

Seventeenth-Century Keyboard Music in Dutch- and German-Speaking Europe

David Schulenberg (2004, updated 2021)

Keyboard music is central to our understanding of the Baroque, particularly in northern Europe, whose great church organs were among the technological and artistic wonders of the age. This essay treats of the distinctive traditions of keyboard music in Germany, Austria, and the Netherlands before the time of Johann Sebastian Bach and other eighteenth-century musicians.

Baroque keyboard music followed in a continuous tradition that of the sixteenth century, when for the first time major composers such as William Byrd (1543–1623) in England and Andrea Gabrieli (ca. 1510–1586) in Italy had created repertoires of original keyboard music equal in stature to their contributions in other genres. Such compositions joined improvised music and arrangements of vocal and instrumental works as the foundations of keyboard players' repertoires. Nevertheless, the actual practice of keyboard players during the Baroque continued to comprise much improvisation. Keyboard players routinely accompanied other musicians, providing what is called the basso continuo through the improvised realization of a figured bass.¹ On the relatively rare occasions when solo keyboard music was heard in public, it often took the form of improvised preludes and fantasias, as in church services and the occasional public organ recital. Hence, much of the Baroque repertory of written compositions for solo keyboard instruments consists of idealized improvisations. The capacity of keyboard instruments for self-sufficient polyphonic playing also made them uniquely suited for the teaching and study of composition. Thus a second large category of seventeenth-century keyboard music comprises models for good composition, especially in learned, if somewhat archaic, styles of counterpoint.

The Uses of Keyboard Music: Instruments and Performance Practice

Each of the basic seventeenth-century keyboard types—organ, harpsichord, and clavichord—encompassed considerable regional variation. Nevertheless, certain superficial features are common. For example, the keyboard compass rarely exceeds four octaves (C–c'''), and the bottom octave is often incomplete or “short” (e.g., lacking C#, D, and D#). The famous instruments of the Flemish Ruckers family range from small virginals and muselars—often depicted in paintings showing the interiors of prosperous Dutch households—to harpsichords with two or three complete sets (or *registers*) of strings. These harpsichords sometimes incorporate a second keyboard, but unlike those on later French instruments (or on many organs), the paired keyboards generally played at different pitch levels and were not intended for use together within a single composition. German harpsichords rarely exceeded a single keyboard, but the tone color of each register tends to be highly distinctive, creating the potential for substantial variety of sound, although composers rarely if ever specified particular timbres.²

Organs likewise could be small but colorful. The large church organs in major cities of the Netherlands and northern Germany, however, were famous for their construction in balanced divisions—in effect, separate instruments, each played from a different keyboard, including one for the feet (pedals). Such instruments comprised many full sets of pipes of distinct types, imitating flutes, reeds,

1 Figured bass, a form of notation invented around 1600, consists of a bass line supplemented by numerals (“figures”) and other symbols; guided by the latter, the player improvises chords and counterpoint in the right hand while performing the bass line with the left.

2 German and Netherlandish harpsichords, previously understood as blending elements of contemporary French and Italian harpsichords, are now viewed as constituting a distinct tradition; see John Koster, “The Harpsichord Culture in Bach's Environs,” in *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 4, ed. David Schulenberg (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 59–61.

and other instrumental sounds, which might be employed as solo colors or in innumerable combinations. On such instruments the feet might play one or even two independent bass and tenor lines; nevertheless much seventeenth-century organ music, especially that from southern regions, lacks pedal parts.

Probably the most common instrument, particularly for domestic use, was the clavichord, whose strings are not plucked (as on the harpsichord) but rather struck by small metal points or *tangents*. Although small in sound, a good seventeenth-century clavichord can produce a surprisingly full sonority while offering a sensitivity of touch—including variable dynamics—not found on other seventeenth-century keyboard instruments. Most pre-eighteenth-century clavichords were *fretted*: a single string serves two, three, or even four different notes (e.g., D# and E), making certain chords and ornaments difficult or impossible to play, especially in keys whose scales involve numerous accidentals.

Such keys, however, were avoided in keyboard music, since the preferred systems of tuning or *temperament* favored particular intervals: the major thirds on the notes A, C, D, E, F, G, Bb, and Eb were tuned more purely than in the equal temperament used today. This made the most commonly used consonant chords more resonant than would otherwise be the case, but chords built on other notes, as well as dissonances and chromatic intervals, sounded distinctly less sonorous—an effect used for expressive purposes in some pieces. Moreover, except on special instruments that possessed extra keys for enharmonic notes—e.g., separate “split” keys for D# and Eb, respectively—such tuning left certain intervals completely out of tune. Thus most keyboard music was confined to what we would call the keys closest to C major; key signatures of more than two accidentals are rare.

Few pieces were designated for a particular keyboard instrument, such as organ or harpsichord. Composers often had no specific intention in this regard, leaving the choice to the player, who used whichever type was available. In other cases, genre can provide clues, as in liturgical pieces presumably for organ. Keyboard compass and the presence of a pedal part can also be suggestive. But wide intervals between the lower voices do not necessarily imply use of organ pedals, for such intervals may be playable with a short octave, and some harpsichords were fitted with pedalboards. More subtle clues, such as a sustained melodic line—especially in an inner or lower voice—may point less ambiguously to the organ. In any case, players would have improvised adaptations as needed, as when a composition exceeded the available keyboard range.

A tradition of public performance of solo keyboard music existed only for the organ, and little is known as to how it was used. Regular concert series are known to have taken place in the Calvinist churches of the Dutch republic, and the famous *Abendmusiken* at Lübeck originated as organ recitals, later expanded to include vocal music. Some organists were required to give an annual public recital, and concerts often accompanied the dedications of new instruments or the testing of prospective organists. Repertory used today by church organists as preludes or interludes in services may have served pedagogical or concert functions in the seventeenth century; the organ may also have accompanied congregational singing in many places, as it does today, but this practice was far from universal. Certainly, however, the organist frequently provided the basso continuo accompaniment in works for instrumental or vocal ensemble.

The primary role of the larger types of harpsichord was probably for accompaniment in both sacred and domestic settings, above all in the theater. Wealthy amateurs and professional court musicians might have occasionally played solo repertory on such instruments, but others would have had to content themselves with smaller instruments, especially the clavichord, which must be considered the primary medium for much of the extant secular repertory. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, as German-speaking Europe recovered from the Thirty Year's War, trade and communication with outlying lands increased, and foreign, especially French, music came increasingly

into vogue. Stimulated by the publication of collections of keyboard pieces by Chambonnières, D'Anglebert, and other French composers, German and Dutch musicians began to issue similar volumes. From the dedications of these publications it is evident that they catered to (and were probably subsidized by) wealthy amateurs playing both clavichord and harpsichord. Professional musicians no doubt played this music as well, but the expense of printed music was such that they normally played from manuscripts, which they copied themselves into collections that constituted their personal repertoires.³

Notation

Only in the late seventeenth century, under the influence of French publications, did German keyboard players adopt the system of keyboard notation on pairs of five-line staves. Pedal parts were normally included on the lower staff, not on a separate one of their own as in modern organ scores. Some manuscripts, especially those containing Italian or English music, still employed the six- and eight-line staves used in those countries. In such manuscripts the placement of notes on the upper or lower staff is an indication to use the right or left hand, respectively; a melodic line exchanged between the two hands, as in the inner voices of many contrapuntal pieces, wanders between staves. But many German musicians continued to employ the older form of notation known as tablature, using letters instead of notes. This more abstract notation requires the player to determine which notes belong to which hand (or to the pedals). Although more economical—a composition could be copied using a half or a third as much paper—tablature is harder to read and by 1700 was going out of fashion. J. S. Bach continued to use it well into the eighteenth century, but only to notate brief sketches or when forced by lack of space to write a few measures of music in the margins of a page otherwise employing staff notation.

One of the few substantial German publications of keyboard music from the first half of the century, the *Tabulatura nova* (Hamburg, 1624) of Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654), was printed in open score, using a separate staff for each contrapuntal line; Scheidt nevertheless expected players to transcribe this into tablature notation. But many unpublished seventeenth-century works survive only in later manuscripts whose original tablature was transcribed into staff notation—with errors and alterations that sometimes obscure the original readings. Worse, thousands of pieces, including much of the life work of such major figures as Buxtehude, probably disappeared because none were ever written in more than a handful of tablature manuscripts, and these were discarded when their notation became unreadable.

Performance Practices

In the absence of a significant amateur market such as existed in the eighteenth century, earlier musicians wrote relatively little on performance practice. This is especially true in the realm of keyboard music, for which information about such fundamental topics as fingering, registration, and ornamentation—not to mention tempo and other aspects of interpretation—must be deduced from scattered clues often remote in time and place from the music itself. Some sources provide fingerings, ornaments, and other performance markings, but these may be represent local practices from which it is difficult to generalize. For example, German manuscripts containing works of Sweelinck and his contemporaries sometimes preserve “paired” scale fingerings that alternate fingers 3 and 4 (or 3 and 2)

3 Surviving examples include two large manuscripts prepared by Johann Christoph Bach (1671–1721), older brother and teacher of Johann Sebastian Bach, who contributed some of his own early compositions to the collection.

—as in English practice, where the right hand would finger an ascending C-major scale 3–4–3–4 3–4 (etc.). But it is difficult to fit such patterns to the more irregular types of figuration found in the music of Froberger. The latter might have used the scale fingering described in some Italian sources (2–3–4 3–4, etc.) or a more pragmatic approach (2–3–4–5 2–3–4–5), conceivably including modern “thumb-under” technique (especially in the left hand).

