ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: BACH'S CELLO SUITES AND THE FRENCH BASS VIOL TRADITION

Chelsea Bernstein, Doctor of Musical Arts, 2020

Dissertation directed by: Associate Professor of Cello, Eric Kutz, School of Music

The aim of this paper is to examine the relationship between the tradition of soloistic bass viol music, popular in France from c.1660-c.1747, and Bach's suites for unaccompanied violoncello, BWV 1007-1012, which scholars agree were composed during his Köthen period, c.1720. The cultural hegemony of Louis XIV's France had a profound impact on seventeenth and eighteenth-century German principalities. French became the official language of the German aristocracy, and French culture, especially music, was emulated by German courts. French dancing masters populated the noble courts, cities and towns of Germany, and, with their *pochette* violins, disseminated the choreographies carefully curated by Louis' *Académie royale de danse*. German *Kapellen* grew to resemble Lully's famed *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi,* and Germany developed its own school of virtuosic bass viol performance. French-trained German composers Johann Kusser (1660-1727), Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773) and Georg Muffat (1653-1704) wrote extensive treatises detailing French instrumental practices, which were circulated

throughout Germany. Bach kept ties with the highly Frenchified courts of Celle, Berlin, and Dresden, and, as testified to by his son Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach in his father's obituary, had a thorough grounding in the French taste.

In Köthen (Bach served as *Kapellmeister* there from 1717-1723), Bach developed close friendships with two important violists da gamba: Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen, Bach's employer and fervent amateur violist, and Cristian Ferdinand Abel, one of the most celebrated viol virtuosos in Germany. My research leads me to conclude that Bach's cello suites are an extrapolation of the French bass viol tradition, one with which he was certainly familiar. There are many similarities between French *pièces de viole* and Bach's BWV 1007-1012, both stylistically and idiomatically, which I will explore in detail. This paper will aim to serve those who wish to form a comprehensive interpretive approach to Bach's cello suites, as it will survey an oft-overlooked influence of these masterworks.

BACH'S CELLO SUITES AND THE FRENCH BASS VIOL TRADITION

by

Chelsea Bernstein

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Musical Arts
2020

Advisory Committee:
Dr. Eric Kutz, Chair
Dr. Kenneth Slowik
Professor Katherine Murdock
Dr. Sarah Frisof
Dr. Denny Gulick, Dean's Representative

© Copyright by
Chelsea Bernstein
2020

Acknowledgments

First, I would like to thank my teacher, advisor, and committee chair Dr. Eric Kutz for accepting me into his studio, and for his unyielding kindness, flexibility, and support throughout my studies at the University of Maryland. Hearty thanks are also due to committee members Dr. Sarah Frisof and Dr. Denny Gulick, for serving on my committee during trying times with grace and enthusiasm. I must thank my dear friend Catherine Slowik, whose input, guidance, and research prowess truly made this project possible, and Marty Bedell, for convincing me that I am, indeed, "doctor material." I would like to thank Dr. Richard King for the loan of his beautiful seven-stringed Kazuya Sato bass viol, which was integral in the whetting of my appetite for the performance of this repertoire, and to Professor Katherine Murdock, for graciously agreeing to lend her great care and expertise to this project in its eleventh hour.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Dr. Kenneth Slowik, whose mentorship, encouragement, and support have been invaluable to my development as a musician, scholar, and human being over the course of my tenure at the University of Maryland. It would take several dissertations to successfully convey all I have learned from this generous and brilliant person.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother and father, Karen and Alan Bernstein, for instilling in me their love of music.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments ii

Table of Contents iii

List of Figures v

List of Musical Examples xii

Chapter 1: Louis *le Grand* 1
- Versailles 1
- *Académies* 9
- French Opera 14
- Divertissements 19
- Music 22
- Dance 27
- Cultural Implications of Louis XIV's Reign 38

Chapter 2: The French Bass Viol Tradition 40
- Early History of the Viol 41
- Lyra and Division Viol 44
- The French *Fantaisie* 50
- French Ensemble Music 52
- *Pièces de viole*: Styles and Forms 54
- *Pièces de viole*: Practitioners 70

Chapter 3: The Cultural Influence of France in Germany, During and after Louis' Reign 98
- German Emulation of French Culture 101
- Celle 107
- Other Frenchified German Courts 114
- The Courts of Berlin and Dresden 128
- Anhalt-Köthen 140
- Abel and the Cello Suites 148
- The German Viol School 153
- Further Comments 163

Chapter 4: Evidence of French Viol Influence in Bach's Cello Suites 166
Bach's Violoncello 171
Cello vs. Viol 179
French Styles as seen in BWV 1007-1012 182
Notes Inégales 182
Unmeasured Preludes 195
Dotted Rhythms in Bach's Cello Suites 210
The *Muzette* 216
Viol Idioms in Bach's Cello Suites 219
Scordatura Tuning 219
Improvisatory Ornamental Runs 221
Bariolage 224
Unisons 227
Left Hand Techniques 229
Of the Bow 232
Bach's Incorporated Bass Lines 240
Further Observations 248
Conclusion 255

Bibliography 259

List of Figures

Figure 1.1. Patel, Pierre. *Bird's Eye View of Versailles* (c. 1668). Oil on Canvas. MV 765, Musée National du Château, Versailles.

Figure 1.2. "Gallery of Mirrors, Versailles, France" (c. 1890/1900). Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co. Library of Congress, http://lccn.loc.gov/2001698740. Accessed 10 August 2020.

Figure 1.3. De Fer, Nicolas and Charles Inselin. *Plan Général de Versailles: son Parc, son Louvre, ses Jardins, ses Fontaines, ses Bosquets Et Sa Ville* (1705). Princeton Historic Map Collection, https://library.edu/versailles/item/842. Accessed 1 August 2020.

Figure 1.4. "The triumphal car, Versailles, France" (c.1890/1900). Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co. Library of Congress, https://lccn.loc.gov/2001698744. Accessed 1 August 2020.

Figure 1.5. "Gallery of Battles, Versailles, France" (c. 1890/1900). Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co. Library of Congress, https://lccn.loc.gov/2001698741. Accessed 1 August 2020.

Figure 1.6. Le Pautre, Jean. "Les fêtes de l'Amour et de Baccus,' Comédie en Musique représentée dans le Parc de Versailles" (1678). Musée Nationale des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/93-001054-02-2C6NU0HWU74X.html. Accessed 1 August 2020.

Figure 1.7. "The baths of Apollo, Versailles, France" (c. 1890/1900). Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co. Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2001698746. Accessed 1 August 2020.

Figure 1.8. Tournières, Robert. *Concert* (c. 1690). Oil on Canvas. Musée du Louvre, Paris. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robert_Tourni%C3%A8res_-_Concert_-_WGA23044.jpg. Accessed 26 June 2020.

Figure 1.9. Lefèbvre, Claude and Jean Garnier. *Allegory of Louis XIV, protector of the Arts and Sciences* (1670-2). Oil on canvas. Salle Louis XIV, Musée de Versailles. https://www.photo.rmn.fr/archive/16-545286-2C6NU0A66BUJY.html.
Accessed 5 August 2020.

Figure 1.10. Le Pautre, Jean. *La Salle du Bal donné dans le petit Parc de Versailles* (1678). Engraving. New York Public Library. https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/c062f230-0bb5-0133-6c7d-58d385a7bbd0. Accessed 10 July 2020.

Figure 1.11. Fragonard, Théophile. "Le roi soleil en costume de théatre — Louis XIV au carrousel"(1882). Hand colored wood engraving. The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Picture Collection, New York Public Library. *The New York Public Library Digital Collections*, 1882.http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e1-0df1-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99. Accessed 8 August, 2020.

Figure 1.12. Feuillet, Raoul-Auger. "La Bourée d'Achille" (1700). *Receuil de dances composés par M. Pecour.* Desais: Paris, 1700. Library of Congress, https://lccn.loc.gov/14002126. Accessed 20 August 2020.

Figure 1.13. Feuillet, Raoul-Auger. "The five good positions of the noble feet." *Chorégraphie, ou L'art de Decrire la Danse.* Brunet: Paris, 1700, 7.Bibliothéque National de France, Rés M-V-303, https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b86232407. Accessed 2 August 2020.

Figure 1.14. Rigaud, Hyacinthe. *Portrait de Louis XIV en costume de sacre* (1701). Oil on canvas. INV. 7492, Musée de Louvre, https://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/louis-xiv-1638-1715. Accessed 23 August 2020.

Figure 2.1. Raphael, *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia* (1516/17). Oil transferred from panel to canvas; detail. Pinacoteca Nazionale Bologna, https://www.pinacotecabologna.beniculturali.it/en/content_page/item/2811-st-cecilia-with-saints-paul-john-the-evangelist-augustine-and-mary-magdalen-ecstasy-of-st-cecilia. Accessed 23 August 2020.

Figure 2.2. Simpson, Christopher. *The Division Viol*. London: Playford, 1659, p. 54.

