, *Dance music from the Ballets de cour*, Appendix B.
46. W. Hilton, *Dance of Court & Theatre, the French Noble Style 1690-1725* (London, 1981), 37.
47. G. du Manoir, *Le mariage de la musique avec la dance* (Paris, 1664; repr. Paris, 1870), 65.
48. Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle*, 'Traitez de la Voix, et des Chants', ii, 165.
49. Ibid., 176.
50. Ibid., 167.
51. Ibid., 167 and R. C. Latham & W. Matthews (eds.), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. (London, 1970-83, repr. 1995), iii, 300.
52. R. Harris-Warrick, 'Ballroom dancing at the court of Louis XIV' in *EM* 14 no. 1 (1986), 40-49.
53. I am grateful to Peter Holman for suggesting this possibility.
54. *Exercitium musicum* is discussed further in Chapter 8.
55. Only the 'tertia vox' part-book of Briegel's 1664 *Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Balleten und Chiquen, mit 2. der 3. Stimmen sambt dem General-Bass* survives.
56. Whitehead, 'Austro-German printed sources', 565.
57. See K. Koletschka, 'Esias Reußner der Jüngere und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Lautenmusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts' in G. Adler (ed.), *Studien zur Musik*, xv (Vienna, 1928), 7-45.
58. Ibid.
59. M. Spaeth, 'Bleyer, Georg' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), iii, 697-8.
60. Whitehead, 'Austro-German printed sources' 606 incorrectly states that 'all but one part-book' survives'.
61. N. Selhof, *Catalogue d'une tres belle bibliotheque de livres ... auquel suit le catalogue d'une partie tres considerable de livres de musique* (The Hague, 1759; facs. repr. Amsterdam, 1973), entry 1126.
62. Kraft & Downey, 'Drese' in *The New Grove*, vii, 585.
63. Göhler, 2/390.

*'And all the compositions of the towne were strained to imitate Babtist's
vein'*

The Courtly Suite after 1680, *part I*

As we have seen in the opening chapter, the 1680s were hardly a settled time in Germany's history. Louis XIV had taken personal control of the government of France in 1661, and he took every opportunity to make territorial gains. In 1689, the Rhenish Palatinate suffered 'deliberate devastation' at the hands of the French army with whole towns being completely destroyed.¹ Despite the uncertainty, many of the larger courts still engaged in profligate spending, and the money to finance this was usually raised through taxation. There were exceptions, and some courts followed a comparatively simple way of life. De Blainville, a traveling diplomat from the Spanish court, spoke approvingly of the Elector of Treves:

A fine Person, and of a Goodness and Affability, which make him adored by every Body: A declared Enemy to all Injustice and Oppression: Sensibly affected by the Calamities War brings upon his Subjects; he contents himself with a very moderate Revenue, rather than overwhelm them with Taxes.²

In contrast, he recorded his visit to Dusseldorf in 1705 in the following terms:

The Court [of the Elector Palatine] is numerous and magnificent, every thing is done with Splendor and Pomp. ... This Evening we were present at a very fine Symphony in the Chapel of the Palace. For his Highness has a band of excellent Musicians. After this Entertainment, we saw their Highnesses sup in the Apartment of Madam the Electress ... every Thing is in Proportion to this Pomp. Balls, Operas, Comedies, Concerts of Music, Festivals, all is equally splendid; of all which Diversions we shared regularly every Day during the Month we were there.³

This cult of absolutism and personal self-aggrandisement was to be found right across Germany. In Augsburg, de Blainville attempted to gain an audience with the Bishop; the reply was hardly encouraging:

We sent to ask leave to pay our Respects to him. You won't easily guess what Answer was brought to us. His Grand Master of the Horse sent a Footman to acquaint us that if we were *Herrn Graaffen* i.e. Counts, or at least Barons, we might have that Honour. But if we were but Merchants, we could not be permitted to approach him.⁴

De Blainville's writings about German nobility may have been biased as a result of his treatment in Augsburg, but there are enough accounts of German courtly life by other travelers to suggest that his portraits are accurate. In Vierhaus' words, 'the courts were political instruments, measures of the significance and reputation of the individual states. Display was

therefore a form of duty'.⁵

Opera and ballet were an essential part of this duty of display. We have seen how opera flourished in Munich and Dresden from the start of the 1660s, and performances of opera were given at all but the smallest courts. In 1689, in Brunswick, Duke Anton Ulrich built an opera house that held over one thousand people even though he did not have the funds to pay for it immediately. If the operas themselves were sung in Italian, the ballets that were danced at the end of each act were certainly inspired by those given at Louis XIV's court, and often choreographed by French dancing masters. Hesse-Darmstadt was typical: Landgrave Ernst Ludwig had Lully's *Acis et Galathée* performed at his wedding, and the associated ballet was performed by members of the court with choreography by Jacques Hardy, the court's French dancing master. Hardy continued to choreograph ballets until war brought an end to entertainments in 1688. Similarly, at the Württemberg court, François Courtel arrived in 1680 as dancing master and, in 1684, provided the choreography for a ballet entitled *Le Rendez-Vous des Plaisirs*.⁶ This cultivation of the courtly dance in the last two decades of the century was repeated across Germany. In Dresden, Celle and Hanover, it was taken one stage further with the engagement of troupes of professional French dancers.⁷ Following the examples of Louis XIV and Leopold I, members of the aristocracy sometimes took a personal part in these ballets. At the Munich court, Maximilian Emanuel II had appeared with his family in ballets since his childhood. Typically, on becoming Elector in 1680, he performed a solo ballet as part of the celebrations.

Naturally, the grand tour, an essential part of the education of young royals, included time in Paris. Friedrich August of Saxony, later Friedrich August I, visited Paris twice in the 1680s; 'it was the court of Louis XIV that provided him with a model he tried to emulate for the rest of his life'.⁸ Lully's dramatic works written for the French court were first performed in Germany in the 1680s: Carl Schmidt lists performances, all during this decade, at Regensburg, Wolfenbüttel, Ansbach, Darmstadt and Hamburg.⁹ More performances followed in the 1690s. Roger North's comment on music in Charles II's London could well apply to the German courts:

And the entrys [i.e. entrées] of Babtist [i.e. Lully] ever were, and will be valued as most stately and compleat harmony, and all the compositions of the towne were strained to imitate Babtist's vein.¹⁰

Indeed, the German court musician Jean Sigismund Cousser claimed that Lully's works gave 'pleasure to all the courts of Europe'.¹¹

We have already seen that German musicians such as Diesineer visited Paris in the 1650s. In the following decades, personal contact with Lully, or study of his methods, was clearly important. Georg Muffat claimed the latter in the preface to his 1695 *Florilegium Primum*, though it is significant that he avoids mentioning any personal contact with Lully:

For six years, along with other music studies, I avidly pursued this style which was flowering in Paris at that time under the most famous Jean-Baptiste Lully. I was perhaps the first to introduce this style, not unpleasantly, to many celebrated musicians when I returned from France to Alsace.¹²

Such visits were clearly encouraged by the courts. As a probable reward for the success of his music for *Le Rendez-Vous des Plaisirs*, the Württemberg court musician, Theodore Schwartzkopff, was sent to study in Paris in 1684.¹³ At Darmstadt, *Landgravine* Elisabeth Dorothea had heard French instrumentalists when they came to play at the court in 1683, and this obviously made a deep impression on her.¹⁴ As a result, the musicians Cotta and Schober, accompanying Princes Ernst Ludwig and Georg on the grand tour, were sent to Paris to study the Lullian style. It appears that Johann Cotta's principal task in Paris was to learn about French string techniques: the *Landgravine* had complained about the lack of musicians capable of playing in the French style. The court accounts have the following entry: 'paid to the *musici* Cotta, 7fl.15 alb. for instruction on the violin in Paris'. In addition, the French violinists Claude Gaillard and Jean Baptiste de Grot came to Darmstadt in 1686. Later in the year, the bassoonist Mailard followed them. In Dresden, court music was reorganised along French lines during the 1680s and all the Italians dismissed. By the end of the decade Italian musicians were again in evidence, but there was still a noticeably high proportion of French musicians.

It was against this background that Cousser published his 1682 *Composition de musique*, the first printed collection of German-Lullian overture suites. Cousser did more than any other to instruct court musicians in the French manner of playing. Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon* entry for 'Cousser' includes the following: 'he travelled through the whole of Germany, and there was scarcely a place where he was unknown' ('Er hat gantz Teutschland durchreiset, und wird nicht leicht ein Ort seyn, da er nicht bekannt geworden').¹⁵ This may be an exaggeration, but there is no doubting that, especially in courtly circles, Cousser was very well known. However, the most telling part of Walther's entry is the name 'Cousser'. Born 'Kusser', Cousser preferred to use a French version of his name, but modern writers, particularly those in Germany, have tended to ignore this. The obvious alignment with Lullian culture may be pretentious, but it was Cousser's clear preference and should be respected. His teaching was highly regarded: Mattheson called him 'tireless in instruction' ('Er war unermüdet im Unterrichten') and his work 'a model of its kind' ('Er kan zum Muster dienen').¹⁶ There is no doubt that Lully profoundly influenced Cousser. The preface to his 1682 *Composition de musique* reads:

I taught myself to follow [Lully's] methods and to follow his refined manners as far as possible in order to make them worthy of the universal understanding exhibited by your Serene Highness.

Je me suis réglé a suiure sa Methode, et a entrer dans ses manieres delicates, autand qu'il m'a esté possible, pour les rendre dignes d'estre exposées au discernement Universel de V[otre] A[ltesse] S[erenissime].

Strangely, Cousser himself does not mention any time spent in Paris – it was left to

Walther to record a stay of six years ('sich auch zu Paris sechs Jahr lang').¹⁷ Modern writers, including Hans Scholz, have uncritically accepted this and assumed direct contact with Lully: Karl Nef went even further and suggested an 'intimate friendship'.¹⁸ In contrast, Cousser's comment 'I taught myself to follow his methods' is self-deprecating in the extreme if, indeed, he did meet and work with Lully. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, the influence of *Composition de musique* cannot be underestimated. It did more than any other collection to establish the German-Lullian style and the concept of the *ouverture suite*.

If time in Paris was desirable, German musicians could still come into contact with Lully's music through the widespread manuscript dissemination of his music. The five selected manuscripts detailed in Table 5.1 are typical. None of them has received any more than scant attention from modern scholars: two contain previously unknown sources of music by Lully.¹⁹ Three of these manuscripts are from the library at Schloß Sünching in Bavaria (D-SÜN). Although Schloß Sünching was not built until the mid-eighteenth century, it is reasonable to suppose that Schloß MSS 56-9 originated in Bavaria and may have been connected with the court of the Elector Maximilian II Emanuel. Certainly, the inclusion of a large number of Lullian excerpts in the manuscripts would not be at odds with the increased French influence at the Bavarian court in the late seventeenth century where 'French comedy and courtly ballet ... became permanent features, and there was a rise in the volume of luxury goods consumed at the court that had been purchased in Paris'.²⁰ However, if there is a link with Maximilian's court, the manuscripts must have been compiled before 1702 when he was driven out of Bavaria as a result of the War of the Spanish Succession.

The collection in D-SÜN is not available for public inspection at present. But Schloß MSS 56-9 have been documented by RISM A/II, and the record numbers are given after Table 5.1. Schloß MS 59 is the most important of the Sünching manuscripts: as we shall see in the final chapter, it is a source of suites by Pez, some of them unknown elsewhere. Unfortunately, the manuscript disappeared in the mid-1990s, and its present whereabouts are unknown. D-Mbs possesses an incomplete microfilm. It appears from RISM A/II that the manuscript contains two part-books, one in the French violin clef, and one in the soprano clef. No other parts survive. The watermark apparently dates the paper as being no earlier than 1693.²¹ According to RISM A/II, the movement marked 'de Larmij' is an excerpt from Stefani's 1695 opera, *I trionfi del fato*, which makes it unlikely that the manuscript is any earlier than the mid-1690s.²² It is probable that Schloß MS 59 dates from the early years of the eighteenth century.

It is possible that manuscripts like Schloß MS 59 were compiled over a number of years. On the other hand, no significance should be attached to the eighteen-year gap suggested by the two dates given in SV-X Mus.MS 6. 'Anno 1698: 30. Septemb' is almost certainly the starting date for the copyist, but the note at the end, dated 1716, was probably added by an archivist. Like Schloß MS 59, S-VX Mus.MS 6 is incomplete. Parts for two violins are

Table 5.1:

Five manuscript sources containing music by J-B. Lully.

Shelfmark	Instrumentation	Works by Lully from which extracts are taken	LWV numbers
D-SÜN Schloß MS 56	Single 'dessus 2' part.	Alceste	50/31.
		Amadis	63/34, 36.
		Atys	53/75.
		Cadmus et Hermione	49/14.
		Persée	60/11.
		Proserpine	58/16.
		Roland	65/63.
		Thésée	51/7.
		Le Triomphe de l'amour	59/59.
		Trios pour le coucher du roy	35/4, 5, 9.
D-SÜN Schloß MS 57	Single bass-clef part.	Hercule amoureux	17/22.
		Trios pour le coucher du roy	35/10, 11, 12, 41.
D-SÜN Schloß MS 59	Single part in French Violin clef. Second part in so- prano clef reported by RISM A/II.	Alceste	50/1, 4, 9, 11, 14, 15, 29, 31, 32, 41, 43, 61, 68, 69, 72, 81, 82, 84.
		Bellérophon	57/1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 34, 36, 41, 42, 45, 47, 56, 58, 59, 64, 68, 69, 70.
		La grotte de Versailles	39/1, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 13.
		Phaëton	61/1, 2, 6, 7, 14, 15, 25, 27, 37, 40, 41, 47, 48, 50, 57, 58, 59, 67, 68.
		Le Temple de la paix	69/1, 2, 6, 7, 13, 14, 15, 16, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32.
		Le Triomphe de l'amour	59/1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 14, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 58, 59, 62, 64, 51, 52, 53.

Table 5.1 (cont.):

Shelfmark	Instrumentation	Works by Lully from which extracts are taken	LWV numbers
**D-JE C 9	Unlabelled soprano-clef part Unlabelled bass-clef part (unfigured).	Flore Les arts	40/1. 18/21.
SV-X Mus.MS 6	'Viol: 1mo:'; 'Viol: 2d°:' (written on facing sheets).	Alceste Atys Bellérophon Cadmus et Hermione Le Temple de la paix Thésée Isis	50/3, 4, 14, 15, **29, *43, *61, 69, 72. 53/47, 48, 60, 62. 57/1. 49/44, 54, **55. 69/6. 51/5, 24, 27, 30, 32, 39, 41, *55, 78, 79. 54/1, 10, 11, *33, *35, **36, **51.

Notes:

Details of Schloß MS 56 are taken from RISM A/II 450.027.839 and Schloß MS 57 from 450.027.699. Schloß MS 59 is collectively dealt with in 450.027.724.

An asterisk before an entry indicates that this source has not been included in LWV. A double asterisk denotes a previously unknown Lully source.

18/11 is included in LWV, but is now known to be by Pierre Gaultier. See: B. Gustavson & M. Leshinskie, *A Thematic Locator for the works of Jean-Baptiste Lully* (New York 1989) introduction iii.

written on facing pages of the same book, but no other parts have been preserved. The title page gives the date of 'Anno 1698: 30. Septemb', which presumably marked the commencement of work on the manuscript. The inclusion of extracts from Keiser's 1699 opera *Hercules und Hebe* further indicates that the manuscript was put together over a period of time. Most of the Lullian sources in Mus.MS 6 have been identified by pencil markings in the manuscript. Presumably, these markings are the basis for information given in RISM A/II and LWV.²² However, not all the Lullian sources identified in this way have been recorded in LWV: Table 5.1 gives details. In addition, there are a further four movements by Lully that can be newly identified in this source. Again, Table 5.1 provides details. As we shall see later in the chapter, Mus.MS 6 also provides an important source for Aufschneider's *Concors discordia*.

In many of the German copies of Lully's music, there are problems of key caused by particular groupings of movements. Excerpts were often taken from widely separated points in the original opera or ballet; this could result in a sequence of movements written in a number of different keys. Table 5.2 lists the movements, and their keys, from the Amsterdam edition of Lully's *Le triomphe de l'amour* (LWV 59).²³ The key transitions in this sequence are not particularly dramatic, and it would be quite possible to play these thirty-five movements as a single sequence. However, many manuscript sources have movements grouped together from a number of works, not always by Lully. The key changes in these circumstances are not always so comfortable. Table 5.3 details a sequence of movements from SV-X Mus.MS 6. The first change of key is a simple one from C major to A minor. The second one is an awkward change from A minor to B \flat major.

The same problems are found in dramatic excerpts taken from stage works by German composers. Keiser's opera *Hercules und Hebe* has not survived in complete form but the heading, 'Parties de Opera Hercules u. Hebe. Ao. 1699', also in manuscript Mus.MS 6, leaves us in no doubt about the origins of this particular set of excerpts. There are ten movements starting with a chaconne and these are listed, along with their keys, in Table 5.4. The title 'Parties' is ambiguous, but, if these movements were played consecutively, a wide range of keys would be traversed, again with some awkward changes.

We are therefore left with the question of just how these and many similar sets of extracts were performed. Perhaps sudden shifts of key were acceptable if the pieces were being played as background music. But if not, it seems strange that transposition does not seem to have been considered. Some indication of performance practice is given in the two volumes of *Les trio des opera de Monsieur de Lully* published in Amsterdam in 1690 and 1691. Both title pages state 'Mis en ordre pour les concerts' and the preface to the first volume is equally clear: 'que j'ay mis dans un ordre tres commode pour les concerts'. There is also, in both volumes, a 'Table des Airs contenus en ce Volume' giving the original Lullian sources. The essential difference between these two volumes and the other Amsterdam editions is one of key. The excerpts in the trio volumes are chosen from a wide selection of Lully's works and placed in an order that gives uninterrupted sequences of movements in the same key.

There are manuscript sources where Lullian extracts have been selected in the same way. Manuscript A-Wn Suppl.mus.1813 contains seven 'partie', although it seems likely that the final one of these includes two suites rather than one. Each suite is a pastiche of work by several composers, two of whom are named. Jacques Gallot is referred to as 'Gallot le Veux' and Pierre Gallot as 'Gallot le Jeune'. The manuscript is also a previously unrecognised source of Lully's music, although there are substantial errors in the transmission and the copyist has wrongly identified the excerpt from *Bellerophon*. All the movements of each suite are in a common key, and it is clear that they have been selected with this in mind. The 'Cinquieme Partie' is detailed in Table 5.5.

Table 5.2:

Movements, and their keys, in *Ouve[r]ture du Triomphe de l'amour avec tous les airs de violon*.
 ([Amsterdam], n.d.).

Movement title	Key
Ouve[r]ture	F major
Tranquile Cœur	F major
Les Graces	F major
Menuet	F major
Sy quelque fois	F major
Les Plaisirs	D minor
Rondeau	D minor
Les Amours et Guerriers	D minor
Mars et Guerriers	D major
Mars et les Amours	D major
Les Dieux Marins	G major
Menuet	G major
Menuet [II]	G major
Borée (sic)	G minor
Orithie	G minor
Sarabande pour les mesme	B _♭ major
Borée et Orithie	B _♭ major
Les Nimphes	G minor
Air pour Diane	G minor
Endimion	G minor
2 ^e Air	G minor
Les Songes	C major
Les Cariens	C major
Prelude de Baccus	C major
Les Mors	C major
Menuet	C major
Chaconne	C major
Appolon	G minor
2 ^e Air	G minor
Pan	G major
2 ^e Air	G minor
Flore	B _♭ major
Les Zephirs	B _♭ major
La Jeunesse	G minor
2 ^e Air	G minor

Table 5.3:

Selected movements from manuscript SV-X Mus.MS 6.

Movement number	Title	Key	Source
46	prélude	A minor	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
47	La Sacrifice	A minor	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
48	Noll (<i>sic</i>)	A minor	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
49	Gique	A minor	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
50	La de sinte de Mare	C major	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
51	Les Conbantons	C major	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
52	Noll (<i>sic</i>)	C major	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
53	Rondeau	C major	<i>Thésée</i> (LWV 51)
54	Les Songe Funeste	B \flat major	<i>Atys</i> (LWV 53)
55	2me air de Songe	B \flat major	<i>Atys</i> (LWV 53)
56	Allarm	B \flat major	?

Note:

'56: Allarm' is either anonymous or a corrupt transmission of a Lully source.

We have seen in Table 5.1 that manuscript D-JE C 9 is a source of Lully's music. But hitherto, it has not been recognised as such. It contains further evidence of this form of selection by key. The manuscript comprises a part in the French violin clef and a bass part. It is possible that this is an example of two-part transmission, but it is more likely that the inner parts have not survived. In the opening 'chiacona' cue notes have been added a third higher, presumably to facilitate reading by a player only familiar with the treble clef. Each part is written in a different hand and no instrument is specified in either. The top part is dated 'den 3. May 1706'. There is no identification of any composer. One group of movements, numbered 68-77, is a pastiche suite including three movements by Lully. As in Suppl. mus. 1813, these movements were chosen, regardless of origin, in order to provide an overture and a sequence of dances, all in D minor.

In their selection by key of movements from various sources, were manuscripts C 9, Suppl.mus.1813, and *Les trio des opera de Monsieur de Lully* reflecting a performance practice elsewhere? Rather than accept the type of key sequence shown in Table 5.3, did players have different sets of part-books in front of them, and make selections from each one in order to provide a sequence of movements all in the same key? Having several part-books together is perhaps unlikely, but it is possible that some rearrangement of movement order took place in order to provide a more satisfactory key progression. Clearly, issues of key were important to German composers. This is shown in a humorous way in 'Les Savants pretendus' ('those who pretend knowledge'), a movement in an anonymous suite in S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:14. Tellingly, the pretence of knowledge is illustrated by an uncertain tonal centre: the music alternates

Table 5.4:Excerpts from R. Keiser, *Hercules und Hebe* in S-VX Mus.MS 6.

Movement number	Title	Key
92	Chaconne	D minor
93	Menuet	F major
94	Saraband	B \flat major
95	Menuet	D minor
96	Saraband	C major
97	Entreè (<i>sic</i>)	A minor
98	Trio	C major
99	Gig	C major
100	Entreè (<i>sic</i>)	C major
101	Menuet	C major

Table 5.5:

Movements in 'Cinquieme Partie' in A-Wn Suppl. mus. 1813.

Movement number	Movement title	Composer
1	Les folies d'Espagne	?
2	Sarabande	?
3	Cherchons bergere. Air Composé par Mr du Buisson	Du Buisson
4	Sarabande de Gallot le Veux	Jacques Gallot (le Veux)
5	Ah! qu'un trop longue plainte de l'opera Galathée	Lully (LWV 73/20)

Notes:

Only an unlabelled part in the soprano clef survives.

'Les folies d'Espagne' is a set of six variations on 'La Folia'.

between G minor and D minor. The rest of the suite is in G major. Thus, the link between unity of key and ordered composition is clearly shown. Most importantly, the issue of key progression serves to highlight the difference between excerpts from dramatic works and the 'genuine' suites of the German Lullists. As we shall see in the next chapter, most suites by Cousser and his contemporaries remained in a single key centre. The same consideration of key extended to entire collections: the preface to Muffat's *Florilegium primum* whimsically describes how the seven suites of the collection are 'arranged like flowers according to their keys'.²⁴ Thus, we can point to a fundamental distinction between the overture suite and the sequence of dramatic excerpts. It is one of key.

The confusion that has existed hitherto between suite and dramatic excerpt is typified by RISM A/II's recording of the anonymous manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:7.²⁵ The

manuscript contains thirty numbered movements including an opening *ouverture*. These movements, and their keys, are given in Table 5.6. RISM creates confusion over the details of this manuscript when it arbitrarily divides the G major sequence of movements into two, thus producing five so-called suites. There are compelling reasons why these thirty movements should not be thought of as suites in the German-Lullian sense. Entrées and preludes in this type of suite do not always fulfil the function of an *ouverture*: they can appear at any point during a suite. In fact, the placing of an entrée immediately after an *ouverture*, as happens here, is not unusual. There is no reason to suggest, as RISM appears to do, that '6.Prelude' or entrées 10 and 20 signify the start of new suites. In addition, the four movements (6-10) that RISM groups together as a suite in record 190.015.691 do not correspond to any other German-Lullian suite grouping. However, there are clear parallels between the thirty movements of Instr.mus.i hs.64:7 and the sequences of dramatic excerpts shown in Tables 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4. Taken as a whole, the *ouverture* and following movements point to an obvious conclusion: this manuscript is a sequence of dramatic excerpts and not a suite in the German-Lullian sense of the term. The changes of key indicate where a group of movements comes from a different point in the original work. I have not yet been able to establish a link with an existing stage work.

The instrumentation of the German-Lullian suite falls into three categories: four-part strings, five-part strings and, by the end of the century, strings with oboes or oboes and bassoon. We have already seen in the preceding chapters that four- and five-part instrumentation seems to have existed side-by-side, and that inner parts in a consort could be omitted at the discretion of the performer. In some copies of Lullian excerpts, including the Amsterdam printed editions, five-part texture was reduced to four by the simple process of omitting the *quinte*, or third viola, part. In both of Georg Muffat's *Florilegium* collections, the title page states that the music can be played in 'four or five parts' ('A quatuor, vel quinque fidibus'); the preface to the same composer's *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik* makes it clear that this is achieved by the omission of the lowest viola part.²⁶ Conversely, some four-part writing seems to have been quite deliberate. The partially anonymous author of the 1698 publication *Zodiaci musici* gives no indication that four-part writing is a matter of compromise.²⁷ Georg Bleyer's two suites, now in CZ-KRa (A 847 and A 841), are written in the same hand and probably at the same time.²⁸ One is *à4*, the other *à5*. There seems no good reason why the same composer or copyist should write down a five-part suite together with one four-part suite if the latter were dictated by compromise. There were clearly situations in which four instrumental parts did reflect a compromise, but four-part writing often appears to have been a matter of choice rather than expediency.

In both four- and five-part instrumentation, printed editions and manuscripts, the outer parts are frequently given duplicate copies thus emphasising the melody and the bass. As we have seen, the musical interest in French dances tended to reside in the top and bottom parts:

Table 5.6:

Movement details in anonymous manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:7.

Num- ber	Title	Key	RISM A/II number
1	Ouverture	A minor	190.015.690
2	Entrée	A minor	190.015.690
3	Passpied	A minor	190.015.690
4	Air	A minor	190.015.690
5	Canaries	A minor	190.015.690
6	Prelude	G major	190.015.691
7	Air	G major	190.015.691
8	Menuette	G major	190.015.691
9	Rondeau	G major	190.015.691
10	Entrée	G major	190.015.692
11	Gavotte	G major	190.015.692
12	Sarabande	G major	190.015.692
13	Menuette	G major	190.015.692
14	Bourée	G major	190.015.692
15	Rigaudon alternativ:	G major	190.015.692
16	Furies	G major	190.015.692
17	Air	G major	190.015.692
18	Gavotte	G major	190.015.692
19	Gique	G major	190.015.692
20	Entrée	B \flat major	190.015.693
21	Air	B \flat major	190.015.693
22	Marche	B \flat major	190.015.693
23	Menuette	B \flat major	190.015.693
24	Menuette	B \flat major	190.015.693
25	Rondeau	D major	190.015.694
26	Forlanna	D major	190.015.694
27	Lourè	D minor	190.015.694
28	Menuet	D minor	190.015.694
29	Menuet alternativement	D major	190.015.694
30	Chaconne	D major	190.015.694

the inner parts were there merely to provide suitable harmony. A number of printed editions contain duplicated part-books. In *Composition de musique*, we find 'Premier Dessus'; 'Second Dessus'; 'Haute Contre'; 'Taille'; 'Quinte'; and 'Bassus'.²⁹ As we have seen in Chapter 1, the F-Pn exemplar also contains two *bassus* part-books. For most movements in the collection, the two *dessus* parts play identical music. The collection thus follows the traditional French instrumentation of one violin, three violas and bass with reinforcements of the top and bottom parts. Muffat, on the other hand, was clearly unhappy with this practice, although the following comment in the preface to *Florilegium secundum* is a little ambiguous: 'all the best players should not be assigned to the first violin (or upper) part, so that the middle voices seem robbed of the necessary players.'³⁰ Even if it is not clear whether he is talking about the number or quality of players, Muffat's disapproval is obvious.

A number of movements in *Composition de musique* are headed 'à 2.Dessus'. This does not mean that some movements are in five parts and some in six.³¹ It is, in effect, a re-distribution of the available instrumental forces. All the 'à 2.Dessus' movements include trio sections alternating with the full ensemble. In the *tutti* passages, the scoring is the same as before with the two *dessus* parts continuing to play in unison. But, in the trio sections, the *dessus* parts separate and provide the traditional trio texture of two upper voices and bass. It is noticeable that the movements 'à 2.Dessus' are reserved for the larger movements and dances like the chaconne of the second suite or the prelude of the third suite. Example 5a shows the start of 'Prelude à 2.Dessus' from the third suite. None of the *ouverture* movements themselves use the 'à 2.Dessus' instrumentation.

In terms of instrumentation, Philipp Heinrich Erlebach's 1693 collection *VI. Ouvertures Begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs, nach Französischer Art und Manier* clearly follows the example of *Composition de musique*. There are six part-books but 'Premier Dessus' and 'Second Dessus' double each other in the 'Tous' sections giving the expected five-part texture with a reinforced top part. Unlike *Composition de musique*, trio sections are also present in the *ouverture* movements. In most cases, the two *dessus* parts have independent parts, but Erlebach introduces some interesting variants on the traditional concept of a trio. Example 5b shows two such trio sections. In the first, from the final suite, the music is in three parts: however, the bottom part is given to the 'Quinte' rather than the usual bass. The second, from the *ouverture* of the first suite, shows music not in three parts, but in four. 'Trio' obviously did not have any numerical significance for Erlebach.

Benedict Aufschneider's *Concors discordia* (1695) follows similar lines although there is some variation in the instrumentation within the collection. The two opening suites are scored for one violin, two violas and bass: a second violin is added to the remaining suites. In the second violin part-book, these two opening suites are marked 'tacet'. This is curious in a French-influenced printed collection: as we have seen, the second violin would normally duplicate the first. Paul Whitehead suggests that this 'may have been simply a matter of convenience

Example 5a:

J. S. Cousser, *Composition de musique* (Stuttgart, 1682) 'Prelude à 2.Dessus' from the third suite.

Prelude à 2.Dessus

Premier Dessus
Second Dessus
Haute Contre
Taille
Quinte
Bassus

doux

and, perhaps, also of economy'.³² This seems unlikely: the edition itself shows no other signs of parsimony. In any case, printing a further set of pages from the same type-setting can hardly have been expensive or inconvenient. The lack of a doubled violin part in these first two suites of *Concors discordia* may be the result of nothing more than the absence of a specific instruction to a printer ignorant of the French tradition. The other suites of the collection use part doubling in the traditional French manner though the scoring is in four actual parts instead of

Example 5b:

P. H. Erlebach, *VI. Ouvertures* (Nuremberg, 1693), trios in '5. Air la Plainte' and 'Ouverture [VI]'.

5. Air la Plainte.

Lentement.

6 6 6 7 6 6 4 6 6 6 6 7 6

Trio. Trio. Trio. (1) Tous Tous Tous Tous Tous

7 6 3 4 3

(1) Both natural and flat signs are given in the part-books. (See bar 2, basse.)

five. This is shown in Example 5c, the opening of the third suite, and the first one of the collection to include a part for the 'Violino Secondo'. As in Cousser's and Erlebach's collections, the first and second violin parts diverge in the trio sections to play independent lines. But this time, the lowest part is played by the more usual 'Violone'.

The manuscript copy of *Concors discordia*, S-VX Mus.MS 6, has 'Viol: 1^{mo}.' and 'Viol: 2^{do}.' written out on facing pages. Unfortunately, the remaining parts are lost. Curiously, 'Viol: 1^{mo}.' corresponds to the original 'Violino Primo' part of the printed edition, but 'Viol: 2^{do}.' is a copy of the soprano clef 'Viola Prima' part. 'Viol: 2^{do}.' apart from the change of 'Viola' to 'Viol', corresponds to the printed edition scoring in the first and second suites: it does, however, present a problem in the suites with a 'Violino Secondo' part. The transfer of the original first viola part to the second violin appears to represent a scoring reduction in these latter suites, but the trio sections of 'Ouverture[III]' (see Example 5c) could not be adequately played without the original second violin part. This may reflect a source earlier than the publication copy, or it may be a scribal error. Whitehead suggests this was just the sort of situation that Erlebach

Example 5c:

B. A. Aufschneider, *Concors discordia*, (Nuremberg, 1695) 'Overture[III]'

Overture
alla breve.

Violino Primo
Violino Secondo
Viola Prima
Viola Seconda
Violone

Solo.
T[utti].
Sol.
piano.
piano.
T[utti].
p.
f.

The most important addition to the standard four- or five-part string texture was that of two oboes and a bassoon. As we have seen, the *fagott*, was used in much of Germany, particularly in the towns. However, it appears that the Nuremberg instrument maker J. C. Denner started to make bassoons in the French pattern during the 1680s.³⁵ These instruments represented a considerable advance on the old German *fagott*, but their introduction into court ensembles seems to have taken some time. Laurence Dreyfus has suggested that, even as late as 'the Germany of Bach's day, musicians tended to hold one of two opposing attitudes towards the bassoon': some regarded it as sophisticated, others still thought it crude.³⁶ It seems that

there was uncertainty over the capabilities of the new instrument. Cousser's suite collection *Apollon enjoué* was published in 1700, but as we shall see in the final chapter, some of the music was probably written for a variety of situations. In the second suite of the collection, the low C of the instrument was deliberately avoided in the eighth movement ('Air') but was used in the following movement ('Bourée'). In some parts of the collection, the bassoon is not always used as a bass for the oboes. In the first suite, the trio to the *passepied* is scored for two oboes and the 'Basse de Violon': in other words, the string bass rather than the bassoon. However, in the same suite, the trio sections of the 'Rondeau' use the bassoon. All this suggests that Cousser was compelled to use players of widely differing abilities. Perhaps in some cases, the original versions of some of this music did not use the bassoon at all. The use of oboes without bassoons is demonstrated in other sources: S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:12 has 'Hautbois' indications but no mention of a bassoon.

The oboe was first introduced into Germany in the 1680s. Bruce Haynes documents the arrival, during this decade, of the oboe in Celle, Stuttgart, Hannover, Berlin, Munich, Hamburg, Darmstadt and Nassau-Weilburg.³⁷ It seems that 'almost every court of consequence' used oboes and oboe bands by around 1700 and that some of these bands went on tour.³⁸ As part of the festivities to celebrate the Dresden visit of the Danish king, Fredrik IV, a foot tournament was given on 10th June 'in which the cadets of the military academy staged a historicising contest using pike and sword, the weapons of yesteryear'.³⁹ The tournament was accompanied by 'the sound of oboes'.⁴⁰ There seems to have been a link between the oboe and soldiering, and it has been suggested that the early eighteenth-century oboist was 'not a member of the elite court chamber music, but was often regarded primarily as a soldier who happened also to be a musician'.⁴¹ But it is unlikely that this applied to the French oboists who came to work at German courts. Certainly it did not apply to the French oboists in residence at the court of the Elector of Brandenburg. They were given equal status and salaries to the other court musicians from 1681.⁴²

Manuscript A-Wn S.m.23982 may provide some indication of the type of music played by the oboe bands in outdoor activities. Unfortunately, only one instrumental part has survived, and this is probably incomplete. The label on the front of this part giving the date as 1700 and the instrument as 'Hautbois' is almost certainly a later addition. However, the two octave range of d-d" does make the oboe a likely candidate and the simple character of the music along with the sequences of like movements certainly suggest processional music. The movements, and their keys, are as follows:

Sarabande (F) / Gavotte (F) / *Passepied* (F) / Menuet 1 (F) / Men. 2 (F) / La March 1 (F) / La March 2 (F) / La March 3 (F) / Sarabande (d) / Menuet (d) / Menuet (d) / Menuet 1(*sic*) (d) / Menuet 2 (d) / Men: 3 (F) / Menuet 4 (F) / Menuet 5 (F) / Air (g) / [untitled] (G).

It is possible that a first page is missing, and this may have contained an *ouverture*. It is noticeable that all but two of the movements centre on F major and D minor, traditionally good keys

for the oboe of the time. There is also a parallel between this collection of dances and the processional music used by the French oboe bands in Paris. Of the 'ninety one short marches and airs for hautbois and snare drums' in the 'Partition de Plusiers Marches et batteries', (F-V MS Mus.1163) 'about two fifths ... are characteristic of such dances as bourées, gavottes, menuets, passepieds, loures, giges and canaries'.⁴³

Johann Philipp Krieger's 1704 collection, *Die Lustige Feldmusik* further indicates the link between oboe bands and soldiering:

For four wind or other instruments, to be played while marching at the front of companies of soldiers or else while serving their officers.

Auf vier blasende oder andere instrumenten im Marchiren vor denen Compagnien blasen und sonsten denen Officieren aufwarten.⁴⁴

At the time of its publication, Krieger was *Kapellmeister* at Weißenfels. The collection is divided into six 'Partien' that are *overture* suites in all but name. The movements of the third suite, all in F major, are typical of the set:

Ouverture / Entrée / Menuet / Passacaglia / Fantasia / Menuet / Gavotte / Air Menuet / Gigue / Menuet.

Multiple copies were specifically provided with this edition: three of the *premier dessus*, two of the *second dessus*, one of the *taille*, and three of the bassoon. In typical French manner, we see the reinforcement of the upper parts, but only one copy of the *taille* part.