Paired fingerings do not necessarily have implications for touch or articulation; they need not produce paired slurring, as was once believed, for, by holding the hands well above the keyboard, as shown in some seventeenth-century depictions, a player using such fingering can produce fleet, evenly detached articulation resembling that of the lute. Good players no doubt mixed articulate with sustained playing, using detached touch especially for leaps and in lively dance music. But even in contrapuntal pieces, which were modeled on vocal polyphony, players must have cultivated an articulate approach, to judge from the documented avoidance of the thumb and frequent use of the same finger for successive notes in a melodic line. Accents would have been created chiefly through agogics, especially by detaching notes that *precede* emphasized ones. Similar conclusions are suggested by the short organ pedalboards of the period, which prevent the alternation of heel and toe used to create smooth legato lines in later organ music. Detached playing with the toe only was probably the rule, the feet alternating in the liveliest pedal passages of the north-German composers, whose virtuoso pedal parts incorporate motives designed specifically for such playing.

Ornamentation, an essential element, was heavily influenced by that of Italy. Thus Froberger followed Frescobaldi's use of the letter “t” to signify *tremolo* or *tremolotto*, that is, any of various short trill- and mordent-like figures described by writers on vocal music.⁴ These unwritten figures usually began on the main note; the long cadential trill or *grosso* starting on the upper auxiliary was written out well into the seventeenth century. Equally important, although documented largely through hints in contemporary vocal treatises, are numerous types of *accenti*: passing notes inserted before or after the beat. Only in the published collections from the end of the century did composers introduce systems of ornament signs modeled on those being introduced at the same time in France. The more elaborate types of embellishment, such as the cadenza-like passages used to decorate final cadences or to connect sections of a larger piece, are often written out in toccatas and related works; players may have improvised them in other contexts as well.

Rhythm must often have been treated more freely than the notation suggests to a modern player. In the language of the time, tempo and rhythm were *à discrétion*—that is, at the discretion of the player—in certain genres, such as the allemande and the organ praeludium. A letter in Froberger's hand expresses doubt that anyone would play his music with the same *discrétion* as his own. Yet his rhythmic notation reveals his effort to preserve a style of playing that must have recalled recitative or the “modern madrigals” to which Frescobaldi referred in describing performance of his own toccatas.

Modern performances do not always heed these suggestions, sometimes employing over-literal rhythm as well as anachronistic ornaments and articulation. Moreover, a dearth of usable instruments from the period and of competent modern copies forces many to play on inexact reconstructions of eighteenth-century instruments. Hence players are only beginning to recreate the excitement that this music must have inspired in its original listeners. Even austere pieces such as Froberger's *ricercars* contain potentially expressive dissonances and other features whose effect might emerge through refined ornamentation.

4 The English “two-stroke” ornament sign, also used in some German manuscripts, may have had a similar meaning in some cases. For more on this subject, see the present author’s “Ornaments, Fingerings, and Authorship: Persistent Questions About English Keyboard Music *circa* 1600,” *Early Keyboard Journal* 30 (2013): 27–51.

Composers and repertories

The state of written keyboard music in late-Renaissance Germany is documented in several printed anthologies whose dances and transcribed vocal pieces seem to have been directed to middling or amateur players.⁵ Comparable pieces—alongside settings of liturgical melodies in a similar style—comprise the bulk of surviving German keyboard music from as early as the fifteenth century. But by 1600 the best professional players were cultivating new genres imported from Italy, especially the toccata and *ricercar* as developed in Venice by Andrea Gabrieli and his nephew, student, and successor as organist at St. Mark's Basilica, Giovanni Gabrieli (ca. 1555–1612). The Gabrieli tradition extended well into seventeenth-century Germany through Giovanni's pupil Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672), whose student Matthias Weckmann (1621–74) left a number of keyboard pieces.

Hans Leo Hassler and the Venetian Style

An earlier recipient of the Venetian tradition was Hans Leo Hassler (1562–1612), who studied in Venice with Andrea Gabrieli before becoming organist in 1586 to Octavian Secundus, Count Fugger, in Augsburg in southern Germany. Hassler later (1601) served as a musician in his native city of Nuremberg, ending his career as organist and, briefly, Capellmeister at the Saxon court of Dresden. Hassler is now best known for his vocal music, his keyboard works being overlooked perhaps because they have never been published in a complete, readily accessible modern edition; in addition, many of the 110 keyboard works attributed are of questionable authorship.⁶ Yet a few dozen *ricercars*, toccatas, and other pieces securely assigned to him constitute a keyboard repertory comparable in style and significance to the vocal and ensemble works of Giovanni Gabrieli.

Most of Hassler's pieces, like those by other writers of his generation, are designated according to their “tones,” referring to a system of pitch organization related to the ecclesiastical modes of Gregorian chant. Thus his *Ricercar II. toni* (*Ricercar of the Second Tone*) is in what we would call the transposed Dorian mode, set on G with one flat in the “key” signature. Like other late-Renaissance and Baroque *ricercars*, it is an extended exercise in imitative counterpoint in four voices; unlike earlier examples, it falls into clearly delineated sections of impressive dimensions. The first half, for example, comprises subdivisions that treat, respectively, the original and inverted forms of its chromatic subject.

Even more impressive are several pieces designated *introitus*. These are extended examples of the toccata, which in the Venetian tradition opens with massive homophonic chords, then proceeds to free figuration and, in more extended examples, imitative polyphony. The title of the *Introitus IV. toni* (*Introit of the Fourth Tone*) refers to the Phrygian mode, but in fact Hassler, like Giovanni Gabrieli, uses a post-modal idiom whose sequences move more than halfway around the circle of fifths. Broader than the tonal palette of earlier composers, this permits harmonies as remote as B-flat from the “tonic” E minor. An expressive juxtaposition of the chords of A major and F major occurs in a passage recalling Giovanni Gabrieli's pieces for multiple choirs of instruments (ex. 1). Also broader than that of earlier composers is Hassler's durational scale; the grand opening section alone is comparable in length to complete toccatas by the Gabrielis. The ensuing imitative sections are more instrumental and more

5 For accounts of the *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulatur* of Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach (Leipzig, 1571) and the *Tabulatur Buch* of Bernhard Schmid (Strasbourg, 1577), see John Butt, “Germany and the Netherlands,” in *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, ed. Alexander Silbiger (New York: Schirmer Books, 1995), 159–65.

6 See, e.g., Vincent J. Panetta, “Toccatas Carrying Conflicting Attributions to Sweelinck and Hassler,” *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voof Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis* 42 (1992): 90–130.

virtuoso in style—closer to those in Gabrieli's instrumental canzoni—than the vocally inspired counterpoint of Venetian toccatas or Hassler's own ricercars.

Example 1. Hans Leo Hassler, *Introitus IV. toni*, (a) mm. 1–4, (b) mm. 16–18, (c) mm. 130–35

The image displays three excerpts of a musical score for Hans Leo Hassler's *Introitus IV. toni*. Each excerpt is presented in a grand staff with a treble and bass clef. Excerpt (a) shows measures 1-4, featuring a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Excerpt (b) shows measures 16-18, characterized by a rapid, ascending melodic line in the treble staff. Excerpt (c) shows measures 130-35, featuring a complex texture with multiple voices in both staves, including chords and melodic fragments.

Sweelinck and His Students

Similar pieces were being composed under the title *fantasia* at about the same time by Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck (1562–1621), organist from about 1580 at the Oude Kerk (Old Church) in Amsterdam. Sweelinck wrote, in addition, short, improvisatory toccatas, variations on popular tunes, settings of hymn melodies, and dances. Like Hassler, Sweelinck was also a prolific composer of vocal music, drawing, however, in both vocal and instrumental pieces on a wider range of styles that included French chansons and, in particular, Elizabethan keyboard music. His relevance to the history of Baroque music would be assured merely through his teaching; his students included the most important north- and middle-German keyboard composers of the next two generations, and they used his keyboard works as models for their own.

Sweelinck's variations on tunes and dances are often regarded as harpsichord pieces, deriving as

they do from the tradition of the English virginalists. Indeed, Sweelinck followed Byrd and other English composers in writing variations on such favorites as the English tune *Fortune, my foe* and in making an embellished keyboard arrangement of *Lachrimae pavana* by the lutenist John Dowland (1562–1626). But the consistently contrapuntal texture of Sweelinck's pieces, often including sections in cantus firmus style—in which the tune is sustained in long notes against lively counterpoint—suggests that even his secular variations were conceived for the organ. Perhaps Sweelinck played them in the recitals that were among his responsibilities as municipal organist in Calvinist Amsterdam. The English organist-composers John Bull (1562/3–1628) and Peter Philips (1560/1–1628) both ended their careers in the adjoining Spanish Netherlands, and they share with Sweelinck certain virtuoso figures as well as a type of etude-like writing cultivated in English cantus firmus settings. The latter style evidently fascinated several generations of northern-European organists, despite its mechanical appearance on paper.

Among Sweelinck's most distinctive pieces are his so-called Echo Fantasias. Like Byrd's fantasias, these generally begin with a grave imitative section, then introduce livelier imitative subjects, giving way eventually to virtuoso figuration, including the famous echo passages. The latter are characterized by repetitions of short motives in different registers, or, occasionally, at different dynamic levels. The latter type, achieved on the organ by playing on differently registered keyboards, would become a favorite effect of Sweelinck's German followers (ex. 2). Other types of passage in these pieces include solos for one active voice with simpler accompaniment (ex.) and sequences built on series of long sustained notes (ex.). Fundamental to each type of passage is the fragmentation of the melodic line into short, lively motives that are then developed through sequence, a technique fundamental to later Baroque and Classical style.