Figure 2.3. Playford, John. *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way.* Second edition. London, 1682, title page.

Figure 2.4. Ferrabosco II, Alfonso. *Lessons for 1, 2 or 3 Viols.* London: Thomas Snodham, 1609, p. 1.
Figure 2.5. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de Violes, Livre I.* Paris: 1689, title page.

Figure 2.6. Danoville, *Art de toucher le dessus et la basse de violle.* Paris: Ballard, 1687, dedication page.

Figure 2.7. Danoville, *l'Art de toucher le dessus et basse de violle.* Paris: 1687, title page.

Figure 2.8. De Machy, *Piéces de Violle.* "Demonstrations des Agréments" (ornament chart). Paris: 1685, p. 13.

Figure 2.9. An explanation of Ornaments from the *Avertissement* of Marin Marais' *Pièces de viole.* Marais, Marin. *Pièces de Violes, Livre I.* Paris: Marin Marais, 1689, p. 4.

Figure 2.10. Earliest published table of ornaments, found in the preface of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières' *Pièces de Clavessin*. Paris: Jollain, 1670, vii.

Figure 2.11. "Explanation of various *Tremblements.*"Loulié, Etienne. *Éléments Ou Principes de Musique.* Paris: Ballard, 1696, 70.

Figure 2.12. "Marques des Agrements et leur signification." D'Anglebert, Jean-Henri. *Pièces de Clavecin.* Paris: 1689, e.

Figure 2.13. Kam Fook Ng, Shaun. "Ornamentation in Marin Marais' Pièces de Viole." DMA dissertation, Sydney Conservatorium of Music, 2013, 39.

Figure 2.14. Bass viol by Richard Meares, London, 1664. Yale Collection of Musical lnstruments, YCMI 4677. http://deliver.odai.yale.edu/content/assetid/e2d2def5d6d82b0abeb38018d2bc07d76a859966/format/2. Accessed 23 August 2020.

Figure 2.15. Marais' dedication to Lully. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de Violes, Livre I.* Paris:, 1689, 3.

Figure 2.16. Front and back images of the medallion forged in honor of Marin Marais, as commissioned by Titon du Tillet, for the Parnasse Française; the monument, at Versailles, which celebrated the glory of France's poets and musicians during the reign of Louis XIV.

Figure 2.17. Bouys, André. *Marin Marais, Maître de la Musique de la Chambre du Roi* (1704). Engraving after oil on canvas. Web. 1 July 2020.

https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andre-bouys-la-barre-and-other-musicians

Figure 2.18. Bouys, André. *La Barre and Other Musicians*. Oil on canvas. INV 2081, National Gallery,
London. https://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/paintings/andre-bouys-la-barre-and-other-musicians. Accessed 4 August 2020.

Figure 3.1. The title page of the Brandenburg concertos (Cöthen, 1721), written in Bach's own hand, reads *Six Concerts avec plusieurs Instruments*.
https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000448.
Accessed 23 August 2020.

Figure 3.2. Dedication to the Margrave of Brandenburg, written in Bach's hand in French. https://www.bach-digital.de/receive/BachDigitalSource_source_00000448.
Accessed 6 July 2020.

Figure 3.3. Bonnard, Nicolas. *Dancing Master.* Engraving. Bibliothèque nationale de France, department Arsenal, ARS EST-368 (207). Web. 20 August 2020.
http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb410563943

Figure 3.4. French *pochette*, or "pocket" violin (c.1700-1799) AN 89.4.2901, the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments, Metropolitan Museum of Art.https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/505410. Accessed 4 August 2020.

Figure 3.5. *Kupferstich von*
Celle mit FranzösischemGarten (1762). Engraving. https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Franz%C3%B6sischer_Garten_Celle_1762.jpg. Accessed 28 June 2020.

Figure 3.6. *Cour d'Honneur*, Palace of Mannheim. University of Mannheim. Web. 5 July 2020.
http://www.iiemca19.org/venue/mannheim_palace/

Figure 3.7. *Cour d'Honneur*, Palace of Versailles. Chateau-de-versailles-cour-1.jpg

Figure 3.8. *Maison de plaisir d'Herrenhausen* (c. 1708).Etching. RCIN 704535, Royal Collection
Trust. https://www.rct.uk/collection/search#/2/collection/704535/maison-de-plaisir-dherrenhausen. Accessed23 August 2020.

Figure 3.9 Teilke viol 1696, Hamburg, Germany.
https://mimointernational.com/MIMO/detailstatic.aspx?RSC_BASE=IFD&RSC_DOCID=MINIM_UK_UEDIN_3356&TITLE=/viola-da-gamba

Figure 3.10. Weidmann, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Frederick I of Prussia* (1701). Oil on Canvas. SchlossFriedrichshof. https://web.archive.org/web/20160415185956/http://www.smb.museum/typo3temp/pics/42b3e8a531.jpg. Accessed 10 August 2020.

Figure 3.11. Merian, Matthäus der Ältere. *Coronation of Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg as King Frederick I in Prussia. Königsburg* (1701). Copper engraving from *Theatrum Europaeum,* published by Daniel Schneider, 1708. Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg urn:nbn:de:bvb:384-uba000248-2.
Accessed 23 August 2020.

Figure 3.12. Lully, Jean-Baptiste. *Acis et Galatée*. MsMus.1827 F-31. Title page, violin part. Staats- und Univeritätsbibliothek Dresden. SächsischeLandesbibliothek. https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/273/5/0/. Accessed 6 July 2020.

Figure 3.13. Lully, Jean-Baptiste. "Chaconne" from *Acis et Galatée*. Ms Mus.1827 F-31. Staats- und Univeritätsbibliothek Dresden. SächsischeLandesbibliothek. https://digital.slub-dresden.de/werkansicht/dlf/273/5/0/. Accessed 6 July 2020.

Figure 3.14. *Leopold von Anhalt-Köthen* (n.d.). Oil on canvas. Collection of Köthen Castle.https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leopold,_Prince_of_Anhalt-K%C3%B6then#/media/File:Leopold_von_Anhalt-K%C3%B6then_(1694_-_1728).jpg. Accessed 19 August 2020.

Figure 3.15. Image of Köthen's "Hall of Mirrors." Oelze, Gudrun, Der Spiegelsaal im Köthen Schloss, Köthener Schloss, Köthen, landtag@lt.sachsen-anhalt.de, 08/25/2020

Figure 3.16. Merian, Matthäus der Ältere. *Köthen, Schloß.* Copper engraving. https://www.kunstkopie.de/a/merian-2/kthenschlo-1.html. Accessed 23 August 2020.

Figure 3.17. Denner, Balthasar. *Group portrait of musicians* (c. 1730). Oil on canvas. InternationaleBachakademie, Stuttgart. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Abel_family.jpg. Accessed 19 June 2020.

Figure 3.18. Gainsborough, Thomas. *Portrait of Carl Friedrich Abel*. Oil on canvas, 1777. NPG 5947, National Portrait Gallery, London.

https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitExtended/mw07010/Karl-Friedrich-Abel#:~:text=This%20portrait&text=Between%201885%20and%201988%20the,1925%20and%20became%20relatively%20familiar.&text=Thomas%20Gainsborough%2C%201915%2C%20p%20362%2C%20and%20J. Accessed 17 August 2020.

Figure 4.1. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Figure 4.2. BWV 1012. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Figure 4.3. Unknown painter (possibly Charles Philips). *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Cello.* Oil on canvas. England, c.1720. Historical Portrait Gallery. Web. 10 August 2020. http://www.historicalportraits.com/Gallery.asp?Page=Item&ItemID=970&Desc=Gentleman-playing-the-cello-%7C--English-School

Figure 4.4. Metsu, Gabriel. *The Cello Player.* Oil on canvas. Amsterdam, c.1658. Royal Collection Trust. Web. 20 July 2020. https://www.rct.uk/collection/405534/the-cello-player

Figure 4.5. David Teniers The Younger. *The Painter and his Family*. Oil on oak, c.1646. Web Gallery of Art. Web. 10 July 2020. https://www.wga.hu/support/viewer_m/z.html

Figure 4.6. "Viola" Filippo Bonnanni. Gabinetto armonico pieno d'instromenti sonori indicati, e spiegati dal padre Filippo Bonanni. Roma, Nella stamperìa, 1722. Microfilm. Washington, D.C. Library of Congress. Web. 1 August 2020. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/muspre1800.100812

Figure 4.7. An Italian drawing, c.1700. Present location unknown. Found in "The Violoncello, Viola da Spalla and Viola Pomposa in Theory and Practice" by Dmitry Badiarov. *The Galpin Society Journal,* 2007, p. 137. https://www-jstor-org.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/stable/pdf/25163896.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A25721efb1e277d3129c2a81789109766

Figure 4.8. An image included in the cello part book of Giuseppe Torelli's *Concerto per Camera a Violino, e Violoncello* Op. IV. Bologna: Marino Silvani, n.d. (c.1688). Bibliothèque nationale de France, Musique (F-Pn): RISM A/I: T 986. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b0/IMSLP478895-PMLP574015-Tiot_Concertino_per_camera_.pdf

Figure 4.9. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole*, book 2. *Avertissement*. Paris, 1701. Example 4.5. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Bourée,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Figure 4.10. Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan playing the *musette* (*Gaspard de Gueidan en joueur de musette*) by Hyacinthe Rigaud (portrait painter of Louis XIV), 1738.