Krieger's 'other instruments' were presumably strings: Christian Friederich Witt's *Ouverture à 4 in G* (D-Kl 2° MS Mus.60 b³) is specific in its use of alternatives: the parts are marked 'Violino ô Hautbois', 'Viola 1 ô Haute Contre', 'Viola 2 ô Tailler', 'Violon ô Basson', 'Cembalo'. Witt worked at the court at Gotha for most of his career. He eventually became *Kapellmeister*, a post he held until his death in 1717. Two further manuscript suites are held in D-Kl (2° MS Mus.60 b¹⁻²), and *The New Grove* (London 2001) lists another three.⁴⁵ Like Krieger's suites, 2° MS Mus.60 b³ is an *overture* suite, and there is little difference between it and similar works for the standard string ensemble. Perhaps string ensemble and double-reed ensemble were interchangeable. If this is the case, manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:11, 'Ouverture a Hautbois 1^{mo}. et 2^{do}. Taille Basson', is unusual in only mentioning wind instruments. But in all other respects, it conforms to the pattern that we have already seen. There are two copies of the 'Premier Hautbois' part, one each of the 'Secunde Hautbois' and 'Talie' parts, and two of the 'Basson'. Again, the music is in the form of an *overture* suite. It has the following movements:

Ouverture / Boure / Menuet / Lamento / Passpiéd / Gigue.

One bassoon part is figured throughout. Although continuo instruments could have been used outdoors, this is more likely to be an indication of an indoor performance, perhaps with string instruments playing in the usual way. It is noticeable that, despite the associations with marching, all these pieces for oboe band include an *overture*. The opening of the *overture* in

Instr.mus.i hs.64:11 is given in Example 5d. It is a particularly fine example of a German-Lullian *ouverture*, and the anonymous writer clearly had full command of the style. Care has obviously been taken to limit the upper range of the first oboe part, but that is the only allowance that appears to have been made for the instruments: the music is as complex as many of the *ouvertures* written specifically for strings.

J. V. Burckart is unknown except for two manuscripts, S-Uu, Instr.mus.i hs.13:20-21.⁴⁶ Meyer suggests a date for Burckart of 'before 1700' but the two suites in these manuscripts could easily come from the eighteenth century.⁴⁷ Certainly the suite in Instr.mus. i hs.13:21 was probably copied in the eighteenth century: naturals are used instead of flats to cancel sharps, and the paper has printed stave lines. Meyer incorrectly lists the instrumentation of Instr.mus. i hs.13:21 as including flutes. The parts are headed:

Violino Primo. Seu Hautbios 1^{mo}. - Violino Secundo. Seu Hautbios 2^{do}. - Viola. Seu Talia. -
Basso Continuo. Seu Fagotto.

Clearly, there is a possibility that this was originally intended as oboe-band music.⁴⁸ The parts themselves seem to confirm this, never going beyond the ranges of the wind instruments. The movements are similar to those that we have seen in other oboe-band music:

Ouverture / Bouree / Gavotta / Aria / Menuet / Gigue.

The music has little of the high quality found in Krieger's work, or in Instr.mus.i hs.64:11. Perhaps Burckart was not inspired by the task of writing music for this type of instrumental combination.

Away from oboe bands, Muffat allowed the option of replacing the string instruments in the trio sections of his 1701 *Auserlesener Instrumental-musik* with the 'French oboe or shawm' and a bassoon; but he also added a warning to 'select only concertos in keys convenient for those instruments'.⁴⁹ Transposition was also allowable. Cousser uses oboes and bassoon in all of his later collections of suites.⁵⁰ Oboes are used in the trio sections, but, as we have seen, the use of the bassoon is far more variable. Following traditional French practice of reinforcing the outer parts, both oboes double the first violin line. This practice continued well into the eighteenth century. Example 5e gives the opening of both Rostock and Dresden versions (D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII 18.38¹² and D-DI Mus. 2026-N-6) of Johann Christoph Pez's suite in D minor. The later Dresden version probably dates from well after 1706 and shows how oboes and strings were added to a score originally written for strings alone. On the other hand, the anonymous manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:12 has 'hautbois' indications in both *dessus* parts: the second oboe doubles the second violin line rather than the first violin and first oboe.

'Haubois' markings are occasionally found in the suites 'Mise: en. partition: à Hanover 1689. Par M.r Babel' (D-DS Mus.MS 1227). Some appear to have been written in Babel's hand, others are clearly later additions. Apparently Charles Babel was a French-born bas-

Example 5d:

'Ouverture a Hautbois 1^{mo.} et 2^{do.} Taille Basson' (S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:11), 'Ouverture'.

Ouverture

Premier Hautbois (x2)

Secunde Hautbois

Talia

Basson (x2)

6 1 6 6 b 6

6 b 4 6 6 6 6

1 6 6 4 3 6

soonist employed at the Hanover court between 1688 and 1690: it is surprising that there is no mention of the bassoon in any of the twelve suites in this manuscripts collection.⁵¹

Beyond oboes, bassoons and strings, other instruments were rarely specified in German-Lullist suites. The first and last of Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer's eight suites that make up his 1695 *Journal du printemps* (sic) contain first and second trumpet parts. The trumpets do not play in every movement, and, even when they do, there is no independent writing for them. The first trumpet doubles the upper string part and the second trumpet doubles, as far as it can, the *haute contre* part. This leads, in the latter, to frequent use of the B natural below the eighth partial, which players could produce by the technique known as 'lipping'. Fischer refers to them on the title page as 'Trompettes à plaisir': perhaps they were added as an afterthought. As we have seen, it is almost certain that manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:7, 'Ouverture a Violino 1^{mo.} Haut Contre Taille Basso', is a set of excerpts from a dramatic work rather than the sequence of suites suggested by RISM. Movements '25.Rondeau' and '30.Chaconne' carry 'Trompette' and 'Violons' markings in all parts. Example 5f shows the start of '30.Chaconne'.

Example 5e:

Pez, 'ouvert. del Sigr Petz a 13 part in D' (D-ROu Mus.Saec.XVII 18.38/12); 'Ouverture Cio VVni. Oboe Vla. e Basso Del Sigr. Petz.' (D-DI Mus.2026-N-6).

Ouverture. D-ROu Mus. Saec. XVII 18.38/12

Violino 1mo. Concer: (x3)
Violino 2do Concer: (x2)
Violino in Ripieno. (x2)
Viola 1ma (x2)
Viola 2da. (x2)
Basso Continuo. (x3)



Ouverture. D-DI Mus. 2026-N-6

Haubois I.
Haubois II.
Basson.
Violino (x3)
Haut Contre.
Taille.
Basse de Violon (x2)
Basse Continue

(1) One part in the soprano clef.

In the 'Trompette' sections, a trumpet could easily play the 'Violino 1^{mo}.' line, but not the *haute contre* part. Neither of the remaining inner parts could be played by natural brass instruments, but timpani could certainly have played the simple tonic-dominant bass part. The 'Trompette' markings can be seen as mere stylistic instructions with the players playing in a way likely to imitate trumpets. But they may also indicate the use of the actual instruments: one or more trumpeters may have doubled the string parts and made appropriate adjustments when required. Similar considerations apply to the 'Concert de Trompettes' from the eighth suite in Mus.MS 1227. There are alternation markings for 'Trompettes' and 'Violins'. The 'Trompettes' could only apply to the upper part. The *haute contre* part is unplayable on a natural trumpet.

Example 5f:
Manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:7, '30.Chaconne'.

30.Chaconne



This system contains five staves of music, all labeled 'Trompette'. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The bottom four staves are in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes.



This system contains five staves of music, all labeled 'Violons'. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The bottom four staves are in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes.



This system contains five staves of music, all labeled 'Violons'. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The bottom four staves are in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes.



This system contains five staves of music, all labeled 'Violons'. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The bottom four staves are in bass clef with the same key signature and time signature. The music consists of rhythmic patterns of eighth and sixteenth notes.

Example 5f (cont.):

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of five staves, all labeled 'Trompette' (Trumpet). The top staff is in treble clef, while the four staves below are in bass clef. The second system consists of five staves, all labeled 'Violons' (Violins). The top staff is in treble clef, and the four staves below are in bass clef. The music is written in a common time signature and a key signature of one sharp (F#).

'Flutte' markings are found in 'Chœur Honorons' in the tenth suite of Mus.MS 1227. However, these are clearly a later addition, possibly replacing the oboes of an earlier performance. Specific recorder parts ('p^{re} flutte, 2^e. Flutte) are added to the four-part string instrumentation in the manuscript of 'suittes', 'Mise: en: partition: par. m.r. Barre: a Hanover. 1689', (D-DS Mus.MS 1221). There are also 'haub' markings, but these are clearly intended to double the violin part rather than present an alternative to the recorders. There is a wealth of interesting and varied instrumentation in the 'suittes' in Mus.MS 1221. The four-part string instrumentation is typically French: 'Violon; Haut[contre]; Taille; Basse'. In addition to the recorder and oboe parts, there are frequent 'triot' and 'tous' markings with trios for two upper parts and bass. The gigue of the second suite shows even greater variety: both *haute contre* and *taille* have passages on their own with only a 'Basse Seul' accompaniment. (See Example 5g.) In the third suite, only the violin plays at the start of the *ouverture*; the remaining instruments enter in turn. To highlight this opening even further, a 'tous' marking in bar 8 seems to suggest that the previous seven bars are intended for one player to a part.

Paul Whitehead has suggested that 'publications of ballet music inspired by French models, particularly Kusser [i.e. Cousser] 1682 [*Composition de musique*], Aufschneider 1695 [*Concors discordia*], and Fischer 1695 [*Florilegium primum*], would also have been conceived for [specific, staged events].¹⁵² But especially in Cousser's case, this may not be entirely correct. Obviously, there is a relationship between the *ouverture* suite and dramatic music for the stage.

Example 5g:

Anonymous manuscript D-DS Mus.MS 1221, 'la 2e. Suite', 'Gigue'.

Gigue
guay

[Violon] *Seul* *Tous*

[Haut] *Seul* *Tous*

[Taille] *Seul* *Tous*

[Basse] *Seul* *Tous*

Seul *Tous* *Tous*

Seul *Tous* *Tous*

Seul *Trio* *Tous*

Seul *Trio* *Tous*

Seul *Trio* *Tous*

Three of Cousser's four suite collections are described on their title pages as being 'Ouvertures de Theatre accompagnées de plusieurs Airs', and, as we have seen, much of the music in Cousser's last three suite collections probably came from his touring operatic performances. The small amount of the music that survives from Cousser's operas suggests that the change from vocal to purely instrumental movement was often a very simple one. The music in Example 5h is taken from the opera '*Erindo, oder Die unstrafliche Liebe*' which was written in Hamburg in 1694. We can imagine the first excerpt being turned into an instrumental trio for two oboes and bass by the simple omission of the voice part: the provision of inner parts for Daliso's gavotte would hardly present a challenge to even a moderate musician. Perhaps these tasks were not even undertaken by Cousser himself: in the year leading up to these publications, Cousser's constant use of the musicians of the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* as copyists, and possibly as arrangers, seems to have caused considerable annoyance at the Stuttgart court.⁵³ Neither of the pieces in Example 5h is a source for movements in his printed suite collections, but we do

Example 5h:

J. S. Cousser: *Erindo, Oder Die Unstrafliche Liebe ... Gedruckt in Jahr 1694.*

Musical score for Example 5h, featuring Hautbois, Erindo, and Basso parts in 3/4 time. The lyrics are: "Mich heißt ihr ge - hor - sam Be - gin - nen, in den".

Musical score for Example 5j, titled "Gavotte", featuring Daliso and Basso parts in 2/4 time. The lyrics are: "Wel - cher durch der Lie - be Ker - zen schon".

Source:

H. Osthoff (ed.), *Johann Sigismund Kusser, Arien, Duette und Chöre aus Erindo* (Das Erbe Deutscher Musik iii, Braunschweig, 1938) 8, 42.

have a hitherto unknown link between his 1690 opera, *Julia*, and his 1700 suite collection, *La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio*. *Julia* has been described as being 'lost' except for a collection of 'songs'.⁵⁴ However, D-W Cod.Guelf.295 Mus.Hdschr. ('Primo Violino... | Ferdinand Albrecht H[erzog] v. B[raunschweig] u[nd] L[üneburg] d.9 Novembr. 1697') contains five movements 'De l'Opera de Julie'. Four of the movements are grouped together and the fifth follows later in the manuscript. Only the first violin part is preserved. Table 5.7 gives details of the concordances between opera and suite collection; Example 5j gives the opening of each excerpt from *Julia*. However, this does not make *La cicala* into a set of dramatic excerpts: Cousser was merely re-using older material. He issued no less than three collections of suites in 1700 and the effort required to provide enough material must have been considerable. Although there is no evidence of Cousser having written for the stage before the publication of *Composition de musique*, it is possible that some of the movements in this collection could have their origins in dramatic music.

In the following chapter, I shall deal with the music found in the German-Lullian suites. However, one important question remains. How should we define the German-Lullian suite, and its relationship to the excerpts from Lully's stage music that were circulated in

Table 5.7:

Concordances between movements from *Julia* in D-W Cod.Guelf.295 Mus.Hdschr. and *La cicala della cetra* (Stuttgart, 1700).

Movements in Cod.Guelf.295 Mus.Hdschr.	Concordant movements in <i>La cicala della cetra</i>
26 Aria. NB. 1.De l'Opera de Julie.	None.
27 Menuet. NB. 2.de Julie.	None.
28 Spirituosa. NB. 3.de Julie	Trio, <i>gay</i> (Ouverture IV).
43 NB. 4.Sarabande de Julie.	Trio[II] (Ouverture IV).
[unnumbered] 5.De Julie.	Trio[IV], <i>doucement</i> (Ouverture V).

Example 5j:

The openings of the movements from *Julia* in D-W Cod.Guelf.295 Mus.Hdschr.



Germany? I have argued that, in terms of key relationships between movements, the sequences of dramatic excerpts are fundamentally different from the *ouverture* suite. It is interesting that, although the Amsterdam printers frequently used the term 'suite' on their title pages and in their catalogues, 'suite' never appears to have been used in conjunction with any of the sets of dramatic excerpts. On the other hand, the publishers of German-Lullian *ouverture* suites commonly used a similar prefix to the 'Ouverture avec tous les Airs', so often found in the Amsterdam editions. There were, of course, exceptions: 'Partie', or something similar, was often used at the start of a group of excerpts. Should we give the name 'suite' to the sequences of dramatic excerpts? It is convenient to do so and well established in modern scholarly writing, but, in the end, it blurs the distinction between sequences of extracts and what I may term the genuine *ouverture* suites of the German Lullists.

Notes to Chapter 5:

1. M. Anderson, *War and Society in Europe of the Old Regime 1618-1789* (London, 1988, repr. Guernsey, 1998), 138.
2. De Blainville, *Travels through Holland, Germany, Switzerland and Other Parts of Europe ... by the late Monsieur de Blainville* 3 Vols. (London, 1757), i, 103, entry for 'April 13' (1705).
3. *Ibid.*, 56, 58,59, entry for 'Feb 12. to March 7' (1705).
4. *Ibid.* 268, entry for 'July 12: Augsburg' (1705).
5. R. Vierhaus (trans. Knudsen), *Germany in the Age of Absolutism* (Cambridge, 1988; repr. 1991), 35.
6. S. K. Owens, 'J. S. Kusser and Italian opera at the Württemberg court before Jommelli' in M. Bucciarelli & N. Dubowy (eds.), *Italian opera in central Europe, 1614-1780* (European Science Foundation, 2004). I am indebted to Dr. Owens for making a pre-publication copy of this article available to me.
7. A detailed survey of French ballet in German courts is given in: P. Béhar & H. Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds.), *Spectaculum Europæum* (Wiesbaden, 1999).
8. H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden from Renaissance to Baroque* (Basingstoke, 2002), 205.
9. C. Schmidt, 'The geographical spread of Lully's operas during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: new evidence from the livrets' in J. Heyer (ed.), *Jean-Baptiste Lully and the music of the French baroque* (Cambridge, 1989), 208.
10. M. Chan & J. C. Kessler (eds.), *Roger North's The Musical Grammarian 1728* (Cambridge, 1990), 261.
11. J. S. Cousser, *Composition de musique* (Stuttgart, 1682), preface.
12. D. Wilson (trans. & ed.), *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice* (Bloomington, 2001), 15.
13. Owens, 'J. S. Kusser and Italian opera'.
14. This and the following information regarding the Darmstadt court is all taken from: E. Noack, *Musikgeschichte Darmstadts vom Mittelalter bis zur Goethezeit* (Beiträge zur Mittelrheinischen Musikgeschichte Nr.

- 8; Mainz, 1967), 130.
15. J. Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig, 1732; repr. Kassel, 1953), 189, entry: 'Cousser, Joan. Sigismund'.
16. J. Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Kapellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739; repr. 1954), 480-1.
17. Walther, *Lexicon*, 'Cousser'.
18. H. Scholz, *Johann Sigismund Kusser (Cousser) Sein Leben und seine Werke*, (Leipzig, 1911), 10; K. Nef, *Geschichte der Sinfonie und Suite* (Leipzig, 1921), 78.
19. There are also two hitherto unknown Lullian sources in A-Wn: Suppl.mus.1813, discussed later in this chapter, and the fragmentary Mus.Hs.1076.
20. R. Babel, 'The Duchy of Bavaria. The Courts of the Wittelsbachs c.1500-1750' in J. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500-1750* (London, 1999; repr. 2000), 193.
21. W. Churchill, *Watermarks in paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII centuries and their interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935).
22. RISM A/II, record 450.027.758.
23. The Amsterdam trio editions are discussed in Chapter 8.
24. Wilson, *Georg Muffat*, 11.
25. RISM A/II collective record 190.006.402.
26. Wilson, *Georg Muffat*, 93.
27. The composer of the collection is only identified as 'J.A.S.'. The identity of 'J.A.S.' is discussed in the following chapter.
28. 'Partie â5. â la Françoise | 2. Dessus. | 2. Violons | 1. Basson | avec la Contin. de George Bleyer' (CZ-KRa A 847) and 'Partie â4. â la Françoise | 1. Violon. | 2. Viole | 1. Basson | et La Continue de George Bleyer' (CZ-KRa A 801). See also Chapters 4 and 7.
29. The entry in RISM K 3079 is incorrect. The exemplar in F-Pn is complete.
30. Wilson (trans. & ed.), *Georg Muffat*, 45.
31. The modern edition, R. Bayreuther (ed.), *Johann Sigismund Kusser Suiten für Orchester* (Mainz, 1994) is misleading in this respect: it only gives the 'Second Dessus' part in movements where it is independent from the 'Premier Dessus' part.
32. Whitehead, 'Austro-German printed sources', 370.
33. *Ibid.*, 371.
34. S. Harris, 'Lully, Corelli, Muffat and the Eighteenth-Century String Body' *ML* 54 (1973), 197-202. The same article confuses the instrumentation of *Concors discordia* by suggesting that 'the violin splits into two solo parts' (202).
35. W. Waterhouse, 'Bassoon' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), ii, 873-895.
36. L. Dreyfus, *Bach's Continuo Group* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 108.
37. B. Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe* (Oxford, 2001), 136-7.
38. W. Braun, 'The "Hautboist;" an Outline of Evolving Careers and Functions' in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician from the Middle Ages to the 19th Century* ed. W. Salmen, trans. Kaufman & Reisner (New York, 1983), 130.
39. Watanbe-O'Kelly, *Court Culture in Dresden*, 234.

40. E. Bowles, *Musical Ensembles in Festival Books, 1500-1800* (Ann Arbor, 1989), 417.
41. Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 163.
42. Braun, 'The Hautboist', 129.
43. S. G. Sandman, 'The wind band at Louis XIV's court' in *EM* 5 (1977), 27-37.
44. German text and translation from Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 163.
45. B. Baselt & K-E. Bergunder, 'Witt, Christian Friederich' in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxvii, 452-453.
46. Instr.mus.i hs.13:20 is a trio suite for two *flauti* and bass. The quality of the music is poor.
47. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik*, 192.
48. Curiously, this suite is not included in the list of double-reed band music in Haynes, *The Eloquent oboe*, Appendix 9.
49. D. Wilson (trans. & ed.), *Georg Muffat*, 75.
50. *Festin des muses*, *La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio*, *Apollon enjoué*, all published in 1700.
51. B. Gustavson, 'Babel, Charles' in L. Finscher (ed.), *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, 1995), Personenteil 1, 1250-1251.
52. Whitehead, 'Austro-German sources', 46.
53. S. K. Owens, 'The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c. 1680-1721', Ph.D. diss. (Victoria University of Wellington, 1995), 61.
54. G. J. Buelow, 'Kusser' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xiv, 53-55.

'Ouvertures de Theatre accompagnées de plusieurs Aires'

The Courtly Suite after 1680, *part II*

As we have seen in the previous chapter, the influence of Lully's music swept through the German courts in the 1670s and '80s. We have also seen how closely Jean Sigismund Cousser came to be associated with this process. Indeed, if one person could be said to have exerted more influence on the development of the courtly suite than anyone else at this time, that person would be Cousser.

Even before his appointment in 1699 as *Kapellmeister*, Cousser appears to have been known at the Württemberg court at Stuttgart.¹ It also appears that his father had held a town appointment there.² Stuttgart was also the place where Cousser's first printed collection of suites *Composition de musique* was issued in 1682. The title page gives the printer Paul Treu as the 'Imprimeur', but it is not clear from this if Treu was the publisher as well as the printer of the collection.³ However, the standard of the printing in *Composition de musique* is high, with few errors, and we may assume that the composer exercised some authority over the finished publications.

The link between *Composition de musique* and the Stuttgart court is further demonstrated by the dedication of the collection to Friedrich Carl, a member of the Stuttgart ruling family. Cousser was suitably modest in the dedication:

If these first efforts give pleasure, I will redouble my efforts in future in order to prove to your Serene Highness that the honour of his protection inspires courage, and gives me great zeal and profound respect, which will remain with me all my life, Monseigneur. Stuttgart 26th November 1682.

Si ces premiers Efforts ont le bonheur de luy plaire, je les redoubleray a l'advenir pour tesmoigner a V[otre] A[ltesse] S[erenissime] que l'honneur de sa Protection inspire du Courage, comme l'augmentation du Zele et du profond respect, avec lesquels je seray toute ma Vie | Monseigneur | a Stoutgard Anée 1682, le 26. de Nov.

It is also possible that the same Friedrich Carl had financed Cousser's study trip to Paris.⁴ The Stuttgart court was one of the many that espoused French culture during the 1670s and '80s, and this, of course, especially applied to music. However, the musicians of the *Hofkapelle* do not appear to have been very successful in adapting their style of playing.⁵ If Cousser had observed their difficulties at first hand, it may explain his desire to pass this

knowledge onto other German musicians. He was highly regarded as a teacher, and his personal influence appears to have been widespread. If *Composition de musique* did more to establish the concept of the *ouverture* suite in Germany than any previous publication, the reported magnetism and energy of Cousser's own teaching appears to have been an important factor in the dissemination of the correct way of playing Lullian music.

Each of the six suites in *Composition de musique* starts with an *ouverture*; in this way, the contents of each suite are clearly defined. Each *ouverture* is followed by a sequence of dances and seemingly quasi-dramatic movements, all of which are given the generic title 'air'.⁶ Table 6.1 lists the contents of the collection. As I argued in the previous chapter, the use of a common key centre for all movements provides the main distinction between *ouverture* suites and sequences of dramatic excerpts. *Composition de musique* is no exception to this, and each suite remains in a single key centre throughout. In addition, the suites are arranged in ascending order of key: A minor, B \flat major, C major, D minor, F major and G minor. In Germany, this type of arrangement was a device usually associated with printed editions of suites by town musicians. In Chapter 2, I argued that a branle suite was often placed at the end of a municipal suite collection where it was clearly intended to provide an obvious contrast of style and genre. Cousser seems to have had this tradition in mind when he included a branle sequence as part of 'Ouverture VI'. It is perhaps strange that Cousser should use both branle sequence and *ouverture* within the same suite. As we have seen, the *ouverture*, even before Lully, was traditionally associated with the opening of a dramatic work, and the branle with the opening of a ball.

Movement-linking techniques were not usually part of the *ouverture* suite, but the fourth suite of *Composition de musique* contains a number of thematic similarities between the *ouverture* and some of the following dance movements. It is possible that Cousser intended some sort of movement linking at these points, but the material is mainly triadic and not distinctive enough to make his intentions completely clear. We can only speculate that, if Cousser was experimenting with movement linking, he did not have the experience to use the technique properly. Cousser re-used earlier material to provide movements for his two collections of suites published in 1700, and it is possible that he was again re-using earlier material for this fourth suite of *Composition de musique*. Table 6.1 demonstrates an important difference between the *ouverture* suite and the municipal suite. Apart from the opening *ouvertures*, there are no common movements or movement sequences to unite the six suites of the collection. This is not to say that Cousser's collection is disorganised: it has an easily discernable framework. But in contrast to the traditions of the municipal suite, the choice of individual movements to follow the *ouvertures* is not governed by any sense of deliberate organisation.

The title pages of German *ouverture* suites are similar in terminology. *Composition de musique* is described on its title page as 'Ouvertures de theatre accompagnées de plusieurs airs', Philipp Heinrich Erlebach's 1693 collection of suites is labelled 'Ouvertures accompanied by suitable airs' ('Ouvertures Begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs') and Fischer's 1702 *Tafel-*

Table 6.1:

Contents of the six suites in J. S. Cousser, *Composition de musique* (Stuttgart, 1682).

Ouverture I^{er}. (A minor) Premier Air. Rondeau / Second Air / Troisième Air. à 2.Dessus / Quatrième Air. Ballet / Cinquième Air / Sixième Air. Bourée / Septième Air. Gigue à l'Angloise / Huictième Air. Menuet / Neufième Air. Menuet.

Ouverture II. (B \flat major) Premier Air. Viste / Second Air. Eccho / Troisième Air. Menuet / Quatrième Air. Gigue à l'Angloise / Cinquième Air. Courante / Sixième Air. Menuet / Septième Air. Sarabande / Chaconne. à 2.Dessus.

Ouverture III. (C major) Premier Air / Second Air / Troisième Air. Bourée / Quatrième Air. Menuet / Prelude. à 2. Dessus / Cinquième Air. Rondeau / Sixième Air. Courante / Septième Air. Menuet / Huictième Air. Passeped.

Ouverture IV. (D minor) Premier Air. Rondeau à 2.Dessus / Second Air. Courante / Troisième Air. Menuet Rondeau / Quatrième Air. Menuet / Cinquième Air. Rondeau / Sixième Air. Bourée / Septième Air. Menuet / Huictième Air. Gigue à l'Angloise Rondeau / Neufième Air. Menuet Rondeau / Dixième Air. Rondeau. à 2.Dessus.

Ouverture V. (F major) Premier Air / Second Air. Gavotte / Troisième Air. Un autre Gavotte / Quatrième Air. Menuet / Cinquième Air. Menuet / Sixième Air. Courante / Septième Air. Gigue à l'Angloise / Huictième Air. Menuet / Neufième Air. Ballet / Dixième Air. Galliarde / Onzième Air. Bourée / Douzième Air. Canary.

Ouverture VI. (G minor) Premier Air / Second Air. Menuet. Rondeau / Troisième Air / Branle / Branle Guay / Branle Amener / Gauotte / Courante / Menuet / Bourée / Galliarde / Traquenar.

Note:

The use of the word 'Air' in titles was omitted by the printer after the 'Troisième Air' of the final suite.

Musik is described as 'Ouverturen, Chaconnen, lustigen Suiten'. Furthermore, the preface to Erlebach's edition talks of 'Ouverturen und Airs' and 'VI ouvertures in company with their suites' ('VI Ouverturen / nebst deren Suiten'). In all these, there is a clear division between the *ouverture*, the most important and substantial movement of the suite, and the following 'airs' or dances. However, in the manuscript sources, we find the German tradition of describing a suite by its opening movement, and the term 'ouverture' is mostly used without further qualification. Not surprisingly, these suites are usually known in modern writing as '*ouverture* suites', but it is better to retain the seventeenth-century concept and think of them as *ouvertures* with an ensuing set of dances. There was no link or sense of progression from the *ouverture* to the other movements of the suite and the dances followed each other in an apparently arbitrary sequence. This was in complete contrast to the German municipal suite with its deliberate organisation and structure. If the German-Lullian suite was linked by a common key centre

for all its movements, it was quite distinct from the sequences of movements extracted from the stage works. These were often in a variety of keys with little or no sense of key unity.

In terms of scope and character, the *ouverture* itself was usually the dominant movement of a German-Lullian *ouverture* suite. As an opening movement, it must have been instantly recognisable, even to those members of the nobility with little understanding of music: indeed, in the 1680s, any *Kapellmeister*, apart from those in Austria and Vienna, would surely have been open to censure had he started an opera or ballet with any other form of prelude or intrada.

The second volume of Niedt's 1706 treatise on variation (*Handleitung zur Variation*) describes the genre thus:

Most of the time, *Ouvertures* usually start in even [time], with sixteen, twenty, or twenty-four measures, also sometimes longer, which are [then] repeated; then they change from even time to triple time or a faster time than had been the case at the beginning, continuing with a fugue of some fifty, eighty, or even 100 or more measures, finally returning to even [time] and yet a slower time than had been the case with the first reprise.⁷

Niedt's definition is rather too simplistic: it fails to take into account the variety employed by both French and German composers, albeit within a fairly rigid framework. Lully's own *ouvertures* were divided into either two or three principal sections. In the first section, always in duple-time, the opening bar was often based on simple tonic, and sometimes dominant, chords as a preparation for the dissonance that was often an important feature of this part of the *ouverture*. Frequent use was made of the 6/5 chord, but Example 6a, the *ouverture* to *Roland* (LWV 65) shows Lully's even more dramatic use of the accented 6/4/2 chord. In fact, the use of the 6/4/2 chord near the start of an *ouverture* seems to have become something of a 'trademark' of the German Lullists. Example 6b shows a typical example: the start of the *ouverture* to the final suite of Muffat's *Suavioris harmonie instrumentalis hyporchematicæ florilegium secundum*. However, not all Lully's *ouvertures* used this harmonic device. The much-copied *ouverture* to *Phaëton* (LWV 61) eschews virtually all dissonance in its opening sections, and relies on the simplest of harmonic means. By the time Cousser came to write *Composition de musique*, it is clear that he had fully grasped Lully's harmonic idiom. On the other hand, Cousser was never able to match the simple elegance of the *ouverture* in *Phaëton*.

In his 1732 lexicon, Walther describes the second section of the *ouverture* as following with 'a regular or irregular fugue' ('eine reguliere oder irreguliere Fuge').⁸ Even if it is qualified by being 'irregular', Walther's employment of the term 'fugue' is open to question. Certainly, the second sections of Lully's *ouvertures* tended to open with the voices entering one after another, from top to bottom, in imitation. There was usually some overlapping of entries. Illustration 6i shows a typical example, the *ouverture* to *Bellerophon* (LWV 57). After the opening, the use of contrapuntal techniques tended to be limited: certainly not enough to justify the term 'fugue'. Illustration 6i also shows how Lully did not stick rigidly to a triple-time second section. In addition, Lully also used second sections that relied almost entirely on duple-time dotted

Example 6a:

J-B. Lully, *Roland* (LWV 65) *ouverture*, opening bars.

Ouverture

Example 6b:

G. Muffat, *Suavioris harmoniæ instrumentalis hyporchematicæ florilegium secundum* (Augsburg, 1698), *ouverture* to the final suite, opening bars.

Ouverture

quavers and semiquavers. These constant dotted quavers and semiquavers also became very popular amongst the German Lullists. In the French tradition of *inégale* playing, these rhythms could well have sounded as if they were being played in triple time. Presumably, the *inégale* tradition was known in Germany and applied to such passages.

In all these varieties of the second section the pulse needed to be clearly perceived as being faster than the opening section. Johann Caspar Fischer was unequivocal: 'Thirdly: in the *ouvertures*, ensure that you begin with a faster movement or measure than the first [section]' ('Tertiò attende in Ouverturis, ut secundam partem velociori motu aut mensurâ

Illustration 6i:

J-B. Lully, *Bellerophon* (Paris 1679) 'Ouverture', second section.

P R O L O G U E.

quàm primam inchoës').⁹ Some *ouvertures* employed a third and final section, invariably in double-metre and in the style of the opening. The choice between bi- or tri-partite *ouvertures* seems to have been entirely a question of personal preference.

If the *ouverture* was a significant part in the German-Lullist suite, the chaconne or passacaglia was often the most important of the following dance movements, and merits detailed discussion. Illustration 6ii shows the first page of the *chaconne* from the last act of Lully's 1684 *Amadis, tragedie en musique* (LWV 63). The opening bass-line formula, or a variation of it, is repeated throughout the movement. However, French chaconnes do not always follow this format. Although the following description of the chaconne was made for the French keyboard repertoire, it could apply equally well to the consort version:

Illustration 6ii:

J-B. Lully, *Amadis, tragedie en musique* (Paris 1684), chaconne from the final act.

T R A G E D I E. 235
C H A C O N N E.

The image shows a musical score for a chaconne. It is titled "TRAGEDIE. CHACONNE." and is page 235. The score is for "VIOLONS" (Violins) and consists of two systems. Each system has five staves: a treble clef staff, a bass clef staff, and three tenor/bass clef staves. The music is in 3/4 time and features a repeating rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The first system ends with a double bar line, and the second system continues the piece. The word "VIOLONS." is written below the first staff of each system.

Ggij

French chaconnes (and occasionally passacailles) customarily employ the rondeau form, in which a repeated refrain (*Grand couplet* of four or eight measures) alternates with three or four couplets of free design ... Chaconnes and passacailles may use an alternate form, with a regularly occurring bass formula, that comprises repeated sections (usually four measures) strung together.¹⁰

But even this does not fully represent the diversity of the French chaconne tradition. A further, freer, variety contains little repetition of any sort. The freer variety of chaconne is found in Georg Muffat's 1695 *Suavioris harmoniae instrumentalis hyporchematicae florilegium primum* (hereafter, *Florilegium I*). There are two: the first is in the fourth suite, and the second in the sixth. Both follow a similar pattern, and the chaconne from the sixth suite is given complete as Example 6c. While there are parallels between these two movements and the French tradition,

Example 6c:

G. Muffat *Suavioris harmoniae instrumentalis hyporchematicae florilegium primum* (Augsburg, 1695), '39. Chaconne'.

39. Chaconne.

Violotta

Viola

Quinta parte

Violone

Basso continuo

5 6 7 6 7 6 6 5 6 16 7

16 6 6 4 5 1 1 6 6 7 3 4 2

6 7 6 1 7 16 1 6 5 1

Note:

Apart from modernisation of the clefs, this quotation is reproduced from H. Rietsch (ed.) DTÖ, ii, Jg.i/2 (1894).

we should not forget that Muffat worked in Austria for a time, and may have been influenced by the *ciaccona* of the Viennese tradition. As we shall see in the following chapter, the Viennese *ciaccona* was a triple-time movement with probable origins in early seventeenth-century Italy. There were usually two or more repeated strains; the repeated bass-line formula does not seem to have been used. Apart from a period of study in Rome, Muffat worked in Salzburg between

1678 and 1690 and, during this time, it is highly likely that he came across examples of this type of *ciaccona* written by Viennese court composers. Allowing for the greater harmonic richness of Muffat's writing, there are clear similarities between his chaconnes and those by the Schmelzers. Perhaps the chaconnes in *Florilegium I* are an example of dual influence.

Differentiation between chaconne and passacaglia seems to have been a cause of some confusion among German composers. At the start of the century, the chaconne was in the major, while the passacaglia was in the minor and normally employed a bass line of four descending notes from tonic to dominant. Chromatic notes were sometimes added to the passacaglia bass. Later in the century, confusion arose when passacaglias started to be written in the major.¹¹ It is telling that Muffat used the term 'passacaglia' for the extended major-key movement that ends the fifth sonata of his 1682 *Armonico tributo*, but re-named it 'chaconne' when he used it again in his 1701 *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik*. Muffat does make a distinction elsewhere: in the one movement in his *Suavioris harmoniæ instrumentalis hyporchematicæ florilegium secundum* (hereafter, *Florilegium II*) to employ a repetitive bass-line formula, there is a different title. The movement is not a chaconne, but a 'Passacaille'. Thus, Inka Stampfl's suggestion that 'in all his chaconnes and passacaglias, Muffat remains close to the French tradition which is expressed, above all, in the free treatment of the bass' is incorrect when it draws all his passacaglias and chaconnes together.¹² In any case, we have seen in Illustration 6ii that the French tradition does not necessarily imply a 'free treatment of the bass'.

Elsewhere in the German-Lullist repertoire, any distinctions between chaconne and passacaglia are not applied with consistency. The first suite of *Zodiaci musici* by 'J.A.S.' contains a 'Passacaille' that is really a rondeau with *grand* and secondary *couplets*. Apart from a characteristic two-crotchet upbeat in the *passacaglia*, there is little to distinguish it conceptually from the 'Rondeau' that ends the suite. On the other hand, the 'Chaconne' of the fifth suite in J.C.F. Fischer's 1695 collection, *Le journal du printemps*, is also little more than a rondeau with *grand* and secondary *couplets*. In contrast, the 'Passacaille' of Fischer's seventh suite makes use of a repeated bass-line formula, or a variation of it, throughout most of the movement.

The rondeau form was frequently used independently of the chaconne and passacaglia by the German-Lullists, and the same degree of diversity is apparent. This type of movement structure seems to have had a special attraction for Cousser: in the fourth suite of *Composition de musique*, it occurs in six of the ten movements following the *ouverture*. In addition, two of these six use the 'à 2. Dessus' instrumentation that Cousser reserves for the larger-scale movements in the collection. The material used in the second of these is of the simplest kind: apart from a brief moment of decoration, the note values are nothing but minims and crotchets. However, the structure is more complicated with the material in each of the secondary *couplets* being split between four bars for the complete ensemble, and four bars for the two *dessus* and bass. But not all rondeaus used alternating *couplets* and the repetition of a *grand couplet* in this manner: like chaconnes, some followed a much freer design. For example, two of the four rondeaus in the

1698 *Zodiaci musici* by 'J.A.S.' contain little more repetition than that of the occasional phrase.