Example 2. Sweelinck, Echo Fantasia in C, (a) echo passage, mm. 75–85; (b) “solo” for upper manual (with echo dynamics), mm. 99–104

The image displays two musical examples from Sweelinck's Echo Fantasia in C. Example (a), starting at measure 75, illustrates an echo passage. It features a treble and bass staff in common time. The treble staff contains a sequence of sixteenth-note patterns, while the bass staff provides a steady accompaniment of eighth notes. Example (b), starting at measure 99, shows a "solo" for the upper manual with echo dynamics. The treble staff features a melodic line with alternating forte (f) and piano (p) dynamics, while the bass staff provides a simple accompaniment of quarter notes.

This technique marked a shift from the style of Renaissance polyphony, whose subjects, developed through imitation in strict counterpoint, were conceived as whole phrases such as comprise a typical vocal melody of the period. Sweelinck continued to cultivate the older style not only in the initial sections of his Echo Fantasias but through the entire course of many other fantasias, which resemble Hassler's *ricercars* in their immense length and sectional divisions. Unlike earlier examples, which might involve any number of subjects, Sweelinck's fantasias tend to be monothematic, treating the same subject throughout, albeit in differing rhythmic forms from one section to the next. Sweelinck's fantasias regularly include sections in which the subject is treated in both augmentation and diminution. The principal subject may also combine with other recurring subjects, and the counterpoint against it tends to become more animated as the piece progresses, especially in the type of passage known as a *bicinia*, in which the texture is reduced to a single line of athletic figuration set against the subject, the latter sounding in long notes through the device known as rhythmic augmentation.⁷

Such a piece constitutes an encyclopedic demonstration of the working out of a given subject. The latter is first presented in conventional imitative counterpoint, then—when its note values are augmented—as a *cantus firmus*, finally becoming the basis for motivic development as its rhythmic values are diminished and it is fragmented into its component motives (ex.). The usefulness of such pieces for study may explain their preservation in numerous manuscript copies by Sweelinck's students, some of whom wrote fantasias and variations on the same subjects. Scheidt, who had studied with Sweelinck about 1607–8 before becoming organist at Halle, evidently conceived his *Tabultatura nova* as a compendium of the types of pieces that Sweelinck had written. Thus it includes a hexachord fantasia, an echo fantasia, and variations on various liturgical and popular melodies, trumping Sweelinck's examples of each genre in length if not always in variety of figuration.⁸

Like Hassler—less so Sweelinck himself—Scheidt occasionally reveals the influence of contemporary music for instrumental ensemble. Most famous are passages bearing the label *imitatio violistica* in a number of pieces. The expression refers to recurring figures of two or four quick notes under slurs, which would signify performance with a single bow stroke on the viol or violin. But the dogged thoroughness with which Scheidt uses such figures, sometimes through a complete variation or statement of a *cantus firmus*, is far from the experimental spirit of the Italian violin writing of the day. More impressive is the refined four-part counterpoint in such works as the *Fuga quadruplici*—a fantasia on subjects from Palestrina's madrigal *Io son ferito lasso*—which concludes by presenting its four subjects simultaneously,⁹ or the fantasia on the chorale melody “Ich ruf zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ.” The latter belongs to a type used throughout the seventeenth century in which each phrase of the tune becomes the basis of free imitative treatment. The chorale melodies are treated in a similar way in settings by such contemporaries as Michael Praetorius (1571/2–1621).

Later keyboard composers in northern Germany made freer use of the Sweelinck tradition,

7 The term *bicinia* was employed by sixteenth-century musicians for vocal works in two parts, often employed in teaching. Many variation sets by Sweelinck and later German composers also include *bicinia* sections.

8 A hexachord fantasia is one based on the six-note pattern represented by the solmization syllables *ut–re–mi–fa–sol–la*; the notes (typically C–D–E–F–G–A) are employed both as *cantus firmus* and as imitative motive, both ascending and descending.

9 The madrigal, one of the few by Palestrina, also served as the basis of a mass by Lassus, which perhaps established a tradition of parody works, including a fantasia by Hassler. Only two of Scheidt's subjects (the same two used by Hassler) are from Palestrina; two others are chromatic countersubjects that give the work a distinctly Baroque character.

mingling it with other styles while avoiding its excesses. Particularly notable is Heinrich Scheidemann (ca. 1595–1663), who became organist at St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg in 1625 after studies with Sweelinck in 1611–14. Underestimated until recently because of the loss or inaccessibility of much of his music, his surviving output comprises examples of most of the genres hitherto discussed, as well as *praeambula* and *alternatim* settings of the Magnificat. Although much of this music, like Sweelinck's, is playable on any keyboard instrument, it was primarily intended for the organ, and much of it includes the independent pedal part that was becoming a mark of organ music in northern Germany.

Scheidemann's fourteen extant *praeambula* represent a genre which, under the similar title *praeludium*, would emerge as supremely important in later German keyboard music. Both words can be translated “prelude.” Earlier German preludes are short, modestly contrapuntal pieces, sometimes incorporating brief passages of toccata-like figuration. They seem to have been literally prelude, intended to precede a more extended *ricercar* or perhaps a vocal work. With Scheidemann, however, the prelude is a self-contained composition equivalent to the sonata of the period. Scored most often for one or two treble instruments and continuo, most early seventeenth-century sonatas are relatively brief pieces that were intended for church performance. Not yet divided into distinct movements as in the eighteenth century, they share with Scheidemann's *praeambula* a free, somewhat rhapsodic form, built phrase by phrase through the working-out of short imitative motives and expressive chains of suspensions. The two genres share certain distinctive types of rhythm and motivic figures as well.

For instance, a *praeambulum* in d that happens to bear the date Jan. 10, 1637 in one source opens with a four-note descending figure today associated with the *Pavana Lachrimae* by the English composer John Dowland.¹⁰ In the 1630s, Dowland's music may still have been familiar in Hamburg, but Scheidemann's treatment of the figure is closer to that found at the opening of Giovanni Gabrieli's *Sonata con tre violini* (published in 1615). Moreover, following its initial imitative treatment the figure is developed motivically in a series of sequences, becoming the basis of the entire opening section (mm. 1–15). Like Gabrieli's sonata and other Italian violin music of the period, the piece then proceeds to more lively sections based on a variety of motives, including dotted figures and written-out trills and slides (ex. 3). Although sometimes resembling the so-called divisions with which Hassler, Sweelinck, and earlier composers had enlivened their keyboard pieces, Scheidemann's figuration avoids the even flow characteristic of sixteenth-century figuration in favor of a less regular type of continuity that we recognize as distinctly Baroque. This expressive irregularity, which Scheidemann might have found not only in Italian violin music but in the keyboard works of Frescobaldi, was an important part of the emerging *stylus fantasticus*. In this style, which came to dominate north-German organ music of the later seventeenth century, sudden bursts of virtuosity (often involving the organ pedals) mingle with harmonic and rhythmic surprises to evoke the character of a dramatic narrative or recitative.¹¹

10 The work is no. 34 in the thematic catalogue of Scheidemann's works, no. 6 in the modern edition by Werner Breig (*Heinrich Scheidemann: Orgelwerke, Band III* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971]). Breig considers the date, found in one of two known manuscript copies, as possibly reflecting the date of composition; in any case, the work presumably cannot have been written prior to this date. The tonality is identified as “d” rather than D minor to avoid the implication of a modern minor key.

11 The term *stylus fantasticus* was also sometimes used in the seventeenth century for the imaginative but restrained style of *ricercars*, fantasias, and other contrapuntal pieces.

Example 3. Heinrich Scheidemann, Praeambulum in d, WV 34, (a) mm. 1–5, (b) mm. 15–18

The greatest number of Scheidemann's surviving works are settings of liturgical melodies, mostly chorales but also the eight tones or chant formulas for the Magnificat. The latter, a setting of Mary's hymn of exultation from Luke 1: 46–55, was still sung at Vespers in Lutheran churches in the seventeenth century. Many performances followed the *alternatim* practice that had been in use since the late middle ages, in which the verses of hymns and other liturgical songs were presented in alternation by the organ and the choir, respectively. Such a practice raises obvious problems for modern-day usage, whether in concert or in service.¹² Scheidemann's Magnificat verses, however, are so extended and inventive that they might be played as independent pieces, like his chorale settings. The latter, while clearly related to examples by Sweelinck, also include elements cultivated by later composers—above all their incorporation of the *stylus fantasticus*, as in the lengthy fantasia on the chorale “Jesus Christus, unser Heiland, der von uns.”

Tunder and Reincken and Foreign Inspirations

Less survives of the music of Scheidemann's younger contemporary Franz Tunder (1614–67), organist at St. Mary's in Lübeck from 1641. Tunder is presumed to have performed much of his surviving music during the Vespers concerts (*Abendmusiken*), which he was presenting at Lübeck by 1646. His *praeludia* fall more clearly than do Scheidemann's *praeambula* into the sectional divisions that would

¹² The congregation would not hear the words of the verses played on the organ. There was no set scheme for *alternatim* performances, which might begin with either the organ or the choir presenting the initial verse, nor is it clear for which verses of the Magnificat Scheidemann's settings were meant to substitute. His organ Magnificats comprise four settings apiece, each individual setting using as cantus firmus the monophonic chant melody (similar to a psalm tone) that the choir would have sung in its verses.

become the norm for following generations. An introductory section recalling those of Scheidemann's pieces, but graced by a greater number of cadenza-like flourishes, leads to one or more imitative sections, as in the example on CD 104, band 3 in G minor (Tunder would have assigned it to the second "tone").¹³ The imitative section is archaic in style, recalling the generation of Hassler. But it soon gives way to a freer section whose more flowing figuration includes a motive derived by rhythmic diminution from the imitative subject, as in many of Sweelinck's fantasias. The most remarkable aspect of this piece, however—shared with many later north-German works—is the eloquent use of silence on the concluding page. Here the lovely homophonic progression into which the counterpoint suddenly dissolves (m. 75) is itself interrupted by pauses (mm. 76, 77, 80). These rests might have been understood as sighs (*sospire*) in the music-rhetorical language of the day (ex. 4).