Figure 4.11. "*Discordable* tuning," annoted by Anna Magdalena Bach, BWV 1011. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

List of Musical Examples

Example 2.1. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de Violes,* book 1. Paris: 1689, 1. Note the abundant use of *tenüe* brackets, fingering and bowing suggestions (*t*, pull, *p* push). IMSLP Petrucci Library. Web. 30 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/2/25/IMSLP400505-PMLP648329-Marais_vdg_ed.pdf

Figure 2.2. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de Violes,* book 4*,* "*L'Arabesque,* excerpt, p. 84. Paris, 1717. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 2 August 2020. https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/108724/hfev

Example 4.1. Marais, Marin, engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole,* book 1, *Chaconne,* excerpt. p. 105. IMSLP Petrucci Library. Web. 30 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/2/25/IMSLP400505-PMLP648329-Marais_vdg_ed.pdf

Example 4.2. Marais, Marin, engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole,* book 1, *Chaconne,* excerpt. p. 109. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 30 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/2/25/IMSLP400505-PMLP648329-Marais_vdg_ed.pdf

Example 4.3. Marais, Marin, engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole,* book 1, *Chaconne,* excerpt, p. 114. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 30 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/2/25/IMSLP400505-PMLP648329-Marais_vdg_ed.pdf

Example 4.4. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viol*, book 3, *Grand Ballet,* excerpt. p. 12. Paris, 1711. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 17 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/0/02/IMSLP298107-PMLP55706-Marais_-_Troisieme_Livre_de_Pieces_de_Violes_(1711).pdf

Example 4.6. Antoine Forqueray's *Pièces de viole*, *Chaconne La Buisson*, theme, p. 12. Paris, 1747. Reprinted by Fuzeau. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 14 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/c/cb/IMSLP30894-PMLP70401-Forqueray_comb.pdf

Example. 4.7. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Menuet* II, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.8. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, of BWV 1008, *Sarabande.* J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.9. De Machy, *Pièces de violle*, Suite in D minor, *Sarabande,* p. 21. L'Autheur, Paris, 1685. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 28 June 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/40/IMSLP244510-PMLP396274-Demachy_-_Pieces_de_Violle.pdf

Example 4.10. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Courante.* J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.11. An unmeasured *prelude* by Bovier, from Pierre Ballard's anthology of lute tablature, *Tablature de luthe de différents auters*. Paris, 1631. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 28 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/0/0e/IMSLP408494-PMLP661592-BnF_btv1b52506298g_-_MUS-505_-_Ballard_P,_Tablature_de_luth_(1631-6).pdf

Example 4.12. A *prelude non mesuré* by Louis Couperin. Parville manuscript, pp. 60-61. Manuscript, University of Berkeley Music Library. Microfilm reel, 35 mm. OCLC Number 77595933.

Example 4.13. A manuscript version of an unmeasured *Prelude* of d'Anglebert, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Rés. 89ter, fol. 52 , Prelude D'Anglebert. Web. 26 July 2020. « Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France »

Example. 4.14. A published unmeasured *Prelude* of d'Anglebert, *Pièces de clavecin*, p. 67. Chez L'Auteru, Paris, 1689. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 27 July, 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/82/IMSLP110970-PMLP43812-D'Anglebert_-_Pieces_de_Clavecin_(1689).pdf

Example 4.15. An unmeasured *Prelude* by Louis Marchand. *Pièces de Clavecin, Livre 2*, p. 1. Christophe Ballard, Paris, 1703. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 1 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/85/IMSLP74570-PMLP43743-Marchand_Clavecin_2.pdf

Example 4.16. De Machy, *Pièces de violle, Prelude.* L'Autheur, Paris, 1685. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 28 June 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/40/IMSLP244510-PMLP396274-Demachy_-_Pieces_de_Violle.pdf

Example 4.17. An unmeasured introduction. Sainte-Colombe, *Concerts à deux violes esgales.* Manuscript, n.d. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 1 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d0/IMSLP341362-PMLP550495-stcolconcerts.pdf

Example 4.18. An unmeasured introduction. Sainte-Colombe's *Concerts à violes deux esgales.* Manuscript, n.d. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 1 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d0/IMSLP341362-PMLP550495-stcolconcerts.pdf

Example 4.19. Marais, Marin, engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole*, book 1*,* Suite 1, *Prelude*, excerpt, p. 7. Paris, 1686. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 27 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/2/25/IMSLP400505-PMLP648329-Marais_vdg_ed.pdf

Example 4.20. Couperin, François, engraved by L. Hüe. *Pièces de violes,* Suite 1, *Prelude*, excerpt. Chez le Sieur Boivin, Paris, 1728. IMLPS Petrucci Music Library. Web. 11 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/b/b8/IMSLP323379-PMLP184018-Couperin_-_Pieces_de_Violes_avec_la_basse_chifrée_-Sujet-.pdf

Example 4.21. Example 4.21. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Allemande*, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Mus. ms. Bach p. 269. Web. 20 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.22. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Prelude.* J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.23. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, Prelude, mm. 1-25. transcription in the unmeasured style by Chelsea Bernstein.

Example 4.24. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Prelude*. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.25. J.S. Bach, Suite in E-flat major, BWV 1010, *Sarabande.* J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.26. Marais, Marin, engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole,* book 3, *Sarabande*, p. 94. Paris, 1711. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 17 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/0/02/IMSLP298107-PMLP55706-Marais_-_Troisieme_Livre_de_Pieces_de_Violes_(1711).pdf

Example 4.27. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Gigue.* J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.28. Marin Marais' *Pièces de viole,* book 4*,* fourth suite, *Gigue,* p. 27. Paris, 1717. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 2 August 2020. https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/108724/hfev

Example 4.29. De Machy, *Pièces de viole,* suite in D minor, *Gigue*. L'Autheur, Paris, 1685. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 28 June 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/40/IMSLP244510-PMLP396274-Demachy_-_Pieces_de_Violle.pdf

Example 4.30. Marais, Marin, Engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole*, book 4, *2nd Muzette* pp. 29-30. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 13 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/87/IMSLP108724-PMLP55706-Pieces_de_Violes_Livre_IV_-_Solo_(Marais).pdf

Example 4.31. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Gavotte II,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.32. Improvisatory ornamental run. J.S. Bach, Suite in E-flat major, BWV 1010, *Prelude*, mm. 49-51. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.33. Marais, Marin. Pièces de violes, book 3, *Fantaisie*, Paris, 1711, p. 39, excerpt. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 17 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/0/02/IMSLP298107-PMLP55706-Marais_-_Troisieme_Livre_de_Pieces_de_Violes_(1711).pdf

Example 4.34. Improvisatory ornamental run. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Allemande*, m. 9. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.35. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de viole*, book 3, *Prelude*, excerpt, Paris, 1711, p. 15. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 17 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/0/02/IMSLP298107-PMLP55706-Marais_-_Troisieme_Livre_de_Pieces_de_Violes_(1711).pdf

Example 4.36. Marais, Marin, Engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole,* book 4, *Le Badinage,* Paris, 1717, final couplet. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 28 July 2020. https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/108724/hfev

Example 4.37. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Prelude*, mm. 83-89. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.38. J.S. Bach, Partita no. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004, *Chaconne,* excerpt. Holograph manuscripts, 1720. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 967. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 13 August 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/2/25/IMSLP150643-PMLP04292-BWV_1001_-_1006_(D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_967).pdf

Example 4.39. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Prelude,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.40. Marais, Marin, engraved by Henri de Baussen. *Pièces de violes*, book 2, *Cloches ou Carillon,* excerpt, p. 53. Paris, 1701. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 19 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/5/58/IMSLP39260-PMLP55706-Marais-PiecesDeViole-Livre-II-Solo.pdf

Example 4.41. Marais, Marin, engraved by Henri de Baussen. *Pièces de violes*, book 2, *Caprice*, excerpt, p. 12. Paris, 1701. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 19 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/5/58/IMSLP39260-PMLP55706-Marais-PiecesDeViole-Livre-II-Solo.pdf

Example 4.42. Marais, Marin engraved by Henri de Baussen. *Pièces de violes,* book 2, *Couplets de Follies*, excerpt, p. 30. Paris, 1701. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 19 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/5/58/IMSLP39260-PMLP55706-Marais-PiecesDeViole-Livre-II-Solo.pdf