There are eleven years that separate Cousser's *Composition de musique* and the printing of Philipp Heinrich Erlebach's *VI Overtures, Begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs, nach Französischer Art und Manier* in 1693. Erlebach was, according to the title page, *Kapellmeister* at the Rudolstadt court. Unlike Cousser, he does not seem to have spent any time in Paris, and all his musical education appears to have been in Germany. Table 6.2 lists the contents of *VI Overtures*. Clearly, Erlebach was using Cousser's *Composition de musique* as a model. This can be seen at the beginning of the *overtures* that start each collection (shown in Example 6d): perhaps Erlebach was deliberately paying homage to Cousser. The suites in *VI Overtures* collection are grouped in ascending key order, and the sequence of keys is identical to that in *Composition de musique*:

A minor, B, major, C major, D minor, F major and G minor.

As we have seen, Erlebach's preface refers to 'Overtures next to their suites' ('VI Overturen nebst deren Suiten'). This concept is borne out by the system of numbering in the collection where the dances of each suite are numbered separately, but do not include the *overture*. Cousser uses a similar system in *Composition de musique*. Again following Cousser's example, Erlebach uses the title 'Air' as a generic term for dance movements. As we have seen in Chapter 5, there are also similarities between the instrumentation of the two collections.

As in most German-Lullian collections, the suites in *VI Overtures* are clearly ordered and defined, even if a quite different sequence of dances is used each time. There is no apparent movement linking of the type found in the municipal suite collections, but Bernd Baselt has suggested three kinds of 'thematic organisation' that link the openings of the *overtures* that start each suite.¹³ He identifies these thematic characteristics as 'the falling interval of a fourth (*overtures* I and VI)', 'the rising interval of a fifth (*overtures* II and IV)' and 'a diatonic upward progression of notes comprising sequential dotted quavers (*overtures* III and IV)'.¹⁴ He goes on to suggest that Erlebach may have intended a 'possible performance in pairs' for the two *overtures* in each of his categories.¹⁵ There are reasons to doubt these suggestions. The thematic linking of movements was rare in German-Lullian suites, and the linking of movements across suites would seem to be otherwise unknown in this repertoire. Example 6e shows the opening of the sixth *overture* of the set, one that Baselt categorises as using a descending interval of a fourth. It is true that the first two notes of the first violin part are a perfect fourth apart, but this interval is surely dictated by Erlebach's obvious desire to remain on the tonic chord in preparation for the characteristically dissonant 6/4/2 chord that follows. As we have seen, the German Lullists frequently used this particular harmonic device at this point in *overtures*. In all six of Erlebach's opening movements, the melodic line appears to be subservient to the harmony. This can be seen in the first *overture* of the collection (seen in Example 6d) where the harmonic progression of the first three chords governs the melodic line. If there is any similar-

Table 6.2:

P. H. Erlebach, *VI Ouvertures, Begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen airs, nach Französicher Art und Manier* (Nuremberg, 1693). Dance movements following the *ouverture* of each suite.

1.Air Entrée / 2.Air Menuet.I / 3.Air Menuet II / 4.Air Bourée / 5.Air Courante / 6.Air / 7. Air Menuet qui se jouë alternativement avec le Trio / 8. Air Trio / 9. Air Gique / 10. Air Sarabande.

1.Air Entrée / 2.Air Courante / 3.Air Ballet / 4.Air Menuet qui se jouë alternativement avec le suivant / 5.Air Trio / 6.Air / 7.Air Sarabande / 8.Air Trio / 9. Chaconne.

1.Air / 2.Air Bourée / 3.Air / 4.Air Menuet qui se jouë alternativement avec le suivant / 5.Air Menuet Trio / 6.Air Courante / 7.Air Trio / 8.Air Ballet / 9.Air Gavotte / 10.Air la Plainte / 11.Air de Sommiel / 12.Air La Rejouissance.

1.Air Gavotte / 2.Air Menuet I / 3.Air Menuet II / 4. Air Bourée / 5.Air Courante / 6.Air Entrée / 7. Air Gavotte / 8.Air Traquenar / 9.Air.

1.Air Entrée / 2.Air qui se jouë alternativement avec le Trio / 3.Air Trio / 4.Air Courante / 5.Air Bourée / 6.Air Marche / 7.Air Rondeau. / 8.Chaconne.

1.Air Entrée / 2.Air Gavotte / 3.Air Menuet qui se jouë alternativement avec le Trio / 4. Air Trio / 5. Air la Plainte / 6.Air Entrée / 7.Air Gique / 8.Chaconne.

ity between the opening movements in Erlebach's collection, it appears to be a result of the type of harmonic progressions frequently used in the *ouvertures* of the German Lullists. It is not likely to have been a deliberate attempt at thematic unity.

Apart from the progression in the third suite of 'Air la Plainte' / 'Air de Sommiel' / 'Air La Rejouissance', Erlebach uses similar dance types to Cousser. However, Erlebach's frequent use of 'triot' and 'tous' groupings brings considerable variety. This can be seen in Example 6f, which shows part of '7.Air Gavotte' from the fourth suite. Apart from his trio suites issued in 1694, *VI Ouvertures* appears to be the only collection of suites that Erlebach published. I have not been able to find any further examples of his suites in manuscript sources, but the '47 Partien' mentioned in Erlebach's own inventory of music at his home court of Rudolstadt (ThStA Rudolstadt, Geheimes Archiv B VII 4c Nr.2.) suggest that there may well have been more.

Johann Fischer spent time in Paris in the 1660s, where it appears that he worked for five years as one of Lully's copyists.¹⁶ After periods of employment in Stuttgart, Augsburg and Ansbach, he 'developed a restless passion for travel' in the late 1690s, and 'in the first ten years of the 18th century he was constantly moving around Europe'.¹⁷ Between 1701 and 1704, he was *Kapellmeister* at the court of Friedrich Wilhelm in Schwerin. French influence was particularly strong at Schwerin: no fewer than eight Frenchmen were listed as members of the *Hofkapelle* in 1671. It appears that this influence lasted until well into the next century.¹⁸

Example 6d:

The opening of 'Overture I' in P. H. Erlebach, *VI Overtures* (Nuremberg, 1693) compared with the opening of 'Overture I^{er}' in J. S. Cousser, *Composition de musique* (Stuttgart, 1682).

Overture I.

Premier Dessus.
Second Dessus.
Haute Contre.
Taille.
Quinte.
Basse.

6 15 6 6 1 6

Overture I^{er}.

Premier Dessus.
Second Dessus.
Haute Contre.
Taille.
Quinte.
Bassus.

Example 6e:

Erlebach, *VI Overtures*, 'Overture VI', opening bars.

Overture VI.

Premier Dessus.
Second Dessus.
Haute Contre.
Taille.
Quinte.

16/2 6 6 6 6 6 5 7 1 6/2

Example 6f:Erlebach, *VI Ouwertures*, fourth suite, '7. Air Gavotte'.

7. Air Gavotte.

Premier Dessus. Tno.

Second Dessus. Tno.

Haute Contre. Tno.

Taille. Tno.

Quinte. Tno.

Basse. Tno.

Trio. 5 6 3 3 6 1 6 3 6 6 7 6 1

Tous. Tno.

Tous. Tno.

Tous. Tno.

Tous. Tno.

Tous. Tno.

Tous. Tno.

Tous. Tno. 5 6

Tous. 6 6 6 3 6 6

1 1 6 1 6 3 6 6 3 6 1

Like Cousser, he issued a considerable amount of music in printed editions at the start of the eighteenth century. Following the 1699 *Musicalisch Divertissement*, a collection of suites for one instrument and bass, Fischer issued *Neuerfertigtes musicalisches Divertissement* in 1700, *Tafel-Musik / Bestehend In Verschiedenen Ouwerturen, Chaconnen, lustigen Suiten* in 1702 and *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust* in 1706. However, Fischer was not as prolific as this list suggests. *Tafel-Musik* was issued in 1702 in Hamburg. But the same collection was re-issued in 1706 in Lübeck under the new title of *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust*: apart from changes in the title page and dedication, the editions are identical. No attempt was made to correct the very large number of mistakes in *Tafel-Musik*. Perhaps *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust* was issued without Fischer's permission or knowledge. The exemplar of the latter in F-Pn (Mus.Vm⁷ 1497) also contains extra music added on supplementary sheets but the authorship of this music is unclear, and it appears that some parts are missing. Corrections in red ink have been made to the main text of Mus.Vm⁷ 1497.

Neuerfertigtes musicalisches Divertissement and *Tafel-Musik* are both German-Lullist suite collections, but there is less similarity between them than between the collections issued by Cousser in 1700. *Neuerfertigtes musicalisches Divertissement* is a collection of six suites written for one violin, two violas and bass. Each of the six suites follows a similar format: an *ouverture* is followed by a sequence of dances but, as in *Tafel-Musik*, character movements are largely absent. The fifth suite contains two gigues, and the final suite has three, but there is no indication that Fischer was offering an alternative choice of movements.

Tafel-Musik has a much wider range of music than *Neuerfertigtes musicalisches Divertissement*. The contents of *Tafel-Musik* are given in Table 6.3. There are four suites à4, and two trio suites. There are also a number of seemingly individual pieces. There are five part-books:

Dessus - Dessus[II] - Haute Contre & 2. Dessus - Taille - 1.Bass.

It is possible that '1.Bass' implies the existence of a second bass part, now missing. But the 1706 re-issue has the same arrangement: it is probable that this labelling is the result of a printer's error. Considering the number of errors in other parts of the collection, this is highly likely. As we have seen, it was the usual practice in suites by German-Lullists for a second *dessus* part to double the first *dessus* part in everything except solos. In solo sections such as trios, the second *dessus* would take on its own independent part. But in the suites à4 of *Tafel-Musik*, the second *dessus* music for the trio sections is contained in the *haute contre* part-book. This is confirmed by the clef and the title. The part given in 'Dessus[II]' continues to double the upper *dessus* part in the trio sections, which is quite different from the normal practice of the German-Lullists. Does this mean that the trio sections were played by a doubled first *dessus* part in addition to the normal second *dessus*? This seems unlikely. It was probably yet another printer's error, adding to the lamentable quality of the collection in this respect. To add to the confusion, the two trio suites are laid out differently. Here, the second *dessus* music is contained in the 'Dessus[II]' part-book.

Bruce Haynes places *Tafel-Musik* in the category of music that 'may also have been played by a double reed band', although he does not specify the parts of the collection to which this should be applied.¹⁹ Moreover, the sequence of marches and a concluding menuet that make up movements 33-39 would be close to the type of oboe-band repertoire discussed in Chapter 5. In addition, we shall see that there was a link between military marching and oboe-band music. The marches and menuet are in four instrumental parts, but they are not included in the 'Dessus[II]' part. It seems that seven oboists were employed at Schwerin in 1701, and Haynes may be right about the use of an oboe band for this part of the collection.²⁰ But there is no specific indication that any of the suites themselves were intended as wind music. These marches may have been a factor in the triumphalist re-issue of *Tafel-Musik* as *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust*. According to its title page, the latter was dedicated to the 'War hero' Prince Eugene, and celebrated the defeat of the French at the battle of Blenheim in 1704, along with the

Table 6.3:

Contents of J. Fischer, *Tafel-Musik* (Hamburg, 1702) and *Musicalische Fürsten-Lust* (Lübeck, 1706).

Movement numbers	Movement titles	Key	à3 or à4
1-9	1.Ouverture / 2.Entree / 3.Chaconne / 4.La Marche / 5.Menuet, qui se joue alternativement avec le suivant / 6.Trio / 7.Bourée / 8. Menuet, qui se joue alternativement avec le suivant / 9.Trio.	B \flat major	à4
10-17	10.Ouverture / 11.Entrée / 12.Menuet en Rondeau / 13. Chaconne / 14.La Marche / 15. La Marche / 16.Air / 17.Gique.	C major	à4
18-24	18.Ouverture / 19.Ballet / 20. / Menuet / 21.Trio. Menuet / 22. Air / 23.Chaconne / 24.Passepies / [24a Passepies II].	F major	à4
26-32 + 25	26.Ouverture / 27.Entree / 28.Menuet, qui se joue alternativement avec le suivant / 29.Trio / 30. Air / 31.Chaconne / 32. Gavotte / 25.Menuet [see notes].	A minor - A major	à4
33-39	La Marche (x6) / Menuet.	C major	à4
40-45	40.Ouverture / 41.Entree / 42.Menuet / 43.Entree / 44. Rondeau / 45.Menuet.	G major	à3
46-51	46.Allemande / 47.Angloisse / 48.Gique / 49.Menuet / 50. Menuet / 51.Ballet.	G minor	à3
52-63	Pollnische Däntze.	various	à3
64	Ballet.	G major	à3

Notes:

In both editions, there is the following note after '25.Menuet': 'This menuet may be played at the end of the following partie' ('Diese Menuet kan zu Ende folgender Partie gemacht werden'). The key of this menuet is A minor, and would therefore be out of place in the third suite where it was originally placed. It is probable that this note is an attempt to cover an error by the printer.

The title to the second passepie in the third suite has been omitted in all parts.

capture of Tallard, the French general.

Fischer's compositions are often noticeable for the inventiveness of their bass parts. Example 6g shows the opening section of the *ouverture* to the second of the à4 *Tafel-Musik* suites. Here, the principal material in this opening resides in the bass. By comparison, the upper lines verge on the prosaic. But Fischer does not limit this type of writing to the *ouvertures* in the

Example 6g:Fischer, *Tafel-Musik*, '10.Ouverture'.

10.Ouverture

The musical score for '10. Ouverture' is presented in five staves. The top two staves are labeled 'Dessus' and use a treble clef. The third staff is labeled 'Haute Contre' and uses an alto clef. The fourth staff is labeled 'Taille' and uses an alto clef. The bottom staff is labeled 'Bass' and uses a bass clef. The music is in 2/4 time and is divided into three systems. The first system contains four measures. The second system contains four measures, with a repeat sign at the end. The third system contains four measures, also with a repeat sign at the end. The bass line is particularly active, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes.

collection. The same interest in the bass line is apparent in the menuet and its *alternativement* trio from the first suite. The menuet is given in Example 6h.

Two further suites by Johann Fischer are in manuscripts now in S-Uu. The first, 'Ouverture à 4 Ex C_b, De Diverses pieces de Musique. Composes par Mons: Jean Fischer Maistre De Capelle' (S-Uu Instr.mus. i hs. 15:10), is for a four-part ensemble of violin, two violas and bass. This title suggests that it was copied during Fischer's time at Schwerin, and it is similar to the suites in his printed collections. Example 6j shows the 'Gique Anglozice'. The bass-line writing in the second strain is similar in its exuberance to that of the two examples from *Tafel-Musik* shown earlier, and an almost exact repetition of the bass-line figuration in 19. Ballet from the same collection.

The second of these manuscript suites in S-Uu is entitled 'Ouverture. à 5. de divers pieces de Musique composcis par Jean Fischer' (Instr.mus.i hs.15:11). Again, Haynes consid-

Example 6h:

Fischer, *Tafel-Musik*, '5. Menuet, qui se joue alternativement avec le suivant'.

5. Menuet, qui se joue alternativement avec le suivant.

Dessus
Dessus
Haute Contre
Taille
Bass

ers the piece to be possible oboe-band music.²¹ But this is not convincing. There is clearly a missing entry between those of the *haute contre* and *taille* parts in the *allabreve* section of the *ouverture*. Later in the suite, the second menuet is only included in the parts for oboe and bass, and the first violin, *haute contre* and *taille* parts at the same point are all marked 'Menuet paus'. This makes it highly likely that a second treble part, probably a second oboe, has been lost. It is possible that a bassoon part has also been lost, but the presence of the string bass in the second

Example 6j:

'Ouverture à 4 Ex C \flat , De Diverses pieces de Musique. Composes par Mons: Jean Fischer Maistre De Capelle' (S-Uu Instr.mus. i hs. 15:10), 'Gique Anglozice'.

Gique Anglozice

menuet suggests that it would not have played a solo part. Perhaps it is a further indication that, like some parts of Cousser's *Apollon enjoué*, the bassoon was not used at all in this suite, although the instrument must have been available at Schwerin as part of the oboe band. The complete *ouverture* is given in Appendix II. The suite, as a whole, is a most attractive composition and deserves to be added to the repertoire of modern performers. Despite his short stay at Schwerin, Fischer has been described as the best musician to work there during this period.²² There is no reason to dispute this: Fischer's music may be slightly eccentric at times, but there is no doubt that his suites are well written, and often strikingly individual.

Meyer lists two further suites by Fischer in CZ-KRa.²³ In fact, there are six suites by this author in Kroměříž, shelfmarks A 776-8 and A 780-2. Example 6k shows the opening of the intrada from 'Balletti ad duos Choros: Authore D: Joanne Fischer' (A 781). The musical language and style of this work is quite different from any of the music by the Schwerin Fischer that we have seen so far. It seems far more likely that Meyer confused the work of two different people: the 'Joanne Fischer' of CZ-KRa is not the same composer as the Fischer of the printed editions and S-Uu manuscripts that we have discussed above.

So far in this chapter, all the music under discussion has been influenced by the music

Example 6k:

Balletti ad duos Choros: Authore D: Joanne Fischer (CZ-KRa A 781), 'Intrada'.

Intrada:

The musical score is arranged in two systems. The first system contains the staves for the first choir: Violino I mo, Viola I ma, Viola 2 da, and Violon. The second system contains the staves for the second choir: Violino I mo, Viola I ma, Viola 2 da, and Violone. Below these is the Bassus Continuus part. The score is titled 'Intrada:' and shows a complex piece of music with various rhythmic patterns and melodic lines across the instruments.

of Lully. But it seems that Georg Muffat 'ferently believed that a mixing of [French and Italian] musical styles was the way to achieve an ideal music', and such a mixing of these styles is clearly apparent in his *Armonico tributo* of 1682.²⁴ The pieces in this collection are described as 'chamber sonatas' and parts of them were used again, in an enlarged form, in the 1701 *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik*. According to the preface of the latter work, Muffat had 'the first thoughts of this ingenious mixture' during his period of study in Rome.²⁵ Indeed, he claims to have 'tried [some of] them out in the home of ... Archangelo Corelli'.²⁶ None of the five sonatas in *Armonico tributo* is a suite within the terms of this dissertation, but they contain a number of important movements in the Lullian manner that may well have influenced German-Lullian collections by other composers. The most impressive of these is the passacaglia that closes the collection.²⁷ This movement can claim to be the finest of its kind in the seventeenth century. The basic structure is that of a rondeau, but extended to the enormous length of three hundred

and six bars. It also includes elements of a repeated bass line formula and phrase repetition that is often varied in the most imaginative way. The *grand couplet* at the heart of this movement is only used four times, although elements of it are used to create the basis of a whole series of variations. But Muffat made this *grand couplet* so melodically, rhythmically and harmonically distinctive that it easily supports the movement's enormous structure. It is shown in Example 61; for clarity, the solo, tutti and repeat markings have been omitted. It is possible that this remarkable passacaglia was responsible for the trend for the ever-increasing length of this type of movement, though few composers were able to equal the splendour of Muffat's writing.

If Cousser's *Composition de musique* was perhaps the most influential German-Lullian publication of the seventeenth century, Muffat's *Florilegium I*, published in 1695 and *Florilegium II*, which followed in 1698, have probably attracted more attention from modern scholars than any other collection of German-Lullian suites. Perhaps this is a result of the lengthy discussions of various performing styles that act as the prefaces to *Florilegium I* and II. The preface to the second volume is especially detailed, with abundant musical examples. Both prefaces are written in German, Italian, Latin and French. Modern scholarship has tended to concentrate on evaluating the accuracy of Muffat's portrayal of the French manner of performance.²⁸ However, there are other questions that are at least as important. During the 1680s, Muffat had been employed at the Salzburg court of Archbishop Maximilian Gandolf. When Maximilian died in 1687, he was succeeded by the anti-French Johann Ernst von Thun. It was probably this that made Muffat move to Passau, and may have delayed publication of *Florilegium I*.²⁹ But even if the publication had been planned some years earlier, why should Muffat have still felt it so necessary to explain the French manner of performing in the 1690s when the Lullian style had been introduced into Germany in the early 1680s, if not earlier? As we have seen in the previous chapter, German musicians visited Paris, often for some time, and French musicians toured Germany. We should also take into account the apparently genuine desire in many of the German courts to follow the Lullian style of performance as closely as possible. There can be little doubt that Muffat saw himself as a leading exponent of the Lullian style in Germany, and the prefaces are written from this viewpoint. The clear implication is that the French manner of performance had not been fully understood in Germany, and that, thirteen years after the publication of Cousser's *Composition de musique*, there was still widespread ignorance of the correct way of playing such music. I have argued in previous chapters that there was confusion in the minds of some German composers over the differences between the French and Italian styles, and that there were still some areas of Germany where the Lullian manner was unknown in the 1690s. But we have also seen that some of Muffat's claims must be treated with a good deal of scepticism, especially those relating to his supposed introduction of the French style into parts of southern Germany.

David Wilson points to Muffat's frequent calls for peaceful existence between nations and the philosophical elements present in these prefaces.³⁰ Muffat had experienced the French

Example 61:

G. Muffat, *Armonico tributo* (Salzburg, 1682), fifth sonata, 'Passacaglia', *grand couplet*.

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled "Passacaglia" by G. Muffat. The score is arranged in five staves, labeled from top to bottom as "Violino I", "Violino II", "Viola I", "Viola II", and "Cembalo e Violone". The music is written in a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature. The tempo marking "Grave" is placed above the first staff. The score consists of three systems of music. The first system covers measures 1 through 5, with the Cembalo e Violone part including the following fingering numbers: 7, 6, 6, 6, 5, 4, 1. The second system covers measures 6 through 8, with fingering numbers 4, 7, 6, and 5. The third system covers measures 9 through 11, with the word "piano" written above each of the five staves, and fingering numbers 4, 5, 7, 6, and 5. The notation includes various note values, rests, and articulation marks.

incursions into southern Germany early in his career, and his calls for peace were no doubt sincere. We may also agree that Muffat saw a fusion of musical styles as being genuinely desirable on both philosophical and artistic levels, and this would explain the presence of Muffat's frequent comments on the French, German and Italian musical styles in the prefaces to *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik* and both parts of *Florelegium*. But in the end, we cannot escape the suspicion that these prefaces mirror a degree of arrogance and presumption on Muffat's part. Indeed, the preface to *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik* seems to hint at a degree of personal unpopularity when it speaks of 'critics', 'jealous people' and 'wicked efforts'.³¹

The title pages of both *Florelegium* I and II describe the contents as being 'dance music intended for instruments' ('Instrumentalis hyporchematicæ'), and in the 'current style of dancing' ('recentiorique stylo Choraico'). According to de Brossard, 'hyporchematicæ' and 'choraico' mean the same thing: 'music intended for ballets or for dancing' (*Musique propre pour les Ballets, ou pour faire danser*).³² Certainly Muffat's advertisement for *Florilegium* II

seems to confirm the notion of 'music properly for ballets':

In this *Florilegio Secundo* you can hope to find my newly composed pieces, which have eminently entertained distinguished guests in Passau, and are nonetheless also suited to the ballet practice of the children of the highest nobility.³³

Florilegium I contains seven suites: each one is clearly identified by a title and a number. 'Fasciculus' is used as the generic term for each suite. Table 6.4 lists the contents of the collection. Muffat suggests that the title given to each suite is 'according to a state of mind'.³⁴ The seven titles are given as part of Table 6.4. It is not always completely clear how the music relates to its chosen 'state of mind', and with the possible exception of the two character movements in the final suite, '44. Entrée des Fraudes' and '45. Entrée des Insultes', there seems to be little that suggests any programmatic associations.

As we have seen, the advertisement for *Florilegium II* claims that the suites it contains were 'newly composed'. But, the index ('Table Des Parties') at the end of the volume suggests otherwise. In fact, the collection is a compilation of suites written during the period 1691-1695. 'Fasciculus' is again used as the generic term for each of the eight suites in the collection. All but one begins with an *ouverture*. *Florilegium II* appears to have greater connections with the music of the stage than *Florilegium I*, and this is borne out by the 'Table Des Parties'. According to this index, the first suite was 'composed and danced in 1691', and the third suite 'contains those airs that are most suitable for dancing' ('contenant la forme des airs les plus usités pour la dance'). *Florilegium II* also contains a large number of character pieces, and these form an important part of all but one of the eight suites in the collection. The second suite, entitled 'Laeta Poesis', has these movements following the *ouverture*:

Les Poètes / Jeunes Espagnols / Autre pour les mêmes / Les Cuisiniers / Les Hachis /
Les Marmitons.

Here, Muffat seems to be looking back to the sequences of entrées found in the French *ballet de cour* from earlier in the century. For example, the collection of *Pieces pour le violon a quatre parties de differents auteurs* issued in Paris by Ballard in 1665 contains Lully's 'Ballet du Roy, Dansé à Fontainebleau. 1664' (LWV 23). An 'Overture, et Desmons' is followed by these movements:

Cavaliers / Escuyers / Medecins et Chirurgiens / Les Thebins / Les mesmes.

The parallel with 'Laeta Poesis' is clear: if the index entry 'faite en 1692' is correct, then Muffat must have been deliberately writing in an earlier style. If not, there must be a suspicion that at least part of this work dates back to Muffat's time in Paris, or shortly afterwards. Not all the collection seems to have associations with the stage: the third suite has no character movements, and its sequence of *ouverture* and dances is typical of the normal German-Lullian suite of Cousser, Erlebach and J.C.F. Fischer:

Ouverture / Gaillarde / Courante / Sarabande / Gavotte / Passacaille / Bourée / Menuet / Gigue.

Table 6.4:

Contents of the seven suites in G. Muffat, *Suavioris harmoniæ instrumentalis hyporchematicæ florilegium primum* (Augsburg 1695).

Suite title	Movements	Key
Eusebia	1.Ouverture / 2.Air / 3.Sarabande / 4.Gigue I / 5.Gavotte / 6.Gigue II / 7.Menuet.	D major
Sperantis gaudia	8.Ouverture / 9.Balet / 10.Bourée / 11.Rondeau / 12.Gavotte / 13. Menuet I / 14.Menuet II.	G minor
Gratitudo	15.Ouverture / 16.Balet / 17.Air / 18.Bourrée / 19.Gigue / 20.Gavotte / 21.Menuet.	D minor
Impatientia	22.Symphonie / 23.Balet / 24.Canaries / 25.Gigue / 26.Sarabande / 27.Bourée / 28.Chaconne.	B \flat major
Sollicitudo	29.Ouverture / 30.Allemande / 31.Air / 32.Gavotte / 33.Menuet I / 34.Menuet II / Menuet I da capo / 35.Bourrée.	A minor
Blanditiæ	36.Ouverture / 37.Sarabande / 38.Bourée / 39.Chaconne / 40.Gigue / 41.Menuet / 42.Echo.	E minor
Constantia	43.Air / 44.Entrée des Fraudes / 45.Entrée des Insultes / 46.Gavotte / 47.Bourrée / 48.Menuet I / 49.Menuet II / 50.Gigue.	G major

Nothing in the two volumes of *Florilegium* quite matches the best movements of *Armonico tributo*. Muffat clearly equated the Lullian style with simplicity. If he sometimes failed to avoid the superficial, it was probably the result of a deliberate attempt to provide music that 'avoid[ed] all excesses'.³⁵

Johann Caspar Fischer's *Le journal du printemps* was published in 1695, the same year as *Florilegium* I. Both were also published in Augsburg, though by different publishers. Fischer's dedication contains quite different sentiments from those of the peace-loving Muffat. Fischer's dedicatee, the Margrave of Baden, is praised for the 'pursuit of victory' and 'heroic exploits'. Next to Muffat's prefaces, Fischer's example, entitled 'Admonito ad Philomusum' is brief in the extreme, mostly limiting itself to basic information on tempi, repeats and time signatures. Fischer's collection is hardly less in the German-Lullian tradition than Muffat's, and the brevity of his observations appears to suggest that, unlike Muffat, he expected his pieces to be played in the correct manner without further comment. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the major difference between this collection and others in the German-Lullian tradition is the inclusion of trumpet parts in the opening and closing suites.

Inka Stampfl has unfavourably compared *Le journal du printemps* with suites by Muffat.³⁶

For example, in the *overture* to Fischer's final suite, she considers the succession of eight-bar phrases using the same or similar material to be a weakness. Certainly, Muffat would not have repeated material in this way when writing for strings, but we have no examples of *overtures* by Muffat that include trumpet parts. Presumably, Fischer's intention at this point was to produce a grand effect by the simplest of means. Trumpet music in its lower register was, of necessity, mostly triadic, and the harmonic language of this part of the *overture* is certainly simple. The first and second eight bar phrases are for strings alone, and they are then repeated with the addition of trumpets. The same simplicity is found in the *overture* to the first suite, which also employs trumpets. This would indeed be a weakness if Fischer used the same techniques throughout the collection, but it is telling that, where trumpets are not involved, he can be far more imaginative in rhythm and phrase structure. Example 6m quotes the opening of the second *overture*, which has all the subtlety of rhythm and phrase structure that Stampfl admires in the *overtures* of Muffat. It also shows that Fischer, like Cousser and Muffat, had recognised and mastered Lully's use of dissonance in the opening sections of the *overtures* in *Le journal du printems*. Elsewhere, it is the influence of Cousser rather than Lully that seems to be evident in the collection. For example, the sixth suite of Fischer's collection mirrors the sixth suite of Cousser's *Composition de musique* in its combination of *overture* suite and branle suite.

Le journal du printems is commended in the preface to the 1698 Augsburg publication *Zodiaci musici in XII partitas balleticas*. However, mystery surrounds the identity of the composer of *Zodiaci musici*. Publishers' compilations such as those issued by Wust in Frankfurt am Main or Roger in Amsterdam often withheld the identity of composers. But it was rare for printed collections devoted to the work of one composer to be issued anonymously. Even where work was issued under a pseudonym, clues to the identity of the composer were often provided at some point during the collection. Speer's *Recens fabricatus labor* was issued under the anagrammatic pseudonym of 'Asne de Rilpe', but the true identity of the composer was revealed in a sonnet following the dedication. The composer of *Zodiaci musici* is only identified as 'J.A.S.'. In 1902, Ernst von Werra identified 'J.A.S.' as being J.A. Schmierer on the basis of an attribution in the third volume of Göhler's Frankfurt and Leipzig trade-fair catalogues.³⁷ Apart from contact with Augsburg, little is known about Schmierer. Von Werra's identification is obviously the most likely one, and it is now generally assumed that Schmierer is the composer of *Zodiaci musici*. However, there are mistakes in the Leipzig and Frankfurt catalogues, and we have no way of knowing if their attribution was based on genuine knowledge or hearsay. Why, then, was the volume anonymous? Without further evidence, we can only hypothesise, but the anonymity points to either a pirated edition without the composer's consent, or an author who could not, for reasons of status or gender, be publicly recognised. It is possible that a member of the nobility would have wished to remain anonymous, and the possibility that J.A.S. could be a female composer is only put forward with the greatest caution. Schmierer is still the most likely candidate for the authorship of *Zodiaci musici*, but in view of the reservations that I have

Example 6m:

J. C. F. Fischer, *Le journal du printemps* (Augsburg, 1695), second suite, 'Ouverture', opening bars.

Ouverture.

expressed, I shall continue to refer to the author as 'J.A.S.'. The first volume appears to have been reprinted, and the second volume, now lost, followed in 1710.³⁸

The preface to *Zodiaci musici* makes the organisation of the collection quite clear: 'there are six suites, each made up of eight pieces' ('so in 6. Parthyen jede zu 8. Stuck eingerichtet / bestehet'). Each suite starts with an *ouverture*, and the dance sequence begins with an *entr e* or an *allemande*. This type of careful organisation is rare in the German-Lullist suite. As we have seen, it is a concept usually found in the municipal suite. Echoes of the municipal suite are also found in the use of *allemandes* in three of the suites. These are broadly similar in style. Example 6n gives the first strain of the *allemande* from the fourth suite, and it shows the care taken by J.A.S. to vary the texture of the music. This is apparent throughout the collection, and further highlighted by the constant use of solo instruments. The very high range of the *violetta* part throughout the collection would seem to indicate the use of a violin rather than the customary viola. There are no character movements: after the *allemande* or *entr e*, J.A.S. is mostly content to employ the same type of dances as the other German-Lullists. There is one exception: the final suite includes a movement entitled 'melodie'. This makes use of repetition in the way of a *rondeau* or *chaconne*, but with a much freer structure.

The Austrian composer Benedikt Anton Aufschneider seems to have been working in Vienna at the time of the issue of his *Concors discordia*. Although the edition was dedicated to the 'Augusti et serenissimi Romanorum Regis Joseph I', later Emperor Joseph I, Aufschneider

Example 6n:

J. A. S., *Zodiaci musici* (Augsburg, 1698), fourth suite, 'Allemande'.

Allemande.

appears to have had little or no connection with the imperial court of Leopold I. Certainly, the collection stands outside the tradition of suite writing at Leopold's court, and is therefore considered here rather than in Chapter 7. Apparently, Aufschneider worked in the service of Count Ferdinand Ernst von Trautmannsdorf, a Viennese nobleman.³⁹

Concors discordia was published in Nuremberg in 1695. As well as the printed edition, a number of manuscript copies also exist: S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.134:13, S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs. 12:16 and S-VX Mus.MS 6. None of them has been preserved complete but, as we have seen in the previous chapter, enough of Mus.MS 6 survives to suggest that the instrumentation of this source differed from the printed edition. The existence of a printed edition and three manuscript copies suggests that the collection was widely circulated. If this was the case, it is not difficult to see why. The music is attractive and well crafted, but undemanding on players and listeners. It is reasonable to suppose that even the least skilled court musicians could make something of the suites in this collection. Example 6p shows the opening of the fantasia from the third suite in the collection: despite the quick tempo, there is nothing that is especially technically demanding. The part-books give the title 'Serenada.1' above the first suite, but only numbers thereafter. Presumably, each of the remaining suites was also intended to be a serenade. Niedt's 1706 *Handleitung zur Variation* gives the following definition of a serenade:

[*Serenata*] means evening music or a *Ständgen* [i.e. *Ständchen*] and comes from *Sereno*, cheerful,

Example 6p:

B. A. Aufschnaiter, *Concors discordia* (Nuremberg, 1695), third suite, 'Fantasia'.

Fantasia *piu presto*

The image displays a musical score for a piece titled 'Fantasia' by B. A. Aufschnaiter. The score is written for five instruments: Violino Primo, Violino Secondo, Viola Prima, Viola Seconda, and Violone. The tempo marking is 'piu presto'. The music is in 3/4 time and consists of several measures of complex, rhythmic passages with numerous accidentals.

light, bright, because such evening music is usually presented in cheerful, light, and clear weather. However, a *Serenata* is by no means a regular little piece, such as a Gavotte or Allemande, but rather a *Concert* consisting of many pieces, voices, and instruments.⁴⁰

Niedt goes on to say that, strictly speaking, a serenade should be a vocal piece, but allows that there are also 'purely instrumental' examples.⁴¹ Perhaps Niedt had Aufschnaiter's pieces in mind: they clearly fit his definition, and the implied cheerful and bright nature of the music itself. It may be no coincidence that Fux's 1701 *Concentus Musico-Instrumentalis*, likewise dedicated to Joseph I, also contains a serenade as its first suite.⁴² Perhaps this was a popular entertainment at Joseph's court.

There are six suites in the collection: but while the type of dances used by Aufschnaiter places the suites firmly in the German-Lullist tradition, only four start with an *ouverture*. As we have seen in Chapter 5, the first two suites are for $\delta 4$ combinations, the remainder $\delta 5$. The first suite starts with a *ciaccona* and the fifth with an *entrée*. Like Muffat and J. C. F. Fischer, Aufschnaiter makes a distinction between *chaconne* and *passacaglia*. The two *chaconnes* in the collection are little more than sequences of repeated phrases. But the *passacaglia*, which also uses simple phrase repetition, is loosely based on the *rondeau* format with an opening *grand couplet* that appears at various times during the movement. None of these movements uses a repeated bass-line formula. There are no character movements in the collection. While there

can be little doubt that excerpts from stage music were played in outdoor music making, the unpretentious nature of Aufschneider's serenades seems to suggest a purely instrumental origin. The lack of character movements appears to confirm this.

According to their lists of contents, the two manuscript collections of suites in the French manner now in D-DS (Mus.MS 1221 and 1227) were both copied in Hanover in 1689. The first of these (Mus.MS 1221) carries the title 'Suittes mise en partition par M^r. Barre à Hanover. 1689'. It is incomplete, lacking several pages. There are twelve anonymous suites in the manuscript, and they are all written out in score. No sets of individual parts exist, and the identity of 'M^r. Barre' remains unknown. Numerous crossings out suggest that the material was used in performance: on at least one occasion, it appears that some of the opening movements were considerably shortened. Oboes seem to have been added for some performances.⁴³ With the encouragement of the young and musically talented Princess Sophie Charlotte, French ballet and Italian opera were well known at Hanover.⁴⁴ It appears that French influence was evident in the *Hofkapelle* as early as the mid-seventeenth century, and this influence seems to have carried on until the following century.⁴⁵ Against this background, the French orientation of Mus.MS 1221 is hardly surprising.

The contents of the manuscript are given in Table 6.5. It is impossible to tell if these suites were written as a collection, or gathered together from disparate sources. Only the sixth suite uses more than one key, and this might be an indication that it is a set of excerpts taken from a dramatic work. The presence of a 'Gavott a Chanter' seems to confirm this. Example 6q shows the *ouverture* that opens the first suite. The natural and first-time bar signs in the manuscript are reproduced in the example. Although the movement is largely in the Lullian format, the quiet opening is most unusual. In style, the *ouvertures* in the collection are nearer to the type that Lully was writing in the 1660s, rather than anything in the 1680s. A comparison of the allemande of the seventh suite of Mus.MS 1221 with the 'Allemande de Monsieur Mayeu' in Ballard's 1665 *Pieces pour le violon a quatre parties* is telling. The opening of the two movements is given in Example 6r, and clearly demonstrates the similarity of style.