Example 4. Franz Tunder, Praeludium in g, (a) mm. 20–27, (b) mm. 74–81

74

Probably Tunder's most important surviving works are his chorale arrangements. Some of these are lengthy fantasias in which phrases of the chorale melody are subjected to the same forms of development, including echoes, explored by Sweelinck in his fantasias. "Komm Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott" opens with what is often termed a *monodic* setting of the melody: the latter, played in embellished form by the right hand, has a subdued accompaniment in the lower voices (ex. 5a). But unlike shorter chorale pieces, which often comprise a single monodic setting of the melody—a variety of what is today termed a chorale prelude—this work proceeds to freer treatment of the melody before completing the first statement of the latter. Eventually, motives from the chorale tune are developed in imitation and in sequence, including a series of quick echo effects. Particularly notable is the chromatic embellishment of the chorale melody during the first echo passage (ex. 5b). Such chromaticism had been understood since the mid-sixteenth century as an intensely expressive effect. Although its exact significance here is difficult to judge, the pungent effect which the chromatic steps would have made on an instrument tuned in "unequal" temperament surely contributed to the intended "difficult" or "hard" effect of this passage. A correspondingly harsh manner of articulation, each note played separated but *tenuto* (not staccato), seems appropriate, for a smooth legato, producing a sensual Mozartean effect, can hardly be what Tunder had in mind.

¹³ Number 4 in the modern edition by Klaus Beckmann (*Franz Tunder: Sämtliche Orgelwerke* [Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1974]).

Example 5. Franz Tunder, *Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott*, (a) mm. 2–5, (b) mm. 87–90

The image shows a musical score for two sections of Franz Tunder's 'Komm, Heiliger Geist, Herre Gott'. Section (a) covers measures 2-5 and is marked with a forte dynamic [f]. Section (b) covers measures 87-90 and is marked with a piano dynamic p. The score is written in G major and common time (C). It consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the top line, a bass clef on the bottom line, and a middle line. The music features a mix of single notes, chords, and arpeggiated textures.

With Tunder, we face a composer whose inspirations came from beyond the spheres of older Venetian and English music. Although we have little direct knowledge of the stylistic origins of this music, Tunder and his younger contemporaries were evidently in contact with newer traditions, including that represented in the toccatas, partitas, and settings of liturgical melodies by the organist and harpsichordist Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643), who worked primarily at Rome. Frescobaldi's numerous publications had a lasting impact throughout Germany, where numerous pieces by (or purported to be by) Frescobaldi survive in manuscript copies. When Georg Muffat published a collection of keyboard music in 1690, he likened it in his preface to a collection that Frescobaldi had published seven and a half decades earlier. J. S. Bach and his students continued to make and treasure manuscript copies of Frescobaldi's music.

An equally significant impact on German music would soon come from France. By mid-century the French influence was becoming manifest in suites of dances written by German composers such as Froberger in imitation of French harpsichord pieces. Because few actual French pieces survive from before the last third of the century, German imitations are among the earliest witnesses of the seventeenth-century French keyboard tradition. After the establishment of a permanent opera theater under Lully at Paris in the 1670s, the French influence on German music became pervasive, and transcriptions and imitations of airs and dances from Lully's operas became a major part of the German (and French) keyboard repertory.

If Frescobaldi's influence may be seen in both the mercurial improvisations and the chromatic counterpoint of the *stylus fantasticus*, the French style is the source of an expressive style of melodic ornamentation as well as the increasingly refined use of idiomatic keyboard textures—such as the so-called *style brisé* or *luthée* on the harpsichord and various trio scorings on organ. One of the earliest northern German composers whose music combines both strands is Johann Adam Reinken. Unfortunately, the scant survival of his music and uncertainties of dating make it difficult to reach a clear understanding of this figure, who is traditionally mentioned because of his longevity and his apparent significance for Bach's career.¹⁴ It is possible that he improvised most of what he played as

¹⁴ Reincken's dates have traditionally been given as 1623–1722, but recent research suggests a birthdate twenty years later. The nature of Bach's contact with Reinken is largely a matter of speculation, but he made keyboard arrangements of several of Reinken's compositions, and according to Reinken's famous remark an older style of improvisation remained alive in Bach's

Scheidemann's successor at St. Katherine's Church in Hamburg. Certainly an improvisatory strand is evident in his one surviving toccata and in a fantasia on the chorale melody "An Wasserflüssen Babylon." The latter is often noted for its great length and for a slight resemblance to Bach's setting of the same melody (BWV 653).¹⁵ Both pieces bear tangible relationships to Bach, the toccata being preserved in a manuscript copy that belonged to Bach's older brother, the chorale fantasia in a copy by Bach himself.¹⁶ Like the later *praeludium*, the toccata alternates between improvisatory and fugal sections; the title probably reflects the composition of the first section through virtuoso elaboration of a few prolonged harmonies, an archaic device abandoned in Bach's *manualiter* toccatas.¹⁷

Reinken also left a number of suites. The latter designation is modern, but the consistency with which these originally untitled works comprise a single allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue is contrary to French practice. It suggests that a distinctive version of the genre had become well defined in Germany by the 1660s or 1670s, perhaps under the influence of Froberger (see below). Reinken's suites, like those of other northern European composers of the period, reflect the pre-Lullian French style of mid-century or slightly later, lacking Lully's tunefulness as well as the rhythmic subtlety and the rich harmony of later French music. On the other hand, unlike most French dances they contain counterpoint and relatively rigorous motivic work alongside flashes of virtuoso passagework. Some also employ variation technique, the courante constituting a free reworking of the harmonic and melodic scheme of the allemande.¹⁸ In all these respects, Reincken furnished an apparent example for later north Germans while departing from the more restrained style of Froberger. The contrast between the two composers is clearest in their respective sets of variations on the song "Schweiget mir vom Weiber nehmen," known as *Die Mayerin*. Although both sets conclude with several dances such as one might find in a suite, Reincken's eighteen variations focus on inventive virtuoso figuration whereas Froberger's shorter set tends toward the expressive.

Dieterich Buxtehude

A more striking and cosmopolitan integration of diverse styles and genres occurs in the music of Dieterich Buxtehude (ca. 1637–1707), who in 1668 succeeded Tunder as organist at St. Mary's in Lübeck. Buxtehude's keyboard works survive in greater numbers than those of any other seventeenth-century German composer, perhaps reflecting the fame of the *Abendmusik* concerts at which they may have been played. They include examples of types seen earlier as well as several ostinato works—two chaconnes and a passacaglia.

Originally dances, chaconnes and passacaglias were normally constructed over short repeating bass lines or *ostinati*. They are present in both the Italian tradition—Frescobaldi published several examples of both—and the French, where a grand chaconne or *passacaille* was often the climactic number of an opera or ballet. Improvisation over ground basses is also documented from mid-seventeenth-century England and again in northern Germany at the end of Buxtehude's lifetime;¹⁹ thus

Hamburg organ audition of 1720.

15 Both settings end with a descending scale over the final pedal note.

16 See Peter Wollny and Michael Maul, "The Weimar Organ Tablature: Bach's Earliest Autographs," *Understanding Bach* 3 (2008): 67–74.

17 But two of Bach's toccatas do employ Reinken's device of composing an extended transition passage out of broken-chord figuration. This was also a favorite device in Bach's later preludes.

18 Suites in which the courante—and occasionally other movements—varies the allemande are known as *variation suites* (see ex. 9 below).

19 See Christopher Simpson's *The Division Viol* (London, 1659) as well as the *Musicalische*

it is not surprising that these pieces represent a distinctly north-German approach to the genre. This is evident above all in Buxtehude's placement of the ostinato in the pedals, making these probable organ pieces (unlike Italian and French examples). In addition, although always in the traditional triple meter, these works lack the characteristic rhythmic formulas of French examples, such as an upbeat of two quarter notes, instead focusing on Italianate running figuration. The relentless repetitions of the ostinato coupled with improvisatory upper parts might have led to a rambling, formless character. But Buxtehude's work projects a sense of architectural design, above all the Passacaglia in D minor, whose 28 statements of the ostinato include 7 in the tonic followed by 7 in F major, 7 in A minor, and 7 more in the tonic.

Of Buxtehude's other “free” works, the eighteen or so *praeludia* impressively expand the genre as understood by Tunder. In most of these works, the initial improvisatory section is followed by two fugues, both using variants of the same subject (typically in duple and triple time, respectively). Yet these are not “preludes and fugues” in the eighteenth-century sense. As in earlier *praeludia*—and in contemporary sonatas for instrumental ensemble, including those of Buxtehude and Reincken—the fugues are not independent movements but are integrated into a larger quasi-dramatic unity. The improvisatory opening section concludes in an impressive cadence, after which the entry of the fugue subject and its subsequent contrapuntal development sound as a stentorian, orderly contradiction of the *stylus fantasticus* that has preceded it. But the “fantastic” style gradually returns in the course of each fugal section, which usually ends by relaxing into free motivic work that returns to improvisatory style.