Example 4.43. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de violes* book 3, *Muzette*, excerpt, p. 102. Paris 1711. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 17 July 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/0/02/IMSLP298107-PMLP55706-Marais_-_Troisieme_Livre_de_Pieces_de_Violes_(1711).pdf

Example 4.44. Forqueray, Antoine, engraved by Mme Leclair. *Pièces de violes, Chaconne. La Morangis ou La Plissay,* p. 53. Paris, 1747. Reprinted by Fuzeau. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 14 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/c/cb/IMSLP30894-PMLP70401-Forqueray_comb.pdf

Example 4.45. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Prelude,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.46. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Gigue*, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.47. De Machy, Suite no. 2 in D major, *Pièces de violle*, *Gavotte.* L'Autheur, Paris, 1685. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 28 June 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/4/40/IMSLP244510-PMLP396274-Demachy_-_Pieces_de_Violle.pdf

Example 4.48. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Sarabande.* J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.49. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Sarabande,* m. 10, two ways. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.50. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Menuet*, m. 17, two ways. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.51. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Menuet*, m. 19, two ways. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.52. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Prelude,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.53. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Prelude,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.54. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Allemande,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.55. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Prelude*, mm. 1-19. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.56. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Courante,* two bowed versions of excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.57. Two bowed versions of an excerpt from the *Courante* of BWV 1009. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.58. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Prelude*, two bowed versions of excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.59. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Menuet*, two bowed versions of excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.60. J.S. Bach, St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244, Holograph Manuscript, n.d. (1736-40). *Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin* (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 25, p. 123. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 17 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d9/IMSLP569101-PMLP03301-Partitur_D-B_Mus.ms._Bach_P_25.pdf

Example 4.61. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Prelude,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.62. J.S. Bach, edited by Pierre Noblin. Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Prelude*, excerpt. Janet et Cotelle, Paris, n.d. (1824). Plate 1497. Reprinted by Bärenreiter, No. 5215/5216, 2000. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 20 August 2020. https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/75797/hfev

Example 4.63. A built-in bass line. J.S. Bach, Suite in Eb major, BWV 1010, *Bourrée 2.* J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.64. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Gigue*, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.65. Built in bass line. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Allemande*, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.66. J.S. Bach, Suite in D Major, BWV 1012, *Gavotte II*, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.67. Implied bass line, superimposed. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Courante,* mm. 1-7. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.68. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1001, *Prelude*, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.69. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Prelude,* excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.70. J.S. Bach, Suite in D Major, BWV 1012, *Allemande*. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 July 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P_269.pdf

Example 4.71. J.S. Bach, Suite in Eb Major, BWV 1010, *Prelude*, excerpt. J.S. Bach, Anna Magdalena. *Six Suites for Unaccompanied Cello*, BWV 1007-1012. ISMLP Petrucci Music Library. Manuscript, n.d. (c.1727-1731). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 269. Web. 10 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/8/8b/IMSLP215391-PMLP04291-D_B_Mus._ms._Bach_P

Example 4.72. Marais, Marin. Engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole*, book 4, *Le Labyrinthe,* excerpt, p. 75. Paris, 1717. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 2 August 2020. https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/108724/hfev

Example 4.73. Marais, Marin. Engraved by François du Plessy. *Pièces de viole*, book 4, *Le Labyrinthe,* excerpt, p. 75. Paris, 1717. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library.Web. 2 August 2020. https://imslp.org/wiki/Special:ImagefromIndex/108724/hfev

Example 4.74. J. S. Bach, St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244, mm. 1-4. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Holograph manuscripts, n.d. (c.1736-1740). Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin (D-B): Mus.ms. Bach P 25. Web. 13 August 2020. http://ks4.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/d/d9/IMSLP569101-PMLP03301-Partitur_D-B_Mus.ms._Bach_P_25.pdf

Example 4.75. Marais, Marin, engraved by François du Plessy, *Pièces de viole,* book 1, *Tableau de M. Meliton,* p. 115, mm. 1-6. IMSLP Petrucci Music Library. Web. 17 August 2020. https://ks.imslp.net/files/imglnks/usimg/2/25/IMSLP400505-PMLP648329-Marais_vdg_ed.pd Example

Chapter 1: Louis *le Grand*

"In my heart I prefer fame above all else, even life itself."[1]

Versailles

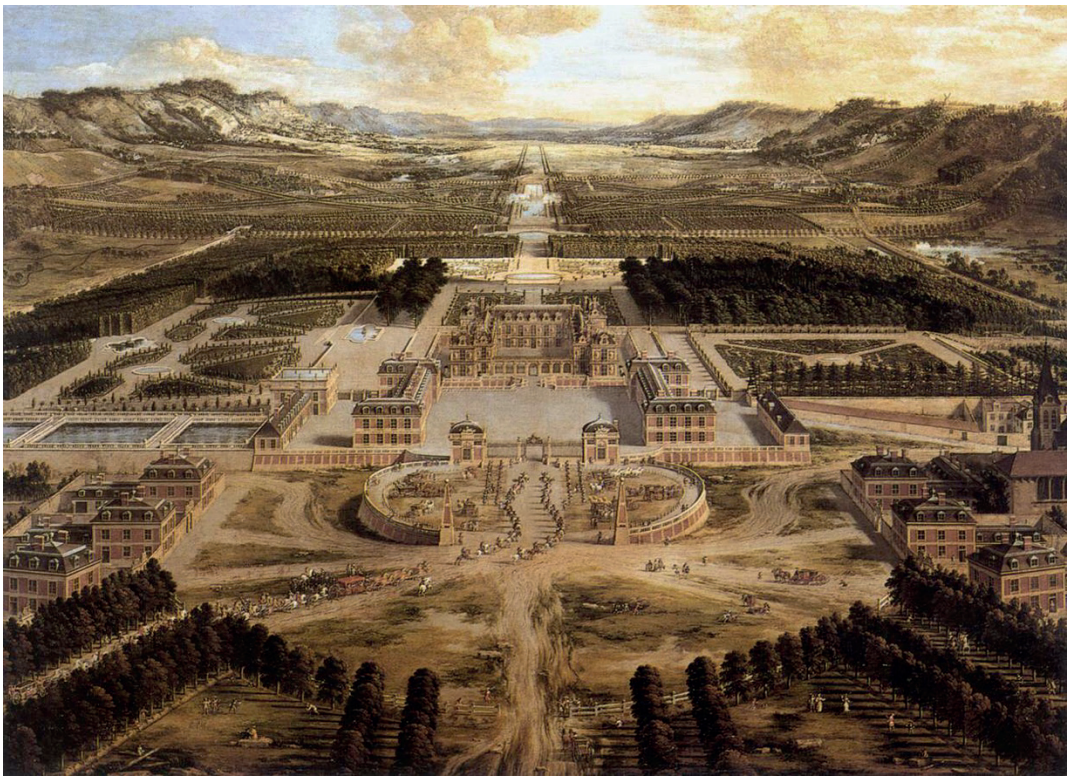


Figure 1.1. Patel, Pierre. *Bird's Eye View of Versailles* (c. 1668). Oil on Canvas.

[1] Louis XIV. *Mémoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin*. Edited and translated by Paul Sonnino, New York: Free Press, 1970, p. 21. Exact date of Louis' *Mémoires* is unknown, see Paul Sonnino's "The Dating and Authorship of Louis XIV Memoirs." *French Historical Studies,* vol. 3, no. 3, Duke University Press, 1964, pp. 303-337.

French baroque musical style is, in many ways, a product of the political milieu in which it was composed. Louis XIV took a profound interest in myriad forms of absolutism—religious, military, political and cultural. Just as it is not possible to discuss the legacy of Louis XIV without mention of his unbounded hubris, it is not possible to talk about French baroque music without mention of Louis XIV.

Louis Dieudonné (Godgiven), or Louis *Le Grand*, was the king of France from May 14th, 1643 until his death on September 1st, 1715. Born in 1638, Louis became king at the tender age of four, though his rule as monarch did not begin until age eighteen, after the death of his chief minister Cardinal Mazarin in 1661. Louis' seventy-two-and-a-half-year reign continues to be the longest of any monarch in European history. Thoroughly convinced of the divine right of kings, Louis believed himself to be God's chosen representative for France and devised his rule as an absolute monarchy. "*L'état, c'est moi*!" (I am the state) was his maxim; any act of disobedience was considered a sin against God. Having survived the traumatic experiences of the *Fronde* (a series of civil wars during his mother's regency), Louis harbored an intense distrust of his noble subjects. To minimize the political independence of the aristocracy, he devised a plan to centralize power in France, keeping his most influential (and dangerous) nobles close, as means of control. This required housing and accommodation for thousands; the construction of a small city, of sorts, where Louis could exercise his dominance. In 1661

construction began on the spectacular structure of his obsession; the physical embodiment of the glory of France itself, the palace of Versailles.[2]

Originally a modest chateau built to host Louis XIII and his entourage during hunting excursions, Versailles was transformed into the most extravagant court in Europe. When construction had concluded in 1682, Louis made Versailles his permanent residence, and the official seat of the French government. The apartments built in the "envelope" (a horseshoe section of building surrounding the royal palace) were plentiful enough to house all of France's prominent nobles—on any given day there were between three and ten thousand guests on premises at Versailles. The result was an impotent group of nobles living in a vacuum of wealth, excess, boredom and debauchery.