It is possible that this manuscript is a mixture of instrumental music and excerpts from music originally written for the stage. If at least some of the music dates from the 1660s or early '70s, it provides an insight into the type of music in the French manner that was in circulation before the advent of German-Lullism. As we can see from Examples 6q and 6r, the quality of the music in Mus.MS 1221 is very high, and it is surprising that it is still barely known. There is no modern edition.

As well as the date, the second manuscript, D-DS Mus.MS 1227, has a number of similarities with Mus.MS 1221. It also contains twelve suites, and there is evidence of a later performance with oboes in addition to the original string band. The suites are copied in score, this time 'par M^r Babel'. As we have seen in Chapter 5, Charles Babel was a French-born bassoonist employed at the Hanover court between 1688 and 1690. The contents of Mus.MS

Table 6.5:

Contents of the 'Suittes mise en partition par Mr. Barre à Hanover. 1689'. (D-DS Mus.MS 1221).

Title	Movements	Key
Premiere Suite	Ouverture / Bourée / Sarabande / Prelude / Rondeau.	G minor
2 ^e Suite	Concert / Air / Rondeau / Courante / Gigue.	G minor
3 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Premier Air / Gavotte / Ritournelle / Bourée.	G major
4 ^e Suite	Simphonie / Air en Concert / Sarabande / Menuet en Concert / 2 ^e . Menuet / ?[pages 55-60 are not preserved].	G major
5 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Premier Air / Entrée / Passepied / Bourée / Menuet.	D major
6 ^e Suite	Concert[D] / Gauotte[D] / Air[D] / Gavott a Chanter[b] / Sara- bande[b] / Passepied[D].	D major - B minor
7 ^e Suite	Ouverture / ?[not preserved] / Gigue / Allemande / Bourée.	F major
8 ^e Suite	Concert / Gavotte / Menuet Alternativement Avec Le Suivant / 2 ^e . Menuet / Pastoralle / Air Alternativement Avec le Triot Suivant.	F major
9 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Gauotte / Rondeau / Sarabande / ?[not preserved] /	E minor
10 ^e Suite	Simphonie / Bourée / Rondeau / Gavotte / Gigue.	E minor
11 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Sarabande / Marche / Gavotte / Rondeau.	A major
12 ^e Suite	Simphonie / Tombeau / Canaris / Menuet / 2.Menuet / Pastoralle.	A major

1227 are given in Table 6.6. The titles of many of the movements seem to suggest dramatic origins. Ballet music appears to have been very popular at the Hanover court: Sophie Charlotte herself seems to have regularly taken part as a dancer.⁴⁶ Furthermore, the quality of the music is adequate, but it fails to rise above the ordinary, especially when compared with Mus.MS 1221, and this might suggest the work of one of the dancing masters rather than any of the court composers. However, if the music in Mus.MS 1227 is largely made up of excerpts from dramatic stage works, it is strange that the movements in each suite remain in the same key. Perhaps Babel's task was to select movements in the same key from a number of different works, and place them together to form a suite. It is also possible that his task included adding inner parts to material that was originally in a two-part format. This certainly would have been the case if the music originated from the dancing masters. It is also possible that Babel in-

Example 6q:

Manuscript D-DS Mus.MS 1221, first suite, 'Ouverture'.

The first system of the musical score is titled 'Overture' and is marked 'doux'. It features four staves: Violon (Violin), Haut (Harp), Taille (Tenor), and Basse (Bass). The Violon staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The other three staves (Haut, Taille, Basse) begin with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The music is in common time (C). The Violon part has dynamic markings 't.' and 'tous' above it. The Haut, Taille, and Basse parts have dynamic markings 'doux' and 'tous' below them.

The second system of the musical score continues the 'Overture' movement. It features the same four staves as the first system. The Violon staff has dynamic markings 't.' and 't.' above it. The Haut, Taille, and Basse parts have dynamic markings 't.' and 't.' below them.

The third system of the musical score continues the 'Overture' movement. It features the same four staves as the first system. The Violon staff has dynamic markings 't.' and 't.' above it. The Haut, Taille, and Basse parts have dynamic markings 't.' and 't.' below them.

The fourth system of the musical score continues the 'Overture' movement. It features the same four staves as the first system. The Violon staff has dynamic markings 'guay' and 'guay' above it. The Haut, Taille, and Basse parts have dynamic markings 'guay' and 'guay' below them.

cluded music from non-dramatic sources.

The presence of an allemande in the fourth suite raises an important question. The first strain of this movement is given in Example 6s. In Chapter 4, I argued that 'the presence of an allemande in a suite was an indication that the entire suite was intended to be played instrumentally, and not danced'. If Mus.MS 1227 is mostly based on excerpts from dramatic stage works, the presence of an allemande here would seem to contradict this statement. But comparison with Example 6r shows it to be quite unlike the allemandes in the French manner

Example 6r:

Manuscript D-DS Mus.MS 1221, seventh suite, 'Allemande'.

Pieces pour le violon a quatre parties (Paris, 1665) 'Allemande de Monsieur Mayeu'.

Allemande

Violon
Haut
Taille
Basse

Allemande de Monsieur Mayeu

Dessus
Haute-contre
Taille
Basse

The image displays two musical scores. The first score, titled 'Allemande', is for a four-part violin suite. It features four staves: Violon (Violin), Haut (Viola), Taille (Violoncelle), and Basse (Bass). The music is in common time (C) and G minor. The second score, titled 'Allemande de Monsieur Mayeu', is for a four-part vocal suite. It features four staves: Dessus (Soprano), Haute-contre (Alto), Taille (Tenor), and Basse (Bass). The music is in common time (C) and G minor.

found in Mus.MS 1221, and presumably well known in Hanover. If anything, it is nearer to the types of allemande found in municipal suites. It is quite possible that the movement is not really an allemande in the usual sense, but a type of character movement. But it is not certain that it was a movement intended for the stage. As I have already pointed out, it is possible that the collection is a compilation taken from a number of different sources. In the end, the movement stands alone, and unless other similar examples come to light, it cannot be considered to be representative of any particular trend.

A later example of a Hanover court suite comes in the so-called Möller manuscript (D-B Mus.MS 40 644). This manuscript is far better known than any of the others discussed in this chapter: it is an important source of keyboard music known to the Bach family in the early

Table 6.6:

Contents of the suites 'Mise en partition à Hanover 1689. Par Mr. Babel' (D-DS Mus.MS 1227).

Title	Movements	Key
1 ^{re} Suite	Prelude / Gigue / Sarabande / Lentement / Bourée / Menuet / Gavotte / Canaris.	A minor
2 ^e Suite	Concert; Premier Couplet / 2 ^{me} .Couplet / 3 ^{me} .Couplet / 4 ^{me} .Couplet / 5 ^{me} . Couplet / 6 ^{me} .Couplet / 7 ^{me} .Couplet / 8 ^{me} .Couplet / 9 ^{me} .Couplet / 10 ^{me} . Couplet / 11 ^{me} .Couplet / 12 ^{me} .Couplet [left blank].	A minor
3 ^e Suite	[Not preserved] / Entrée de Nymphes / Entrée de la suite de la Paix / Choeur vive ce Jeune Prince / Marche du Sacrifice / Simphonie pour Jupiter / Entrée, des sacrificateurs / Air / Choeur Esperons / Bourée / Ritournelle / Chaconne.	G major
4 ^e Suite	[Not preserved] / Sarabande / Allemande / Entrée / Courante / Marche / Menuet / Choeur, Venez Charmante Paix / Menuet qui se jouë alternativement avec le Suivant / 2 ^{me} Menuet / Gavotte / Gigue.	D minor
5 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Canaris / Air / Rondeau / Entrée[I] / Menuet qui se joüe alternatif ^{mt} avec le suivant / 2 ^e Menuet / Entrée[II] / Marche / Gavotte / Pastoralle.	B \flat major
6 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Canaris / Bourée / Entrée[I] / Prelude / Entrée des Statues / Gavotte / Concert / Menuet / Choeur / Marche / Entrée[II] / Gigue / Menuet / Prelude / Chaconne.	F major
7 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Air / Entrée[I] / Bourée / Air a chanter / Gavotte / Menuet / Choeur / Sarabande / Gavotte a chanter / Menuet / Concert il croyois voir / Entrée[II] / Choeur, Ah il charmante Azile / Gigue.	D minor
8 ^e Suite	Ouverture / Air / Entrée[I] / Entrée[II] / Marche[I] / Menuet / Marche [II] / Concert de Trompettes / Marche[III] / Passepied / March[IV] / Entrée[III] / Courante / Menuet / Gigue.	C major
9 ^e Suite	Premiere entrée / Entrées de Paisants / Air / Entrée d'Jurogues / Menuet / Sarabande / Gavotte / Ritournelle / Concert / Gigue.	G major
X ^e Suite	Ouverture / Bourée / Les Combatants / Choeur, Honorons / Les Demons / Air en Trio / Bruict de Guerre / Entrée / Menuet / Choeur / Gavotte / Concert / Simphonie / Passepied / Sarabande / Gigue.	D major
XI ^e Suite	Ouverture / Rondeau / Marche / Passepied / Concert / Entrée / Passepied / Simphonie / Menuet / Bourée / Choeur / Gigue.	A minor
XII ^e Suite	Ouverture / Gavotte / Trio / Canaris / Entrée[I] / Gigue / Marche / Menuet / Rondeau / Entrée[II] / Entrée[III] / Simphonie / Sarabande /	G minor

Example 6s:

Manuscript D-DS Mus.MS 1227, fourth suite, 'Allemande'.

Allemande (*)

years of the eighteenth century. Mus.MS 40 644 includes early keyboard works by J.S. Bach, and has therefore received considerable attention from modern scholars. It has been suggested that the compilation of the manuscript 'took place very probably between the end of 1703 and circa 1707'.⁴⁷ Concentration on the keyboard works in the manuscript has tended to obscure the fact that the first four pieces to be copied were not for keyboard, but for instrumental consort. Perhaps the purpose of the manuscript underwent a change during the course of its compilation. Within this group of consort pieces are two suites, one by Pez, and the other by Johann Coberg. (The suite by Pez will be discussed in the final chapter.) Like all the consort pieces in this manuscript, Coberg's is copied in score, and not as parts.

The 'Overture à 4 Composées par Ms. J.A. Couberg' opens Mus.MS 40 644: it has the following movements:

Overture; Sÿnfonia; Air; Ballo; Trio; Gavotte; Menuet; Gig.

Coberg was a court musician in Hanover, and a teacher of Sophie Charlotte. The *ouverture* itself follows the German-Lullian variety, but with a noticeably brief second section. (The complete movement is given in Appendix II.) No instrumentation is specified, but the clefs and the range suggest one violin, two violas and bass. If the use of two opening abstract movements is a feature of some municipal suites, it is unusual to have an *ouverture* followed by a *sinfonia* in a Lully-inspired suite. Perhaps Coberg was influenced by the use of an *entrée* to follow the *ouverture*, a pairing often used by the German Lullists. However, *entrées* were traditionally shorter than *ouvertures*: Coberg's *sinfonia* is considerably longer.

Like Hanover, Munich had a strong operatic tradition. *L'Eraclio* was one of a series of operas written for the Munich court by the *Hofkapellmeister*, Giuseppe Antonio Bernabei, and Melchior d'Ardespin provided the music for the ballets at the end of each act. We shall see in the next chapter that it was common practice in Vienna for ballet music to be written by a different composer from the opera itself. Clearly, the same thing happened in Munich. The manuscript (A-Wn Mus.Hs.19 171), only in score, is a dedication copy sent to Leopold I in Vienna. This probably accounts for its survival. The title page reads:

L'Eraclio | Arie per i Sudetti Balli Consecrate Alla S:C:R:M:ta. Di Leopoldo Imperatore Da Melchiore D'Ardespin Consigliere e Maestro de Concerti Di S: A: E: 1690.

The music in Mus.Hs.19 171 comprises a *sinfonia* followed by ballet music, presumably from each of the three acts. Despite its title, the opening of this *sinfonia* (shown in Example 6t) is clearly in the style of a Lullian *ouverture* with dotted rhythms and sharp accented dissonance in the second bar. Perhaps it was the *ouverture* to the entire opera. The ballet music itself is clearly divided up into 'Ballo Dopp'il Atto Primo', 'Ballo Dopp'il Atto Secondo' and 'Ballo Dopp'il Atto Terzo'. There are four dance movements in each ballet, but no character movements. Each ballet has a single key centre.

Finally, there appear to be surprisingly few attempts to modify the basic German-Lullian pattern of suite writing. Even Coberg's suite in the Möller manuscript is still constructed on basically Lullian lines. This was probably a reflection of the tastes of the nobility. Even in the years approaching the War of the Spanish Succession at the start of the eighteenth century French culture still pervaded the German courts. As we have seen, many members of ruling families took a personal interest in music, even if they were not as accomplished as Sophie Charlotte. Presumably any attempt at experimentation was frowned on and actively discouraged. However, the anonymous suite in manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:13 shows that some musicians were prepared to make such attempts. There are four instrumental parts:

dessus - haute contre - taille - bass (partially figured)

There are two copies of the *dessus* part, which is a typical feature of French-style instrumentation. Like three of the suites in *Zodiaci musici*, it uses an opening combination of *ouverture* and

Example 6t:M. d'Ardespin, ballet music for *L'Eracleo* (A-Wn Mus.Hs.19 171), 'Sinfonia'.

Sinfonia

allemande, but there is no doubt that the suite is largely a product of Lullian influence. There are, however, a number of differences between Instr.mus.i hs.64:13 and the normal German-Lullian suite. The *ouverture* starts in the normal way, but after the duple-time middle section, the final section has a '3' time signature. The character of this section is quite different from the normal final section of a Lullian *ouverture*: there is no return to the dotted rhythms of the opening. Instead, the music moves mostly in quavers and crotchets. The opening of this *ouverture* has all the characteristics of the Lullian manner, and the composer was clearly not ignorant of the style of the movement. It seems that this is an experiment. The allemande also has the same air of experimentation. The structure falls into three parts: the first and last are largely similar, but there is a triple-time central section. The remaining movements are unexceptional apart from the closing 'Final'. This short and sometimes chromatic movement is shown in Example 6u. The *taille* part has not survived complete, and I have made a reconstruction. This type of ending is highly unusual in a German-Lullian suite and, as we shall see in the following chapter, nearer to an Austrian or Viennese retirada. Perhaps the suite came from this area, or from southern Germany.

In this and the previous chapter, we have seen how Lully's music provided an enduring influence across Germany. Chapter 9 will show how this influence continued into the first decade of the eighteenth century, and there is no doubt that the Lullian-inspired suite was thriving

Example 6u:
Manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.64:13, 'Final'.

Final

The musical score is titled "Final" and is arranged for four parts: Dessus (x2), Haute Contre, Taille, and Bass. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The score consists of two systems of staves. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Dessus (x2) part starting with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The Haute Contre, Taille, and Bass parts are in bass clefs with a key signature of one sharp. The second system continues the piece, showing more intricate melodic and rhythmic development across all parts.

at the turn of the century in the way that the municipal suite was not. As we shall see, even the strongest individual traditions of suite writing, such as the imperial *balletto* tradition in Vienna, were not immune to the influence of Lully.

Notes on Chapter 6:

1. S. K. Owens, 'The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c.1680-1721', Ph.D. diss. (Victoria University of Wellington, 1995), 19.
2. *Ibid.*, 19.
3. RISM K 3079 unequivocally gives Treu as the publisher.
4. H. Scholz, *Johann Sigismund Kusser (Cousser) Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig 1911), 11.
5. See Owens, 'The Württemberg *Hofkapelle*', 13-14.
6. The use of the term 'air' is not sustained throughout the sixth suite, but this is probably a printer's omission.
7. F. E. Niedt (trans. L. Poulin & I.C. Taylor), *The Musical Guide* (Early music series 8; Oxford, 1989), 140.
8. J. Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon Oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig, 1732; repr. Kassel, 1953), 456, entry: *Overture*.
9. J. C. F. Fischer, *Le journal du printems* (Augsburg, 1695), preface.
10. B. Scheibert, *Jean-Henry D'Anglebert and the Seventeenth-century Clavecin School* (Bloomington, 1986), 164.
11. I am grateful to Peter Holman for pointing this out to me. However, for an alternative view see: R. Hudson, *The Folia, the Saraband, the Passacaglia, and the Chaconne* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart, 1982), xxiv.
12. I. Stampfl, *Georg Muffat Orchesterkompositionen. Ein musikhistorischer Vergleich der Orchestermusik 1670-1710* (Passau, 1984), 200.
13. B. Baselt, 'Philipp Heinrich Erlebach und seine VI Overtures' in G. Fleischhauer, W. Ruf, B. Siegmund, F. Zschoch (eds.), *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 49*, (Michaelstein 1996), 23.
14. *Ibid.*, 23.
15. *Ibid.*, 24.
16. G. Beechey, 'Fischer, Johann' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), viii, 893.
17. *Ibid.*
18. H. Erdmann, *Schwerin als Stadt der Musik* (Lübeck, 1967), 26-27.
19. B. Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe* (Oxford, 2001), Appendix 9.
20. *Ibid.*, 460.
21. *Ibid.*, Appendix 9.
22. Erdmann, *Schwerin*, 28.
23. E. H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, vol. 2, Kassel, 1934), 203-4.
24. D. Wilson, (ed. & trans.) *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2001), 86.
25. *Ibid.*, 71.
26. *Ibid.*, 71.
27. There is a clear relationship between Muffat's passacaglia and the sonata Op. 2 no. 12 by Corelli. See J. J. Daverio, 'Formal Design and Terminology in the pre-Corellian "Sonata" and related instrumental forms in the printed sources' Ph.D. diss. (Boston University, 1983), 181-185.
28. See W. Thormahlen, 'Georg Muffat - a document for the French manner' *EM* 31 (2003), 110-115.
29. Wilson, *Georg Muffat*, 5.

30. Ibid., 87.
31. Ibid., 72.
32. S. de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de Musique, contenant une explication des termes Grecs, Latins, Italiens, & François les plus usitez dans la Musique* (Paris, 1703; facs. edn. ed. F. Knuf, Hilversum, 1965), 59, entry: Musica Hyporchematica.
33. Wilson, *Georg Muffat*, 22.
34. Ibid., 16.
35. Ibid., 29.
36. Stampfl, *Georg Muffat*, 118.
37. E. von Werra (ed.), *Orchestermusik des XVII. Jahrhunderts* (DDT, x; repr. ed. H. J. Moser, 1958), preface, vi-vii; Göhler 3, entry 405.
38. Göhler 3, entries 407 & 409.
39. E. Badura-Skoda, 'Aufschnaiter' in S. Sadie and J. Tyrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), ii, 167-168.
40. F. E. Niedt, *Handleitung zur Variation* (Hamburg, 1706), translated as *Friederich Erhardt Niedt / The Musical Guide* (trans. P. Poulin & I. Taylor; Oxford, 1989), 145.
41. Ibid., 145.
42. Fux's collection is discussed in Chapter 9.
43. The instrumentation of Mus.MS 1221 and Mus.MS 1227 is discussed in Chapter 5.
44. See H. Sievers, *Hannoversche Musikgeschichte* (Tutzing, 1979), 89-102.
45. H. Sievers, 'Hanover' in S. Sadie and J. Tyrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), x, 823-826.
46. Sievers, *Hannoversche Musikgeschichte*, 94.
47. R. Hill (ed.), *Keyboard music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript* (Harvard Publications in Music 16, Harvard, 1991), introduction, xxiii.

'A style of German leading'

Vienna and the Imperial Court of Leopold I

The Viennese imperial court suite presents considerable differences to the suite in the rest of Europe, and merits consideration as a separate genre. It is possible that the suite in Vienna was influenced more by courtly fashion, and particularly by dynastic politics, than anywhere else in Europe. The influence of politics on the Viennese suite will provide a particular focus for this chapter.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, the politics of the German lands in the later part of the seventeenth century were dominated by the territorial ambition of Louis XIV and the weakness of the ruling Habsburg family in Spain. Although Spain was weak, enforced union with France might have resulted in 'an exorbitant power' dominating the entire continent of Europe.¹ As head of the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs, and the only ruler powerful enough to thwart Louis XIV, Leopold I was a central figure in the political machinations of the time. Not surprisingly, the Emperor's bride in 1666 was the Spanish Princess, the *Infanta* Margarita. To add to his problems, Leopold was also King of Hungary, but large parts of Hungary were occupied by the Ottoman Empire, and Leopold was brought into direct conflict with the Turks. France, of course, took every opportunity to support the Turks in order to limit Leopold's influence.

There were occasional attempts to reduce tension between Paris and Vienna. A secret treaty between Louis XIV and Leopold was drawn up in 1668: had it been signed, the result would have been to carve up the Spanish Habsburg inheritance between the two major powers. In the end, it was never signed, but details leaked out, and relations between Vienna and Spain were soured for some years.²

The position of Holy Roman Emperor 'was more important for its ceremonial dignity than for any real power it offered'.³ In any case, the position was elected rather than hereditary. Ferdinand III died in 1657. Leopold was the favoured successor, but the machinations and bartering among the various electors meant that he was not crowned as Emperor until 18th July 1658. If Leopold's real power came as ruler of Austria, Hungary and Bohemia, the prestige of the imperial court was enormous: it 'developed as the centre of all that was modern and brilliant in all the Hapsburg lands. Relation to the court decided social standing'.⁴ In addition,

there is no doubt that Leopold was the inheritor of a tradition where music and spectacle were an important, even essential, part of courtly life.

As Emperor, Leopold was required to travel to other areas of Europe, and he was clearly influenced by his visit to Munich in 1658. Kerll's opera *L'Oronte* was performed along with a tournament opera performed on horseback, *Applausi festivi*.⁵ In the latter type of entertainment, opera on an allegorical theme was followed by combat with lance, sword and pistol. It seems likely that the music for *Applausi festivi* was also by Kerll. In 1662, the Munich court, as we have seen, organised a festivity on a grander scale than anything yet seen in seventeenth-century Europe.⁶ A similar event, *Il Mondo Festeggiante* had also been given in Florence during the previous year. Therefore, it was hardly surprising when the imperial court organised a tournament opera and equestrian ballet to celebrate Leopold's wedding to the *Infanta* Margarita in December 1666. The political importance of Leopold's wedding to a Spanish princess could not be over-estimated, and festivities lasted well into January of the following year when the equestrian ballet itself was performed. Although it seems that the occasion itself was 'brilliant but not exceptional' when compared with similar events in Munich and Florence, the publicity surrounding this event was far-reaching and highly successful.⁷ Schmelzer's music for the occasion was printed in two editions, one by Matteo Cosmerovio (RISM S 1660) and the other as part of the *Diarii Europæ* (RISM S 1661).⁸ Both editions seem to have circulated throughout Germany, and it is probable that there were many manuscript copies. A two-stave reduction is included in the manuscript collection of Johann Heinrich Schmelzer's music, A-Wn Mus.Hs.16 583, and an incomplete set of previously unrecognised manuscript parts is mixed up with the 'Balletti di Cavallo Composita di Georgio Christophoro Arattner' in D-Kl 2° MS mus.61.⁹

Even if a dynastic marriage was a far more important political event, it is curious that the equestrian ballet for Margarita's birthday in 1667 is seldom mentioned. A two-stave reduction exists in the second volume of the collection of J.H. Schmelzer's music in A-Wn Mus. Hs.16 583. The title is:

Arias from the equestrian ballet for the birthday of her majesty, the reigning Empress Margarita.
12th July 1667.

Arien des Ross Balletts zu dem Geburts dag Ihre Mayl: der Regierenden Kayserin Margarita. 12.
July. 1667.

A further manuscript source is in CZ-KRa A 4682: unfortunately it is incomplete, but the remaining parts include music for two trumpets.¹⁰

Turning to the terminology of the Viennese suite, *balletto* was frequently applied in Vienna to individual suites that had their origins on the stage. Somewhat confusingly, the plural, *balletti*, does not always imply a collection of suites: it can still refer to a single suite, perhaps implying a collection of *balli*. However, in the two most important surviving sources for

J. H. Schmelzer's dance music, the two manuscripts in Mus.Hs.16 583 (hereafter, 16 583[I] and 16 583[II]), *balletto* is regularly used as the generic term for a single suite. Indeed, only ten of the ninety-four suites in the two parts of this manuscript do not use the term *ballet* or *balletto* as a heading or sub-heading. In these ten, 'aria' is also used to denote a suite, as in Schmelzer's dance music for Cesti's opera *La Semirani, Dramma per musica*, which is entitled:

Arien der dreÿ Balletti in der Opera zu dem geburts dag Ihro Meÿl: des kaisers Leopoldi. den 9. Junÿ 1667.¹¹

For clarity, and for the purposes of identification, I shall use *balletto* as a generic title for the Viennese suite. *Balletti* will be used in the same way to denote the plural.

Attempts to trace the influences on the *balletto* before Leopold's accession to the throne in 1658 are hampered by lack of evidence. However, there seem to have been strong links between Vienna and Italy dating back well into the previous century, and it is hardly surprising that Italian musicians were employed in the higher-ranking posts of the *Hofkapelle* from as far back as the time of Emperor Ferdinand II. Antonio Bertali had succeeded Giovanni Valentini as *Kapellmeister* in 1649, and Felice Sances followed Pietro Verdina in the same year as *Vice-Kapellmeister*.¹² Leopold maintained the tradition with the promotion of Sances to the post of *Kapellmeister*, and Antonio Draghi, in turn, succeeded him. In fact, the only non-Italian musician in a high-ranking post during Leopold's reign was Johann Heinrich Schmelzer who became *Vice-Kapellmeister* in 1671 and *Kapellmeister* in 1679.¹³

Leopold himself was a musician, although the description of him as 'understanding music to perfection' ('il possede en perfection la Musique') is surely an exaggeration.¹⁴ It has been suggested that he had tuition in music from Wolfgang Ebner and Bertali.¹⁵ Some assistance may also have come from J. H. Schmelzer: the sonatina of a *balletto* by Leopold (labelled 'Quarta Aria') in A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 710 is marked 'by Schmelzer alone' ('Von Schmelzer allein'). Musically and technically, Leopold's *balletti* are, as might be expected, competent without being outstanding. The intrada (CZ-KRa A 918) by Leopold given in Example 7a shows a well-crafted melodic line with a striking opening. The inner parts, assuming that they are by Leopold, are less convincing.

As we shall see, the Viennese suite in Leopold's time is remarkable for its diversity and variety, especially in choice of movements. There is one important parallel between the *balletto* and the sources of Lully's music circulating in Germany: both had their origins in works for the stage. But whereas Lully's dance music was an integral part of his operas and opera-ballets, the Viennese *balletto* was usually inserted into the Italian operas given at the imperial court, almost as an afterthought. In any case, it appears that the composition of the *balletti* was left to musicians, including Leopold himself, who had a particular specialisation as composers of dance music. This creates another division between the Viennese suite and the suite in the rest of Europe. The Viennese *balletto* has a direct link not just with the stage, but also with staged

Example 7a:

'Aria di S:M: Cæsarea' (CZ-KRa A 918) 'Intrada'.

Intrada

Violino

Viola Ima

Viola 2da

Cembalo

6 4 6 6 6 6 6

4 #

4 # b3

dance: many of them can be associated with particular dramatic works.¹⁶ Consequently, there are very few instances where suites do not appear to have originated as dance music or as instrumental music.

Unlike suites derived from Lullian stage music that usually started with an *overture*, there is often no introductory movement at the start of a Viennese *balletto*. In a manner similar to the French *entrée*, an *intrada* was often used to herald the entrance of a particular character; but this was by no means a hard and fast rule. Table 7.1 lists the opening movements from the *balletti* by J. H. Schmelzer in 16 583[I]: it is clear from this that there were many ways in

Table 7.1:

Opening movements of the *balletti* in 'Arien zu den Balletten, welche an der Röm: Kayl: Mayl: Leopoldi des Ersten &c. hoff, in dero Residenz-Statt Wienn, Von dem 16. Febr 1665 bis den 23. Febr des 1667isten Jahres gehalten worden. Erstes Buch Componiert Von Johann Heinrich Schmelzer Keyl: Camer Musico.' (A-Wn Mus.Hs.16 583[I]).

Balletto title	Opening movement
Monstri Ballett ist gedantz worden den 16. Febr. 1665.	Balletto
Paueran Ballett. ist gedantz worden den 20. Aprile 1665.	[untitled]
Der Ninfen Ballett.	Allemande
Der Monstri Ballett.	[untitled]
Balletto der Capritiosi ist gedantz worden den 4 Marzti 1666.	Courente
Der Amanti Ballett.	[untitled]
Der Bacchi Ballett.	Allemande
Ballett zu dem geburtsdag (sic) ihro May. der Keyserlichen Braudt ist gedantz worden den 12. Juli 1666.	Courente
Ross Ballett.	Courente
Balletto beider Kayl: princessinen ist gedantz worden dem 18. 9bris 1666.	Courente
Balletto der Cavalieri ist gedantz worden den 22. 7bris 1666.	Buorea
Die anderte Intrada.	Balletto
Balletto der Dame ist gedantz worden im Febr 1667.	Intrada
Balletto, genandt das Narrenspital ist gedantz worden den 21. Febr 1667.	Intrada der
Gran Ballo der wider zur Vernunft gekommen.	Buorea
Balletto der Amoretti und Trittonni. ist gedantz worden im Febris 1667.	Balletto
Das Köch Ballett.	[untitled]
Das Windt Ballett.	[untitled]
Der Ciclopi oder schmidt Ballett ist gedantz worden im Febr. 1667.	[untitled]
Das Affen Ballett.	[untitled]
Folgt das Lamentierliche auß leuthen uber den unseligen Todt St. Fasching,... den 22. Febr. 1667.	Campanella

which a *balletto* could be opened. The variety of opening-movement types in 16 583[II] is, if anything, even wider, and this is not just a feature of the opening movements. Throughout both parts of 16 583, the choice of movement type is extremely varied. If there is any common feature, it is in the use of a *retirada* as the closing movement; certainly, it was used far more frequently than the *intrada* was used at the start. Unlike the *gigue* or *sarabande* that were frequently used as a closing movement in many German suites, the *retirada* was often a deeply serious movement. There could be several shifts of key within the movement, and chromaticism allied to sharp dissonance was also quite common. Although less chromatic or dissonant than some, the *retirada* in A-Wn Mus.Hs.19 265 is particularly fine, and is shown in Example 7b. Unfortunately, the composer is unknown.

In Chapter 1, I argued that, although the evidence was extremely thin, the balance of probability suggested that the *allemande* was not danced in German after about 1630. In Vienna, the opposite appears to be true: the *allemande* regularly appears in *balletti* that had their origins as stage works. This can be seen from the *balletti* listed in Table 7.1 where the *allemande* appears twice as an opening movement. There can be no doubt that these movements were danced: the title of the complete 'Paueran Ballett' of April 1665, of which 'Der Ninfen Ballet' is the second part, specifically refers to dancing ('ist gedantz worden'). Exactly the same words are used in the title of 'Balletto der Capritiosi' that contains 'Der Bacchi Ballett', and the other *allemande* in 16 583[I]. In the previous chapter, I argued that danced *allemandes* were essentially character movements, each with their own specially created choreography. These Viennese danced *allemandes* would appear to be a further example. The first strain of the *allemande* from 'Der Ninfen Ballet' is given in Example 7c.

Many of the Viennese *balletti* are preserved only in a two-stave format that provides nothing more than the outer parts of the original score with the occasional addition of a figured bass. These outer parts were usually straightforward copies of the original first violin and bass parts, but a degree of arrangement was needed in those pieces with more complex instrumentation. Details of the instrumentation are sometimes supplied in the title, sometimes in the score itself. These two stave versions are usually known as *particelle*. The purpose of these manuscripts is not entirely clear, but the three *particelle* in A-Wn devoted to the music of both Johann Heinrich Schmelzer and his son, Andreas Anton Schmelzer, allow us to identify an evolutionary process. The title of 16 583[I] has been given at the head of Table 7.1. 16 583[II] has no surviving title page, but a pencilled note is written on the reverse of the front cover giving 'Schmelzer; Jo. Heinr.' as the composer. It is dated 1667-72, and '2^{do} Buch' is added at the end. The third manuscript, A-Wn Mus.Hs.16 588 (hereafter, 16 588) is devoted to *balletti* by Andreas Anton Schmelzer. Its title reads:

Arien zu den Balletten, welche an der Keyserl. Kögl. Meyl. Leopoldi des I^m. Hoff. vom 15^m 9ber Año 1680. bis auf den Fasching 1685 gehalten worden. Componirt von Andreas Antonius Schmelzer. Erstes Buch.¹⁷

Example 7b:

'Ariæ ad ingressum suæ Maiestatis et egressum' (A-Wn Mus.Hs.19 265) 'Retirada'.

Retirada

The first system of the musical score for 'Retirada' consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the second and third are in alto clef, and the bottom is in bass clef. The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#), and the time signature is common time (C). The music begins with a series of eighth and sixteenth notes in the upper staves, while the bass line provides a steady accompaniment of quarter notes.

The second system continues the musical piece. It features similar rhythmic patterns in the upper staves, with some melodic lines moving in a more active, eighth-note fashion. The bass line remains consistent with the first system, providing a solid harmonic foundation.

The third system shows further development of the musical themes. The upper staves contain more complex rhythmic figures, including some sixteenth-note runs. The bass line continues to support the overall texture with steady quarter-note accompaniment.

The fourth and final system of the score concludes the piece. The music in the upper staves becomes more melodic and less rhythmically dense, leading to a clear ending. The bass line also concludes with a few final notes, providing a sense of resolution.

Example 7c:

J. H. Schmelzer, 'Der Ninfen Ballet' (16 583[II]) 'Allemande'.



The closing date of 'Fasching 1685' in 16 588 has been added in pencil within a space obviously left vacant for it.

During the course of the copying of the two parts of 16 583, the titles describing the *balletti* and the circumstances of their performances underwent a change of style. In the first part of the collection, these titles have obviously been added later: they were squeezed into any available space. The titles at the start of 16 583[II] are similar, but, in the later parts of the manuscript, space is regularly left to record copious details of the occasion, the date and the participating dancers. Clearly, these later titles were written at the same time as the music. Such detail would seem to suggest that, in addition to the preservation of the music, these manuscripts evolved to be a musical diary of important court occasions. The dating on the two parts of 16 583 appears to suggest that the contents were compiled retrospectively. A similar manuscript style was carried on into 16 588, but the information given in each title is even more comprehensive. However, there is one important difference between 16 588 and the two parts of 16 583. The obvious gap left in the opening page of 16 588 for a closing date suggests that each *balletto* was not added retrospectively, but as soon as it became available for copying. This could also explain the extra detail given in the titles: it would have been fresh in the mind of the copyists.

As we have seen in Chapter 1, there is also the interesting parallel between the Schmelzer *particelle* scores and the manuscripts of French dance music copied retrospectively by Philidor in the 1690s. Performance details are not given in the latter as regularly as they are in the 16 583[I&II] and 588. However, where Philidor's titles do provide this information, they are remarkably similar to those of the *particelle*. The following heading, in F-Pn Rés.F 498, is typical:

Ballet du Roy des Festes de Baccus Dansé au Palais Royal Le 2.^e & le 4.^e jour de May. 1651.
Recueilly par Philidor Laisnée en 1690.

Like the Viennese *particelle*, much of the music in these French manuscripts is set out in chronological order. In addition, most are copied in two-stave format with just the treble and bass

parts. As we shall see, French musicians were in Vienna in the 1690s, but any connection between Philidor and the Schmelzer *particelle* is extremely unlikely. However, it is no coincidence that two retrospective collections with the same purpose of recording musical events in courtly life should use the same two-stave format. It shows the widespread use of this format, and how closely it was associated with court circles across Europe. Not surprisingly, music by Leopold I himself is also preserved in this way. It seems that A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 710 originally contained eight suites by the Emperor, each labelled 'Aria'. Again, the elaborate decoration of the first letters of some of the titles suggests that *particelle* scores had become synonymous with high-quality preservation of courtly dance.

If the *particelle* scores evolved to become highly stylised records of court music making, questions still remain about their origins. It has been suggested by Don Smithers that 'since many of the pieces concord with the fully orchestrated *balletti* at Kroměříž and elsewhere, the two (*sic*) collections [i.e., both parts of 16 583 and 16 588] may have been prepared as conducting scores or as possible keyboard arrangements'.¹⁸ This is unlikely: all the music in 16 583 and 16 588 is written back-to-back and cannot be actual performing material. In any case, the movement order in the Kroměříž versions does not always agree with the *particelle* versions. The possibility that we are dealing with keyboard arrangements is equally doubtful. Example 7d compares the first strain of 'Ballette De S. Mayeste Imperiale' in D-OB MO 1037 with the first strain of 'Allemande: 30^a.' in A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 710.¹⁹ The latter is a *particella* score of *balletti* by Leopold I. MO 1037 is a collection of keyboard pieces and arrangements compiled in 1695 by the Ottobeuren organist, Pater Honorat Reich.²⁰ 'S. Mayeste Imperiale' is clearly Leopold I: much of the music in MO 1037 originates from the imperial court and many of Leopold's compositions were circulated throughout Austria and the neighbouring parts of Germany. While I have not been able to find any concordant consort version, 'Ballette De S. Mayeste Imperiale', and its following 'Courrante' and 'Gavotte', could well be a keyboard arrangement of a consort *balletto* by Leopold. Whatever its origins, 'Ballette De S. Mayeste Imperiale' highlights the differences between keyboard music and a *particella* score. *Arpeggiando* figuration and occasional inner parts, both typical of seventeenth-century keyboard writing, are all to be found in the MO 1037 pieces by Leopold. Such writing is conspicuously absent from the simple treble and bass parts of the *particelle*. Smithers' suggestions also ignore the fact that, elsewhere in France and Germany, dance music was often transmitted in a treble and bass or treble-only format without other parts. There is no reason to think that the same form of transmission was unknown in Vienna, and it is possible that the *particella* format merely reflected the traditional method of writing down dance music. It is possible that two-stave versions were also in existence as material for the dancing masters' rehearsals.