The same conception is evident in the small number of works designated toccatas. Here the fugal passages are even shorter, just one of a number of contrasting types of music that are heard in rapid succession, as in a number of Frescobaldi's toccatas (notably no. 9 from his second book). Thus the toccata in F (BuxWV 156) opens with a section inspired by a type of toccata composed by Frescobaldi and other earlier composers, in which the entire fabric of the work is constructed over pedal points.²⁰ Buxtehude confines this technique to the opening, alluding to it briefly in a transition that follows the first fugue and again at the very end. The overall design, which includes some rapid alternations between 12/8 and 4/4 time as well as short-lived imitative passages, is as improvisatory as in many earlier Italian works. Yet a degree of coherence is assured by the intensive development of certain motivic figures within each section, and by the recurrence of several motives which, although to some degree the common property of north-German organ style, achieve sufficient prominence to seem purposeful. Particularly notable is the climactic appearance of one figure as an athletic pedal line (ex. 6). The latter passage, incidentally, illustrates the achievement of near-equality between the pedals and the manuals—a measure of the technical achievement of both the players and the builders of the instruments for which such pieces were written, notably the north-German organ builder Arp Schnitger (1648–1719).

Handleitung (Hamburg, 1706) of Friedrich Erhardt Niedt (both works are available in modern reprints and translations). Musical examples in the latter, all in north-German style, include a variation suite as well as a *praeludium* incorporating a chaconne (much as Buxtehude's BuxWV 137). The Roman organist-composer Bernardo Pasquini also wrote passacaglias that at times sound surprisingly close to the north-German style.

²⁰ Johann Pachelbel was a contemporary of Buxtehude who continued to write such pieces; J. S. Bach's toccata in F, BWV 540, opens with the same technique and for this reason is traditionally associated with the Buxtehude work.

Example 6. Dieterich Buxtehude, Toccata in F, BuxWV 156, (a) mm. 12–13, (b) mm. 55–56, (c) mm. 71–2, (d) mm. 121–22

In its alternation between regular and irregular sections, the composition resembles not only the contemporary sonata but certain cantatas (or, as they were then designated, vocal concertos). The succession of arioso- and recitative-like sections, respectively, creates the impression of a vocally inspired piece of musical rhetoric.²¹ At the same time, the sheer size of such pieces, and especially the ultimate return to “fantastic” style at the end, gives the impression of an impressive architectural design, even if the plan is never as regular as in the D-minor Passacaglia.

The urge toward monumental yet “fantastic” writing evidently led to a number of extended chorale settings which, as it turned out, represent some of the last examples of this tradition.²² Buxtehude's setting of the chorale “Nun freut euch lieben Christen g'mein” BuxWV 210 is one of his longest (256 measures), treating each of the seven phrases of the melody in turn.²³ Following a design comparable to one used by Tunder, the first two phrases receive an ornamented “monodic” setting not unlike that which comprises the entire substance of Buxtehude's many shorter chorale settings. The latter, today referred to as preludes, may have introduced the congregational singing of the tunes; here

21 Efforts—not entirely convincing—have been made to analyze such instrumental pieces along the lines of an actual oration. Thus John Butt, “Germany and the Netherlands,” 198–9, analyzes the sections of Buxtehude's Praeludium in F-sharp minor, BuxWV 146, as analogs of six successive parts of a Classical oration: *exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and “*conclusio/peroratio*.”

22 Most later chorale “fantasias” by J. S. Bach and his contemporaries represent an entirely different type of piece, related to new ritornello-form types of aria and instrumental concerto that emerged around 1700.

23 This work, too, is preserved in an early manuscript copy by Bach; see Wollny and Maul, “The Weimar Organ Tablature.”

the monodic setting of lines 1–2 introduces an extended development of line 3 in double counterpoint at the twelfth with a new countersubject—the type of learned contrapuntal writing characteristic of older *ricercars* and *fantasias* (ex.). This style is abandoned for line 4, however, which instead is fragmented, each half developed antiphonally, with echoes between the organ manuals. An embellished cadence brings this section to a close—not coincidentally, about a third of the way through the piece. The next third of the piece comprises a development of lines 5–6 through a comparable succession of contrapuntal, then antiphonal, devices, and the work concludes with an extended treatment of the final (seventh) line in monodic, contrapuntal, and antiphonal styles, followed by a free coda.

Also attributed to Buxtehude are a number of suites and variations on secular tunes, probably intended for clavichord or perhaps harpsichord. Preserved in Scandinavian manuscripts, these might include the seven suites which, according to Johann Mattheson, Buxtehude composed “on the nature and qualities of the planets.”²⁴ But if so the musical characterization of the planets is not distinctive enough to recognize them in the absence of explicit titles. The pieces fall into the same expressive but not particularly distinctive style typical of other German suites of the period, Froberger's excepted. At least two of the suites have conflicting attributions, raising the possibility that the group as a whole is by several composers—which would explain small inconsistencies in style and keyboard ambitus.

Younger contemporaries of Buxtehude in northern Germany include Vincent Lübeck (1654–1740), Nicolaus Bruhns (1665–97), and Georg Böhm (1661–1733), who continued the north-German tradition into the eighteenth century. Like J. S. Bach—on whom he may have exercised early influence²⁵—Böhm incorporated up-to-date elements of the French and Italian styles into his keyboard music. For instance, his variations on chorale melodies include apparent references to the new types of aria being included in Italian opera and cantata around 1700, in which entries of the voice are framed by instrumental ritornellos. Groups of his keyboard compositions, alongside works of Reincken and other north-German composers, are preserved in two manuscripts compiled shortly after the turn of the century by Bach's older brother Johann Christoph.

Among the works of Böhm is a prelude in G minor whose unusual opening section, composed of repeated notes and arpeggios, perhaps borrows ideas heard in the incipient Italian concerto.²⁶ More distinctive than this, however, or than Böhm's few surviving organ pieces, are his suites. These, although clearly in the same tradition as those attributed to Buxtehude, are closer to the contemporary French tradition (including the early works of François Couperin) while incorporating the drama and the virtuoso elements of the north-German style. Thus the chaconne of Böhm's F-minor suite—whose key is remarkable at this date—is in the full Lullian style, unlike the more Italianate chaconnes of Buxtehude. It also incorporates the sweeping scales and other dramatic gestures of the *stylus fantasticus*. Even Böhm's allemandes incorporate bursts of arpeggiated figuration that span the complete keyboard.

This last feature may confirm Böhm's authorship of a highly expressive suite in E-flat copied

24 *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg, 1739), 130.

25 Bach evidently had some contact with Böhm during his student years at Lüneburg (1700–1703), although many years later C. P. E. Bach may have had some uncertainty as to the two men's exact relationship, crossing out an initial reference to Böhm as his father's teacher (letter dated Jan. 13, 1775, trans. in *The New Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. Christoph Wolff [New York: Norton, 1998], 398).

26 The work became known in the twentieth century under the title “Präludium, Fuge und Postludium”; the character of the opening section is often disguised in modern performances that include unidiomatic ornaments added by J. C. Bach; these tend to slow the tempo considerably.

anonymously in one of Christoph Bach's manuscripts.²⁷ Although the work has been published as Froberger's, the key (unused by Froberger elsewhere) points against this, and the unmistakable allusions to the Froberger style may reflect Böhm's evident talent for stylistic imitation. Christoph Bach also owned a copy of an early version of a suite by another young north-German contemporary, Johann Mattheson. J. S. Bach might well have carried copies of these pieces back with him, making them available to his older brother and teacher, after his northern sojourns in the early years of the eighteenth century. In any case, Sebastian must have known a later version of Mattheson's suite published alongside eleven other suites of the composer at London in 1714; these include, alongside dance movements in the old tradition, distinctive preludes some of which Bach seems to imitated.²⁸

One last composer to be mentioned in this context is George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), who worked in Hamburg for several years before departing for Italy in 1706. Handel had been trained in Halle by the capable organist-composer Friedrich Wilhelm Zachow (1663–1712), whose variation suite in B minor appears alongside an early work of the same type by J. S. Bach in one of Christoph Bach's manuscripts. Handel's own keyboard works include several of this same type, probably composed, like the bulk of his keyboard music, during his early years. Among them is the famous suite in E, published in a revised version (like a number of other mostly early works) as one of the eight “Great Suites” of 1720.²⁹ The last movement, a set of variations, became known in the nineteenth century as “The Harmonious Blacksmith,” and under this title it has probably been Handel's most frequently played keyboard work. The theme was supposed to have been suggested by a musical artisan whom Handel overheard near Cannons, where the composer was working about 1716–17. But the movement is probably earlier; several manuscripts give it in early versions as an independent piece in G. As in a chaconne or passacaglia, the variations are based less on the melody than on the bass line and its implied harmonic progressions; Bach's student Kirnberger would later quote the work to illustrate this type of variation technique.³⁰

Froberger

Outside northern Germany, the central figure in seventeenth-century keyboard music is Johann Jacob Froberger (1616–67). He traveled widely and was recognized within his lifetime as a master in both the French and the Italian styles. Although details of his life and output remain controversial, by 1638 he was in imperial service at Vienna and was almost immediately sent to Rome to study with Frescobaldi. He was back in Vienna from 1641 to 1645, but by 1649 had completed a second visit to Rome, during which he evidently studied with the Italian composer of cantatas and oratorios Giacomo Carissimi (1605–74) and made the acquaintance of the famous polymath Athanasius Kircher, who included a fantasia by Froberger in one of his prolific writings. Subsequent destinations during 1649–53 included

27 Suite 11 in the edition by Klaus Beckmann (*Georg Böhm: Sämtliche Werke für Klavier/Cembalo* [Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1985]).