It is hardly possible to overstate the sheer decadence of Louis XIV's Versailles. Fortunes were won and lost on the gambling tables in a single evening. Courtiers bankrupted themselves displaying the latest fashions. To keep his guests adequately occupied, the king spared no expense; lavish multi-course banquets were commonplace, as were the perpetual parties, themed balls, parades, plays, operas, ballets, fireworks and other spectacles flaunted at Versailles. Such events were designed not only to entertain, but to communicate the unparalleled grandness of the French Crown to its citizens and to the world.

Louis mandated a meticulous course of etiquette for all of his courtiers. Rules dictated who could approach whom, and where and when. All manners of

---

[2] For more about Louis XIV, see Philip Menzel's *King of the World: The Life of Louis XIV*. University of Chicago Press, 2020.

speech and body language were predetermined and varied subtly according to the occasion and time of day. Depending on one's status at court, one of four sitting options was permitted: none, a stool, a chair, or the coveted chair-with-arms, reserved for only the most deserving.[3] To establish oneself at court, it was essential to make appearances, hoping to earn the king's attention by way of wit, beauty, fashion or some other virtue. If favor was achieved, a job, title and/or duty might be bestowed. Such positions could also be inherited or purchased for a lofty sum.[4]

Of the many manifestations of Louis' hubris were the twice-daily ceremonies to commemorate the waking and going-to-sleep of the king. Known as the *Lever* and *Coucher*, these events drew an audience of roughly one-hundred (exclusively male) courtiers to pay witness to the respective dressing and undressing of the king.[5] The salient metaphor suggested by the elaborate palindromic gesture reminded royal subjects that the day rose and set with the "Sun King," the center of the universe, around whom all things revolved.[6]

Every design choice made during the construction of Versailles was meticulously conceived by Louis XIV to convey the greatness of France and its king. In a description of the palatial shrine, visitor André Félibien wrote:

---

[3] Brown, Frederick. "Reflection on Versailles." *The Hudson Review*, vol. 30, no. 3, 1977, p. 344.

[4] Graafland, Ad, and Arie Graafland. *Versailles and the Mechanics of Power: The Subjugation of a Circle*. Edited by John Kirkpatrick, 010 Publishers, 2003, p. 80.

[5] See *Trios pour le Coucher du Roy* by Marin Marais and Jean-Baptiste Lully.

[6] There were also official boot-donning and discarding ceremonies to accompany the king's hunting excursions, complete with orchestral accompaniment.

> It is good to remark at first that the sun is the motto of the king, and the poets make no distinction between the sun and Apollo, there is nothing in this superb house which does not have a bearing on this divinity; also all the figures and the ornaments which one sees there are not placed haphazardly; they have relation to the Sun of the particular places from which they are taken.[7]

The palace's "Hall of Mirrors" is perhaps the best example of Louis' penchant for grandiosity. With seventeen arches comprised of three hundred and fifty-seven mirrors erected opposite seventeen analogous large-paneled windows revealing the palace gardens, interspersed with thirty paintings commissioned of Charles Le Brun (1619-1690) (depicting Louis as the god Apollo in his various triumphs and victories), the Hall of Mirrors was a shining beacon of France's absolute supremacy in all things grand and glorious. The Hall of Mirrors shines even brighter when considering the great difficulty of producing mirrors of this size in the seventeenth century—the finest craftsmen were imported from Venice to produce the mirrors on premises, lest the crown jewel of Versailles be accused of having parentage outside of France.[8]

---

[7] Isherwood, Robert M. *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century*. Cornell University Press, 1973, p. 167.

[8] McCorquodale, Charles. *The History of Interior Design*. Phaidon, 1988, p. 99.

Figure 1.2. “Gallery of Mirrors, Versailles, France” (c. 1890/1900).
Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co.

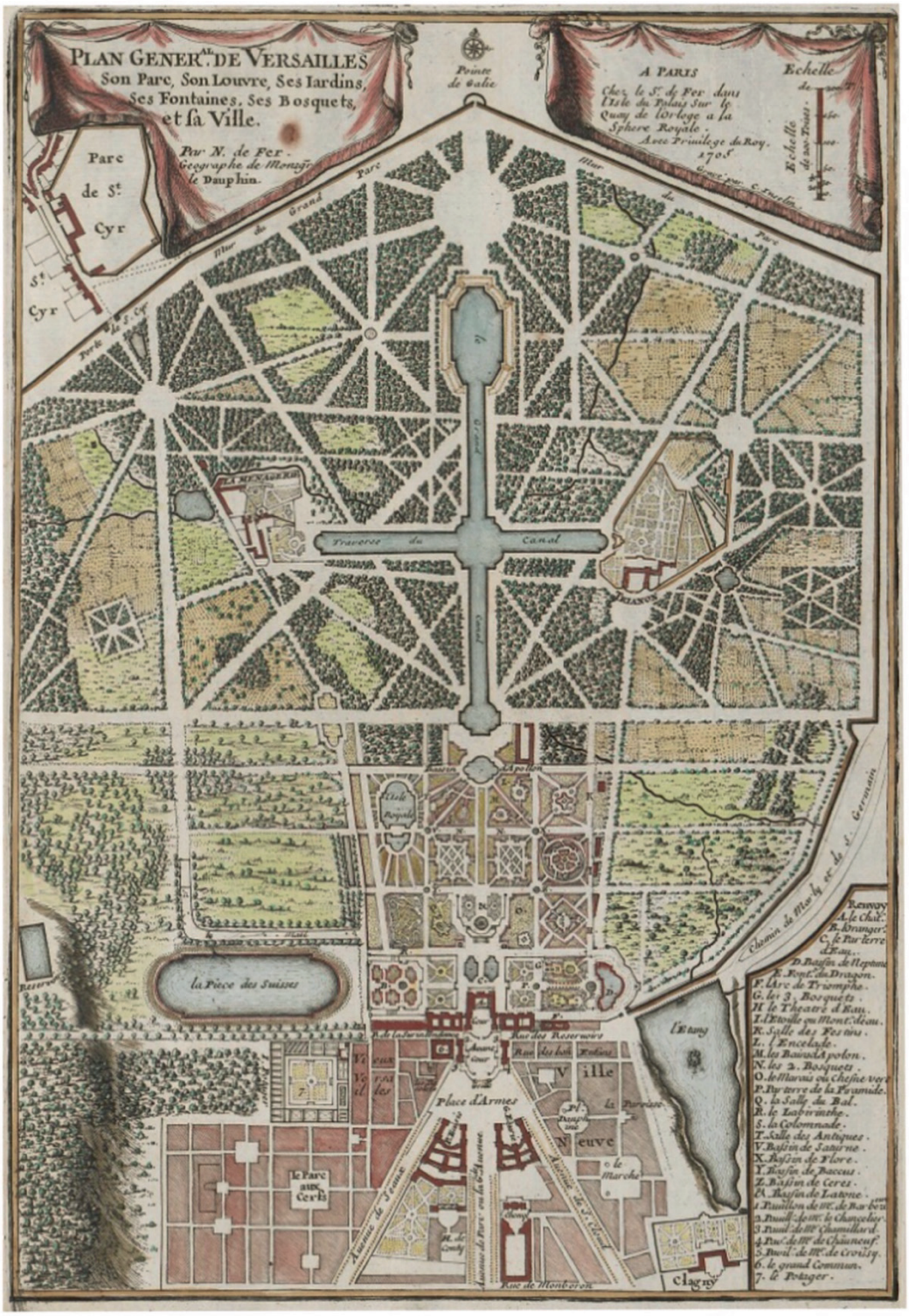


Figure 1.3. De Fer, Nicolas and Charles Inselin. *Plan Général de Versailles: son Parc, son Louvre, ses Jardins, ses Fontaines, ses Bosquets Et Sa Ville* (1705). Note the various evocations of the sun.

The zoo at Versailles was home to many exotic species, including an African elephant. The orangery boasted several thousand trees of citrus, olive, pomegranate, oleander, and palm, planted in boxes for ease of transport; they were moved indoors and kept warm by fire during the winter months. The massive grounds and gardens of Versailles, designed by André Le Notre, were adorned with fifty fountains (with six hundred and twenty water jets—a feat of both aesthetic design and hydraulic engineering), and functioned as theatrical settings for their purpose: to dazzle all who visited.[9]

Figure 1.4. "The triumphal car, Versailles, France" (c.1890/1900). Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co.