On the other hand, a separate, anonymous manuscript entitled 'Ariæ Ad ingressum Sux Maiestatis et egressum' (A-Wn Mus.Hs.19 265) suggests an origin as a continuo part. This unusual *balletto* has nine movements. The harmonically complex final *retirada* (quoted earlier

Example 7d:

'Ballette De S. Mayeste Imperiale' (D-OB MO 1037); 'Di Sua Maesta Cesare a Leopoldo Primo | Arie' (A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 710) 'Allemande: 30a'.

Ballette De S. Mayeste Imperiale

Allemande: 30a.

in Example 7b) is written out in full score, but the previous eight movements are in the usual two-stave format. These eight movements are harmonically much simpler, and we can only assume that the copyist considered the *particella* format to be incapable, even with a full set of figures, of adequately conveying the harmonic complexities of the retirada. This is not the only problem posed by this manuscript. The opening intrada, also in two-stave format, has a treble part that is clearly not the original upper line. (See Example 7e.) The given line has all the appearances of a middle part, and not of an outer part. Why is there such diversity of formats within this manuscript? Unless the manuscript was subject to some major copying error, we can only assume that it must have either functioned as a continuo part with one or more of the inner parts being supplied as the need demanded, or that it represented a half-way point in the compositional process. Perhaps other parts were yet to be added.

Most of the material discussed so far in this chapter was probably part of Leopold's own court library. However, it is not the only major source for the music of the imperial court. The Liechtenstein collection in Kroměříž is particularly important as it contains a very great deal of Viennese music that is not found elsewhere. It contains complete sets of instrumental parts for works by J. H. Schmelzer that would otherwise only be known through the *particelle* reductions. The history of the collection in Kroměříž has been well documented, especially in its most recent catalogue, and the collection itself has become far more accessible in recent years.²¹ Karl Liechtenstein-Castelcorno was the Bishop of Olomouc during the period following the Thirty

Example 7e:

'Ariæ ad ingressum suæ Maiestatis et egressum' (A-Wn Mus.Hs.19 265), 'Intrada'.

Intrada



Years War until his death in 1695. At his behest, music was gathered together in order to service the needs, both sacred and secular, of his court at Kroměříž. Vienna was clearly a strong influence on what was included in the collection: the Kroměříž *Kapellmeister*, Pavel Vejvanovský, had studied in Vienna, and the Bishop maintained personal contact with both Johann Heinrich Schmelzer and one of the imperial court organists, Alessandro Poglietti.

Following Paul Nettl's work in the early twentieth century, much of the correspondence between the Bishop and the imperial court is well known.²² It seems that a regular stream of compositions of all types was sent from Vienna to Kroměříž. In the case of Poglietti, this was often autograph material, but it appears that a team of local copyists headed by Vejvanovský was responsible for most of the copying.²³ It seems that Vejvanovský also copied music for a personal collection.²⁴ Thus, there are instances where the Liechtenstein collection provides us with full sets of parts not found elsewhere. But where parallel Viennese sources also exist, it is clear that substantial changes were sometimes made, especially in the order of movements. This may have resulted from piecemeal dispatching of scores from Vienna; it may also reflect personal interventions by the Kroměříž copyists. These changes, especially to music by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer, will be discussed later in the chapter.

The surviving sets of parts in Kroměříž suggest the use of both a four-part and five-part string body. With few exceptions, two violins, two violas and bass seem to have been used to create a five-part texture. As we have seen in the preface, Poglietti seems to have preferred a viola da gamba to the second viola.

Four-part works were scored either for two violins, one viola and bass or for a single violin, with two violas and bass. We must be wary of accepting Kroměříž sources as being a wholly accurate reflection of practices in Vienna. Conditions at Kroměříž may well have been different from the imperial court; in any case, it was, as we have seen, a common practice to reduce five-part string instrumentation to four parts. We have no proof that this did not happen in Kroměříž. However, a set of *balletti* by the violinist and imperial court composer, Joseph Hoffer, confirms the use of the single violin, two violas and bass ensemble.²⁵ The actual manuscript title of Hoffer's *balletti* is in a different hand and is dated 1694; unusually for Viennese

sources, the music is preserved in part-books rather than score (A-Wn S.m.1809). Example 7f shows the 'minuett' from the first *balletto*. The complete *balletto* is given in Appendix II, and the complete manuscript is discussed later in the chapter. We have no fully scored sources of the Emperor Leopold's own work directly from imperial sources, but it appears that he too preferred the combination of violin, two violas and bass for his own *balletti* compositions.²⁶

Not surprisingly, the imperial *Hofkapelle* boasted one of the largest court instrumental ensembles in Germany. It has also been suggested that the *Hofkapelle* provided 'the period's best orchestra' though it is difficult to see how such a qualitative claim could be substantiated.²⁷ It does seem, however, that more was spent on the musical establishment in Vienna than any other aspect of court life. Leopold's first biographer, Eucharius Gottlieb Rinck, lists the court expenditure for the year 1705. As we shall see, Rinck's evidence is not always reliable, but the overall picture is clear: the court musicians (*Hof-musici*) were paid a total of '43,702fl.', the largest amount for any individual category.²⁸

Wind players in the form of bassoonists, trombonists, trumpeters and cornettists all seem to have been available during Leopold's reign, and this is confirmed by the scoring of works celebrating such events as royal birthdays. The Kroměříž source of Schmelzer's 'Balletto di Centauri | Ninfe et Saluatici ... per la festa À Schön brun | 1674' (CZ-KRa A 764) is particularly lavish with its three choirs of instruments: '5 Viole Radopiatì'; '3 Piffari et un fagotto'; '2 Cornetti Mutti et 3 Tromboni'. Likewise, Poglietti's 'Fastnacht Baletten' ('carnival ballet') (CZ-KRa A 877) is scored for four trumpets, and a five-part string group and two figured harpsichord parts.

Not all music for celebration was treated to such richness of scoring: many of the surviving fully scored works for royal occasions were for strings alone or smaller combinations of wind and strings. Although we do not know the circumstances surrounding its composition, manuscript A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 968 contains three works 'l'Autore Ferdinando Tobia Richter' that are typical of these works for smaller combinations of instruments. The first of them, a 'Sonata à 7' is dated 1685. Nettle's account of the manuscript is incorrect: he gives the wrong shelfmark and states that the first *balletto* is signed 'Ferd. Tobias Richter, 1685'.²⁹ Neither *balletto* in this manuscript is signed in this way.

The opening sonata is clearly independent from the two following *balletti*, both of which have their own opening sonatas. But all three works appear to have been copied at the same time, and were probably written shortly after the commencement of Richter's employment in 1683 as one of the imperial court organists.³⁰ Both *balletti* are written out in score, but no sets of parts survive. It is difficult to see how the first *balletto* could, as Nettle suggests, be for trumpets and strings.³¹ The two parts in question lie completely outside the range of natural trumpets and demand too much agility to be written for slide trumpets, even if such instrumentation was likely. However, Nettle is right in one respect: the nature of these two parts seems far more appropriate to wind instruments, and they are clearly meant to form a contrast of sonority with

Example 7f:

J. Hoffer, 'Parti à 4. Samt getantz worden von den kay's: Hofftanzen am Fest Leoboldi bey Hoff 1694 Del Hoffer Balletto Primo' (A-Wn S.m.1809) 'Minuett'.

Minuett

The image shows a musical score for a Minuet in 3/4 time. It consists of four staves: Violino (Violin), Viola 1a (Viola I), Viola 2da (Viola II), and Basso (Bass). The score is divided into three systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef for the violin and bass clefs for the other instruments. The second system contains a repeat sign. The third system concludes the piece with a double bar line and repeat dots.

the main body of strings. Almost certainly, they are not oboe parts: as we shall see, oboes do not appear to have arrived in Vienna until at least the late 1690s. The most likely possibility is that they are *cornetto* parts. At least one *cornetto* player was engaged in the imperial *Hofkapelle* between 1680 and 1708 and it is probable that some of the trumpeters were also cornettists. We have seen that *cornetti* were specified in the 'Balletto di Centauri Ninfe et Saluatici': but they also appear to have been used for more intimate occasions. One of Richter's predecessors as court organist, Alessandro Poglietti, scored his 'Sonata à 3' (CZ-KRa A 615) for 'Cornetto: Flauto Fagotto con Organo'.³² There is no reason to suppose that this was an isolated example. The contrast between the top parts of Richter's G minor balletto and the following one in Mus.Hs.18 968 ('Balletti à Cinque 2 Trombe i Violino i Violetta i Viola con Violone') is marked. Here, the trumpet parts are totally idiomatic and unlike the two upper parts of the previous *balletto*. The trumpets do not play in every movement: they are silent in the sarabande and aria. In the allemande, the first trumpet doubles the first violin, but the second trumpet has an independent part. Music with trumpets was clearly important at the imperial court: it is

telling that, in the 'Distinta Specificazione' inventory of music written for the Viennese court, there is a separate entry for 'Sonate con Trombe Sollenni'.³³

As we have seen, the *balletti* written by Johann Heinrich Schmelzer's son, Andreas Anton, are only preserved in manuscript 16 588 in *particella* format. But some of the titles give instrumental indications. Thus, the second of A.A. Schmelzer's three *balletti* danced on 15th November 1680 (Aria 1ma No 4. and Aria 2da: No 5.) is scored for *sallmaj*, strings and a *fagott*.³⁴ The third *balletto* of this set mentions a hunting horn ('Jägerhorn') in its title; elsewhere in 16 588, Schmelzer asks for a choir of strings with drum and flute, and, somewhat exotically, a choir of strings with four harps.³⁵ Presumably, the *sallmaj* belonged to the same family of instruments as the *Piffari* used by Schmelzer in the 'Balletto di Centauri | Ninfe et Saluatici' and elsewhere. According to Bruce Haynes, these instruments were 'probably Renaissance shawms'.³⁶ Oboes themselves seem to have come to the imperial court rather later than many of the German courts. Franz and Roman Glätzl were *Hofkapelle* oboists from 1701 although it seems that the instrument was in use by 1698.³⁷ As in other parts of Europe, oboes were added to existing string music. In the fourth of Hoffer's 1694 *balletti* (A-Wn S.m.1809), 'hautbois' has been added to the first violin part by a later hand. However, if manuscript A-Wn S.m.1077 is typical, then oboes and bassoons were sometimes used with great caution. S.m.1077 is a six-movement *balletto*, but only the second movement, 'Ciaccona', uses wind instruments. Even then, the three oboes and bassoon are only used for the main sections of the 'Ciaccona'; the variation sections are for strings alone. (The entire *balletto* is reproduced in Appendix II.)

It has been suggested that the oboe's delayed introduction to the imperial *Hofkapelle* was a result of a personal 'aversion to French music' on the part of the Emperor himself.³⁸ It is therefore important to examine the nature of this personal aversion, if it existed at all, and gauge the extent of any French musical influence at the imperial court. To do this, it is necessary to separate fact from political intrigue. Courtly dancing was widely considered to be a French art, and Leopold himself danced. Julio Bernhardt von Rohr's 1729 *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft* contains the following comment on the Emperor's dancing:

Somewhat unusually, the Roman Emperor Leopold did not dance in the French [manner], instead, he observed a style of German leading.

Etwas besonders war es, daß der Römische Kayser Leopoldus niemahls Frantzösisch tantzte, sondern vielmehr eine Art von einer Teutschen Führung beobachtete.³⁹

In fact, Rohr had taken his comment directly from Rinck's biography where every opportunity had been taken to belittle the French.⁴⁰ The precise meaning of 'German leading' is not exactly clear, but it rather suggests that Rinck and Rohr were clutching at straws in order to avoid anything that even remotely suggested a French influence. Indeed, it is clear that there was intense pressure on Leopold, at least in the early part of his reign, to disassociate himself from anything on a political level to do with France. This appears to have reached

quite ridiculous proportions: in 1666, the efforts of Grémonville, the French ambassador in Vienna, to present a French ballet at court in the presence of the Emperor nearly resulted in a major diplomatic incident.⁴¹

Modern writers have rather taken these political machinations at face value and made the assumption that the intense political rivalry must have resulted in an equally intense cultural rivalry. Vaillancourt is typical of modern scholarship when he writes: 'Austria was far more resistant to French influence in the arts and fashion than many other German states. This resistance was even stronger in the second half of the century than it had been during the Thirty Years War'.⁴² Nettl is rather more circumspect and concludes that 'under these circumstances, the French ballet in Vienna virtually became a black market commodity. It was confined to the house of the French Ambassador, and occasionally to surreptitious [performances] in the houses of the nobility'.⁴³

However, much of this anti-French bias may not have come from Leopold himself, but the Privy Conference (*Geheime Konferenz*), an institution set up in 1665 to advise the Emperor. Indeed, it appears that, during the first half of his reign, 'the Privy Conference had the greatest influence of all the bodies at the Viennese court on imperial policy'.⁴⁴ Leopold's personal tastes may well have been entirely different. Indeed, contemporary reports from sources outside the realms of political intrigue present rather a different picture:

The Inhabitants [of Vienna], generally speaking, are courteous and affable, and as well bred as any in *Germany*, by reason of the Court, and the concourse of French and Italians, whose behaviour and fashion they happily emulate: And many, besides their own Tongue, and the Latine (which they speak very fluently) speak Italian and French.⁴⁵

Casimir Freschot, writing in 1705, offered this assessment of Leopold's own command of the French language:

L'Empereur parle fort bien les Langues Latine, Italienne, Espagnole & Françoise, ... Il repond en toutes ces Langues avec beaucoup de facilité & d'élégance'.⁴⁶

In any case, political rivalry, or even hostility, does not seem to have prevented cultural cross-fertilisation. The Turks presented a constant and real threat to the region throughout much of Leopold's reign. That did not stop a 'sumptuous Cavalcade' processing along the streets of Vienna 'nobly apparelled after the Turkish fashion'.⁴⁷

The musical evidence presents a similar picture. As we have seen, manuscript A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19 265 has the title 'Ariæ Ad ingressum Suæ Maiestatis et egressum'. 'Suæ Maiestatis' may not be a direct reference to Leopold, but there can be no doubt that the title is referring to the imperial court. The nine movements of this suite make up an extended branle suite; nothing could be more intrinsically French, and this is by no means an isolated example of a Viennese branle suite. Poglietti's suites feature complete branle sequences or individual branle movements. Table 7.2 lists suites by Poglietti in CZ-KRa that contain branles or branle-derived movements. Poglietti's use of branle movements requires some explanation. In CZ-

Table 7.2:

Suites by Poglietti in CZ-KRa that contain branles or branle-derived movements.

Shelfmark	Manuscript title	Instrumentation	Movements
A 768	Ballets à5. d. Al: de Pogl.	[Unlabelled first violin part]; Viol: 2do.; Violetta; Gamba; Basso di viola; Cembalo (figured).	Entree Gauotte Branle Amener Courente Branle [II] Menuette Allemande Sarabande Passamezo Bouree Retiree
A 770*	Ballett à5. d. Al: de Pogl.	Violino 1o.; Violino 2do.; Alto di viola; Gamba; Basso di viola; Cembalo (figured).	Entree Branle Menuette Allemande Courente Sarabande Gigue Turtillione Bouree Retiree
A 772	Baletti Francesi à5: dal Sigre: Alexandro de Poglietti:	Violino 1mo.; Violino 2do.; Viola 1ma; Viola 2a.; Cem- balo o Violone (figured).	Intrada Allemanda Menuette Bouree Branle gay Canarie Retirade
A 773	Baletti Francesi Dal Sigr: Alexandro de Poglietti.	Violino 1mo; Violino 2do.; Alto; Tenore; Cembalo ô viol: da Basso (figured).	Sonat[a] Allemande Amener Gavotte
A 877*	Ballett à5. (<i>sic</i>) d. A: de. Pogl.	Tromba 1a. (x2); Tromba 2da.; Tromba 3a.; Tenor Tromba; Violino ô flagolletto; violetta; Alto; Gamba; Basso di viola; Cem- balo (x2) (figured).	Toccatina di Trombe Intrada Branle Branle gay Amener Gauotte Sonatina a 4. Trombe Sonatina di viol: Sonata de 2: Tromb. 2. violin Gavotte Sonata a 11

Notes:

Shelfmarks with an asterisk denote autograph material.

The order of the last two movements in A 770 has been reversed in *AMA V/1*.The second copy of 'Tromba 1^a' in A 877 does not have the opening 'Toccatina di Trombe' copied into it. In the same 'Ballet à. 5', *AMA V/1* wrongly gives the Basso di viola as a 'T[enor] Vla'.

KRa A 768, there are two branle movements in addition to the amener, gavotte and courante that are usually found in the six-movement sequences of the German repertoire. The first of these movements corresponds with the normal duple-time branle movement. However, the second branle is in triple time with a single crotchet upbeat. (It is given complete as Example 7g.) A triple-time branle would normally correspond to the *branle gay* in the traditional French sequence, and would start with a characteristic quaver and crotchet upbeat. Poglietti ignores this feature, both here and in the 'Baletti Francesi à5' (CZ-KRa A 772). As we can see from Table 7.2, Poglietti, or his copyist, actually uses the title 'Branle gay' in A 772, but as in A 768, there is a single-note upbeat, this time a quaver instead of a crotchet. In fact, the two movements are very similar in style; both employ characteristic cross rhythms and both use the rhythmic ambiguity of the traditional *branle gay*. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Poglietti modelled his triple-time branle movements on the French *branle gay*, albeit with a modified opening. One mystery remains: the *branle gay* in the large-scale 'Fastnacht Baletten' does use a quaver and crotchet upbeat in the traditional manner. Why did Poglietti not do this elsewhere? We can only make assumptions, but it appears that either Poglietti forgot, or he was not particularly interested in writing specifically in the French manner. His branle movements do not follow the traditional order and he seems content to use single movements rather than the complete sequence. However, one thing is certain: Poglietti used elements of French style, even if he did not use them idiomatically. It is, of course, possible that the music in Poglietti's *balletti* was specifically written for dancing. A 768 and A 770 have virtually identical instrumentation: it is even possible that their origins lay in the same dramatic work. It is tempting to associate such works with the private performances of French-style ballets given in the houses of Viennese nobility. Without further evidence, this can only be mere supposition. One further curiosity is found in the cataloguing of these suites in section XIV of the collection's 'Inventarium'. This inventory (CZ-KRa A 4706), probably dating from 1695, lists A 768 and A 770 as 'Balletto à5', but a further suite by Poglietti, (A 771) which contains no obvious French influence, is given as a 'Baletti Francesi'.⁴⁸ This further shows how very wary we should be of forming conclusions based on titles alone, but the use of 'Baletti Francesi' does again suggest that music in the French style was not unknown in the region.

More concrete evidence that French music was known in the region comes from Lullian sources found in the Liechtenstein collection. It has already been established that manuscript A 852 in the Liechtenstein collection is not, as the title page states, 'Del S: Ebner A^o 1667 Die: 30: Maÿ scriptum Viennæ'.⁴⁹ Six of the eight movements are extracts from Lully's *L'Hercule amoureux* (LWV 17/1-4, 17/7 and 17/11). The date on A 852 may well be correct as *L'Hercule amoureux* was written in 1662. I have already identified two further Kroměříž manuscripts as extracts from Lully's stage works. As we have seen, A 4826 and A 873 appear to have a direct relationship with each other: the latter is a set of parts probably copied from the score that is A 4826. The score itself may have come from a single-line source of Lully's music. Vejvanovský

Example 7g:

A. Poglietti, 'Ballets à5. d. Al: de Pogl.' (CZ-KRa A 768) 'Branle'.

Branle

[Violino I.]
Viol: 2do.
Violetta
Gamba
Basso di viola
Cembalo

1)

6 5

6 5

5 6 16 1 6 4 3

1) The natural signs in the two bass parts are given in the parts.

was probably responsible for both score and parts, which means that neither manuscript can be later than 1693, the year of his death. We can therefore say with some certainty that music by Lully himself was being circulated at the Kroměříž court by the early 1690s. It is reasonable to assume that it was also in circulation in Vienna at around the same time, if not earlier. Moreover, music in an unmistakably Lullian style was occasionally dedicated to Leopold, again calling into question his supposed resistance to anything French. The manuscript suites in A-Wn Mus.Hs.19 171 by the Munich court musician Melchiore d'Ardespin have already been discussed in the previous chapter. However, their title-page dedication to Leopold ('Consecrate Alla S:C:R:M:ta. Di Leopoldo Imperatore') is highly significant. The manuscript starts with a *sinfonia* that is a Lullian *overture* in all but name, and the dance movements of each suite are very much in the Lullian manner. This association was hardly likely to be lost on the musically literate Emperor, and it is unlikely that d'Ardespin would have dedicated music to the Emperor that was likely to cause offence. Ten years later, Leopold was also the dedicatee of Cousser's *Lacicala della cetra d'Eunomio*, a collection that, despite its Italian title, was firmly rooted in the Lullian style. It is possible that Cousser was looking for a new appointment at this time, although he did not leave the Stuttgart court until 1704.⁵⁰ Whether he was attempting to secure a position at the imperial court or not, Cousser, like d'Ardespin, would hardly have dedicated offensive music to the Emperor. It is equally unlikely that a composer so renowned for his association with the Lullian style would have considered a post at a virulently anti-French establishment. If, then, we can see that French music was known and accepted at the imperial court, why did it not gain the hold that it had elsewhere in the German courts? Certainly the political situation described earlier in this chapter may have had something to do with it; in any case, there was certainly no courtly imperative to emulate Louis XIV. In the end, the influence of Lullianism was delayed until the mid-1680s at the earliest. The imperial traditions of opera and ballet were simply too strong and too conservative.

As in the rest of Europe, opera and ballet were often combined: as we have seen, ballets were danced at the end of each operatic act. Thus, two or three balletti could be written for use within a single dramatic work. In Vienna, the music for the ballet was not usually written by the opera composers: it seems to have been entrusted to others. This did not imply an inferior status for the dance music composers; after all, Leopold himself sometimes provided such music. However, ballets were not included as part of the main opera score, no doubt making separate rehearsals for the dancers a much easier task.

Johann Heinrich Schmelzer was the most important and inventive composer of dance music during Leopold's reign. As we have already seen, the major sources of his dance music are the two volumes of 16 583. Egon Wellesz catalogued these volumes early in the twentieth century, but his work was not consistent.⁵¹ Despite his recognition that 16 583 is in two volumes, Wellesz's numbering system runs consecutively from the first *balletto* of volume one to the last *balletto* of volume two. Ninety-two *balletti* are listed from both volumes, but, in fact,

there should be ninety-four. Wellesz grouped together, without explanation, and in a way that he did not do elsewhere, the three ballets of 'Arien zu der Opera des 13. Februari 1668'.⁵² The titles are clear: they are marked 'Erster Ballett von Schnittern', 'Die Alte. anderter Ballett' and 'Dritter Ballett'. In order to compare the orderings implied by the titles, and those suggested by Wellesz, Appendix I lists the twenty-one *balletti* in the first part of 16 583.

As we have seen, the suite outside Vienna usually implied a sequence of movements tied to a single key centre. Viennese composers adopted a different approach and often used a variety of keys within their *balletti*. Even in two-movement *balletti*, the movements were often in different keys. Four of the five *balletti* by Joseph Hoffer, 'Parti à.4. Sampt getantz worden von den kaÿs: Hoffanzern am Fest Leoboldi beÿ hoff 1694 Del Hoffer', collected together in manuscript A-Wn S.m. 1809, are examples of this approach. Table 7.3 details the movements and keys of each *balletto* in the manuscript. The second balletto of this collection, however, adopts a different approach with the last movement returning to the key of the first. Hoffer's chosen sequence of keys is not particularly elegant, but it does demonstrate the concept of a circular sequence beginning and ending in the same key. Hoffer was not alone in using this device, and similar examples can be found in the suites of Ferdinand Tobias Richter, Johann Joseph Fux, and the Emperor himself. However, it was not as widespread as has been suggested; only one composer, J. H. Schmelzer, appears to have used the technique with any degree of consistency.⁵³ The key sequence of his 'Balletto der Dame ist gedantz worden im Febr 1667' (16 583[I]) is given in Table 7.4. Such key sequences are not only applied to larger-scale *balletti*. The second of two ballets written for the Empress' birthday on 18th November 1668 only has three movements, all entitled 'aria'.⁵⁴ However, they are organised into a clearly defined key scheme whereby the first aria is a microcosm of the sequence as a whole. First movement starts in F major and finishes in D minor. The second movement is in F major, and the third in D minor.

As part of the technique, movements themselves sometimes start in one key and finish in another. Indeed, the very opening *balletto* of 16 583[I], the 'Monstri Ballett' of 16th February 1665, has its *retirada* starting in F# minor and finishing in A major. (See Example 7h.) This is certainly one of the earliest examples we have of a *balletto* by J. H. Schmelzer, and while the *retirada* is the only movement of the 'Monstri Ballett' to depart from A major, it is telling that Schmelzer was experimenting with modulation within a *balletto* movement at a comparatively early point in his career. The technique can be found, even more tellingly, in the *balletto* given for the imperial princesses on 14th February 1668.⁵⁵ Table 7.4 also gives the movements, and their keys, from this *balletto*. It clearly demonstrates how deliberately and skilfully Schmelzer applied this technique.

Where did Schmelzer get the idea of writing *balletti* in circular key sequences? The answer may come from his sonatas. Works such as the 'Sonata II a otto' in Schmelzer's collection of sonatas entitled *Sacro-profanus concentus musicus* may not use circular key progressions, but

Table 7.3:

J. Hoffer, 'Parti à.4. Sampt getantz worden von den kayß: Hofftanzen am Fest Leoboldi bey hoff 1694 Del Hoffer', (A-Wn S.m. 1809).

Balletto	Movement titles	Movement keys
Primo	Aria / Gavotta / Minuett	D minor; B \flat major; F major
[Secondo]	Aria / Giquè / Gavotta / Aria	C major; F major; G minor; C major
3 ^{tio}	Entre / Aria / Minuett / Retirada	G major; E minor; C minor; F major
[quarto]	Marsch / Aria / Minuett / Rigidon / Minuett[II] / Minuett[III]	C major; F major; F major; F major; G minor; F major
[quinto]	Aria / Minuett / Sarabanda / Bergamasco	F major; B \flat major; G major; C major

Notes:

Balletto numberings in brackets appear to have been added to the manuscript at a later date.

Table 7.4:

Movements and keys in J. H. Schmelzer, 'Balletto der Dame ist gedantz worden im Febr 1667' (16 583[I]) and 'beder Kayl: Princessinen Ballet ist gehalten worden den 14 February 1668' (16 583[II]).

Movement titles	Movement keys
Intrada	A major
Gavotte	D major
Gagliarda	G major
Guige	E minor
Gavotte	A major
Curiosa	D major
Retirada	A major
Aria. 45a	D major
Gavotte. 46a	G major
Gagliarda. 47a	G major
Gavotte. 48a	D major
Sarabande. 49a	G major
Canario. 50a	E minor
Retirada. 51a	B minor - D major

Example 7h:

J. H. Schmelzer, 'Monstri Ballett ist gedantz worden den 16. Febr. 1665' (16 583[I]), 'Retirada'.



the frequent use of modulation within sections suggests a parallel between sonata and *balletto*.⁵⁶ Table 7.5 lists the key sequence of this sonata in its various sections. In the absence of *balletti* from the earliest part of Schmelzer's career, it is difficult to know if this use of circular key sequences first occurred in his *balletti* or in his sonatas. Given the association of such devices with the sonata, it seems more likely that he brought the technique from the sonata, and applied it to the suite. It is also important to remember that processions were just as important a part of court protocol in Vienna as they were in Paris. It is possible that the idea of 'processing' through a circle of keys was also a musical reflection of a daily experience at court.⁵⁷ Schmelzer himself did not use the technique exclusively: like other Viennese composers, he wrote *balletti* with movements in a number of keys. The 'Balletto 3tio. di Magi', one of three celebrating Leopold's birthday in July 1669, has its opening movement in G minor, and is followed by further movements in C minor, F minor, C major and C minor.⁵⁸

Titles indicate that many of Schmelzer's *balletti* are meant to be descriptive. However, without knowledge of the dance itself, and the nature of the stage productions, it is not always easy to see what Schmelzer was trying to describe. But it is clear that he could produce programmatic music of great character, and also of great humour. The so-called *Fechtschule balletto* is a good example of this. Here, there are vivid descriptions of combat, and the painful results of combat. The surviving source for this piece, in CZ-KRa, appears to have been lost not long after Karl Nettel edited it for DTÖ Ivi. As we have seen from the *balletti* by Hoffer, also in DTÖ Ivi, Nettel's editing was not always completely reliable, so it is unfortunate that it has only been preserved in his edition.

There are significant differences between the Vienna and Kroměříž sources of J. H. Schmelzer's music. *Balletti* originally linked by their relationship to a particular opera or entertainment were often separated or copied in a different order, and we must assume that the scores were sent out from Vienna in a piecemeal fashion. The following comparisons between Kroměříž and Viennese sources will make this clear. The Kroměříž manuscript 'Duplices Balletti 1º: Di Zingari. 2dº: di Matti. a.4. A:D:H: Schmelzer 1670' (CZ-KRa A 762). A 762 contains

Table 7.5:

Keys and sections in J. H. Schmelzer, *Sacro-profanus concentus musicus* (Nuremberg, 1662), 'Sonata II a otto'.

Bar numbers	Time signature	Keys
1-27	C	D minor
28-40	C	D minor-A major
41-71	3/2	A minor-D major
72-98	C	A minor-A major
99-120	C	A minor-D major

two *balletti*. There is a disagreement over dates and movements between the Kroměříž and Viennese sources. According to 16 583[II], the first of these two *balletti*, the 'Balletto di Zinggari', was originally given as part of an entertainment for the 1671 Vienna carnival season, and not 1670 as suggested in A 762. 16 583[II] has the following movements:

Borea Aria 1^{ma} N°207 / Ciaccona detta la bella Zinggara Aria 2^{da} N°208 / Aria 3^{ta} N°209 / Gigue N°210.⁵⁹

But only the first three of these movements found their way into A 762. The 'Balletto di Schi-
aui' appears to have originally formed part of the same entertainment, but was omitted from A
762. Instead, the second *balletto* in A 762 is the 'Balletto 1^{mo} di Matti', which was the first of
three *balletti* for the imperial opera given in the *Ritter Stuben* during the same carnival season of
1671.⁶⁰ The movements are the same in Kroměříž and Viennese sources, and in the same
order. But in the Kroměříž source, 'Balletto 1^{mo} di Matti' became separated from the second
and third *balletti* originally associated with the opera. The third *balletto* from the opera, '3^o. Bal-
letto di Sattiri', did find its way to Kroměříž. But it was only as part of a different manuscript,
CZ-KRa A 932. The title of A 932 incorrectly attributes the original performance in Vienna
to December 1677, rather than 1671. Thus, the Kroměříž source must have been copied at
least six years later, and the incorrect dating in A 762 suggests that this copying was some time
after the original event.

Kroměříž copyists also seem to have added extra movements from other sources to
some of Schmelzer's shorter *balletti*. For example, the 1669 'masked serenade' in 16 583[II] has
three movements: two arias and a *ciaccona*.⁶¹ In CZ-KRa A 937, the *ciaccona* is replaced by a
different passacaglia, and a further three movements are added. These four additional move-
ments are not known in any other Schmelzer source, and so we cannot be completely certain
of their authorship. On the other hand, additions to the 1671 *balletto* for the birthday of the
Queen of Spain appear to come from Schmelzer himself: the wrapper of the revised version
has writing that appears to be in Schmelzer's own hand (see Illustration 7i). According to 16

Illustration 7i:

J. H. Schmelzer, 'Sonata Con Ariæ à 5 Viol: et 4 Trombe Col Timpani per libito Zu der Keyl Serenada Anno 1672 Schmelzer' (CZ-KRa A 465). Autograph title on reverse of wrapper.

The image shows a handwritten autograph title in cursive script. The text is arranged in several lines: 'Sonata Con Ariæ.' on the first line, 'à 5 Viol: et 4 Trombe' on the second, 'Col Timpani per libito' on the third, and 'Zu der Keyl Serenada Anno 1672' on the fourth. Below this, there is a large, stylized signature that appears to be 'J. Schmelzer'.

583[II], the movements in the original 1671 birthday *balletto* are:

Intrada N°237 / Aria 1^{ma} di Soldati N°238 / Aria 2^{da} da Ninfe. N°239 / Aria 3^a in Tutti. N°240 / Canario N°241.

Assuming the dates in the sources are correct, these movements were used again in the well-known 'Sonata Con Ariæ à 5 Viol: et 4 Trombe Col Timpani per libito Zu der Keyl Serenada Anno 1672 Schmelzer' (CZ-KRa A 465). In this revision, Schmelzer retained the intrada, but added a resplendent sonata movement for the whole ensemble. The 'Aria 1^{ma} di Soldati' was removed, and the *canario* placed between the two remaining arias. Apart from the sonata, the instrumentation is for strings alone, presumably reflecting the original 1671 birthday *balletto*. The sonata is repeated at the end giving the following sequence:

Sonatina / Intrada / Aria[I] / Canario / Aria[II] / Sonatina ut supra.

The same process may be responsible for the expansion of the two movement *balletto* that comes at the end of 16 583[I] into the seven-movement version that is found in CZ-KRa.⁶² The two-movement version in the Viennese source is written in a different hand to the rest of the manuscript, and may have been added later. The first movement, the well-known *campanella*, is written on two staves: most unusually, inner harmonies are also included. (The complete movement is quoted in this version in Example 7j.) The concluding movement, 'Aria Lamentevole' is written in the normal way, with just bass and treble lines. In the complete set of parts that make up CZ-KRa A 760, these two movements become part of a larger seven-movement structure with a complex five-sectioned opening serenade.⁶³ The sequence of *campanella* and laments in this *balletto* is equally complex, but the copyist clearly indicates the correct order with the insertion of the instruction 'Campanellæ ut Supra' after each strain of the

Example 7j:

J. H. Schmelzer, 'Folgt das Lamentierliche auß leuthen uber den unseligen Todt St. Fasching, deßen fest dag voller Andacht gehalten wirdt ein dag vor dem der Stockfisch in Krebs eindrit. Wurde gebraucht und nach folgende Aria gedantz den 22. Febr. 1667' (16 583[II]), 'Campanelle'.

Campanelle



lamento. The full sequence of movements and repeats in A 760 is as follows:

Seranata / Ciaccona / Campanelæ / Lamento [first strain] / Campanelæ ut Supra / [Lamento, second strain] / Campanelæ ut Supra e finisce.⁶⁴

The *seranata* is scored for five-part strings in all its sections, the following movements for four-part strings. Although there are examples throughout the German repertoire of five-part abstract opening movements being followed by four-part dances, it seems more likely that, as in A 465, Schmelzer (or a copyist) combined material here from at least two different sources. This appears to be confirmed by the separate existence of the 'Seranata' movement in manuscript CZ-KRa A 746. A duplicate set of parts for the complete *balletto* exists in CZ-KRa as A 905. It is possible that these parts are merely an additional set made for a performance with more players than usual. Although in a different hand, they are identical in all respects to A 760.

We turn now to a manuscript of three *balletti*, now in S-Uu, that appears to have originated in Vienna (S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.11:16:1-3). One of these *balletti* contains music by Schmelzer. The manuscript is dated 'Vienna, 26th May 1671', and has the name 'Assieg' on the wrapper. No information has come to light regarding the identity of Assieg, but we may assume that he was the copyist or the owner of the manuscript. His name is found on a number of different manuscript sources, all of which seem to originate in Vienna. Despite its shelfmark, Instr.mus.i hs.11:16:1-3 is a single manuscript in the form of four part-books each containing three suites. The conclusion of each suite is shown by the marking 'NB.X'. The wrapper title,

'Sonata Aria Gique Retirada Couranta Sarabanda à Violino 2. Violetto e Basso Contin. Assieg. Wien. d. 26. May. 1671' appears to be a collective one applying to all three suites. No composer is mentioned. The instrumentation for all three *balletti* is for violin, two violas and bass. In the second, the two viola parts are marked 'NB. Violetta' and 'NB. Viola di Braccio', but it is not clear if this change is also meant to apply to the third suite. The first suite of the three has some of the features of a Viennese balletto: it ends with a *retirada*, and two of its four movements are in the key of B \flat major and two in D major. The contents of the second suite do not suggest similar origins, and the presence of an opening sonata suggests that the work was intended for purely instrumental performance. Unfortunately, much of the work, especially the sonata, is technically awkward, and not particularly imaginative.

The last of these three *balletti* is the most interesting. It contains hitherto unrecognised music from J. H. Schmelzer's 'Balletto, genandt das Narrenspital ist gedantz worden den 21. Febr 1667'. In 16 583[II], this *balletto* starts with an 'Intrada der pulicinelli', and this is clearly the source for the title 'Delli Policinelli', which is placed at the head of Instr.mus.i hs.11:16:3. In fact, only the first four movements of 'Delli Policinelli' are taken from the 'Balletto, genandt das Narrenspital'; the remainder appear to be from an unknown source, and may not be by Schmelzer at all. There is little agreement between the two sources over order of movements, and it seems likely that the copyist of the S-Uu source was only concerned to extract four movements from the original *balletto* that were in the same key. As we have seen, the process of extracting movements from a stage work in order to make up an instrumental suite was common in Germany, and, taken as a whole, the manuscript appears to be intended for abstract instrumental performance rather than staged dance.

Another S-Uu manuscript, Instr.mus. i hs.8:15, is headed '12.Sonata, Allemand, Courant, Gavott, Sarab:, Gique, Sonatina.à 4 Viol: ê Bass:|Giovanni Henrico Schmelzer'. It also bears Assieg's name. The manuscript does not appear to be complete: there are parts for two violas, but only one violin, which is marked 'Violino 1^{mo}'. The quality of the music in this manuscript is poor: we should treat the attribution to Schmelzer with the greatest suspicion.