28 The preludes of Bach's English Suites, and perhaps even the title of that set, may have been suggested by Mattheson's publication; the opening movement (“Fantasie”) of Mattheson's Suite 5 resembles that of Bach's third English Suite in key and motivic material, and the “Symphonie” of Mattheson's Suite 10 furnishes an apparent model for the Sinfonia of Bach's C-minor Partita.

29 Handel's own title was *Suites de pièces pour le clavecin*; a second volume of suites published in 1727 (possibly without Handel's authorization) contains an even greater preponderance of youthful compositions.

30 In his *Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin and Königsberg, 1771–9). Bach used the same technique in his Goldberg Variations.

Brussels, Utrecht, Paris, London, and Madrid. After the death of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III in 1657, Froberger was dismissed, ending his career as teacher of the dowager duchess Sibilla of Württemberg, who retired after her husband's death in 1662 to the enclave of Montbéliard in France.

It was in a letter to Princess Sybilla that Froberger spoke of the *discretion* required to play his music, using a term also employed by Kuhnau and others for rhythmic freedom.³¹ Although Froberger implied that his music could not be properly performed by one who had not heard his own playing, the precision with which he notated the irregular, speech-like rhythms of his allemandes, toccatas, and other more improvisatory movements suggests his concern for fixing his practice in writing. It is odd, therefore, that Froberger did not also notate most of the ornaments—trills (*tremoli*), grace notes (*accenti*), and the like—which were an equally integral part of keyboard performance practice, and which the next generation of composers would indeed fix in notation.

Froberger seems to have composed little besides keyboard music, much of which he gathered into at least five manuscripts which he presented to his employers, the Austrian emperors. Unfortunately, only three of these, dated 1649, 1656, and 1658, survive; because the first two of these are designated as volumes 2 and 4, it is clear that at least volumes 1 and 3 have been lost. Some of their contents can be provisionally reconstructed from pieces surviving in other manuscript copies and in several posthumous printed editions.³² The three dated manuscripts each comprise several distinct sets of pieces, grouped into homogeneous half-dozens as shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Works by Johann Jacob Froberger in the Imperial Presentation Manuscripts

<u>Year</u>	<u>Pieces</u>	<u>Keys</u>	<u>Numbers*</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1649	6 toccatas	a–d–G–C–d–g	1–6	nos. 5–6 are elevations
	6 fantasias	C–e–F–G–a–a	1–6	no. 1 on the hexachord, ed. Kircher
	6 canzoni	d–g–F–G–C–a	1–6	
	6 suites	a–d–G–F–C–G	1–6	Suite 6 = variations <i>auf die Mayerin</i>
1656	6 toccatas	G–e–C–F–e–a	7–12	
	6 ricercari	d–g–e–G–d–f♯	7–12	
	6 capricci	G–g–e–F–F–a	7–8, 14–17	
	6 suites	e–A–g–a–D–C	7–12	no. 12 = lament for Ferdinand IV
1658	6 capricci	G–a–d–F–g–C1–6		
	6 ricercari	C–G–F–C–g–c♯	1–6	

*in the old edition by Guido Adler

31 See Howard Schott, “Parameters of Interpretation in the Music of Froberger,” in *J. J. Froberger, musicien européen* ([Paris?]: Klincksieck, 1998), 99–120. Further discussion of the term by Markus Grassl, “Froberger der diskrete,” in *“Avec discrétion”: Rethinking Froberger*, edited by Andreas Vejvar and Markus Grassl (Vienna: Böhlau, 2018), 11–51; see also the review of the latter volume by the present author in *Early Keyboard Journal* 31/32 (dated 2014–15, published 2020): 165–73.

32 See Alexander Silbiger, “Tracing the Contents of Froberger's Lost Autographs,” *Current Musicology* 54 (1993): 5–23. An additional autograph manuscript that surfaced in 2006 before returning to private ownership is described by Simon Maguire, “Johann Jacob Froberger: A Hitherto Unrecorded Autograph Manuscript,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 13 (2007), online at <https://sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/maguire.html>; further discussion by the present author in “Recent Editions and Recordings of Froberger and Other Seventeenth-Century Composers,” *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 13 (2007), online at <http://sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/schulenberg.html>.

It is immediately apparent that in these collections Froberger adopted a systematic type of organization rare in earlier seventeenth-century collections but anticipating the practice of later Baroque composers, including Kuhnau and J. S. Bach. This may be one reason for the importance attached to Froberger by musicologists since the late nineteenth century; another, no doubt sensed already by his contemporaries, is the unusually expressive and personal character of much of his music, evident above all in the programmatic, sometimes autobiographical, titles and rubrics attached to some of his works. In addition to organization by genre, the collections suggest planning according to key, or rather by “tone”; within groupings, tonalities are rarely repeated, and the exotic keys of F-sharp and C-sharp minor—more properly, transposed versions of the Aeolian mode—come last in the two sets of *ricercars*. It is not known why the volume of 1658 is smaller than the others, comprising only pieces in contrapuntal style; it is also appreciably plainer in its calligraphy, lacking the exuberant visual ornamentation of the earlier volumes which includes famous emblematic images in the last suite of Book 4, a lament for the late “King of the Romans” Ferdinand IV. With the exception of the suites and laments, Froberger borrowed the types, titles, and even the notational styles of his pieces from those published by Frescobaldi. Thus the toccatas are written on Italian-style systems comprising staves of six and eight lines, respectively, whereas the fantasias, *ricercars*, and other contrapuntal pieces are in open score. The dates of copying do not necessarily correspond with those of composition, but in general the three sets do seem to reflect a relative chronology; for example, some of the relatively short, simple suites of Book 2 lack gigue, and some of those same suites are of the variation type (as in ex. 9 below), both evidently being features of Froberger's early style.

Full consideration of Froberger's output cannot neglect the pieces absent from the imperial dedication volumes, which include at least five toccatas, six fantasias, twelve capricci, and some twenty suites and individual movements. Among these are works that postdate those in the Vienna manuscripts, including a “Meditation . . . on the future death” of Froberger's patron Duchess Sibylla of Montbéliard; the unusual title echoes that of the opening movement of Froberger's Suite 20, which is a “meditation” on the composer's own mortality. Rubrics and titles in some of the non-autograph manuscripts provide additional information about the circumstances of their composition. For instance, one such heading suggests that Suite 13 in D minor, or at least its final gigue, dates from around 1651, when Cardinal Mazarin, at the time the effective ruler of France, made a famous return to Paris. Froberger visited there as well in that year; the title shows that other musicians were aware of Froberger's travels, which no doubt contributed to the dissemination of his music and the depth of his influence.

Not surprisingly, Froberger's toccatas were evidently modeled on those of Roman composers, primarily Frescobaldi's but perhaps also those of Michelangelo Rossi (ca. 1602–1656), with whom Froberger shares a tendency toward clearer sectional divisions and the intense, quasi-contrapuntal development of short motives in certain quick passages. These, however, were common tendencies for seventeenth-century composers, in keeping with which Froberger's later toccatas often comprise a distinct improvisatory section followed by two fugues, as in many of Buxtehude's *praeludia*. Froberger's toccatas are shorter than the latter, however, and they never call for pedals, suggesting that they were intended primarily for the harpsichord, as was probably true of his other works as well.

Exceptions include the last two toccatas of Book 2, which represent a special type meant for performance during the elevation of the Host at Mass; the unusual dissonances, chromatic voice leading, and strangely wandering nature of these pieces (all taken directly from the Frescobaldi tradition) perhaps reflect the mystery of the Incarnation which these pieces perhaps symbolized. More typical is the last toccata from Book 4, which finds a medium between the rhapsodic freedom of the elevations and the schematic forms of some later works, alternating between free passages and

imitative sections, only the last of which is truly fugal. Although not variations of one another as in Froberger's capricci, the imitative subjects share an intervallic structure; the latter is also reflected in a sustained line which resounds somewhat like a cantus firmus over a rushing bass in a climactic final passage (ex. 7).

Example 7. Johann Jacob Froberger, Toccata 12 in a, (a) m. 10, (b) m. 28, (c) mm. 40–41, (d) mm. 55–58

The image displays four sections of a musical score for Johann Jacob Froberger's Toccata 12 in a. Section (a) at measure 10 shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Section (b) at measure 28 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Section (c) at measures 40-41 shows a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment. Section (d) at measures 55-58 features a treble staff with a melodic line and a bass staff with a rhythmic accompaniment.

The relatively impersonal nature of the contrapuntal pieces has tended toward their neglect by modern performers, despite the evident interest which they held for Froberger and his patrons. Even the canzoni and capricci, whose titles might suggest things song-like and capricious, are fairly sober exercises in modal counterpoint, avoiding the more idiomatic keyboard effects or the inspirations from violin music found in Dutch and north-German works. Most of these pieces fall into several sections, each treating a variation of the opening subject or combining it with a distinctive countersubject; brief toccata-like transitions occasionally link two sections. Even the latter are absent in the fantasias and ricercars, which although inspired by examples by Frescobaldi differ from the latter in their predominantly monothematic construction. Clearly, these were pieces for connoisseurs of learned counterpoint, although the combination of lively, sonata-style subjects with chromatic *bizarria* in works such as Canzon 1 or Capriccio 8 sustains interest, especially in later sections where the subject is rhythmically varied to resemble that of one of Froberger's duple-time gigue (Canzon 1) or inverted, then combined in cantus-firmus style with livelier counterpoint (Capriccio 8) (ex. 8).