[9] "The Fountains." *Palace of Versailles*, 8 Aug. 2019, en.chateauversailles.fr/discover/estate/gardens/fountains.

Académies

Figure 1.5. “Gallery of Battles, Versailles, France” (c. 1890/1900). Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co.

Upon taking control of the state in 1661, Louis XIV embarked on a mission to centralize political, religious and economic power in France. Also, conceiving that a thriving artistic output would prove the nation's health and success (and serve as a vehicle to bolster his own image), Louis sought, through the promotion of fine art in France, to establish cultural supremacy over all of Europe. Louis believed that his memory would be best preserved not by military conquests and builders alone, but by the yields of sympathetic designers, writers, choreographers, painters, sculptors, poets, makers and musicians. Thus, the cultivation and protection of art became a matter of state.

To set the highest artistic standards in Europe, France would need to become an exporter, rather than importer, of culture. With the help of controller-general of finances, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, Louis began the strategic, decade-long formation of five artistic *Académies* (Painting and Sculpture, Dance, Inscriptions and Medals, Music, and Architecture), through which he would control and supervise the creation of fine art as commodity.[10] About Colbert, Robert Isherwood writes:

> His role in promoting the arts was central to his administration not just because he was an effective minister, but because he shared the king's belief that there was wisdom in spending for royal grandeur and that whatever promoted the king's illustrious image enhanced the prestige and strength of the nation. The historical medals, the allegorical paintings, the operas and festivals, the grand edifices of Versailles, the Louvre, the Invalides, and the triumphal gates of Saint-Denis and Saint Martin—all these in Colbert's mind lent prestige and strength to the nation and rendered Louis' reign immortal.[11]

All members of the five artistic *Académies* were engaged in the visual, musical or literary glorification of their king. Through sheer volume of creative production, the image of Louis *le Grand* was secured.

---

[10] The *Académie de peinture et de sculpture* was founded in 1648 under Mazarin's guidance, before Louis assumed control of the French government. There was also a royal *Académie* devoted to sciences, formed in 1666.

[11] Isherwood, Music in the Service of the King, p. 152.

For the *Académie royale de danse*, Louis named thirteen directors, including the dancing masters to the royal family, Jean Renault and *Sieur* Galand de Desert, as well as several other prominent court dancers. These instructors, who enjoyed the same privileges as court officers, were granted the exclusive rights to teach dance in the entire nation of France.[12] In the *Académie's* patent letters, Louis specified that the directors were to conference on a monthly basis to "perfect the art of dance, and correct the abuses which have been introduced or might be introduced."[13] Members of the *Académie* met weekly to learn, teach and design new choreographies for Jean Baptiste Lully's ballets, and for the court's many social balls.

The *Académie des inscriptions, médailles, et belles-lettres* was responsible for the creation of all royal design, which, after approval, would be incorporated into insignia, tapestries, paintings, sculptures, ornaments, fountains and any other sort of decoration, to include scenery for staged dramatic productions. Cognizant of Louis' preference for works which rendered him as a mythological deity, the *Académie* produced and approved designs based largely on ancient Greek and Roman imageries. Upon these, the five artistic *Académies* could rely as crown-approved modes of depiction for their hero. The *Académie des inscriptions, médailles, et belles-lettres* was also responsible for the review and revision of any

---

[12] Ibid., p. 153-5.

[13] *Lettres patentes du roi, pour l'etablissment de 'Académie royale de danse en la ville de Paris*, Paris 1662. Reprinted and translated by M. Franko in *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body*. Cambridge, 1993, p. 168.

published text concerning the state, to include eulogies, histories, and accounts of events, ceremonies and *divertissements*.

The *Académie de peinture et de sculpture* functioned as a training school; the ultimate goal being the production of French-national artists who would rival those of foreign schools and produce images of Louis which would outshine those of all other monarchs. *Premier peinteur du roi*, Charles le Brun, made chancellor of the *Académie* in 1661, was encouraged to devise a qualitative method of depiction for his students. According to Isherwood:

> Under the category of expression, Le Brun presented a precise discourse correlating different bodily movements, especially facial expression, with the entire panoply of human emotions. Each inward passion of man's being was assigned an exact physical representation, thus demonstrating the rapport of man's psychological and physical sides and providing the artist with a precise definition of how to render all forms of human expression.[14]

Functioning under the firm belief of art as allegory, the *Académie* instituted a hierarchical scale of worthy subjects, valuing historical depictions, for example, more than still lifes. A series of tournament-style competitions funneled the most talented pupils to the top, where one prodigious student a year would be awarded the honor of a position in the *Académie*.[15] The winner would receive his

---

[14] Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King,* p. 161.

[15] Ibid.

“officialdom” and be granted the exclusive permission to use his talents toward the advancement of the king's image, thus fulfilling the organization’s purpose.

Like Le Brun, director of the *Académie royale de musique,* Jean-Baptist Lully (1632-1687), drew inspiration from mythological imagery, often using Louis' various military conquests as dramatic fodder. Isherwood makes the observation that in the eyes of the administration, painting and opera were interchangeable—Le Brun and Lully served the same role as both historian and eulogist.[16]

Music, for its synthesis of literary, aural, and visual components, was a favorite art form of Louis XIV. Music in Louis’ court was multi-functional: it posed to cater to the king's personal taste, to pacify a jaded and treasonous nobility, and most importantly, to design and elevate the King's image. The near constant stream of opera, ballet, and song commissioned by the state served as propaganda, portraying Louis as a ruthless war hero, benevolent ruler, shining demi-god, bringer of peace, and the like. In Lully's staged musical productions, audiences across the continent internalized this carefully curated image, cementing the king's legacy and procuring his immortality.

Italian born dancer, composer and musician, Jean-Baptist Lully (originally Giovanni Battista Lulli), was first brought to court from his native Italy in 1646 at the age of fourteen, to help Anne Marie Louise d'Orléans perfect her Italian language skills. When the duchess was exiled from Paris in 1652, Lully was reassigned as court composer of instrumental music. While the monarchy was

---

[16] Ibid.

under the influence of (the Italian) Cardinal Mazarin, Lully composed music mostly in the style of his homeland. When Louis came to power in 1661 (following Mazarin's death) it was his wish to eradicate the Italian style of music which had pervaded the court during his youth—for France to achieve cultural supremacy in Europe, it would be essential to develop a style of music which was unmistakably French. The same year Louis reached his majority, he awarded his childhood acquaintance and dancing colleague, Lully, the position of *Surintendant de la Musique de la Chambre du Roi,* his letters of naturalization, and in 1662, the title of *Maître de la Musique de la Famille Royale*—all with the understanding that Lully was to be responsible for the creation and promulgation of a French national style of music.[17]

French Opera

Initially believing the French language poorly suited for opera, Lully spent the first decade of his post writing for the ballet. The first French-language staged musical production was produced not by Lully, but by Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert, who had founded the *Académies d'opéra ou représentations en musique en language Française sur le pied de celles d'Italie* in 1669. Lully could not ignore the universal success of Perrin and Cambert's *Pomone* (1671), and realizing his

---

[17] Isherwood, Robert M. "Centralization of Music in the Reign of Louis XIV." *French Historical Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1969, p. 158.

severe lapse in judgment, purchased the financially mismanaged organization in 1672. Henceforth, the academy would be known as the *Académie royale de musique*; its patent letters declared that "singing any piece entirely in music, either in French verse or other languages, without the permission in writing of the said *Sieur* Lully, will result in the penalty of 10,000 *livres* fine and confiscation of theatres, machines, decorations and other items."[18] With this, Lully gained total authority over French opera.

Lully wrote two to three operas a year, which were performed every Tuesday, Friday and Sunday at the Palais Royale.[19] Ticket prices were reasonable, though the wealthiest clientele paid extra for the privilege of sitting anywhere they desired—be it in the audience, orchestra, or even on stage, the latter of which became a habit among the nobility (much to Lully's chagrin).[20] Because of the range in ticket prices and the new genre's extreme popularity, Lully's operas enjoyed a sold-out house, filled with nobles and commoners alike, for nearly every performance. Many patrons saw the same production thirty to forty times in a year.[21]

---

[18] Travenol, Louis, and Jacques-Bernard Durey de Noinville. *Histoire Du Théatre de l'académie Royale de Musique En France: Depuis Son Établissement Jusqu'à Présent*. Vol. 1, Duchesne, 1757, p. 77. Translated by Barbara Bessette, as are all consequent translations, unless otherwise attributed.

[19] Anthony, James R. "Paris III, 3: 1600-1723, theatres." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 14, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 197.

[20] Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King,* p. 196-7.

[21] Ibid., p. 161.

Figure 1.6. Le Pautre, Jean. *Les fêtes de l'Amour et de Baccus,' Comédie en Musique représentée dans le Parc de Versailles* (1678).