Johann Heinrich Schmelzer died in 1680 after contracting the plague. His son Andreas Anton took over his duties as a composer of the ballet music for the various court entertainments. It has been suggested that the music of Andreas Anton Schmelzer does 'not evince the great variety and musical interest of his father's'.⁶⁵ This claim requires examination. Example 7k shows 'Intrada 193' from 16 588. It is typical of many such movements in this manuscript: the strains are organised clearly and the material is inventive. We have also seen that Andreas Anton's instrumentation was colourful and often highly original. From the titles given in 16 588, it is clear that there were changes in the circumstances governing the performances of the ballets themselves. Visiting dignitaries appear to have taken an increased part in the dancing. In addition, a greater number of character dances were inserted, perhaps reflecting the presence of professional or more experienced dancers. The music obviously had to reflect these

Example 7k:

A. A. Schmelzer, 'Balletto von gartnerinnen, ist gedantz worden von Ihro Mayl: der Königen in Polln sambt noch andern Hochadelichen Hoff Dämen. Im Fasching den 22 Februario Anno 1685. (16 588) 'Intrada N° 193'.

Intrada N° 193.

changes and the dances for the visitors are often short and simple, no doubt making the task of the dancing masters much easier when it came to teaching the choreography. Many of Andreas Anton's *balletti* contain no more than two or three dances, but this is a reflection of the choreography, not the music. All this suggests that Andreas Anton was working within narrow confines, and that the comparisons of his music with his father's may be unnecessarily harsh. Unfortunately, it seems that the only sources of his *balletti* are the two-stave reductions given in 16 588.⁶⁶ A reassessment of Andreas Anton Schmelzer's work cannot really begin until further material is recovered.

Most of the music that I have discussed in this chapter has had direct links with the stage. Music originating in the ballroom appears to be rare, as do suites intended for purely instrumental performance. As we have seen, the music in Instr.mus.i hs.11:16:1-3 may have been intended for the latter purpose, and there are a number of works in CZ-KRa that do not appear to fall into the category of dance music originally intended for the stage. Manuscript CZ-KRa A 758 seems to stand apart from most of Schmelzer's other dance music. A sonata prefaces the dance movements, and the entire suite remains in the key of G minor. The sarabande has an unusual structure: there are three strains, one each of eight, twelve and four bars. Only the first and third strains are repeated. This is a far more complex structure than that of any sarabandes in Schmelzer's stage-related *balletti*, although it is possible that special

choreography could have been created for it. However, the presence of the sonata does seem to suggest that this suite was meant for instrumental performance. CZ-KRa A 899 presents rather more of a problem. The title of this *balletto* is 'Arie Con la Mattacina à4. Dal Smelzer', and it includes an introductory sonata. The *mattacina* itself is not written in the traditional triple-metre, although the tempo marking 'presto' suggests something of the usual character of the dance, which is meant to be wild, even demonic. Again, the presence of a sonata, combined with a dance of unusual characteristics, seems to suggest an instrumental work, and not one with its origins in music for the stage.

A further example of music that seems to stand outside the tradition of the court *balletti* can be found in manuscript A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 808. Michael Vaillancourt discusses these anonymous pieces in some detail, but his description of the manuscript's contents is often wildly inaccurate.⁶⁷ He suggests that the music in this manuscript 'may have been used to accompany social dancing', and Nettl came to a similar conclusion when he described the manuscript as a collection of 'provincial dance music'.⁶⁸ There are five-part books, *violino primo*, *violino secundo*, *violetta*, *viola di basso ò clavi-cimbalo* and a duplicate copy of the *viola di basso ò clavi-cimbalo* part. Both copies of the latter are figured. There are forty-four movements, all numbered. These are listed in Table 7.6. As the table shows, the movements can be grouped together by key, and it is possible to discern some further organisation. The last two sequences of movements in the table, one starting with a sonata, and the other with the title 'Tuombuo', both suggest suite groupings. The opening sequence of ten movements, all in D major, is probably intended to give one, or perhaps two, suite groupings. Any similar intention for the rest of the collection is far from clear. The collection appears to be deliberately drawing on a number of styles: perhaps it was a compositional exercise carried out by a royal pupil. Much of it gives the impression of the work of an inexperienced, even incompetent, musician. Furthermore, the parts themselves are riddled with major inaccuracies, and it is hard to see how this music could ever have been performed.

Finally, there are two manuscript suites by Johann Pachelbel that seem to suggest, at least in part, Viennese origins (D-B Mus.MS 16481-2). This is not surprising: Pachelbel spent the early part of his career as an organist at the *Stephansdom* in Vienna. Both suites are for violin, two violas and bass, although the range of the first viola part suggests that, particularly in the F# minor suite, a violin might have been intended. Mus.MS 16481 is in G major, and 16482 is in F# minor. While the latter contains a *trezza*, which is often an indication of Viennese or Austrian origin, it is the G major suite that strongly suggests Viennese origins. The dance sequence of allemande, gavotte, courante, aria, sarabande and gigue is framed by an opening sonatina, and a closing *adagio* 'Finale'. The finale is given as Example 71: had it been included in a manuscript such as 16 583, the movement would no doubt have been called a *retirada*, for that is exactly what it is. These appear to be the only surviving examples of suites by Pachelbel, so it is impossible to know if he wrote these while in Vienna, or later on, but in a

Table 7.6:
Contents of A-Wn Mus.Hs.18 808.

Movement numbers	Movement titles	Keys
1-10	Allemand / Courant / Saraband / Ballet / [untitled] / Gigue / Saraband / Ballet / Styrische Aria / [untitled].	D major
11-12	Styrische Aria / Gygue.	A major
13-15	Ballet / Courant / Saraband.	F minor
16-18	Ballet / Courant / Styrische.	F major
19-26	Ballet / [untitled] / [untitled] / [untitled] / [untitled] / Ballet / Ballet / [untitled] / Duobla.	C major
27-32	[untitled] / [untitled] / Saraband / [untitled] / [untitled] / [untitled].	G major
33-38	Sonata / Allemand / Courant / Ballet / Saraband / Guygue.	D major
39-44	Tuombuo / Alemand / Courant / Ballet / Saraband / Guigue.	B \flat major

Note:

'Duobla' is not given a separate number.

Example 71:

J. Pachelbel, 'Partie a 4' (D-B Mus.MS 16481), 'Finale'.

Finale
adagio

Source:

Johann Pachelbel, *Partie a4 in G major* ed. R. Gwilt (Hungerford, 1998).

deliberately Viennese style. The high quality of Pachelbel's musicianship seems to have been recognised in his own lifetime, and both suites fully endorse this opinion.⁶⁹

The question of how the Viennese *balletto* differs from the suite in the rest of Austria and the surrounding areas is one to be answered elsewhere. However, it is clear that the *balletti* discussed in this chapter mostly represent an entirely different tradition from the suite in the rest of the German lands. Even though they were often subservient to the needs of the operas with which they shared the stage, their quality is often extremely high. It must be considered a matter of great regret that so much of J. H. Schmelzer's work, in particular, only exists in the two-stave collections of 16 583.

Notes to Chapter 7:

1. J. Spielman, *Leopold I of Austria* (London, 1977), 44.
2. *Ibid.*, 56.
3. *Ibid.*, 20.
4. F. Nussbaum, *The Triumph of Science and Reason 1660-1685* (New York, 1953, repr. 1962), 125.
5. See H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shews, Tournaments at German-speaking Courts in their European Context 1560-1730* (Berlin, 1992), 88-89.
6. These festivities are discussed in Chapter 4.
7. Watanabe-O'Kelly, *Triumphall Shews*, 104. The music for the occasion is incorrectly described as being by Cesti.
8. Both editions are set in moveable type full score, but the layout suggests that the printer of *Diarii Europæ* was copying S 1660.
9. Arratner's equestrian ballet is clearly based on Schmelzer's, but I have not been able to identify the occasion for which it was written, or find any details of the composer.
10. *AMA*, V/1, 505.
11. The connection between 'La Semirana' and Schmelzer's ballet music is established in E. Wellesz, *Die Ballet-Suiten von Johann Heinrich und Anton Andreas Schmelzer. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik an österreichischen Hofe im 17. Jahrhundert* (Sitzungsberichte der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien 176/5, 1914), 34.
12. L. von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna, 1869), 58.
13. *Ibid.*, 62-5.
14. C. Freschot, *Memoires de la cour de Vienne, contenant remarques d'un voyager curieux sur l'état present de cette cour, & sur les intérêts* (2nd. edn., Cologne, 1705), 110-11.
15. G. Brosche, 'Die musikalischen Werke Kaiser Leopolds I. Ein systematisch-thematisches Verzeichnis der erhaltenen Komposition' in G. Brosche (ed.), *Franz Grasberger zum 60. Geburtstag* (Tutzing, 1975), 28.
16. See E. Wellesz, *Die Ballet-Suiten* and F. Hadamowsky, 'Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof. Mit einem Spielplan (1625-1740)' in *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Wiener Theaterforschung, 1951-2* (Vienna, 1955), 71-98.
17. The letters 'N.S.N.I.' are placed above this title. Their meaning is unclear.
18. D. Smithers, *The Music and History of the Baroque Trumpet before 1721* (Carbondale & Edwardsville, 1973, repr. 1988), 175.
19. Facsimile ed., R. Hill (ed.), *Ottobeuren, Benediktiner-Abtei, Bibliothek und Musik-Archiv MO 1037 (17th Century Keyboard Music 23*, New York, 1988), 125.

20. Ibid., preface, v.
21. The preface to *AMA V/I* has provided the information for the remainder of this paragraph.
22. P. Nettel, *Die Wiener Tanzkomposition in der zweiten Hälfte des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Studien zur Musikwissenschaft viii, Vienna, 1921), 166-175.
23. *AMA V/I*, preface 32.
24. Ibid., 33.
25. In P. Nettel (ed.) *Wiener Tanzmusik in der 2. Hälfte der 17. Jahrhunderts* DTÖ, lvi, Jg xxviii/2 (1921), the scoring of Hoffer's second *balletto* is, without comment, changed to two violins, one viola and bass. There are also a number of seemingly gratuitous alterations to the musical text.
26. Fully scored *balletti* by Leopold are preserved in manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.53:6 and various CZ-KRa sources that will be discussed later in the chapter.
27. *AMA V/1*, 31. It is possible that the origins of this claim, though not cited as such, come from E. Rinck, *Leopolds des Grossen/Röm. Käysers/wunderwürdiges Leben und Thaten* (Leipzig 1709). Rinck describes the *Hofkapelle* as 'unparalleled' ('unvergleichlichen'), i, 85.
28. Rinck, *Leopolds des Grossen*, i, 149.
29. Nettel, *Die Wiener Tanzkomposition*, 156.
30. L. von Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle in Wien von 1543 bis 1867* (Vienna, 1869), 358.
31. Nettel, *Die Wiener Tanzkomposition*, 156.
32. *AMA V/1*, no. 388. See also: M. Collver & B. Dickey, *A Catalog of Music for the Cornett* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1996), 64.
33. See also the opening of Chapter 1.
34. The full title reads: 'Balletto 2do de Greci. Zu dem Glorwürdigsten Namens Tag | Ihro Mayl. deß Käysers, ist auch von denen Hochadelichen | Hoff Damen gedantz worden zu Linz den 15 November Anno 1680. | und ist mit sallmay, geige und einen fagott producirt worden'.
35. The original titles are 'Die Aria [no.111] ist samt | einem Chor geigen mit | trumel und flote gemacht worden' and 'Sarabande [no 97], ist neben | einem Chor geigen mit 4. Härpsen gemacht worden'.
36. B. Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe* (Oxford, 2001), 156.
37. Köchel, *Die kaiserliche Hof-Musikkapelle*, 362; Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 156.
38. Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, 156.
39. J. von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft* (Berlin, 1729), Chapter V, ¶8.
40. Rinck, *Leopolds des Grossen*, Vol.1, 94.
41. The entire incident is described in M. Vaillancourt, 'Instrumental Ensemble Music at the Court of Leopold I (1658-1705)', Ph.D. diss. (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1991), 241-2 and Nettel, *Die Wiener Tanzkomposition*, 53. However, much of the information is taken from Rinck, *Leopolds des Grossen* and cannot be considered as totally reliable.
42. Vaillancourt, 'Instrumental Ensemble Music', 242.
43. Nettel, *Die Wiener Tanzkomposition*, 53.
44. S. Sienell, 'The Privy Conference and the court of the Emperor Leopold I' in *The Court Historian* 4/3 (1999), 240.
45. J. Burbury, *A relation of a journey of the Right Honourable my Lord Henry Howard, From London to Vienna and thence to Constantinople* (London, 1671), 44.
46. Freschot, *Memoires De La Cour De Vienne*, 109.
47. Burbury, *A relation of a journey*, 44.
48. The inventory is discussed in *AMA V/1*, 34; the entire inventory of music is also reproduced on pages 41-76 of the same volume.
49. C. B. Schmidt, 'Manuscript Sources for the Music of Jean-Baptiste Lully' in *Notes* 44/1 (September 1987), 15. *AMA V/1*, entry 186, still lists the work as being by Ebner.
50. S. K. Owens, 'The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c.1680-1721', Ph.D. diss. (Victoria University of Wellington, 1995), 67.

51. Wellesz, *Die Ballet-Suiten*, 30-43.
52. Neither Wellesz, *ibid.*, 34 nor Hadamowsky, *Barocktheater* 74 have been able to trace the origins of this opera.
53. R. Hudson, *The Allemande, the Balletto and the Tanz*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1986), i,185.
54. 'Balletto 2do. di Puffoni. [Zu den geburtsTag ihro May: der verwitibten Kheyserin. der 18 Novem-ber. Anno 1668]': Aria 1^a. 88^a / Aria. 2^{da}. 89^a / Aria. 3^{ua}. 90^a (16 583[II]).
55. 'beder Kayl: Princessinen Ballet ist gehalten worden den 14 Februario 1668' (16 583[II]).
56. All details of this collection are taken from the modern edition: E. Schenk, DTÖ, cxi-cxii (1965).
57. I do not wish to take this metaphor any further, but a similar point has already been made with re-gard to architecture and music in eighteenth-century Vienna. See F. Riedel, *Der Reichstil in der deutschen Musikgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Kassel, 1963).
58. 'Balletto 3tio. di Magi. [zu den geburts Tag ihro Mayl: d[er] Regierenten Khayserin. den 12 July Ao 1669].' (16 583[II]).
59. 'Balletto zu der ersten Comedi Ihro Excellens des Rhömischen Botschaffters in der Ritter Stuben in Fasching Año 1671. | Balletto di Zingari'. (16 583[II]).
60. 'Drey Balletti zu den Khayserlichen opera in der Ritter Stuben in Fasching. Anno 1671.' (16 583 [II]). The 'Ritterstube' was part of the Hofburg palace in Vienna.
61. 'Seranada in Mascara. denen hoff Damas zu Ehrn den 26 Februari. Ano 1669' (16 583[II]).
62. The full title in 16 583[I] is 'Folgt das Lamentierliche auß leuthen uber den unseligen Todt St. Fasch-ing, deßen fest dag voller Andacht gehalten wirdt ein dag vor dem der Stockfisch in Krebs eindrit. Wurde gebraucht und nach folgende Aria gedantz den 22. Febr. 1667'.
63. The title on the wrapper of A760 is simply 'Serenata: à5. Vom Smeltzer'.
64. *AMA V/1*, record 585, omits the first repeat of the *campanella*.
65. R. Schnitzler & T. D. Walker, 'Schmelzer, Andreas Anton' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxii, 526.
66. Schnitzler & Walker, *ibid.*, list 'a few sonatas and suites ... of questionable authority', but I have been unable to find any trace of these.
67. Vaillancourt, 'Instrumental ensemble music', 189.
68. *Ibid.*, 189, and Nettle, *Die Wiener Tanzkomposition*, 140.
69. E. V. Nolte & J. Butt, 'Pachelbel, Johann' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xviii, 846-855.

'Put together and arranged'

The Trio Suite

'Put together and arranged' ('zusammen getragen') was how the Frankfurt am Main publisher Balthasar Christoph Wust described the contents of his 1660 trio collection *Exercitium musicum*. Presumably the putting together process was the selection of suitable suites or movements. Arrangement was presumably the adding or subtracting of instrumental parts from other sources in order to create trio suites. This can be seen in the 'Courante la Duchesse' from this collection. As we have seen in Chapter 1, this widely circulated piece was probably disseminated in a treble and bass format, or perhaps as a single treble part.¹ The editor of Wust's collection, only identified as 'N. B. N.', presumably added a middle part, if not a bass part.

This type of arrangement seems to have been a widely accepted way of producing trios: it was certainly sanctioned by the Leipzig composer Johann Rosenmüller. A note at the end of the index of his 1667 *Sonata da camera* suggests that the contents of the collection could be performed as trios by simply leaving out the middle parts ('A presente Opera Composta à cinque Stromenti, si potrà ancora Sonare à doi Violini soli è Basso').² This was done in the 'Rost' manuscript (F-Pn Rés.Vm⁷ 673), which contains three sonatas from Rosenmüller's collection, and a single sonata from Becker's *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* all arranged in this way. Where omission of the middle parts would do serious damage to the musical argument, François Rost, the compiler of the manuscript, simply left out entire sections of music.³

Similar processes are apparent in the Amsterdam editions of extracts from Lully's dramatic music. Pointel's editions of *Triomphe de l'amour* and *Le temple de la paix* are both trio arrangements. Unfortunately, the bass part-book of *Le temple de la paix* no longer survives, but Example 8a gives an excerpt from the opening of the *ouverture* in the Pointel edition supplemented by a bass part from the Ballard score issued in Paris in 1685. Comparison with the fully scored version from Ballard, also given in Example 8a, shows how Pointel's arranger discarded all but Lully's treble and bass parts, and then added a completely new inner part. Carl Schmidt, in his discussion of the Amsterdam Lully editions, lists Pointel's *Le temple de la paix* as being for 'Four (?) parts'.⁴ But, as we can see from the example, the three parts are seemingly complete. The existence of a fourth is unlikely. On the other hand, a later Amsterdam edition of the same

Example 8a:

J-B. Lully, *Le Temple de la Paix*, editions by Pointel (Amsterdam, n.d.) and Ballard, (Paris, 1685),
ouverture, beginning.

The Amsterdam edition, bass part from the Ballard edition.

This musical score consists of three systems of three staves each. The first system is in 2/4 time and features a treble clef on the top staff, a treble clef on the middle staff, and a bass clef on the bottom staff. The second and third systems are in 8/8 time and feature a treble clef on the top staff, a treble clef on the middle staff, and a bass clef on the bottom staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

(Ballard edition)

This musical score consists of two systems of five staves each. The first system is in 2/4 time and features a treble clef on the top staff, a bass clef on the second staff, a bass clef on the third staff, a bass clef on the fourth staff, and a bass clef on the bottom staff. The second system is in 8/8 time and features a treble clef on the top staff, a treble clef on the second staff, a bass clef on the third staff, a bass clef on the fourth staff, and a bass clef on the bottom staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

ballet, this time by Roger, is written *à4*. As in Roger's other editions of extracts from Lully's stage works, the reduction from the original five parts to four is achieved by simply omitting the second viola part. It is clear that Wust's 'put together and arranged' could be applied equally well to the Amsterdam Lully editions.

Before I proceed any further with discussion of the trio suite, it is important to consider some form of categorisation for various styles existing within the genre. As we shall see, the development of the trio largely mirrors that of the suite in general: trio suites were written in the municipal style, and the courtly style. At the end of the century, Johann Christoph Pez, like Muffat, brought together elements of French and Italian styles. I shall therefore divide my discussion of the trio suite into the municipal and courtly categories of earlier chapters. I shall start with trios written in the municipal style.

As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the municipal style was frequently defined by its careful organisation, not just of individual suites, but of entire collections. In the *à4* and *à5* consort suite, this type of deliberate arrangement did not become common until the 1660s. The same is true of the trio suite. Johann Christoph Seyfrid issued two printed collections of suites: the 1656 *Erster Theil neuer Balletten, Allemanden, Arien, Couranten und Sarabanden*, and the 1659 *Ander Theil neuer Paduanen, Baleten, Arien, Couranten und Sarabanden*. According to the title page of the former, Seyfrid was court organist at Rudolstadt, but these two collections are typical of printed collections by town composers before 1660. Both are for two violins and bass. Table 8.1 lists the contents of the 1656 volume. Movements appear to be mostly grouped in pairs, but movements 23-25 and 48-50 may have been intended as suites.

Organisation of greater clarity is found in Lüder Knöp's second volume of trios, the 1660 *Ander Theil Neuer Galliarden, Arien, Allemanden*. Knöp followed his father as a town organist in Bremen, and was clearly steeped in the municipal tradition. A first volume of trios had been issued in 1652. Apparently, these were 'arranged by key into groupings of from two to six dances'.⁵ Although there are no specific indications within the collection or the preface, the 1660 *Ander Theil* is divided into three sections. The first and second sections are trios, but the third section, which has been discussed in Chapter 1, is devoted to six *à2* suites. According to Knöp, these are in the French manner.

If the final section of Knöp's collection is devoted to music in the French manner, the first two are clearly in the municipal style. The first eight movements, which make up the first section, comprise two pairs of paduans and galliards, two paduans and a concluding paduan-aria pair. The pairs are linked both harmonically and melodically. There are also triple-time re-castings of duple-time movements. Example 8b shows the matching first strains of the first paduan and galliard of the collection. If these dance pairs are unexceptional in terms of size or structure, the last movement of the section, 'VIII.Aria', is altogether on a larger scale, and extended to four strains.

It is clear that Knöp's intention was to contrast the paduans and galliards of the first

Table 8.1:J. C. Seyfrid *Erster Theil neuer Balletten, Allemanten, Arien, Couranten und Sarabanden* (Erfurt, 1656).

Movement number	Movement title	Key
1	Ballet	E \flat major \rightarrow C minor
2	Couranta	E \flat major \rightarrow C minor
3	Ballet	B \flat major \rightarrow F major
4	Sarabanda. forte & pian.	B \flat major
5	Aria	B \flat major
6	Sarabanda	B \flat major
7	Ballet	C major
8	Ballet	A minor
9	Sarabande	A minor
10	Ballet	C minor
11	Ballet	C major
12	Allamanta	B \flat major
13	Couranta	B \flat major
14	Aria	G minor
15	Aria	C minor
16	Couranta	C major
17	Ballet	G minor; D major; G major
18	Allamant	G minor
19	Sarabanda	G minor
20	Aria	G minor
21	Ballet	F major
22	Sarabanda	F major
23	Allamant	D minor
24	Couranta	D minor
25	Sarabanda	D minor
26	Ballet	B \flat major
27	Ballet	C major
28	Couranta	C major
29	Ballet	G major
30	Sarabanda	G major
31	Ballet	B \flat major
32	Couranta	B \flat major
33	Allemant	C major
34	Ballet	D major
35	Aria	B \flat major

Table 8.1 (cont):

Movement number	Movement title	Key
36	Couranta	B \flat major
37	Ballet	C major
38	Sarabanda	C major
39	Ballet	F major
40	Aria	A major
41	Aria	D minor
42	Sarabanda	D minor
43	Allamanta	G minor
44	Ballet	G major
45	Sarabanda	G major
46	Ballet	G minor
47	Couranta	G minor
48	Ballet	D minor
49	Couranta	D minor
50	Sarabanda	D minor

Note:

An arrow between keys denotes a modulation rather than two separate sections.

section with a second section devoted to the newer allemandes, courantes, *balletts* and sarabandes. These movements are mostly grouped in pairs: allemande-courante, *ballett-courante*, *ballett-sarabande*, and pairs of arias. The most interesting feature of this part of the collection is the linking, across pairs, of 'X.Courante' with 'XII.Courante'. (See Example 8c.) This form of linking across groupings is extremely rare: Niedt suggests the use of common bass lines in his 1706 *Handleitung zur Variation*, and it is possible that Speer used a similar technique. However, in the latter's case, the material is not sufficiently distinctive to make his intentions clear.⁶ If the importance of *Ander Theil Newer Galliarden, Arien, Allemanden* lies mostly in its use of careful organisation, the examples that I have quoted show that the music is attractive and worth performing. Knöp's preface advertises a third volume comprising pieces for one to seven instrumental parts, but this appears to be lost.

In terms of size, the most significant trio collection of the 1660s is the *Exercitium musicum, Bestehend in auszerlesenen Sonaten, Galliarden, Allemanden, Balletten, Intradan, Arien, Chiquen, Couranten, Sarabanden, und Branlen* published in 1660 by Balthasar Christoph Wust. Wust was noticeably reticent about the composers represented in the collection: the preface baldly states that the music is 'by the foremost composers of our time' ('von den fürnembsten Componisten dieser Zeit'). Within the musical text, there are only two named composers: 'Manoir' and 'Artus', both French.⁷ As we have seen, the collection involved putting together and arranging, but the

Example 8b:

L. Knöp, *Ander Theil Newer Galliarden, Arien, Allemanden* (Bremen, 1660). First strains of 'I. Paduana' and 'II. Galliard'.

I. Paduana

Cantus Primus

Cantus Secundus

Bassus

Bassus Continuus

6 6 76 64

6 6 76 64

6 6 6 6

person responsible for this task is only identified as 'N.B.N.'.

As a publisher, Wust probably had access to a wide range of music, and the volume is also significant in what it tells us about the trio repertoire of the 1650s. The two upper parts are labelled 'Cantus I' and 'Cantus II', though the inclusion of music using *scordatura* violin tuning makes it clear that violins were intended, at least for part of the collection. There are over one hundred movements in the collection, and there appears to be some deliberate

Example 8b (cont):

II. Galliard.

The musical score consists of four staves. The top two staves are for the vocal parts (Cantus Primus and Cantus Secundus), and the bottom two are for the lute parts (Bassus and Bassus Continuus). The key signature has one flat (B-flat) and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. Fingerings are indicated by numbers 6, 7, and 6. A scordatura sign '(sic)' is present in the second measure of the Cantus Secundus staff. The piece concludes with a double bar line.

ordering of the contents. There are three main sections. Movements 'I-XIII' comprise twelve sonatas and one sonatina; fifteen possible suites and a group of seemingly disconnected movements follow. Finally, 'LXXIIX-CXIII' form a group of five branle suites. The suites in the second section are not clearly identified, and Wust's preface is not helpful:

These sonatas, galliards, ballets, etc. ... are put together and arranged in such an order that, without doubt, each musical [composition] is fully understood and, in particular, that the *scordatura* pieces on the violin are not made unpleasant.

Diese Sonaten, Galliardten, Ballett, &c. ... zusammen getragen / und in eine solche Ordnung gerichtet / daß zweiffels ohne / einem jeden Music verständigen dieses alles / zumahlen die verstimte Stücke auff der Violino nicht unangenehm seyn.

There are some clues for the players: what appears to be the opening suite of the collection

Example 8c:

Knöp, *Ander Theil Newer Galliarden, Arien, Allemanden*, movement linking in 'X.Courante' & 'XII. Courante'.

The image displays two musical staves for 'X.Courante' and 'XII. Courante'. Each staff set includes four parts: Cantus Primus (treble clef), Cantus Secundus (treble clef), Bassus (bass clef), and Bassus Continuus (bass clef). The time signature is 3/4. The key signature has one flat (B-flat). The first staff set, 'X.Courante', shows a melodic line in the Cantus Primus and Cantus Secundus parts, with a bass line in the Bassus and Bassus Continuus parts. The second staff set, 'XII. Courante', shows a similar structure but with a more complex bass line in the Bassus and Bassus Continuus parts, including a '6' fingering in the Bassus part.

(movements XIV-XIX) is for two violins in *scordatura* tuning and bass. It is headed '6 movements for two re-tuned violins' ('6. Drück/mit 2. verstimbten Violinen') at the opening, and 'End of the re-tuned ballets' ('Ende der verstimbten Balletten') at the close. There appears to be a certain amount of arranging of suites by ascending order of key. Table 8.2 lists the possible suite groupings in the collection.

Three of the branle suites have their first movements ascribed to the French violinist and dancing master Guillaume Dumanoir. Dumanoir's music seems to have been widely circulated in Germany in the 1650s: as we have seen, dance movements by him are included in the Kassel manuscripts of D-Kl 2° MS mus.61, and the manuscript collection S-Uu Instr.mus.hs 409. But these three branle sequences by Dumanoir in *Exercitium musicum* pose some problems. Firstly, movements LXXIIX-LXXXIV form a typical six-movement branle sequence, but 'LXXXV. Branle de Mons: du Manoir' and 'XCI. Branle simple du Manoir' are both followed by the shorter four-movement sequence.⁸ However, the four-movement version was little used in France, and unlikely to have originated from Dumanoir in this form. Secondly, the term *en suite* was normally applied to pairs of like movements. The first branle suite in *Exercitium musicum* follows this convention, but the two following branle suites only contain single *en suite* courantes. In both these suites, we must suspect that movements were removed from the original sequences, but that titles were retained. It is also possible that Dumanoir was only responsible for the first movements of at least two of the three branle sequences.

Table 8.2:Possible suite groupings in N. B. N. (comp.), *Exercitium musicum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1660).

Movement titles	Keys
XIV. [untitled] / XV. [untitled] / XVI. Galliard. / XVII. Ballett. / XIIX. Courante / XIX. Sarab:	A major
XX. Allemande. / XXI. Courante. / XXII. Sarab:	A minor
XXIII. Allemande. / XXIV. Courante. / XXV. Sarabande.	A minor
XXVI. Allemande. / XXVII. Courante. / XXIIX. Sarab: / XXIX. Ballett. / XXX. Sarab:[II].	B \flat major
XXXI. Allemande. / XXXII. Cour. Sara.	C minor
XXXIII. Allem. / XXXIV. Courante.	C minor
XXXV. Allem: / XXXVI. Sarab.	C minor
XXXVII. Intrada / XXXIIX. Ballett / XXXIX. Courante / XL. Sarabande.	C major
XLI. Allemande / XLII. Allem. / XLIII. Allem. / XLIV. Cour. / XLV. Sarab. / XLVI. Aria.	D minor
XLVII. Allem: / XLIIX. Courante / XLIX. Sarabande / L. Chique.	D minor
LI. Ballett / LII. Ballett / LIII. Sarab:	D major
LIV. Intrada / LV. Ballett / LVI. Ballett / LVII. Ballett / LIIX. Courante / LIX. Sarabande.	D major
LX. Paduana / LXI. Allem: / LXII. Cour.	F major
LXIII. Allem: / LXIV. Allem: / LXV. Courante / LXVI. Sarabande.	F major
LXVII. Alle: / LXIIX. Aria / LXIX. Cour: / LXX. Chique.	G minor
LXXIIX. Branle simple / XCVII.(sic) Gay / LXXX. Amener / LXXXI. Gavotte / LXXXII. Cour. de suite / LXXXIII. Courante / LXXXIV. Sarabande.	G major
LXXXV. Branle de Mons: du Manoir / LXXXVI. Gaij / LXXXVII. Branle Amener / LXXXIIX. Gavotte / LXXXIX. Courante de la suite / XC. Sarabande.	A minor
XCI. Branle simple du manoir / XCII. Gay / XCIII. Amener / XCIV. Gavotte. / XCV. Courante de suite / XCVI. Sarabande.	D minor
XCVII. Branle simple du Manoir / XCIIX. Gay / XCIX: Amener / C. Double / CI. Montirante / CII. Gavotte / CIII. Courante / CIV. Courante / CV. Sarabanda.	G major
CVII. Branle / CIIX. Gaij / CIX. Amener / CX. Gavotte / CXI. Courante / CXII. La bouree darts / CXIII. Sarabande.	D major

English composers are also represented in *Exercitium musicum*. Table 8.3 lists works known to be by English composers.⁹ As we have seen, English composers like William Brade were active in Germany at the start of the seventeenth century. Possible influence on German composers by the English in the early part of the century is outside the scope of this dissertation, and an area for further research. But it is clear that music by English composers was still circulating at the time of the compilation of Wust's collection.

In such a large collection, probably taken from a wide range of sources, there are wide variations in quality. Appendix II gives movements XX-XXII that appear to form a three-movement suite. Much of the music is more than competent, but there are instances where the music is oddly unconvincing. While it is possible that the original sources were corrupt, errors may have crept in during preparation of the printed edition. The collection as a whole abounds with obvious errors, and often seems to have been put together with very little care for the accuracy of the musical text. In the end, *Exercitium musicum* appears to be little more than a commercial venture of dubious quality.

Some of the music in *Exercitium musicum* is also found in manuscript GB-Lbl Add.MS 31438: unfortunately, only the treble part-book survives. The suites in this manuscript are divided into seven groups of numbered movements, and these are listed in Table 8.4. The section of the manuscript that shares music with *Exercitium musicum* bears Matthew Locke's name. Although some of the music in this section is of English origin (see notes to Table 8.3), it has long been recognised that this music is not likely to be by Locke. Rosemary Harding describes his authorship of these movements as 'indeterminate'.¹⁰ The titles at the start of each section appear to refer to printed editions: those by Zuber and Beck are now lost, and the collection by Hammerschmidt has only survived incomplete. It is unlikely that this manuscript represents pre-publication material for such a wide range of printed sources: taking the dates of the latter as a guide, it would appear that the manuscript was compiled from them some time during the 1660s. Likewise, it seems probable that the music in the 'Locke' section was merely copied from *Exercitium musicum*.

Given the sources of Add.MS 31438, it is reasonable to suggest that it is the top part of a trio manuscript: Zuber's *à5* music may have been reduced to *à3* by the omission of inner parts. One puzzle remains: 'LXXVI. Cour.' in *Exercitium musicum* is also found in the second section of Add.MS 31438, presumably as part of Beck's *1. Th. neuer Allem. Ball. Arien, Schicken, Cour. u. Sarab. etc.* But the same movement also appears in English sources. It is ascribed to John Jenkins in Playford's *Court Ayres* (London, 1655) and *Courtly Masquing Ayres* (London, 1662). Until further evidence comes to light, it is impossible to confirm authorship by either composer.

Manuscript S-Uu Ihre 281-3 is a collection of three manuscript part-books for two upper parts, presumably violins, and bass. It is bound together with the S-Uu exemplar of *Exercitium musicum*, and shares the same shelfmark.¹¹ The bass part-book is incomplete, finishing at the end of '40 Gavott'. Although manuscript and printed edition have similar types of music, there

Table 8.3:English music in *Exercitium musicum*.

Movement number and title	Composer	Viola da Gamba Society reference
XXVI.Allemande.	Charles Coleman	Coleman 396
XXIIX.Sarab:	Charles Coleman	Coleman 398
XXXI.Allemande.	William Lawes	Lawes 232
XXXIII.Allem.	William Lawes	Lawes 221
XLIV.Cour.	Charles Coleman	Coleman 106
LX.Paduana.	Charles Coleman	Coleman 213
LXI.Allem.	Charles Coleman	Coleman 216
LXII.Cour.	Charles Coleman	Coleman 221
LXIV.Allem.	Charles Coleman	Coleman 220
LXXIIX.Aria.	Charles Coleman	Coleman 292

Notes:

Viola da Gamba Society references are taken from G. Dodd (comp.), *Thematic index of music for viols* (The Viola da Gamba Society, n.p. 1980-87).

'XXXI.Allemande', 'XLIV.Cour.' and 'LXXIIX. Aria' are also found in Add.31438 in the section ascribed to Locke.

is no connection between them, but the common shelfmark seems to have caused considerable misunderstanding. Paul Whitehead describes the entire collection as 'An allemand and a courand [that] have been added by hand to each of the partbooks (and numbered in the 'Bassus Continuus' partbook as 1. and 2.)'.¹² Until recently, RISM A/II suggested that the manuscript had material in common with *Exercitium musicum*.¹³ None of this is accurate. The manuscript (hereafter, MS 281-3) contains one hundred and twenty nine numbered movements, none of which appears in *Exercitium musicum*. The movement numbering in the manuscript falls into three sequences, and these are shown, together with their contents arranged into possible suite groupings, in Table 8.5. This division of numbering into three groups suggests that the material in MS 281-3 was taken from different sources. The manuscript is the

Table 8.4:

Suite collections in manuscript GB-Lbl Add.MS 31438.

Section headings	Movement numberings	Concordances and sources
Gregorig Zubern ander Theil.	1-18	? [Georg Zuber] <i>Ander Theil, neuer Pad. Gall. Alam. Ball. Cour. und Sarab. mit 2. & 4. St. nebenst d[em] B.c. Frankf. Balthasar Chrph. Wusts, 1659.</i> [Göhler 2, 1727]
Pleikardus Carolus Becken Strasburg. 1655. a3.	1-42	? Pleickard Carl Beck. <i>1. Th. neuer Allem. Ball. Arien, Schicken, Cour. u. Sarab. etc...m[it] 2. Violinen und einem Bass. Strassb., 1654-55.</i> [Göhler 2, 77]
Matthew Locke.	1-24	All twenty-four movements are found in <i>Exercitium musicum</i> 1660.
Gregorius Zubern 1 ^{do} . 1649. a5. u. Francfurt am Maÿn 1660.	1-17	? <i>Georg Zuber [Erster Theil neuer] Pad. Gall. Arien, Ball. Cour. Sarab. u. einer Sonate mit 5. St. [nebenst] dem B.c... Lübeck bie Heinrich Schernwebel, 1649-50 [repr. 1660].</i> [Göhler 2, 1726 for both editions]
None.	1-27	Unknown.
Lüdor Knoep. a3. 1652.	1-12	<i>Erster Theil Neuer Paduanen, Galliarden, Balletten, Mascaraden, Airen, Allemandan, Couranten und Sarabanden, Mit 3. Stimmen...von Lüder Knoep...A^o 1652.</i>
Andr. Hamorsmidt.	1-12	? <i>Dritter Theil Neuer Paduanen, Galliarden, Canzonen...Mit 3. 4. und 5. Stimmen...Componirt Von Andreas Hammer-schmieden...Im Jahr M. DC. L.</i>

work of four different copyists. The word 'Finis' at the end of the first section might be an indication that the manuscript was compiled over a period of time.