Example 8. Johann Jacob Froberger, Canzon 1, (a) mm. 1–4, (b) mm. 100–101; Capriccio 8, (c) mm. 1–4, (d) mm. 63–65

Froberger's suites are the earliest surviving body of datable keyboard suites; examples by Chambonnières and other French composers on which they were presumably modeled generally survive only in later, much worked-over versions. Already, however, Froberger presents a distinctly German version of the genre in both the strict sequence of (usually) four movements and the frequent use of imitative counterpoint in the gigue, which sometimes appears after the allemande (as throughout Book 4) but more often at the end of the suite.³³ Even the presumably early suites of Book 2 reveal Froberger's mastery of the so-called *brisé* (broken) notation, which—sounding less complicated than it looks—provided an exact prescription for the expressive arpeggiation that forms the basis for the style, especially in the allemandes (ex. 9a). Often regarded as an imitation of lute playing, the style owes at least as much to Italian monody, as is clear from the frequent chromaticism and occasional quick

³³ Giges are absent entirely from Suites 1 and 3–5. In the posthumous editions of Froberger's suites, the giges fall at the end; this reflects later convention but, contrary to what is often supposed, it was not necessarily imposed by the publisher (the “meilleur ordre” referred to in the title of the printed edition recurs in other titles by the same publisher and does not reflect a reordering of the movements).

repeated notes that may represent rapid declamation or perhaps the *trillo*, a common ornament in Italianate solo singing at least through the middle of the century (ex. 9a, m. 5).

Example 9. Johann Jacob Froberger, Suite 1 in a, (a) allemande, mm. 1–6; (b) courante, mm. 1–5

The image displays two systems of musical notation for Johann Jacob Froberger's Suite 1 in a. System (a) is the allemande, in common time (C), and system (b) is the courante, in 4/4 time. Both systems are written for a lute or harpsichord, with a grand staff consisting of a treble and a bass clef. The allemande (a) features a complex, rhythmic melody in the right hand with frequent sixteenth-note patterns and a steady bass line. The courante (b) has a more flowing, dance-like melody in the right hand with a similar bass line. Both pieces exhibit the characteristic binary form of the early Baroque period.

Although a few examples preserve hints of the processional character of some early French allemandes, otherwise these movements resemble improvised preludes save for their binary forms—shared with all Froberger's dances—and occasional passages of free imitation, as at the opening of the

allemande of Suite 7 in E minor. The latter is noteworthy for its extraordinary modulations, which include a passing tonicization of F-sharp minor—the same key represented earlier in the volume by Ricercar 12; in such pieces the tuning problems that would have arisen on the organs and clavichords of the period imply that Froberger played them on the harpsichord. A few opening movements are designated laments, famously in Suite 12, where the imperial apotheosis represented by the ascending scale at the end is made explicit by the decoration of the Vienna manuscript.³⁴ The opposite effect, a downward scale, at the end of the solitary *Tombeau* in C minor for the lutenist Blancrocher, must reflect the latter's death; he died as the result of a drunken fall down the stairs. Although potentially ludicrous by modern standards, this very concrete approach to musical representation was evidently taken seriously by Froberger and his audiences.

The giges of these suites rarely have the easy flow associated with the Italianate *giga* of the later Baroque. Many are serious contrapuntal exercises, inverting the subject in the second half (as Reincken and later J. S. Bach often do). Some are in quadruple meter; although several of the latter also exist in versions in compound time, it is clear that Froberger's notation is to be taken literally, as in the gigue of the E-minor Suite 7.³⁵ Froberger's courantes, although relatively brief, are among the few by German composers that achieve the same metrical refinement as their French counterparts, expressed not only in outright hemiolas but through more subtle rhythms that may linger momentarily on a broken chord, then move forward with impulsive figuration (as in ex. 9b, m. 2). Like the giges, they are not particularly fast, leaving these suites without any truly quick movements. The sarabandes tend to be relatively simple in style; in Book 4, where these are the final movements, they serve as epigraphic conclusions to these lyrically melancholic suites.

The Frescobaldi Tradition: Kerll and Muffat

Viennese composers continued the Frescobaldi tradition after Froberger's departure, influenced in varying degrees by Froberger as well. Johann Caspar Kerll (1627–93) studied with Frescobaldi and, like Froberger, left toccatas and suites which combine devices from the latter two composers with more outwardly virtuoso gestures, including quick arpeggios and repeated notes. More distinctive are Kerll's contributions to another Frescobaldian genre that Froberger neglected: short fugues, sometimes called versets, on liturgical subjects, especially a collection on the Magnificat for *alternatim* performance, which Kerll published as the *Modulatio organica* (Vienna, 1686). Another Viennese colleague, Alessandro Poglietti (d. 1683), recalls the English virginalist John Bull in combining astonishing virtuosity with flashes of wit, as in a learned ricercar on the sounds of various birds or sometimes bizarrely programmatic harpsichord pieces. Like Froberger, he presented a selection of his pieces to his imperial patrons in a manuscript entitled *Il rossignolo* (The Nightingale); among its contents is a set of twenty variations on a German “aria” dedicated to the Empress Eleanora. The term *aria* was commonly applied to short binary tunes that served as the basis of virtuoso variations; J. S. Bach's “Goldberg” Variations are a late example of the same sort of encyclopedic variation set. It is not always clear how

³⁴ Another allemande, the extraordinarily expressive one of the G-minor Suite 14, is designated *Lament sur ce que j'ay été volé* in one source, referring to Froberger's having been robbed during one of his travels.

³⁵ The same is true of occasional quadruple-meter giges by later composers, including Kuhnau and J. S. Bach. In France, the gigue was sometimes viewed as a version of the allemande; instructions for converting allemandes to giges indicate that the tempo but not the basic meter was to be altered. The allemande of Froberger's Suite 3 in G is of a type that can be readily converted to an *allemande giguée* to fill the place of the absent gigue.

seriously Poglietti intended his music to be taken, although to modern ears much of it suggests a sense of humor also evident in early programmatic pieces by the violinist Heinrich Biber. Among the variations are imitations of Boheiman bagpipes and other ethnic dances and instruments, as well as an “old women's funeral procession” that seems to parody the type of chromaticism that Froberger had included in one of his Mayerin variations.

Other Austrian composers represent a more serious continuation of the Frescobaldi-Froberger tradition. Johann Joseph Fux (1660–1741), organist at Vienna from 1696, is best known for his theoretical writings but was also an imaginative composer of suites, fugues, and other keyboard pieces. At least some of the latter probably date from after the turn of the century; they resemble the lively fugues and harpsichord suites published by his pupil and successor Gottlieb Muffat (1690–1770). The latter's father Georg Muffat (1653–1704) was also a major keyboard composer, unjustly neglected by modern performers. Known today primarily for his publications of orchestral concertos and suites (1682–96), in 1690 Georg Muffat became Capellmeister at Passau in southern Germany and also published the *Apparatus musico-organisticus*, a set of twelve large toccatas together with several variation works, playable on organ or harpsichord.

In a preface, Muffat describes the work as the first of its type in seventy years—apparently referring to Frescobaldi's equally ambitious and varied Second Book of Toccatas and Partitas (1627). He explains the formation of his style through his acquaintance in Paris with Lully and in Rome with Corelli and the keyboard player Bernardo Pasquini; thus he was able to combine the best of the French and Italian styles in a “mixed” style which would become understood as typical of Germany. Thus the initial section of Toccata 7, in the manner of a Lullian overture, leads to a series of contrasting sections, most of them contrapuntal in the manner of Froberger's capricci, but also including alternating treble and bass solos, a type traceable to Sweelinck but particularly important in French organ music of the period. The concluding section impressively combines four sharply differentiated subjects, including one of the chromatic type (ex.). Even the notation is “mixed”: the collection employs a system of ornament signs which, although descended from the letter “t” of Italian practice, assigns specific meanings to each symbol, thus following recently published keyboard collections of d'Anglebert and other French composers.

South- and Central-German Composers at the Turn of the Eighteenth Century: Krieger, Kuhnau, Fischer, and Pachelbel

Muffat's *Apparatus* was one of many publications of keyboard music by south- and central-German composers during the closing years of the seventeenth century. Although none emulated Frescobaldi or Froberger so closely as did Muffat, several did continue the tradition of demonstrating their mastery of counterpoint alongside more fashionable genres. Thus Johann Krieger (1651–1739), organist at Zittau, issued both a collection of rather conventional suites or partitas (*Sechs musicalische Partien*, Nuremberg, 1697) and a set of ricercars, fantasias, and other pieces in contrapuntal style (*Anmuthige Clavier-Übung*, Nuremberg, 1698). Despite these publications, Krieger seems to have been a less original composer than his older brother Johann Philipp (1649–1725), an important and prolific writer of cantatas. Johann Philipp was evidently a keyboard virtuoso during his early years, when he traveled to Venice and Rome; a remarkable *Passaglia* or passaglia from early in his career treats an unusual six-bar bass ostinato that somehow found its way into a famous work of Telemann's (the last of the “Paris” Quartets).