Lully's success was Louis' success, as French opera thrived at home and abroad. Lully's operas were performed in London, Amsterdam, Brussels, Wolfenbüttel, Antwerp, Modena, Rome and Hamburg. According to Roger North, "All the compositions of the town [London] strained to imitate Baptiste's vein."[22] Admirers of Lully boasted such estimable members as Purcell, whose "frost scene"

[22] North, Roger. *The Musical Grammarian* [1728]. Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 261.

from the third act of *King Arthur* was set to a Lullian-styled *Passacaille*.[23] German composer Johann Sigismund Kusser (1660-1727) thanked Lully, "whose works at present give pleasure to all the courts of Europe," in the preface to his (French titled work) *Composition de musique suivant la méthod françoise contenannt six overtures de théatre accompagnées de plusieurs airs* (Stuttgart, 1682). George Muffat's *Florilegium Primum* (1695) and *Secundum* (1698) detail the French dance styles and practices of string playing for a German audience, and include rules for bowing, tempi and skills of ensemble playing. French influence can even be heard in the *concerti grossi* of famed Italian Archangelo Corelli.[24]

A hallmark of Lully's operatic style is the declamatory French *récit*, with its quixotic meters and patterns, designed to follow the contour of the French text.[25] Unlike the Italian secco recitatives, Lully supplied his *récits* with subtle orchestration meant to reflect the feeling of the text. These dramatic *récits* were often difficult to distinguish from the arias themselves, which flowed seamlessly in and out of the *récits* without pause. This continuity, which had never been heard before (certainly not in the Italianate style of recitative/da capo aria/recitative), likely contributed to the wild success of French opera. A quotation from the

---

[23] Purcell's "Frost" scene is in direct emulation of Lully's *airs de trembler* from Icis, act IV, scene 1.

[24] Anthony, James R. "Lully, (1) Jean-Baptiste (i), 6: Influence." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 326.

[25] Isherwood, *Music in Service to the King*, p. 197.

memoires of Italian playwright and librettist Carlo Goldini illustrates the novelty of Lully's unique operatic style:

> I waited for an aria . . . The dancers appeared; I thought the act was over, not an aria. I spoke to my neighbor who scoffed at me and assured me there had been six arias in the different scenes which I had just heard. How could this be, say I, I am not deaf; instruments always accompanied the voice . . . but I took it all for recitative.[26]

Lully's lightly orchestrated *récits* became a model adopted by subsequent composers such as Campra, Rameau, Marais and Gluck.

Lully's invention of the French overture is perhaps his most lasting legacy; first heard in his *ballets du cour*, and later, in his operas, the French overture style is characterized by a stately *grave* introduction, marked by pointed dotted rhythms. This, generally ending with a half cadence, is followed by a faster fugal section, which often, but not always, returns to material from the opening before concluding. A preference for two and three-voice textured arias was also common in Lully's operas, along with the inclusion of spirited binary dances, such as *gavottes, menuets, rigaudons* and *sarabandes*. Grand finales were often set to a *chaconne* or *passacaille*.

---

[26] Goldini, Carlo, *Memoires* iii. 1787, p. 38. Translated by James Anthony, *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau*. W. W. Norton and Company, 1997, p. 111.

Divertissements

Figure 1.7. "The baths of Apollo, Versailles, France" (c.1890/1900). Photomechanical print (color). Detroit Publishing Co.

"Among the different occupations of which I have spoken," Louis writes to his son, in his *Memoires for the instruction of the Dauphin*, "I do not neglect opportunities for *divertissement.*" [27] Music was ubiquitous at the palace of Versailles; though the staged productions of Lully were the true manifestation of the crown's artistic absolutism, they were not suitable for every occasion, nor were they plentiful enough to supply the nobility's voracious appetite for entertainment.

---

[27] Louis XIV, *Mémoires,* p. 102.

To keep his guests occupied, Louis supplied them with an endless stream of entertainment, aptly referred to as *divertissements.* These lavish events (always musical in nature, or at very least, containing musical components) were taken quite seriously by the king, whose sumptuous image they were designed to curate and reinforce.[28] Of these *divertissements*, French historian Roland Mousnier writes:

> In a series of marvelous, fairytale-like festivals, the king appeared attired as the Olympian god, with the courtiers as lesser divinities or heroes. In this way, they were able to transmute their vain dream of power and greatness in this imitation of the life of the immortals, exalted above the common humanity, and, if they must obey, they would at least obey the Lord Jupiter, the King-god. Etiquette habituated them to seeing a superhuman being in the king.[29]

Even during times of war and increasing debt, it was essential that Louis' subjects feel as if France remained in a perpetual state of abundance. An article in a 1690 issue of the *Mercure galant* asked: "What must the enemies of France think? All their armaments and all their threats have not caused the least alteration in France."[30] Louis' *divertissements* help to uphold this image of French prosperity—he often invited foreigners to Versailles for the express purpose of publicizing his

---

[28] Isherwood, *Music in Service of the King*, p. 248.

[29] Mousnier, Roland. *LES XVI ET XVIIe SIECLES*. Presses Universitaires de France, 1967, p. 256.

[30] Isherwood, *Music in the Service of the King,* p. 254.

quintessentially French style of entertainment. Describing a ball held in the honor of several Muscovite ambassadors and the Doge of Venice, the *Gazette de France* (formerly the *Mercure*) wrote that the guests "were treated in a manner worthy of our monarch . . . they could not admire enough the diversity of pleasures so singular, so gallant, and so superb."[31]

The following account of a roving outdoor *divertissement* at Versailles, published in the *Mercure,* illustrates Louis' impressive imagination for festivity:

> Louis and his guests were greeted by a trumpet fanfare at the entrance to the *marais* and then by a concert of oboes hidden behind the trees that surrounded the *marais*. On their arrival at the outdoor theatre, they heard several violins playing from behind a palisade. After another oboe serenade in one of the wooded alleys, the group entered the *Salle de conseil* [a small park] for another trumpet fanfare. Proceeding to the *enclade*, they were greeted by the music of violins and oboes from behind the arbor. Then, after another concert at the *fontaine de renomée*, they went boating on the grand canal, accompanied by barges of oboists and violinists. Greeted at the *Grand Trianon* by equestrian trumpeters, they entered the palace for supper, during which a chamber concert was given.[32]

---

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 259.

Music

Figure 1.8. Tournières, Robert. *Concert* (c. 1690). Oil on Canvas.
Musée du Louvre, Paris.

The musicians of the palace were officers of the king and were divided into three main orders. The Music of the Great Stable (*Musique de la Grande Écurie*), comprised of wind, brass and percussion instruments, was tasked with providing music for all of the king's outdoor affairs: hunting, war, and the open-air celebrations of which Louis was so fond. The Music of the Royal Chapelle (*La Musique de la Chapelle*), comprised mostly of singers and organists, provided all sacred music for mass and other religious ceremonies. The Music of the Chamber (*Musique de la Chambre*) supplied all other courtly music, public and private. The *Vingt-quatre violons du Roi* (also known as the *Grande Bande*), and the *Petits Violons du Roi* were technically divisions of the *Musique de la Chambre*, though

both groups held such prestige that they operated as essentially autonomous organizations.[33] These festival and chamber orchestras, respectively, were used for grand events (a relative term, when talking about Versailles) such as dinners, balls, operas, ballets and official ceremonies, and were often supplemented with musicians from the Music of the Great Stable. This was also the favorite combination for the court's social balls.

The Musicians of the King's Chamber were soloists of the absolute highest caliber. Included among their ranks at various times were singers Anne Rebel, Marguerite-Louise Couperin, and Hilaire Dupuy, lutenists (also players of theorbo and guitar) Sébastien Le Camus, Pierre Chanançeau, and Robert de Visée (who also sang), flutists Philibert Rebillé, René Descoteaux, and Michel de La Barre, harpsichordists Jacques-Champion de Chambonniéres, Jean-Henry D'Anglebert, and François Couperin, and violists Marin Marais and Antoine Forqueray. The kings chamber musicians played for him daily at the *lever* and the *coucher* ceremonies, during mealtimes, and for his pleasure as he relaxed in his apartments. As befit a king of Louis' status, he always traveled with a company of chamber musicians, at great expense.

The viol was omnipresent at Versailles; it was woven into the fabric of court life as the backbone of *la Musique de la Chambr*e, it served to provide bowed bass continuo (*bass d'archet*) in the favored *airs de cour* and other *divertissements*, and

---

[33] Anthony, *French Baroque Music,* p. 352.

also shone in the foreground as a virtuosic solo instrument. Louis's mother, Anne of Austria (1601-1666), retained an ensemble of lute and bass viol for her chambers to enjoy her *airs de cour.*[34] Music was played in the Royal Apartments every evening, save Saturday; for these, violists Marin Marais and Antoine Forqueray were regular performers.[35] Louis XIV admired the playing of his most prominent *violists de la chambre,* and was known to have preferred viol music, above all other kinds, to accompany his meals, as testified to by Hubert Le Blanc (fl.1740), in his pamphlet *Défense de la basse de viole contre les enterprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncelle* (1740): "The viol was the favorite of Louis XIV during his meals. *Le Pere* Marais for his *pièces* and Forqueray *Le Pere* for his preludes pulled from his sonatas."[36] In addition to the evening and mealtime performances, and those which routinely accompanied the *Lever* and *Coucher* ceremonies, Louis' mistress (and secret wife), Mme de Maintenon (who, being a staunch catholic, was quite particular in her recreations), arranged for private concerts to be held in her apartments almost daily. For these, Antoine Forqueray was a regular performer, along with Robert de Visée (guitar) and Jean-Baptiste Buterne (harpsichord).[37] This

---

[34] Ibid.