Some music has been copied twice into MS 281-3, though in different versions, and the notes to Table 8.5 indicate where this duplication has taken place. The differences are in instrumentation: the texts are otherwise the same. Movements in the first part of the manuscript use violins in standard tuning, the duplicates in part two are in *scordatura* tuning. As we can see from the table, suites of the first and third part are grouped in ascending order of key, and the suites of the second part, with one exception, have 'D' as their tonal centre. This grouping by key, together with the use of similar sequences of movements in each suite, is similar to the suite arrangements in municipal collections. Perhaps parts of it were originally intended as a pre-publication exemplar. If the first and second sections follow the pattern of municipal suites, the third section of this manuscript is different in its choice of movements, and the way that the movement sequences are arranged. As can be seen from Table 8.5, the third section

Table 8.5:

Possible suite groupings in manuscript S-Uu Ihre 281-3.

Movement titles	Key
1.Allemand / 2.Courand / 3.Saraband. / 4.Gique.	B \flat major
5 Allem: / 6 Cour: / 7 Sarab:	B \flat major
8 Allem: / 9 Cour: / 10 Sarab: / 11 Gigue	B \flat major
12 Allem: / 13 Cour: / 14 Sarab. / 15 Gigue	C minor
16 Allem: / 17 Cour / 18 Sarab: / 19 Gigue:	C minor
20 Allem: / 21 Ballett: / 22 Sarab:	C minor
23 Allem: / 24 Cour: / 25 Sarab: / Variation:[I] / Variat:[II]	D minor
26 Allem: / 27 Cour / 28 Sarab: / Variation:[I] / Variat:[II]	D major
29 Allem: / 30 Gique: / 31 Sarab: Variation:[I] / Variat:[II]	D major
1 Allamand / 2 Gique a3 / 3 Aria a3 / 4 Gique a3 / 5 Capricio a3 / 6 Gique a3 / 7 Saraband a3 / 8 Capricio a3 / 9 Gique a3 / 10 Aria / 11[untitled] / 12 Saraband a3.	B \flat major
13 Allemand / 14 Curant / 15 Saraband / 16 Gauott	D major
17 [Allemand] / 18 Cour. / 19 Sarab: / 20 Aria	D major
21 Allamand / 22 [Cour:] / 23 [Sarab:] / 24 Gique	D major
25 [Allemand] / 26 [Cour:] / 27 [Sarab:] / 28 Gique	D major
29 [Allemande] / 30 [Cour] / 31 [Sarab:] / 32 [Gique]	D minor
33 [Allemande] / 34 [Cour:] / 35 Sarab: / 36 [Gique]	D minor
37 [Allemand] / 38 [Cour:] / 39 [Sarab] / 40 Gavott:	D major
41[untitled] / 42 [untitled] / 43 [untitled]	D major
44 [untitled] / 45 [Gique] / 46 [untitled]	D major
47 [untitled] / 48 [untitled] / 49 Sarab:	D minor
1 Sonatina a3 / 2 Allemande / 3 Ballet / 4 Gique / 5 Bouree / 6 Minuet / 7 Gavotte	A major / A minor.
8 Chaconne / 9 Ballet / 10 Gique / 11 Bouree / 12 Saraband / 13 Aria	B \flat major
14 Allemande / 15 Ballet / 16 Gique / 17 Bouree / 18 Gaillarde / 19 Sarraband	C major
20 Ballet. / 21 Gique / 22 Bouree / 23 Canarie / 24 Gavotte / 25 Saraband	D major
26 Allemande / 27 Gique / 28 Ballet. / 29 Trezza / 30 Bouree / 31 Sarabande	E major
32 Allemande / 33 Ballet / 34 Gique / 35 Aria / 36 Sarrabande. / 37 Lamento	F minor
38 Ballet / 39 Ballet. [ll] / 40 Gique / 41 Minuett / 42 Gavotte / 43 Sarrabande	G major
44. Allemande / 45 Ballet / 46 Gique / 47 Sarrabande / 48 Ballet / 49 Trezza	D minor

Notes:

Movements 23-25 in section 1 are repeated as movements 47-49 in section 2.

Movements 26-28 in section 1 are repeated as movements 41-43 in section 2.

Movements 29-31 in section 1 are repeated as movements 44-46 in section 2.

In each case, the variations in section are repeated in section 2, but they are not given a separate title.

employs a *canarie*, a *chaconne*, minuets and ballets: these dances are conspicuously absent from the previous sections. The last suite of the section ('44. Allemande'-'49 Trezza') does not conform to the arrangement of keys in ascending order, and was possibly included as an afterthought along with the sonata that ends the manuscript.

Even if there are no real connections with *Exercitium musicum*, there are connections between MS 281-3 and other printed editions. It has not been recognised until now that movements 26-28 in the first group of movements in Table 8.5, and 29-32 in the second, also exist in Dieterich Becker's 1674 *Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten*. In addition, it has not been recognised that '31 sarab' from the first group in the table, and therefore '46' from the second, is also found in manuscript GB-Lbl Add.MS 31438. It is in the section of Add.MS 31438 that is probably copied from Zuber's otherwise lost 1649 *Pad. Gall.Arien, Ball. Cour. Sarab. u. einer Sonate*. MS 281-3 contains a wide variation in musical quality. For example, the unpleasantly ungrammatical openings of the music for the allemande and courante of the very first suite in the manuscript suggest an extremely low level of musical competence, or a serious copying error. On the other hand, the suites by Becker show a very much higher level of musicianship and deserve performance.

As we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, municipal suite collections of the 1660s, '70s and '80s were usually defined by their careful organisation. The first printed edition of trios to consistently show this appears to have been Johann Kessel's 1672 *Fünff Stimmige Symphonien, Sonaten, ein Canzon, Nebst Allmanden, Couranten, Balletten und Sarabanden*. Little is known about Kessel, apart from his association with the Silesian town of Oels. The collection is divided into two halves. The first is made up of eight sonata or sonata-like movements in *à4* or *à5* instrumentation; the second is made up of eight trio suites. The instrumentation of the trio suites is for two violins and bass, but '4.Ballett' is marked 'mit Cornetten oder Violinen'. The careful organisation of the suites in the collection is reminiscent of the Leipzig and Hamburg traditions. The suites are arranged in ascending order of key starting at C. The basic sequence of allemande, courante, *ballett* and sarabande is common to all but one of the suites, but the first suite has an extra *ballett* and the closing suite a final gigue. The fifth suite has an aria instead of the *ballett*, and an extra sarabande marked 'in another manner' ('auff ein ander Manier'). But the only appreciable difference between the two sarabandes seems to be one of length: the first is twice the length of the second. There is a considerable amount of movement linking throughout the collection, and not just between the allemandes and courantes. Example 8d shows the linked openings of '15.Courant' and '16.Ballett'. It is difficult to know if Kessel had any knowledge of collections by Rosenmüller, Horn or Becker, but on the evidence of the suites in this collection, he was a first-rate composer. These suites are among the best examples of the municipal suite outside Leipzig. The second suite is given complete in Appendix II.

A similar sense of careful organisation is apparent in Becker's *Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten*, (hereafter, *Sonaten und Suiten*) published by the composer himself in 1674. This

Example 8d:

J. Kessel, *Fünff Stimmige Symphonien, Sonaten, ein Canzon, Nebst Allmanden, Couranten, Balletten und Sarabanden* (Oels, 1672) '15.Courant' and '16.Ballett'.

15.Courant.

Erste Violin.

Andere Violin.

Violon oder Fagott.

Bassus Continuus.

5 6 5 5

16.Ballett.

Erste Violin.

Andere Violin.

Violon oder Fagott.

Bassus Continuus.

♭ 6 7 6 6 3 4 3

is hardly surprising given the deliberate ordering of the music in Becker's earlier suite collection, the 1668 *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*. In fact, in its preface, Becker describes the trio volume as being a 'companion work' ('ein Neben-Werck') to the earlier collection. The layout of *Sonaten und Suiten* is unusual. In the collection's title, Becker separates the sonatas from the suites, and this is carried over into the layout of the volume itself. In most cases, the dance movements following each sonata are grouped together under the generic title of 'suite'. Presumably, where this title is missing, it is the result of a printer's error. It seems reasonable to assume that Becker intended each pair of sonata and suite to be played together. But here, 'suite' could imply a deliberately offered alternative of separate performance for the sonatas and the dances. As we have seen, dance movements from the collection exist in MS 281-3 without their sonatas, and manuscript GB-DRc MS Mus.D2 contains the sonata from the final suite of the collection. But we cannot be completely sure that these movements were copied from sources other than the printed edition. On the other hand, it is telling that only one of the sonatas in the printed collection is linked with the material that follows it. This is unusual for Becker: suites in both D-Hs M B/2463 and *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte* contain abstract movements that have melodic or harmonic links with their following dances.¹⁴ This would seem to indicate that most of the sonatas in *Sonaten und Suiten* were not originally associated with their following dances.

There are nine sonata suites in the collection, and they are grouped in ascending order of key. Seven of the suites use the same sequence of movements:

Allmandt / Courant / Saraband (or Sarabanda) / Giguæ.

Suite XXXII-XXXV substitutes 'XXXII. Ariæ' for the allemande, and movements XXII-XXV form a branle sequence. 'XXXII. Ariæ' is not like the multi-sectioned variety found in *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*: it is little more than a shortened allemande. The first eight suites are written for two violins and bass, but the final suite substitutes a viola da gamba for the second violin. This final suite offers an insight into seventeenth-century methods of re-arranging material. The suite, without its sonata, exists in MS 281-3 in two versions: one for two violins and standard tuning with bass, and one for two violins in *scordatura* tunings and bass. Apart from some chords enabled by the *scordatura* tuning, the two versions in MS 281-3 are identical. But the dances, as they appear in *Sonaten und Suiten*, have an entirely different inner part for the viola da gamba. In other words, the arranger did not make a simple octave transposition. In the traditional manner of producing trios, discussed at the start of this chapter, he retained the original outer treble and bass parts, and added a completely new inner part. Example 8e shows the allemande in both viola da gamba and *scordatura* violin versions. Although the printed edition was prepared by the author, ('In Verlegung des Autoris') the viola da gamba part here seems less satisfactory on a musical level than the manuscript second violin part. I have not been able to examine MS 281-3 for watermarks, and it is difficult to know which version came first. But if the manuscript was written before the publication, it is hard to understand why Becker chose to re-write the inner part in this way.

The collection also includes a branle suite with a prefatory sonata. This combination of branle and abstract movement is unusual, but not unique. Pezel's *Delitiæ musicales* and *Musica vespertina Lipsica* both contain similar examples. The branle sequence is the shortened four-movement version: a pair of courantes and a sarabande follow it. There are none of the opportunities for solo display that are found in the suites in M B/2463, and the variations that follow Becker's '28 Sarab:' in MS 281-3 are not present in the printed version. The first allemande of the collection is reproduced in Example 8f. The music is attractive, but undemanding on both musical and technical levels. Perhaps it was Becker's deliberate attempt to produce music of a simpler kind as a contrast to the more sophisticated suites in *Musicalische Frühlings-Früchte*. A second volume of sonatas and suites mentioned by Meyer does not appear to have survived.¹⁵

As we have seen in Chapter 4, there was a tradition in Leipzig of writing suites in clearly organised collections. Rosenmüller's 1645 *Paduanen, Alemanden, Couranten* trio collection is an early example of this, perhaps the first. Although the latter part of the collection contains seemingly unconnected movements arranged by type, the four suites open the collection, each with the same sequence of movements:

Example 8e:

D. Becker, *Sonaten und Suiten*, (Hamburg, 1674) 'XLII. Allmandt', and Ms 281-3 '41'.

XLII Allmandt. (Erster Theil zwey-stimmiger Sonaten und Suiten)

Violino Primo.

Violadagamba (sc)

41. (S-Um Ihre 281-2.)

[Violins I & II in scordatura tuning]

D

A

F#

B

Basso Continuo.

6 3 1 6 3 1 6 3

6 3 1 6 3

1 6 3 1 6 6 6 6 6 6 6 3 1 6 1

Example 8f:

Becker, *Sonaten und Suiten*, 'II. Allmandt'.

II. Allmandt

Violino Primo

Violino Secundo

Basso Continuo.

6 6 1.

6 5 4 †

2. 6 4 † 6

6 7 8

1. 2.

Paduana / Alemanda / Courant / Ballet / Sarabanda.

Two of the four suites make extensive use of movement linking. Apart from this collection, there are disappointingly few examples of trios by Leipzig composers. Rosenmüller does not appear to have issued any further trio collections, although the 1654 *Studenten-Music* does start with seven $\text{♩}3$ paduans. Horn does not seem to have been interested in the trio genre, and Pezel appears to have only issued a single trio collection, the 1675 *Bicinia Variorum Instrumento-*

rum. Wind instruments are specifically mentioned: after the main section of seventy-five numbered movements, there is an 'Appendix à 2. Bombardini & Fagotto' containing a further thirty-six numbered movements. According to the preface, the dance movements in this section can be played by 'Flöthen' and 'Schalmeyen', which appears to be the earliest printed reference to recorders ('Flöthen') taking part in trio suites. Given Pezel's background as a Leipzig tower musician, his use of wind instruments is hardly surprising. According to Wienandt, the presence of a continuo part in the collection 'is foreign to the practice of outdoor music', but there is no reason why this could not have been specially created for the publication.¹⁶

Considering the other collections by Pezel that we have discussed in Chapter 4, it is surprising that any sense of clear organisation in *Bicinia variorum instrumentorum* appears to be mostly lacking, and it is often difficult to understand the composer's intention. At various times in the collection, Pezel uses the *trezza*. This dance was mainly used in the Austrian suite repertoire where it was usually, though not exclusively, a triple-time movement. Example 8g reproduces a *trezza* from the third part of Johann Heinrich Schmelzer's balletto 'Zu den geburts Tag Ihro May: der Khönigin in Spanien' (A-Wn Mus.Hs.16 583[II]) along with '28. Treza' from *Bicinia variorum instrumentorum*. The model for Pezel's *trezza* is seemingly obvious: we must assume that copies of Austrian suites were circulating in Leipzig during the 1670s.

If Kessel's 1672 trio collection represents a high point of the genre, then the 'Sonata a 2 ex B. Con le Suite Violino è Violadagamba di Sig: Dieter: Buxtehude' (BuxWV 273) surely represents another. The only surviving copy is a manuscript (S-Uu Instr.mus.i hskr.13:25) thought to be from the 1680s, or later.¹⁷ Perhaps the copyist had Becker's *Sonaten und Suiten* in mind when it came to writing the manuscript title. Like the final suite in Becker's collection, Buxtehude's sonata and suite is scored for violin, viola da gamba and organ. The movements are:

Sonata / Allemanda / Courant / Saraband / Gique.

In further parallel with Becker's collection, the sonata of BuxWV 273, without the suite movements, also exists separately as the fourth of Buxtehude's op. 1 sonatas, published in Lübeck in 1694. There are minor differences between the sonata in the manuscript and in the printed edition. Why were the suite movements excised from the printed version of the sonata? Kerala Snyder considers that it was:

Perhaps to bring it into conformity with the other sonatas, perhaps to make it playable in church – although he does not mention this possibility in the title – perhaps because the predictable quality of the suite did not suit the prevailing aesthetic of the *Stylus phantasticus* that permeates the printed collection.¹⁸

As Snyder remarks, there is no evidence that Buxtehude's sonatas were ever intended for liturgical use. If a performance in church did take place, then it would probably have been at one of the *Abendmusiken* concerts that Buxtehude ran annually at St. Mary's Church in Lübeck.

Example 8g:

J. H. Schmelzer, 'Zu den geburts Tag Ihro Maj: der Khönigin in Spanien' (A-Wn Mus.Hs.16 583[II]) 'Treza 97a'.

J. Pezel, *Bicinia variorum instrumentorum* (Leipzig, 1675) '28.Treza'.

Treza. 97^a.

First system of musical notation for Treza. 97^a. It consists of a treble and a bass staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the bass staff, the numbers 6 and 5 are written under the first two measures, and 6 and 5 are written under the last two measures.

Second system of musical notation for Treza. 97^a. It consists of a treble and a bass staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the bass staff, the numbers 6 5 and 13 are written under the first two measures and the last two measures, respectively.

Third system of musical notation for Treza. 97^a. It consists of a treble and a bass staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bass staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the bass staff, the numbers 6 5 are written under the first two measures.

28.Treza

Violino Primo.

Violino Secundo.

Basso Continuo.

First system of musical notation for 28.Treza. It consists of three staves: Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, and Basso Continuo. The Violino Primo and Violino Secundo staves contain melodic lines with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Basso Continuo staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Second system of musical notation for 28.Treza. It consists of three staves: Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, and Basso Continuo. The Violino Primo and Violino Secundo staves contain melodic lines with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Basso Continuo staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the Basso Continuo staff, the numbers 8, 1, and 7 are written under the first, second, and third measures, respectively.

Third system of musical notation for 28.Treza. It consists of three staves: Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, and Basso Continuo. The Violino Primo and Violino Secundo staves contain melodic lines with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Basso Continuo staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes. Below the Basso Continuo staff, the number 5 is written under the third measure.

Fourth system of musical notation for 28.Treza. It consists of three staves: Violino Primo, Violino Secundo, and Basso Continuo. The Violino Primo and Violino Secundo staves contain melodic lines with eighth and sixteenth notes. The Basso Continuo staff contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

In this case, the dance movements would surely not have been removed. The suite itself is hardly predictable: the amount of decoration added to the allemande when it is re-cast as the courante is unusual, if not unique. There is nothing to suggest that the sonata was originally part of the suite: perhaps it was a later attachment that in turn became detached again.

A further example of a sonata and suite for violin, viola da gamba and bass is found in the anonymous manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus.i hs.11:10. Like BuxWV 273, the quality of the music is high. The dances following the opening sonata are:

Allemanda, Courant, Ballett, Sarabanda, Gigve.

RISM A/II lists the sonata separately from the suite, though this is not implied in the manuscript.¹⁹ RISM A/II also suggests that the manuscript is in the hand of the Viennese copyist Assieg, but again, this appears to be incorrect. Instr.mus.i hs.11:10 shows the work of two different hands, and neither corresponds to manuscripts bearing Assieg's name.²⁰ Example 8h shows the allemande, and the entire work is given in Appendix II. Apart from the gigue, the dance movements are linked at their openings by material derived from the interval A-E. As we have seen in Chapter 3, this is typical of the type of movement linking found in the Hamburg tradition. While it would be unwise to make any attribution of authorship on this basis alone, it must be a strong possibility that Instr.mus.i hs.11:10 is the work of a Hamburg composer.

Compared with the *à4* and *à5* municipal consort suite, there are surprisingly few trio suites in the municipal style. It is telling that, after his 1660 collection of trios, *Exercitium musicum*, the publisher Wust's next two compilations of suites were for larger ensembles. As we have seen, it may even have been the case in these two later volumes that existing trios were provided with additional inner parts. While there are printed collections of trios such as Reincken's 1704 *Sonaten, Concertaten, Allemanden, Correnten, Sarabanden und Chiguen* that have been lost, it is possible that the trio suite was just not very popular amongst town musicians.²¹ If we now turn to trio suites by court composers, a different picture emerges.

The trio appears to have played an important part in French musical culture. Lully frequently introduced trio sections into his stage works, and Illustration 8i shows a trio from the first act of his 1680 opera *Proserpine* (LWV 58). As James Anthony remarks, 'the ubiquitous *trio des hautbois* (two oboes and bassoon) was ideal for pastoral scenes and for achieving marked color contrast when used in alternation with the string orchestra'.²² But French trios were known in Germany before the advent of Lullism. Johann Ernst Rieck's 1658 *Neuer Allemanden, Giques, Balletten, Couranten* can be seen as a smaller courtly parallel to Wust's *Exercitium musicum*. Despite its title, Rieck's collection includes not just his own compositions, but works by Gumprecht, Strobel and Mercure. Wust's 'Put together and arranged' seems to apply equally well to this volume: apparently some of the pieces in this volume were originally for lute. Rieck seems to have been responsible for the provision of new inner parts as well as the adjustments to the

Example 8h:

Anonymous manuscript S-Uu Instr.mus. i hs.11:10., 'Allemanda'.

Allemanda

The musical score is written for three instruments: Violino (Violin), Viol di Gamba (Viola da Gamba), and Continus (Cello). The time signature is common time (C). The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into four systems. The first system shows the beginning of the piece. The second system includes figured bass notation below the Continus staff: 6 4 3 8 7 6 1 b. The third system includes figured bass notation: 7 6 5 6 5 6. The fourth system includes figured bass notation: 5 6 5 6 5 6 1 4 1.

outer parts required by the change from plucked to bowed instruments.²³ The collection's instrumentation is mostly for two violins and bass, though two suites are for three violins and bass. It has been suggested that 'Italian influence is evident in the writing for trio' but, as we can see from the sarabande by Gumprecht given in Example 8j, *Neuer Allemanden* contains numerous examples of trio writing in parallel thirds that are similar to the trio by Lully given in Illustration 8i.²⁴

There is no reason to suggest that court composers did not write trios in the 1670s and '80s, but evidence is lacking. It is possible that court archivists only preserved the music of state occasions and large-scale entertainment. Perhaps the more intimate music of the trio was just not considered important enough to keep. As with the trio suite written by town composers, the

Illustration 8i

J-B. Lully, *Proserpine* (Paris, 1680) act I, scene II, 'Ritournelle pour Mercure pendant qu'il vole'.

T R A G E D I E
S C E N E I I.

RITOURNELLE pour Mercure pendant qu'il vole.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

BASSE-CONTINUE.

small amount of surviving material may also point to a decline in trio writing during this time. But trios by Lully seem to have been widely disseminated in Germany and, in the 1680s, the Amsterdam publishing houses issued excerpts from Lully's stage works arranged for trios. Perhaps it was the interest in Lully's trios that arrested this apparent decline.

If Lully's music was one factor in the trio's resurgence, then another was the music by

Example 8j:

J. Gumprecht, 'Sarabande' in J. E. Rieck, *Neuer Allemanden, Giques, Balletten, Couranten* (Strasbourg, 1658).

Sarabande

Source:

J.E. Rieck, *Neue Allemanden, Giquen, Balletten* ed. J-L. Gester (Strasbourg, 1994) 21.

Rosiers and Pez emanating from the court of Joseph Clemens, Archbishop-Elector of Cologne. It is to these composers that we shall now turn. As we have seen, the 1680s were often overshadowed by the threat of war, and Joseph Clemens' court suffered more than most. At the time of his accession in 1688, and during the ensuing period of military conflict, the court was in miserable circumstances. But by the end of the century, it had become synonymous with extravagant entertainment, high taxation and profligate spending. Perhaps the strong tradition of trios for two recorders and bass emanating from this court has its origins in the straightened circumstances of the late 1680s. The first printed edition of trios associated with this court was Charles Rosiers' *Pieces choisies, a la maniere Italienne*, which was published in Amsterdam in 1691. According to the title page, Rosiers was 'Vice-Maistre de Musique de S.A.E. de Cologne'. The same title page specifies the instrumentation as 'Propres à jouër sur la Flute, le Violon & autres Instruments', but the part-books themselves are headed 'Flauto Primo', 'Flauto Secondo' and 'Basone' for all seven suites of the collection. The range of these 'flauto' parts suggests that they were intended for recorders, and not transverse flutes. Figures included in the 'Basone' part of two of the suites suggest that 'Basone' may be a generic term. But the absence of figures elsewhere also raises the possibility that, on some occasions, these trios were performed without chordal accompaniment. As we have seen in Chapter 1, Rosiers clearly agreed with Muffat that Italian music should contain an element of dissonant melancholia. But as Example 8k shows, there are also French elements in these trios. The opening rhythms of this example are clearly derived from the French entrée.

There can be little doubt that Johann Christoph Pez was the most prolific writer of trios

Example 8k:

C. Rosiers, *Pieces choisies, a la maniere Italienne*, (Amsterdam, 1691) 'Sonata XII'.

SONATA XII
Poco adagio.

Flauto Primo.
Flauto Secondo.
Basone.

Echo.
Echo.
Echo.
(sic)
Echo.
Affettuoso.
(sic)

in the later part of the seventeenth century. He arrived at Joseph Clemens' court in Lüttich in 1694, and was appointed *Kapellmeister* two years later.²⁵ Probably as a result of the turmoil caused by the War of the Spanish Succession, Pez left Joseph Clemens' service in 1701 and moved, via Munich, to the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* at Stuttgart in 1706. The wide dissemination of his trio suites suggests that they were highly regarded by his contemporaries: performances probably continued for some years after the composer's death. Before he arrived in Lüttich, Pez had spent a period of time studying in Italy, but Joseph Clemens' musical establishment was highly French orientated. Thus Pez was in an ideal position to write in both Italian and French styles. Perhaps the combination of French and Italian styles in Rosiers' suites also acted as an early influence on Pez.

Dating Pez's trio suites is difficult, but Roger published a number of them in 1706, which means that they must have been written before Pez's arrival in Stuttgart in the same year. Apparently, the musical establishment in Munich during Pez's time was 'almost non-existent', so it is reasonable to conclude that a large proportion of Pez's trios come from his time at Joseph Clemens' court.²⁶ There are wide variations in the sources of Pez's trios, but it seems that many were played by, and probably originally intended for, two recorders and bass. One manuscript source for many of these trios, B-Br MS III 1077 Mus, gives 'la flûte' for the upper instrument, and the range of this part suggests a recorder. Only the top part of MS III 1077 Mus survives, but the title of the manuscript, 'Pieces en trio faites exprés pour la flûte par Mr Pezt' clearly implies a pair of like treble instruments. However, the lack of a second part makes it impossible to know the lower limit of the part's range. There are also a large number of trio suites by Pez that exist in transposed versions: clearly, instruments other than recorders were involved.

Apart from the printed editions by Roger, which will be considered later, there are four principal manuscript sources of Pez's trio suites. Their contents and concordances are listed in Appendix I. (All Pez's trio suites are hereafter referred to by the identification numbers given in Appendix I.) Only D-W Cod.Guelf.268 Mus.Hdschr. and F-Pn 4^oVm 848 (1-3) have survived as complete sets of parts. 'Pez 26', a suite in manuscript Cod.Guelf.268 Mus.Hdschr., contains movements that are also found in manuscript D-HRD MS Fû 3629. Seemingly on the basis of a 1728 catalogue of the collection now in D-HRD, these movements are ascribed to Telemann, albeit with reservations, in the modern catalogue of Telemann's works.²⁷ Telemann's authorship of 'Pez 26' is most unlikely: even if all the concordances shown in Appendix I are ignored, the music is typical of Pez.²⁸

Appendix I shows how much disagreement there is over contents and order of movements in all four major sources: bourées and gavottes seem to suffer more than other dances in this respect. In addition, there is frequent confusion over the identity of these two dances: gavottes are often labelled as bourées and bourées as gavottes. In many cases, changes seem to have been made on the whim of a particular scribe, but some of the alterations seem little more than gratuitous. Perhaps Pez himself was responsible for some of the variants, although none of the four manuscript sources given in Appendix I can be shown to have definite links with the composer himself.

The suites in manuscript D-SÜN Schloß MS 59 pose a number of problems. This manuscript has already been discussed in Chapter 5 as a source of Lully's music. Only the treble part survives. It contains four suites ascribed to Pez, and five anonymous suites (Pez '31', '32', '34', '38' and '41') where Pez's authorship can be confirmed by concordances with other sources. The inclusion of a courante in Pez '37' presents a problem. No other suite listed in Appendix I includes a courante, and he does not seem to have used it in his later suites written in Stuttgart. But we should not assume that Pez excluded one of the most popular dances of

his time from every one of his suites. On the basis of a single treble part, there is nothing to prove or disprove Pez's authorship: it is reasonable to assume that the manuscript's attribution of this suite to 'Mr: pez' is correct, but only with reservations. There is perhaps less reason for doubt in the two anonymous *unicum* suites listed as 'Pez 33' and '39'. With so much material missing, it is difficult to make secure judgements, but the music appears to have parallels in many of the trio suites listed in Appendix I.

Schloß MS 59 also poses questions of instrumentation. Pez '37' and Pez '39' both contain 'sollo' and 'tuti' markings. In addition, the part divides into two at various points in Pez '35' and Pez '37'. This part division sometimes lasts for entire movements. If we assume that Schloß MS 59 is a trio manuscript, then the part divisions and solo markings seem to indicate the need for more than one player to a part. But it is also possible that this is the top part of a consort manuscript, and that one or more extra parts have been added to the trios to give a four or five-part texture. We have already seen how this appears to have happened in Wust's 1670 *Continuatio exercitii musici secunda*. In addition, two suites in Schloß MS 59 (Pez '38' and '40') also exist in versions for oboes, bassoon and four-part string ensemble; although it is difficult to know which version came first. However, there seems to be little sense in having a *divisi* top line in a four- or five-part ensemble, and it is more likely that Schloß MS 59 provides evidence for the performance of trios by more than one player to a part.

As we have seen, Georg Muffat had championed the 'gathering together of the best styles of various nations' in the preface to his *Florilegium Primum*.²⁹ Considering Pez's study in Italy, and the pro-French bias of the Cologne court, it is hardly surprising that Pez seems to have had a similar view. Many of his trio suites combine French and Italian elements, indeed, there are few that are exclusively in the Lullian manner. As in Muffat's sonata collections, Pez often combines different stylistic elements within the same movement. Example 81 shows the opening of 'Overture XI' in MS III 1077 Mus. Despite the absence of all but the upper part, we can see that Pez uses the slow-fast structure of the French *ouverture*, but fills it with music that appears to be written in the Italian manner.

Every suite by Pez in Appendix I starts with an abstract movement: on this evidence, it seems that Pez saw such movements as an essential part of the suite. The opening movements of his trios are variously labelled as 'Intrada', 'Overture' 'Simphonia' or 'Sonata'. Of the sixteen suites of MS III 1077 Mus, eight start with an overture, and eight start with an intrada.³⁰ But as we have seen, these titles do not necessarily reflect the contents of their associated movements with any degree of accuracy. Appendix I demonstrates how Pez often favoured the bourée as the movement to follow the opening intrada or overture. But in 'Pez 13', this concept is taken one stage further by specifically including the bourrée as part of the opening sequence:

Intrada / bourée / adagio / intrada da capo.

Example 8l:
J. C. Pez, 'Pez 17', 'Ouverture XI'.

Flauto primo *adagio*

German sonatas often included dance-related music, especially gigue. But the inclusion of a bourée in an opening sequence in this manner is extremely rare. The sequence is particularly effective, and it is strange that Pez does not seem to have repeated the experiment.

As we have seen, the suites of the German-Lullists were, almost without exception, confined to a single key centre. Pez follows this tradition. Even in multi-sectioned sonatas or intradas where a modulation might be desirable for the sake of variety, a section in a related key would still have its opening in the home key. But the change to the related key would happen almost immediately, often within the first bar. Example 8m shows the start of two such movements. In each case, the manuscript source does not have the lower instrumental parts, so I have used Roger's first printed collection of Pez's suites (J. Pez, *Sonata da camera a tre due flauti et basso del signore Christophoro Pez*) for these examples.

Roger, the Amsterdam publisher, issued two printed collections of Pez's suites. Perhaps he knew of Pez's music through Rosiers. In addition, Cod. Guelf. 268 Mus. Hdschr. was written on printed stave music paper that originated in Amsterdam, and this may be an indication that Pez's trios were circulating there. Roger's editions were issued as 'opera seconda' and 'opera terza'. Neither is dated, but Roger's catalogue of 1706 includes among its entries 'Neuf suites de Mr Pez à 2 flûtes ou violons & Basse Continue qui sont son Opera seconda'.³¹ The op. 3 collection is first mentioned in the 1716 catalogue. Much of the material in the manuscript sources listed in Appendix I also appears in the Roger editions. Given the lack of agreement over content and order in the manuscript sources, it is not surprising that the printed editions offer further variants. Cod. Guelf. 268 Mus. Hdschr. is more in agreement with the Roger editions than any other manuscript source. One aspect is clear: the suites in both the Roger editions are mostly shorter than many of their manuscript counterparts: the number of move-

Example 8m:

J. C. Pez, *Sonata da camera a tre* | *due flauti et basso del signore* | *Christiphoro Pez* | *opera seconda*
 (Amsterdam, n.d.) 'Adagio 14' and 'Adagio 26'

ments in each suite is never less than three or more than seven. This is in contrast to the manuscript versions where there can be as many as thirteen movements. The considerable disparity between printed and manuscript sources can be seen in the following comparison of the manuscript version of 'Pez 11' with its printed counterpart. The movements in 'Pez 11' are:

Ouverture / Aria / Bourée / Gavotte / Menuet / Trio / Gavotte / Sarabande / Air, / Menuet[II] / Menuet[III] / Gigue.

The concordant 'suite 1' in Roger's Op.3 omits all three minuets, gavotte[II], the sarabande and the air. The trio of 'Pez 11' is re-titled as a minuet. Roger inserts an additional air from an otherwise unknown source. This, and the many similar variants in Roger, point to a more simplified form of suite. Perhaps this was a reflection of the limitations of the amateur player; it may also indicate a change of taste away from the thirteen- and fourteen-movement German-Lullian suite of the 1680s and '90s. It is possible that Roger drew on whatever material was available, and rearranged order and content to suit the purposes of his edition. Finally, the English publisher Walsh re-issued six of the suites in Roger's op. 2 in London, apparently in 1707.³² The last three suites of Roger's op. 2 were incorporated into an undated collection published by Walsh, Hare and Randall.

Any overall judgement of the musical quality of Pez's suites is hindered by sources that have only survived in an incomplete state, and the lack of agreement between the sources. But in such a large corpus of work, it would be surprising if Pez had maintained an even quality throughout. There are many instances where Pez seems to rely too much on sequential repetition of phrases. However, there are works where Pez is clearly more inspired, and these make

fine additions to the trio repertoire. 'Pez 6' is a good example of Pez's best work, and the complete suite is included in Appendix II.

Even if no other court composer of trio suites seems to have come anywhere near rivalling the sheer size of Pez's output, all the collections that I shall now deal with contain high-quality music. Perhaps this is an indication that court composers held the trio suite in greater esteem at the end of the century.

The first of these collections is Philipp Heinrich Erlebach's 1694 *VI. Sonate à violino e viola da gamba col suo basso continuo*. There are four part-books: a second violin part was offered as an alternative to the viola da gamba part. The title page makes it clear that the violin part is the alternative, and not the other way round. Example 8n shows the opening of 'Sonata prima' with its alternative violin and viola da gamba parts. The latter has chords that are not reproduced in the violin part, but apart from this, and the obvious octave transposition, the two parts are essentially the same. The preface describes the music as being in the 'Italiänischer Mund-Art' and, as we have seen, complains that the edition's printer uses French titles rather than Italian ones. The collection of *VI. ouvertures*, issued a year earlier, is described as being a 'companion work' ('Neben-Werck'). Baselt's description of these trios as 'totally different' is open to question.³³ The *scordatura* tunings employed in the third, fourth and final suites is hardly totally different, and the choice and ordering of the dance movements follow the pattern of the many German municipal suite collections that Erlebach would have encountered as *Kapellmeister* at the Rudolstadt court. Five out of the six suites have the movement sequence of allemande, courante, sarabande, and concluding gigue. Four of the sarabandes have variations. The middle suite of the set replaces the gigue with a *ciaccone* and a 'final' that is similar to the Viennese retirada. The sonatas themselves all follow the same pattern; a slow section at either end frames a central quick section.

Unlike some trios that never seem to move away from sequences of parallel thirds in the top parts, Erlebach handles the relationships between the upper parts with great imagination. The type of writing shown in Example 8n is typical: long sequences of parallel thirds or sixths without any seeming purpose are rare. As we have seen in previous chapters, courtly composers often seem to have surpassed their town colleagues in the quality of their dance writing. Erlebach is no exception. Example 8p shows the first strain of the courante from the second suite of the collection: the writing in this dance has enormous vitality, and Erlebach rarely descends below this level in his other dances. These trios may not be 'totally different' in concept, but they are fine, well-written music.

Johann Pachelbel's *Musicalische Ergötzung bestehend in Sechs Verstimten Partien à 2. Violin nebst den Basso Continuo* is undated, but Paul Whitehead has put forward a convincing case for 1699.³⁴ Fritz Zobeley has suggested, probably correctly, that the music itself dates from an earlier time.³⁵ Although it may have had courtly origins, the expensively engraved edition carries no dedication and it is difficult to imagine for whom it was intended: the title page calls the collec-

Example 8n:

P. H. Erlebach, *VI. Sonate à violino e viola da gamba col suo basso continuo* (Nuremberg, 1694) 'Sonata prima'.

adagio

Violino

Violino Secondo
se piace, in luogo della
Viola da Gamba

Viola da Gamba

Continuo

6 4 | 6 6 | 7 6 |

7 16 5 | 6 5^b | 2 5^b 5 6 7 16 |

6 5 | 6 5^b | 7 16 ^b 6 4 3 | 6 7 6 |

7 | 6 4 4 3 | 6^b 6 ^b5 6 | 7 6 7 6 4 |

tion 'music for recreation'. All six suites are scored for two violins in *scordatura* tuning with a figured 'cembalo' part. Zobeley's modern edition of these works only presents the violin parts in standard tuning: perhaps this is a result of his questionable assertion that dissemination of the original edition was hindered by the *scordatura* tuning.³⁶ There is no evidence to suggest that

Example 8p:Erlebach, *VI. Sonate*, 'Sonata seconda', 'Courante'.