In southern Germany, Johann Caspar Ferdinand Fischer (ca. 1670–1746), music director to the margrave of Baden, also followed up a volume of suites with a contrapuntal collection. The suites (*Pièces de clavecin*, Schlackenwerth, 1696, reprinted as *Musicalische Blumen-Büschlein*, Augsburg,

1699) depart significantly from those of Froberger and other German predecessors, opening with short *praeludia* and avoiding the four “standard” movements in favor of more colorful types such as the bourrée and gavotte. There are also several *rondeaux* and single examples of the *branle*, *amener*, and *plainte*; both titles and style seem to reflect Fischer's familiarity with the current French theater, suggesting as well that some of these could have originated as transcriptions of actual theatrical dances. The preludes, comprised largely of harmonically inspired figuration, are probably derived from French and Italian varieties of improvised harpsichord prelude, but unlike the latter they tend to develop a small number of lively motives through sequence and free imitation.

Fischer's contrapuntal volume, the *Ariadne musica* is a set of short preludes and fugues in the twenty most commonly used keys; the title refers to the mythological heroine who found her way out of the Minoan labyrinth, a symbol for the work's ranging through such a wide variety of tonalities.³⁶ As such it is mentioned frequently as a predecessor of J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier*, which quotes a number of Fischer's fugue subjects. But Fischer's fugues are short, still close to the verset tradition; a number of pedal points in the preludes indicate that these are for organ.

Probably the best-known keyboard publications of the late seventeenth century are those of Johann Kuhnau (1660–1722), Bach's predecessor as cantor at the St. Thomas School. Kuhnau published two volumes of suites (Leipzig, 1689–92), sharing with Krieger both the generic title *Partien* and the collective title *Clavierübung* (Keyboard Practice), which Bach would later borrow. Moreover, each of Kuhnau's suites incorporates the four “standard” movements alongside a prelude and several additional ones, thus establishing a type followed by Bach and other eighteenth-century composers. The preludes are often substantial pieces, related to the sonatas that Kuhnau published in two subsequent volumes (1696–1700), having included a single such piece as a sort of appendix to the second collection of suites.

The importance of the sonatas, the first such published collection, was exaggerated in older histories that viewed them as milestones in the development of the solo keyboard sonata. In fact, the latter emerges as a well-defined genre only in the 1730s, in imitation of multi-movement compositions for solo flute or violin with continuo. Kuhnau's works resemble a type of ensemble sonata written by Johann Rosenmüller, Johann Pachelbel, and other central German composers—but apparently not Kuhnau himself—for four or five stringed instruments. Although these may contain passages of a soloistic or virtuoso nature for the leading violin part, the emphasis is on freely imitative sections framed by predominantly homophonic passages—in other words, something like the polyphonic sonatas that inspired the *praeludia* of the north-German organists. Kuhnau avoids harmonic and rhythmic surprises and other elements of the *stylus fantasticus*; he also has an unfortunate tendency to repeat sequences and other patterns at great length, without modulating widely or maintaining a foreign key for very long. Evidently, although Kuhnau aspired to writing relatively imposing individual movements unified by use of a limited number of distinct motivic ideas, composers of his generation lacked the formal devices—notably the articulation of long-range modulating plans through such devices as ritornello form—with which Bach and other successors could create a sense of drama and contrast within compositions of comparable or even greater dimensions.

These considerations hold true even for the six sonatas comprising the *Biblische Historien* of 1700, which, however, fulfill a novel programmatic conception: each represents a dramatic event from the Bible, which Kuhnau recounts in a German preface and summarizes in Italian headings for the various sections of each sonata. Rather than depicting actions and personalities, these works evoke the

36 No exemplars survive of the first edition of the *Ariadne musicae*, which is known only from later reprints. Fischer published two subsequent collections of suites and contrapuntal pieces in 1738 and 1732, respectively.

affects or conventional emotional quantities associated with the events, often by borrowing gestures or generic signifiers from vocal music. Thus Sonata VI, *La Tomba di Jacob* (Jacob's Death and Burial), suggests the “sadness of Jacob's children” through a freely imitative texture reminiscent of motet writing for a small vocal ensemble (ex. 10a); the “slight sweetening” of their feelings “at their father's blessing” appears to be signified by interruptions in triple time, using a homophonic texture of broken chords that Kuhnau elsewhere uses to represent joyful harp playing (ex. 10b). A four-part fugue represents their “thinking upon the consequences of this death”—the emphasis evidently being on pensiveness rather than death (ex. 10c). Motet style returns, however, to represent “the most sad lament of the assistants” at Jacob's burial, the repeated notes of the imitative subject suggesting a declamatory style of text setting (ex. 10d). The sonata nevertheless ends with a representation of “the consoled spirit of the survivors” through a more lively movement in chaconne style, a type with which a number of Kuhnau's sonatas close (ex. 10e).

Example 10. Johann Kuhnau, *Biblische Historien*, Sonata VI: (a) “il dolore dei figlii di Giacob,” mm. 1–3; (b) “. . . raddolcito un poco dalla paterna beneditione” (same movement), mm. 29–31; (c) “il lamento dolorisissimo fatto da gli assistenti,” mm. 13–14; (d) “l'animo consolato dei sopraviventi,” mm. 1–4

The image displays a musical score for Johann Kuhnau's Sonata VI, divided into four sections labeled (a) through (d). Each section consists of two staves, a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff, with a brace on the left. Section (a) is in common time (C) and shows a melodic line in the treble and a supporting bass line. Section (b) changes to 3/4 time and features a more rhythmic, broken-chord texture. Section (c) is in common time and includes a treble staff starting at measure 13 and a bass staff with a complex, imitative texture. Section (d) is in 3/4 time and shows a melodic line with a trill (marked 't') in the treble and a bass line.

Less ostentatious than Kuhnau, but of greater importance regionally and even as far off as America, was Johann Pachelbel (1653–1706). In his works, elements of the Roman and Viennese keyboard tradition mingle with those of central Germany. A native of Nuremberg, he studied with a pupil of Kerll and possibly with Kerll himself in Vienna, where he served for a time as organist at St. Stephen's Cathedral; thereafter he held a series of appointments, ended his career as organist in his home town. His students included several members of the Bach family, including Johann Sebastian's older brother and teacher Johann Christoph,³⁷ as well as his three of own sons, one of whom emigrated

37 Two older and more distant relatives who also studied with Pachelbel were significant composers of

to British North America, eventually serving as organist in Charleston, South Carolina. Pachelbel's music survives in scattered sources; even his publications are imperfectly preserved, the chorale variations from the *Musicalische Sterbensgedancken* of 1683 surviving (it is thought) only in manuscript copies.

The latter work, like the extant *Hexachordum Apollinis* of 1699, reflects seventeenth-century interest in variation sets, as do several chaconnes left in manuscript. Unlike French examples, the latter have less to do with the dance than with older quasi-improvisational examples by Krieger and Kerll, in which “architectural” designs are suggested by the gradual building up (or diminishing) of motion and excitement over the course of long series of variations. The published variations, on the other hand, are less virtuosic but perhaps somewhat more refined in their exploration of various keyboard idioms.

More important works include a number of fantasias, toccatas, and *praeludia*—all types composed by north-German composers. But Pachelbel's toccatas are relatively short pieces over pedal points—without the additional sections present in Buxtehude's toccata of this type. His numerous chorale settings avoid north-German *fantasia*, developing the melody either in fugue (using the the first line as subject) or as a cantus firmus in half or whole notes, against which two or three other voices add more lively imitative counterpoint. Many of these pieces include pedal parts, but they avoid the outright virtuosity of their north-German counterparts; often the pedal parts can be played by the hands, especially if taken up an octave, as is possible (no doubt by design) in many of the chorale settings.

Equally abstract, but in a more lively, appealing style, are the numerous pieces entitled *fuga*. In the tradition of Kerll, Fischer, and Johann Krieger, these remain short by eighteenth-century standards, rarely introducing the subject in other keys than tonic and dominant. Most, however, are substantial enough to include at least two entries of the subject in each voice, and some include episodes comprised of free figuration—implying use beyond the study of counterpoint. The greatest number, often referred to as “fugues on the Magnificat,” contain few references to the actual Magnificat melodies, although they evidently were intended for liturgical use. Misleadingly presented in a modern edition, which conflates several sources, they seem to have originally constituted two sets of thirty-two pieces each, with four fugues for each “tone”—hence forming a regular collection comparable to but surpassing Kerll's *Modulatio organica*, their likely model. The freely invented subjects range from old-fashioned vocal types to so-called “repercussive” themes, a popular German type in which the three or four reiterated notes typical of the sixteenth-century canzona are extended to a dozen or more quick repeated notes. Here, as in works by Poglietti, one detects a sense of humor, or at least a fascination with *bizzaria*, that belies the present-day image of the seventeenth century as overwhelmingly serious and self-absorbed.

Pachelbel's Magnificat fugues may not have been widely known. But the preservation of his relatively unpretentious pieces in the manuscript anthologies of the younger Johann Christoph Bach, alongside the more outgoing pieces of the north-German style, suggests the significance of both types of music to subsequent generations. Among those to benefit from study of this music must have been the young J. S. Bach. In fact, Bach probably knew at least some music by most of the composers mentioned in this chapter; he and his students were among the eighteenth-century musicians whose manuscript copies preserved much of this repertory. Yet it diminishes the achievement of these composers and our own experience to hear this music as prelude to the eighteenth century or to seek in it only those features which inspired Bach. We might do better to try to understand it on its own terms and within its historical and musical context, as its first listeners did.

organ chorales: the brothers Johann Christoph Bach (1642–1703) and Johann Michael Bach (1648–94).