Courante

Violino

Violino Secondo
se piace, in luogo della
Viola da Gamba

Continuo

Figured bass notation: 16 6 5 4 | 6 5 4 | 6 5 3 4

Figured bass notation: 6 3 6 7 6 | 16 5 | 5 16 |

Note:

For clarity, the alternative viola da gamba part has not been included.

the dissemination of *Musicalische Ergötzung* was any better or any worse than other similar printed editions. Compared with Erlebach, Pachelbel is conservative in his writing of the upper parts: sequences of thirds and sixths are mostly avoided but the inner part rarely goes above the upper part for any length of time. There is some mixing of styles. Most of the dances, especially the gigue, are Italian: the courantes, without exception, are French. The suites fall into two basic patterns of movement sequences. All start with a sonata, but four finish with a sarabande followed by a gigue: the remaining two are shorter, and finish with a *ciaccona*.

Finally, it is clear from its title page and preface that Johann Friedrich Meister wanted his 1695 *Il giardino del piacere* to be known as a work in the Italian style. Perhaps in emulation of Cousser, Meister even changed his name on the title page to its Italian version of 'Giovanni Frederico Maestro'. The instrumentation is for two violins and bass. The bass line is given two part-books, one for 'Violdigamba ô Violon' and the other for 'Continuo pro Cimbalo'. Apart from the provision of figures for the harpsichord, the two parts are identical. Meister uses groups of abstract movements to start some of the suites in the collection. For example, the first suite starts with a sonata, a 'canon in unisono' and an *adagio*. In the matter of keys, Meister takes the opposite approach to Pez. The opening sequence of abstract movements in the eighth suite is typical: it starts in B \flat major and ends in F major. The following dance movements are in B \flat major, but a further abstract movement, simply marked 'Grave', starts in G minor and finishes in D minor. (See Example 8q.) It would seem that Meister was thinking of the similar movements in Muffat's 1682 *Armonico tributo*.

Any conclusions on the seventeenth-century trio suite must be qualified by the lack of

Example 8q:

J. F. Meister, *Il giardino del piacere* (Hamburg, 1695) 'La Musica Ottava'.

Grave.

Violino Primo.

Violino Secondo.

Violdigamba & Violon.

Continuo pro Cimbalo.

6 6 16 6 6 16 6 6 1 3 6 6 6 6

3 6 5 15 3 6 7 7 7 7 7 7 16 6 6 16 6 6 16 6 6

7 15 15 7 7 7 7 7 7 6 6 3 16 4 7 3 16

6 4 6 15 3 15 4 3 6 5 15 3 3 7 3 3 1

surviving material, and this may point to a lack of interest in the genre compared with *à4* and *à5* suites. However, by the end of the century, there can be little doubt that the trio suite enjoyed a resurgence of popularity. This may have been a result of the obvious popularity of Lully's own trios. In a parallel with the suite for larger consorts, the municipal style of writing and ordering collections seems to have died out in the last decade of the century. In terms of output, Pez was the leading trio composer of the late seventeenth century, and his music appears to have been widely disseminated. Although his music does not reach the level of Muffat at his best, it is reasonable to see Pez's fusion of styles in the trio suite as a parallel to Muffat's in the four- and five-part consort suite. But Pez's music was mostly disseminated through manuscript sources, and did not contain lengthy prefaces. Perhaps this explains the comparative lack of interest in his music.

Notes on Chapter 8:

1. See Chapter 1, Example 1e. The title itself appears to be even more popular. 'XII Courante la Duchesse' in F-Pn Rés F. 494 is a different composition from the ones shown in Example 1e.
2. All part-books in the 1667 *Sonata da camera* contain this instruction. See Chapter 4.
3. M. A. Eddy, 'The Rost Codex and its music', Ph.D. diss. (University of Stanford, 1984), 84-85.
4. C. Schmidt, 'The Amsterdam editions of Lully's music: a bibliographical scrutiny with commentary', in J. Heyer (ed.), *Lully studies* (Cambridge, 2000), 143.
5. P. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources of Instrumental Music, 1630 to 1700', Ph.D. diss. (University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 566.
6. See Chapters 3 and 4.
7. The identity of these composers is discussed in Écorcheville, *Vingt suites d'orchestre du XVIIe siècle français, publiées d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Cassel* (Paris, 1906; repr. 1970), i, 9-28.
8. The four and six movement versions of the branle have been discussed in Chapter 2.
9. I am grateful to Andrew Ashbee for allowing me to use his manuscript list of English sources in *Exercitium musicum*.
10. R. Harding (comp.), *A thematic catalogue of the works of Matthew Locke with a calendar of the main events of his life* (Oxford, 1971), 132.
11. Each part of the shelfmark refers to a different part-book. Thus, Ihre 281 is the first treble part-book, Ihre 282 the second treble part-book, and Ihre 283 the bass part-book.
12. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources', 582.
13. RISM A/II former number 000085888. On-line records generated by Nisc.com have been re-numbered and revised. The relationship between the manuscripts of Ihre 281-3 and *Exercitium musicum* is now referred to as a 'cross reference'.
14. These suites are discussed in Chapter 4.
15. E. H. Meyer, *Die mehrstimmige Spielmusik des 17. Jahrhunderts in Nord- und Mitteleuropa* (Heidelberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft ii, Kassel, 1934), 187.
16. E. Wienandt, *Johann Pezel (1639-1694) A Thematic Catalogue of his Instrumental Works* (New York, 1983), preface, xxviii.
17. See D. Buxtehude, *Instrumental Works for Strings and Continuo*, ed. E. Linfield (Collected works xiv, New York, 1994), preface.
18. K. J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude, organist in Lübeck* (New York, 1987), 342-3.
19. RISM A/II: 190.006.351.
20. RISM A/II: 190.006.401.
21. U. Grapenthin, 'Reincken' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxi, 155-157.
22. J. Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeux to Rameau* (3rd edn., Portland, Oregon, 1997), 127.
23. J. E. Rieck, *Neue Allemanden, Giquen, Balletten* ed. J.-L. Gester (Strasbourg, 1994), preface, xv.
24. *Ibid.*, preface, xv.
25. When Pez arrived at Joseph Clemens' court, it was based at Lüttich following the damage to the electoral palace in the French occupation of Bonn in 1689. The court returned to Bonn in 1698. See J. C. Pez, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. B. A. Wallner, DTB xxxv, Jg. xxvii & xxviii (Augsburg, 1928), xxxiv. I am grateful to Samantha Owens for bringing this to my attention.
26. E. Roche, 'Pez' in S. Sadie & J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xix, 533-534.
27. 'Des Herren General Major Frey Herrn Von SonsFeldt Musicalisches Cathallogium' is reproduced in facsimile in J. Kindermann (comp.), *Die Musikalien der Bibliotheca Fürstenbergiana zu Herdringen* (Deutsches Musikgeschichtliches Archiv Kassel, Katalog der Filmsammlung iv, nos. 2-3, Kassel, 1987-88), 142-176. See also M. Ruhnke, *Georg Philipp Telemann Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke*, 3 vols. (Kassel, 1984-1999), ii, Anh. 42: C1.

28. RISM A/II also suggests that Telemann is the composer of 'Pez 26', and lists a further Pez source in D-W with the shelfmark Cod. Guelf. 268a Mus. Hdschr. (Records 451.508.544 & 451.544.547). Neither I, nor the department of manuscripts in D-W, can confirm the existence of such a manuscript or shelfmark. I am grateful to Renate Giermann, *Handschriftenabteilung* D-W, for her help in this matter.
29. D. Wilson (ed. & trans.), *Georg Muffat on Performance Practice* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2001), 86.
30. The titles of these opening movements are given incorrectly in RISM A/II.
31. GB-Lbl Hirsch IV 1114.a. A further entry in the same catalogue reflects the title page of Pez's op. 2 by referring to the contents as 'Sonata da Camera'.
32. S. K. Owens, 'The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c.1680-1721', Ph.D. diss. (Victoria University of Wellington, 1995), 356.
33. B. Baselt, 'Philipp Heinrich Erlebach und seine VI Ouvertures, begleitet mit ihren darzu schicklichen Airs, nach französischer Art und Manier (Nürnberg 1693)' in G. Fleischhauer, W. Ruf, B. Siegmund, F. Zschoch (eds.), *Michaelsteiner Konferenzberichte 49* (Michaelstein, 1996), 11.
34. Whitehead, 'Austro-German Printed Sources', 662-3.
35. J. Pachelbel, *Triosuiten für zwei Violinen und Basso continuo* ed. F. Zobeley (Hortus Musicus 54-56, Kassel, 1960-66), preface.
36. Ibid.

'In the well-known French manner of the present time'

Retirada

As a conclusion to this work, I am presenting a series of case studies that concentrate on four suite collections dating from 1700-1705. Fux's 1701 *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* will be considered for the light that it sheds on the influence of Lully's music in Vienna at the turn of the century. Cousser, as we have seen, was one of the most important figures in German-Lullism. He issued three important collections of suites in 1700, *Festin des muses*, *La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio* and *Apollon enjouié*: together, these will form the second study. They will be compared with his only other collection of suites, *Composition de musique*, published nearly twenty years earlier. As we have seen in Chapter 6, the Möller manuscript appears to have been compiled between 1703 and 1707. Thus, the 'Intrada. à 2 Violin. 1 Viol. è Cont: di J. C. Pez' from this manuscript could well pre-date Pez's arrival at the Württemberg court in Stuttgart in 1706. In any case, it provides an important link between Pez's trio suites and the later suites for the Württemberg court. Finally, I shall consider Johann Kuhnau's keyboard collection, *Neuer Clavier Übung Andrer Theil*, published at the end of the seventeenth century. It shows how the concepts of the municipal consort suite continued to be used in the keyboard suite. Together, these case studies will help to provide a portrait of the suite in the early years of the new century.

'In the well known French manner of the present time' is how Jacob Scheffelhut described his 1707 collection of suites in the German-Lullian style, *Musicalisches Klee-Blatt*. There can be little doubt that the influence of Lully was still strong amongst musicians in Germany. But if Lullism continued unabated during the early eighteenth century, there seems to have been a general decline in music printing in Germany and Austria, and the number of printed collections in the German-Lullian style seems to have fallen considerably after the brief flurry at the start of the century. Elsewhere in Europe, the picture seems to have been rather different. As Hans Lenneberg points out, 'by the early eighteenth century in Amsterdam and especially in London, music publishing was thriving in variously healthy states'.¹ Certainly, a fresh outbreak of war at the start of the century and a new period of economic uncertainty cannot have helped the fortunes of German music printing. It is also probable that the decline was a result of outmoded printing technology that was unable to cope with the notational demands of early eighteenth-century instrumental music.

As we have seen, the weakness of the Spanish Habsburg family during the latter part of the seventeenth century resulted in continuing political tension. When Charles II, the Spanish king, died in 1700, it was hardly surprising that the War of the Spanish Succession broke out shortly afterwards. Peace was not restored until the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht and the various other treaties that followed.

The seventeenth century had ended with attempts, most notably by Muffat and Pez, to produce some kind of fusion in their suites of the various compositional styles, in particular, the French and the Italian. But any influence was short-lived: Muffat died in 1704: his only eighteenth-century printed edition of music was the 1701 *Auserlesene Instrumental-musik*, which was a partial re-working of earlier material. Pez's music appears to have been widely disseminated, but his attempts at a mixed style do not seem to have been taken up by other composers with any enthusiasm.

Case study 1: J. J. Fux, *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* (Nuremberg, 1701).

If there were a fusion of styles in the early eighteenth century, then it did not happen in Germany, but in Vienna. Johann Joseph Fux entered the service of the imperial court in 1698, though it seems that his connections with the court may date from several years earlier.² *Concentus musico-instrumentalis*, was published in 1701, and dedicated not to the Emperor Leopold, but to his son Joseph. By this time, late in Leopold's reign, a faction of younger courtiers had formed around the heir to the imperial throne, and it is possible that Fux, through this dedication, was attempting to secure his position for the future.³ As I pointed out in Chapter 6, Aufschneider's 1695 *Concors discordia* was also dedicated to Joseph, and it may not be a coincidence that both Fux and Aufschneider use the term 'serenade' in their collections. It is possible that Joseph particularly cultivated this form of entertainment. While Fux's serenade is quite different in content from the examples in *Concors discordia*, both collections were greatly influenced by the Lullian style. Although we have seen that French influence was reaching the imperial court by the 1690s, it is likely that other musical establishments in Vienna were able to accept Lullianism rather more quickly and fully than Leopold's own *Hofkapelle*. Perhaps Fux came across Lully's music principally at Joseph's court. It would certainly explain the dedication.

But Fux was, above all, an imperial court composer, and a closer examination of the collection also reveals it to be firmly rooted in the Viennese imperial tradition of the previous decades. The title page of *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* tells us that the collection is divided into seven 'Partitas'. A 'Catalogo' at the start of the 'Violino Primo' part-book lists the contents and instrumentation of each *partita*. Table 9.1 gives details. The serenade that makes up the first *partita* is quite different from any of those in *Concors discordia*: a central *ouverture* suite in the Lullian manner is placed within a further sequence of movements mostly distinguished by their use of one or more trumpets. The return of the second trumpet for the 'final', which gives virtually the same instrumentation of the opening and closing movements, seems to indicate that the

Table 9.1:

Contents of J. J. Fux, *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* (Nuremberg, 1701), as given in the 'catalogo' of the first violin part-book.

Partita	Contents	Instrumentation
N. I.	Serenada à 8.	2. Trombe. 2. Hautbois e Fagotto. 2. Violini. 1. Viola e Basso.
N. II.	Ouverture à 6.	2. Hautbois. 2. Violini. 1. Viola e Basso.
N. III.	Ouverture à 4.	2. Violini. 1. Viola e Basso.
N. IV.	Ouverture à 6.	2. Hautbois. 2. Violini. 1. Viola e Basso.
N. V.	Ouverture à 4.	2. Violini. 1. Viola e Basso.
N. VI.	Ouverture à 4.	2. Violini. 1. Viola e Basso.
N. VII.	Sinfonia à 2.	1. Hautbois. 1. Flauto e Basso.

serenade was intended to be played complete, and not as individual sections. Despite this, the movements do fall into three groups, and these are given in Table 9.2. As we can see from the table, the second group of movements has a key sequence that is quite unlike anything used by the German Lullists, but is typical of the Viennese *balletto* tradition that was discussed in Chapter 7. The intrada that starts the third group of movements in the table is unusual. Fanfare-like trumpet solos occur twice in this movement. There do not appear to be any parallel examples in other intradas by Viennese court composers, but it is possible that these fanfares in *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* reflect improvised trumpet fanfares used at the imperial court. The first fanfare is given in Example 9a. The *ciaccona* in the third group of movements in the serenade follows the example of many chaconnes in the German-Lullian tradition: it is little more than an extended sequence of repeated four bar phrases. However, the varied instrumentation and the quality of Fux's invention overcome any limitations of the genre.

The remaining *partitas* of *Concentus musico-instrumentalis* are far simpler in construction. The second has a sequence of dances and character movements in the French manner preceded by a multi-sectioned sinfonia. The three suites that make up *partitas* III, V and VI are scored for strings without oboes or bassoon. Perhaps this music without wind parts comes from earlier in the 1690s. It is mainly in the Lullian style but, as we have seen, Lully's music was known in Vienna at this time. Once again, the influence of the *balletto* is present: not one of these three suites remains in a single key. Perhaps the most interesting movement is the final

Table 9.2:The contents of 'N.1. Seranada à 8' in Fux, *Concentus musico-instrumentalis*.

Group	Movement	Key	Instrumentation
1	Marche	C major	Clarino I & II, Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Guique	C major	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Menuet	C major	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Aria	C major	Clarino I & II, Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
2	Ouverture	A minor	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Menuet	A minor	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Trio	C major	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto.
	Menuet da capo	A minor	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Guique	A minor	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Aria	A minor	Hautbois I & II (in unison), Violino I & II (in unison), Viola, Fagotto, Basso.
	Aria[II]	A minor	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Bourée première	F major	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Bourée 2 ^{de} .	D minor	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
	Bourée première da capo	F major	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso.
3	Intrada	C major	Clarino I, Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola,
	Rigadon	G major	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso
	Ciacona	C major	Clarino I, Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola,
	Guique	F major	Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso
	Menuet	C major	Clarino I, Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola,
	Final	C major	Clarino I & II, Hautbois I & II, Fagotto, Violino I & II, Viola, Basso

Notes:

The 'group' numbers are provided solely for the purpose of identification. In 'group 1' movements with one or more trumpets, oboes play independently from the violins. In the first aria of 'group 2', oboes in unison play independently of violins in unison. In the remaining movements, oboe I doubles violin I, and oboe II doubles violin II. In group 3, the oboes are independent from the violins in the intrada, and for part of the 'Ciacona'.

Example 9a:

Fux: *Concentus musico-instrumentalis*, 'Serenada à 8.', 'Intrada'.



one of the fifth *partita*, 'L'inegalité'. It is difficult to see what Fux means by this title. There does not appear to be any suggestion in the music that he was referring to the French performing practice that is usually known today as 'notes inégales'. 'L'inegalité' is made up of three sections: a 6/8 *prestissimo*, 3/2 *andante* and a further 6/8 *prestissimo* are each framed by music similar to the opening of a Lullian *ouverture*. Perhaps this is a character movement describing the qualities of a particular person.

The final *partita* is a trio for *flauto*, oboe and bass. The range of the *flauto* part makes it likely that Fux intended a recorder. There are four movements:

Sinfonia / La joye des fidels sujests / Aire francoise-Aria Italiana / Les e'nemis Confus.

There is an almost programmatic element running through this trio: a comparison of the French and Italian styles. 'La joye des fidels sujests' is a rondeau in the French manner, and the Italian manner is evident in the tri-partite opening sinfonia. But the two national styles are brought together in a remarkable way in the dual-titled 'Aire francoise-Aria Italiana'. Each of the treble instruments plays in a different style: not surprisingly, the French music is given to the oboe, an instrument closely associated with France. As we have seen in Chapter 7, this association was understood even in Vienna. It is strange that Fux did not chose the violin as the other treble instrument in the suite, which would have provided the greatest contrast between the French oboe and the Italian violin. The 'Aria Italiana' *flauto* part is written and played in a 6/8 time signature, but the oboe and bass 'French' music is written and played at the same time in \mathcal{C} . The notation as it stands would make any attempt at rhythmic coordination between the instrumental parts very difficult, but if the French rhythmic convention of *notes inégales* is employed in the 'Aire francoise', the rhythms of all three parts coincide.⁴ Example 9b gives the opening. But even here, there is a third influence in addition to the French and the Italian: Fux again follows the imperial balletto tradition in his use of more than one key for the movements of the suite. The principal key is F major, but the second part of the sinfonia and the 'Aire francoise-Aria Italiana' are both in D minor.

Case study 2: three collections by J. S. Cousser, all published in Stuttgart in 1701.

Cousser seems to have spent the second half of the 1690s firstly as manager of the Hamburg opera, and then as leader of a touring opera company. In 1698 he came to Stuttgart, and was appointed *Oberkapellmeister* in 1700. At one point, Cousser had to share his *Kapellmeister*

Example 9b:

Fux, *Concentus musico-instrumentalis*, 'Aire francoise'-'Aria Italiana'.

The image shows a musical score for three instruments: Flauto, Hautbois, and Basso e Cembalo. The Flauto part is titled 'Aria Italiana' and is in 3/4 time. The Hautbois and Basso e Cembalo parts are titled 'Aire francoise'. The score consists of two systems of three staves each. The first system shows the beginning of the piece, with the Flauto playing a melodic line and the Hautbois and Basso e Cembalo providing harmonic support. The second system continues the piece, showing a sequence of movements in an A-B-A format. The Flauto part is marked with a 't.' (trill) in the second measure of the second system. The page number '9' is centered below the second system.

duties with Theodor Schwartzkopff and J.G.C. Störl. As Samantha Owens remarks, 'life with three [sharing the same duties] must have been especially tense'.⁵ The three collections of suites issued by Cousser in 1700, *Festin des muses*, *La cicala della cetra d'Eunomio* and *Apollon enjouié* together form our second case study. These were Cousser's first publications since the *Composition de musique* of 1682, and firmly in the German-Lullian style that he had done so much to establish. As we have seen in Chapter 5, all three appear to have been compiled during Cousser's time at the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* in the late 1690s, and probably contain stage music written for his touring companies during the 1690s.

The three collections are similar in character. There are six suites in each collection, all starting with the now traditional Lullian *ouverture*. Table 9.3 lists the contents of *La cicala della cetra*. The most obvious change between *Composition de musique* and the 1700 collections is in the instrumentation: oboes and a bassoon are used throughout the latter.⁶ There are other significant changes: *Composition de musique* ends with an extended branle suite, but the branle sequence is noticeably absent from the 1700 collections. Instead, Cousser uses a single 'Branle de Village' in two of the suites in *Apollon enjouié*. Even this single movement is absent from *La cicala* and *Festin des muses*. A further change is found in Cousser's frequent use of *alternativement* sequences in all three of the 1700 collections. Here, pairs of movements are played in an A-B-A sequence with the first movement being repeated after the second. Occasionally, the pair of movements was extended to three: the third suite of *Festin des muses* contains the following sequence:

Gavotte, qui se jouë alternativement avec les deux suivantes / 2me Gavotte / 3me Gavotte.

Cousser was certainly not the first person to use this device in a printed collection: Er-

Table 9.3:Contents of J. S. Cousser, *La Cicala della Cetra d'eunomio* (Stuttgart, 1700).

Movements	Keys
Ouverture I / Rondeau, qui se jouë alternativement avec les Jardiniers / Les Jardiniers / Entrée / Les Porteurs de Flambeaux / Les Luteurs / Air / Chaconne / Les Suabes / Passepied / Marche / Entrée pour les Dames / Entrée pour les mesmes.	G major
Ouverture II / Marche / Prelude / Entrée / Air[I] / Les Genies / Les Mesmes / Prelude / Air[II] / Gavotte / Rondeau / Menuet / Les Ventes / Les Matelots / Menuet[II] / Menuet[III].	F minor, F major
Ouverture III / Sommeil / Trio de Flûtes / Les Songes / Les Mesmes / Marche / Trio / Les Gladiateurs / Air / Polichinelles / Arquelins / Air[II].	D minor, D major
Ouverture IV / Trio de Flûtes / Rondeau / Trio[I] / Air / Trio[II] / Rejouissance / Menuet alternativement avec le suivant / Trio[III] / Rondeau / Menuet[II] / Marche / Paysans / Passepied.	C minor, C major
Ouverture V / Trio[I] / Entrée / Air / Menuet / Les Cavalliers & Dames / Les Amazones / Trio[II] / Choeur / Gavotte Rondeau / Trio[III] / Menuet / Satirs / Trio[IV] / Bourée / Rondeau, alternativement avec la Gavotte / Gavotte / Menuet.	B \flat major
Ouverture VI / Air / Chaconne / Prelude[I] / Sarabande / Menuet / Trio [I] / Air / Prelude[II] / Trio[II] / Menuet / Rondeau alternativement avec le Trio suivant / Trio[III].	A minor, A major

lebach had used it in his 1693 *VI Ouvertures*, Muffat in both volumes of *Florilegium*, and Fischer in his 1695 *Le journal du printems*. Unlike *Composition de musique*, character movements are an important feature in each of the three collections: again, this points to many of the movements in these collections having their origins in music intended for the stage. The suites in the 1700 collections are noticeably longer than those of 1682: there are sequences of as many as seventeen movements. For example, the second suite from *Apollon enjoié* has the following :

Ouverture / Les Chasseurs / Branle de Village qui se jouë alt / Trio / Rondeau / Trio / Les Indiens / Air / Bourée / Les Furies / Choeur / Gigue / Gavotte / Ritournelle à 3 / Rejouissance / Marche / Menuet / Chaconne.

Long sequences of movements were common in sequences of excerpts taken from Lully's dramatic music: the *Ouverture avec tous les airs de violons de L'opera de Persée* published in Amsterdam by Heus in 1682 has twenty-nine movements, and there are twenty-five movements in Pointel's *Tous les airs de violon de l'opera d'Amadis*, issued in 1684. But Cousser may also have been influ-

enced by a similar trend in suite collections published in France. For example, the first suite of Marin Marais' 1692 *Pièces en trio pour les flutes, violon, & dessus de viola* has eleven movements and the second suite thirteen.

Cousser is less sparing in his use of the chaconne than he was in *Composition de musique*: there are three examples in *Apollon enjouié*, four in *Festin des muses*, and two in *La cicala*. Cousser uses three types of chaconne. The chaconne from the first suite of *La cicala* is given in Appendix II. Most of the movement is made up of simple repetitions of unrelated four- or eight-bar phrases. There is no repeated bass-line formula, or use of rondeau-style couplets. But the movement is longer than most examples of this type: in this respect, it matches the similar movements by Johann Fischer and Muffat.

The fourth suite of *Apollon enjouié* contains probably the most ambitious chaconne that Cousser ever wrote. This chaconne has some unusual features: instead of the normal triple metre for this dance, it has a ϕ time signature, and it makes prominent use of a solo oboe as well as the more usual trio sections. A bass-line formula, often varied, is used throughout. The movement has two sections, the first in the major key, and the second in the minor; the first sixteen bars are repeated at the end of the movement. Cousser also makes considerable use of repetition, but this is different from simple repeats of four- or eight-bar phrases. In each of the three sixteen-bar phrases that make up the first section of this chaconne, an eight-bar phrase for solo oboe and bass, both marked 'seul' is repeated in a fully-harmonised version by the whole ensemble. The first of these phrases, and its repeat, is given as Example 9c. The second section, in the minor key, mostly follows the same combination of solos and repeats by the full ensemble. Here, the eight solo bars are not played by the oboe, but by a trio combination of two oboes and the two violas playing in unison. The last of these trio phrases is also given in Example 9d: it shows how imaginatively Cousser varies the bass-line formula. The musical quality of these 1700 collections is uneven. There are times when the music in them seems rather mundane. This is not surprising if we allow for the fact that some of it may have been written while Cousser was on tour, and possibly produced in haste. But it is hard to show much enthusiasm for movements such as the rondeau of the second suite of *Apollon enjouié* where the poverty of invention is only too obvious. On the other hand, we have seen that the chaconne from the fourth suite of the same collection shows Cousser to be capable of reaching the highest levels of accomplishment.

Case study 3: 'Intrada. à 2 Violin. 1 Viol. è Cont: di J. C. Pez' (D-B Mus.MS 40 644).

As we have seen in Chapter 6, the so-called Möller manuscript is an important source of keyboard music known to the Bach family in the early years of the eighteenth century, and probably dates from between 1703 and 1707. Pez's intrada is the second suite in the group of consort pieces at the start of the manuscript. Unfortunately, the final pages of this suite have not survived, and the chaconne is incomplete. The work is written in score: there are no parts. If

Example 9c:

J. S. Cousser: *Apollon enjoué* (Stuttgart, 1700) fourth suite, 'Chaconne'.

Chaconne

Note:

The source for Examples 9c and 9d is J. S. Kusser, *Suiten für Orchester*, ed. R. Bayreuther (Musikalische Denkmäler xi, Mainz, 1994), 222-23 and 229-30. The clefs and accidentals of the modern edition are reproduced unchanged.

work on the manuscript was started in 1703, this suite probably pre-dates Pez's move to the Württemberg *Hofkapelle* at Stuttgart in 1706. The movements are:

Intrada / Rondeaux / Gigue[I] / Aria / Gigue[II] / Ciaconne.

The opening intrada is, in many ways, the most interesting movement: it has two sections; a triple-metre adagio is followed by a common-time presto. Example 9c gives the first section. As we have seen in his trios, Pez, like Muffat, was able to combine elements of various styles, and this intrada is no exception. The musical language in Example 9c, with its avoid-

Example 9d:

Cousser: *Apollon enjoié*, fourth suite, 'Chaconne', bars 89ff.

The image displays a musical score for 'Chaconne' from the fourth suite of 'Apollon enjoié' by Cousser. It consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system includes staves for Premier Dessus d'Hautbois, Second Dessus d'Hautbois, Haut Contre de Violon, and Taille de Violon. The second system continues the same instrumentation. The music is written in common time and features a complex melodic line in the upper staves and a more rhythmic, bass-oriented line in the lower staves. The piece is marked 'trio'.

ance of leaps and dissonant suspensions, is closer to the French manner than to the Italian. In addition, the musical argument is mostly carried out between treble and bass: the inner parts are comparatively simple. This also suggests the French manner. On the other hand, the structure of this dual-section intrada is similar to many examples by German town musicians, and has no relationship to the single-section, common-time *entrée* found in the French repertoire.

There are clear parallels with other works by Pez. Example 9f gives, for comparison, the aria that is part of 'Ouverture V' from the trio manuscript B-Br MS III 1077 Mus ('Pez 11'). The similarities between the two are clear. Likewise, the intrada of the 'Intrada a 2. Hautbouas. Concert. 2 Violas e Basso Continuo' (D-ROu Mus.Saec.XVII.38²¹), presumably written at Stuttgart, has an almost identical two-section format and musical style. Illustration 9i shows the opening to the first oboe part of this work. The suite in the Möller manuscript is an important work: even if the chronology of music in the manuscript still remains uncertain, it is clear that this is one of Pez's earliest known consort suites.⁷

By themselves, the examples that we have considered so far in this chapter are not comprehensive enough to provide a complete picture of consort suite trends in the early eighteenth century. But if we include works and collections considered in previous chapters, a pattern does start to emerge. Despite the warfare with France, French musical culture still ruled the German courts, and was increasingly well established in Vienna. Any developments in the German-Lullian suite seem to have been comparatively minor affairs with the most significant change being in the addition of oboes and bassoons to the seventeenth-century string ensemble. As we have seen, extracts from Lully's stage works were still being circulated well into the eighteenth century.

If there were any significant new trends, their identification is hampered by the lack of printed editions from this time, and manuscript dating is often imprecise. For example, it

Example 9e:

'Intrada. à 2 Violin. 1 Viol. è Cont: di J. C. Pez' (D-B Mus.MS 40 644), 'Intrada'.

Intrada. à 2 Violin. 1 Viol. è Cont: di J.C. Pez.

adagio

presto

Example 9f:

J. C. Pez, 'Pez 11' (B-Br MS III 1077 Mus), 'Aria'.

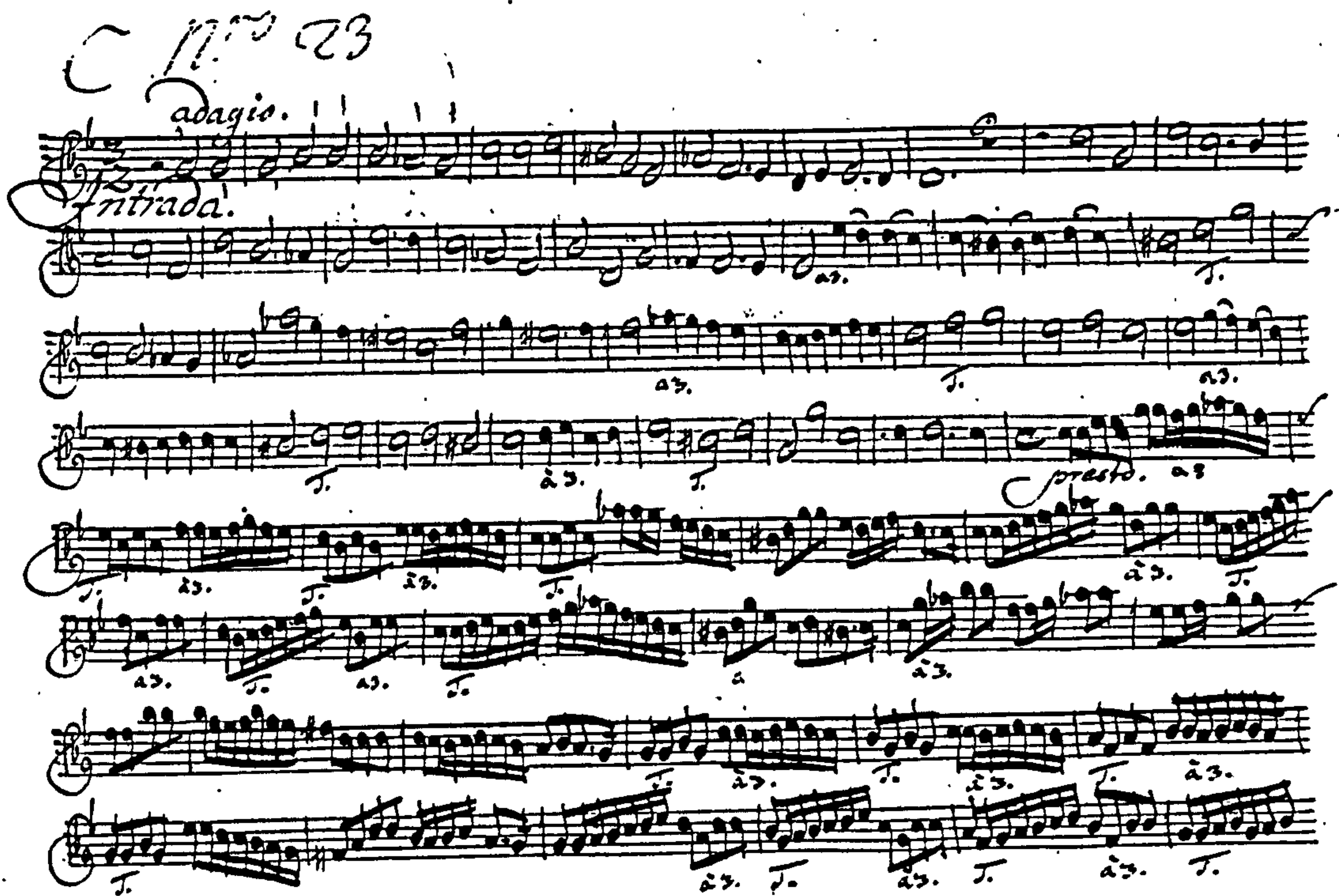
Aria

Gravè

Flauto primo

Illustration 9i:

J. C. Pez, 'Intrada a 2.Hautbouas. Concert. 2.Violas e Basso Continuo' (D-ROu Mus.Saec. XVII.38²¹) 'Intrada'.



seems that 'Telemann's suites were already well known in Leipzig by 1707'.⁸ But dating of his earliest suites appears to be difficult. Steven Zohn's article on Telemann in *The New Grove* (London, 2001) gives the earliest date for any suite as being 'before 1713'.⁹ Similarly, the 'TWV 55' section in Ruhnke's catalogue of Telemann's works only dates early suites as being 'before 1715'.¹⁰

Case study 4: J. Kuhnau, *Neüer Clavier Übung Andrer Theil* (Leipzig, 1692).

Finally, we should consider any influence of the municipal suite at the turn of the century. As we have seen from Chapters 3 and 4, the type of consort suite and suite collection written by town composers in the 1660s and '70s started to die out in the 1680s, and had virtually disappeared by the end of the century. But keyboard suites and collections still used elements of the municipal style. Johann Kuhnau was J.S. Bach's predecessor as cantor at the Leipzig *Thomaskirche*. His 1692 *Neüer Clavier Übung Andrer Theil* is organised in a way that had changed little since the time of Horn and Rosenmüller and forms our final case study. Here, six of Kuhnau's seven suites all follow a similar movement pattern: an opening prelude is followed by a sequence of dances built around a sequence of allemande, courante, sarabande. Starting from C minor, the suites are arranged in ascending order of key. Kuhnau also uses movement linking and re-casting of the type that was common in the 1660s and '70s. Illustration 9ii shows the allemande and its re-cast courante from the first suite of the collection. Here, one bar of the allemande is equal to a half-bar of the courante, which is the relationship of the modified

Illustration 9ii:

J. Kuhnau, *Neuer Clavier Übung Andrer Theil* (Leipzig, 1692, repr. 1696) allemande and courante from the first suite.

proportio sesquialtera favoured by most seventeenth-century composers.¹¹ But in one important respect, Kuhnau does not follow earlier Leipzig traditions. Almost certainly, he would have known of Leipzig consort suite collections where there appears to have been an element of choice available to the performer in the selection of sequences of movements.¹² There is no suggestion of this in any of his collections of keyboard suites. *Neuer Clavier Übung Andrer Theil* was reprinted no less than four times, the last being 1726. The collection clearly show how the traditions of the municipal consort suite were maintained in the keyboard suite, and in Leipzig at least, well into the eighteenth century.

But in both court and town, music in the Lullian manner continued to be the dominant influence in the German consort suite for at least the first decade of the eighteenth century. Georg Muffat wrote more on the German-Lullian tradition than anyone else at the time. It is fitting that we should let him have the last word. The following extract from the preface to *Florilegium II* may not have represented the views of all German musicians, but it certainly represented the views of many German ruling families:

This is how to play the Ballets on violins in the manner of the most famous Jean-Baptiste de Lully (which we here will understand in all its purity, and which is admired and praised by the most accomplished musicians in the world) a manner so sensible that one might scarcely think of anything more graceful or beautiful.¹³

Notes to Chapter 9:

1. H. Lenneberg, *On the Publishing and Dissemination of Music 1500-1850* (Hillsdale, NY, 2003), 65.
2. H. White, 'Fux' in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), ix, 365-375.
3. J. Duindham, 'Courts of the Austrian Habsburgs' in J. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe 1500-1750* (London, 1999, repr. 2000), 182.
4. I am grateful to Peter Holman for this observation.
5. S. K. Owens, 'The Württemberg *Hofkapelle* c.1680-1721', Ph.D. diss. (Victoria University of Wellington, 1995), 67.
6. Cousser's use of the oboes and bassoon in these collections is dealt with in Chapter 5.
7. R. Hill (ed.), *Keyboard music from the Andreas Bach Book and the Müller Manuscript* (Harvard Publications in Music 16, Harvard, 1991), introduction, xxiii.
8. S. Zohn, 'Telemann' in S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell (eds.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001), xxv, 199-232.
9. Ibid.
10. See entries under TWV 55, M. Ruhnke, *Georg Philipp Telemann Thematisch-Systematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke*, iii, (Kassel, 1999).
11. See Chapter 3.
12. See Chapter 4.
13. Wilson, *Georg Muffat*, 31.