[35] McGowan, Margaret M. and Frank Dobbins. "Louis XIV." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol.11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 254.

[36] Le Blanc, Hubert. Défense de la basse de viole contre les enterprises du violon et les prétentions du violoncelle. Pierre Mortier, 1740, p. 59. "La Viole s'étoit vue favorisée par le Roi Louis XIV dans ses Nourissons, le Père Marais pour ses Pièces, & Forcroi le Père pour ses Préludes tirans sur la Sonate."

[37] Anthony, p. 348.

combination of instruments—the viol, harpsichord and lute (or occasionally, guitar)—was favored for the private house concerts which had become so popular during the first half of the seventeenth century; of them, Michel de Pure writes: "[These are] instruments of repose, destined for serious and tranquil pleasures, whose languid harmony is the enemy of all action and who demand only sedentary auditors."[38] This description offers stark contrast to de Pure's description of the violin, whose most glorifying role was "simply to play the measure and tempo accurately as soon as the *Entrée* commences." [39]

Indeed, the reputation of the violin was one of far lower status than the viol in seventeenth-century France. Whereas, in Italy, the violin was celebrated as a concert instrument, in France it was mostly used to provide dance music for balls, ballets and opera, and was rarely used in private concerts before the end of the century. In 1704/5, Lecerf writes of the violin, "that instrument is not noble in France . . . one sees few gentlemen of means who play it and many lowly musicians who make their living by it."[40] Conversely, the viol was deemed an instrument worthy of noble pursuit: The king's brother Philippe, the Duke d'Orléans, his son, Philippe II, and the daughter of Louis XV, Princess Henriette Anne, were among

---

[38] de Pure, Michel. *Idée des spectacles anciens et nouxeaux*. Paris, 1668, p. 274. Translated by Anthony in *French Baroque Music,* pp. 348-9.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Lecerf, Jean-Laurent. *Histoire de la musique, et de ses effets, depuis son origine jusqu'à présent, & en quoi consiste sa beauté*, edited by Jacques Bonnet, vol. 2, Amsterdam, 1725, p. 105. Translated by Anthony in *French Baroque Music,* p. 349.

the ranks of royal family members who played the viol.[41] The viol's prominent display in Lefèbvre's *Allegory of Louis XIV, protector of the Arts and Sciences* (below) reveals the significance of its tradition in Louis' France:

Figure 1.9. Lefèbvre, Claude and Jean Garnier. *Allegory of Louis XIV, protector of the Arts and Sciences* (1670-2). Oil on canvas.

[41] Swain, Joseph P. *Historical Dictionary of Baroque Music.* Scarecrow Press, 2013, p. 109.

Dance

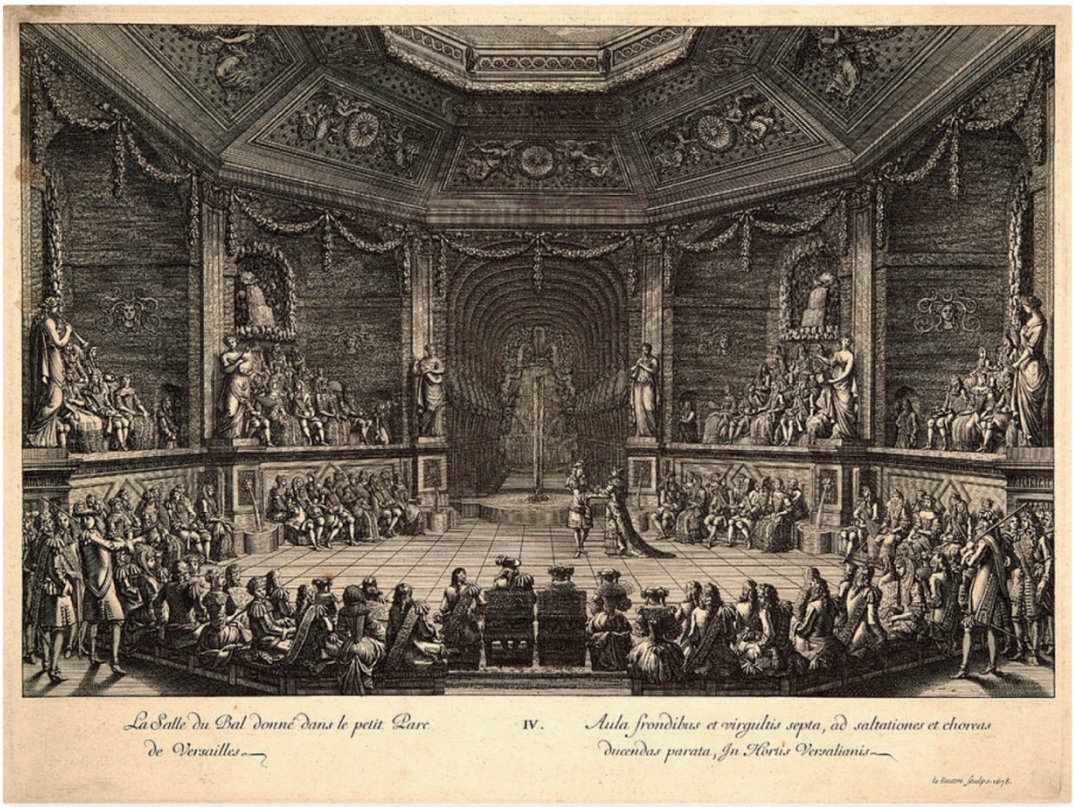


Figure 1.10. Le Pautre, Jean. *La Salle du Bal donné dans le petit Parc de Versailles* (1678). Engraving.

Dance was an essential element in the education of a seventeenth-century aristocrat, as *Monsieur* de Saint-Hubert writes, in his 1641 essay on *ballets de cour*: "Everyone knows that in order to finish a young nobleman it is important that he can ride a horse, discharge a weapon, and can dance. The first contributes to his

skills, the second to his courage and the third to his elegance of posture."[42] In the 1661 patent letters for the *Académie royale de danse*, Louis XIV writes:

> The art of dance has always been recognized as one of the most respectable and most necessary to train the body and give it the first and most natural dispositions to every kind of exercise, to that of the arms among others; consequently, it is of the most advantageous and useful to our nobility and to others who have the honor of approaching us, not just in war times in our armies but even in times of peace in the *divertissement* of our ballets.[43]

Dance had two significant venues in Louis' court—ceremonial balls and staged theatrical productions. Though Louis recognized and exploited the political advantage (distraction, control, propaganda) of a prominent dance tradition in his court, he also possessed a genuine interest and appreciation of the art form. Louis XIV's passion for dance was instilled by Cardinal Mazarin, who saw the virtue of training the young king to a high level of ability in dance as a way to distinguish him as a child.[44] At age fourteen, Louis' performance as "The Sun" in *Ballet de la Nuit* earned him the appellation *Le Roi Soleil* (the Sun King), which remained his moniker for life. Louis' interest in dance continued after his ascension to the throne.

---

[42] M. de Saint-Hubert. *La manière de composer et faire réussir les ballets* (Paris, 1641), reprinted by Minkoff, 1993, pp. 1ff.

[43] Translation by Mark Franko in *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body*. Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 166.

[44] Samama, Leo. *The Meaning of Music*. Translated by Dominy Clements, Amsterdam University Press, 2014, p. 187.

For the first twenty years of his reign, he frequently appeared in starring roles in the *ballets de cour*, and partook in a strict ritual of daily lessons with his personal dancing master Pierre Beauchamp, as documented by Pierre Rameau:

> Lewis the Fourteenth was pleased to prefer it; for after the *Branles*, which then were and are still danced in the Court Balls, he always danced a *Courant*: Indeed he danced it better than any of his Court, and with an extraordinary Grace. But what gives a greater Proof of his Attachment and Delight in this Dance, is, that notwithstanding the weighty Affairs he had upon his Hands, he set apart some Hours for this Diversion for upwards of two and twenty Years that *Monsieur* Beauchamp had the Honour to instruct him in this noble Exercise.[45]

Later in life, issues resulting from gout rendered Louis less able to participate in the balls and *ballets de cour*, though his royal patronage persisted.

---

[45] Pierre Rameau, *Le Maître à danser* (1725), translated by John Essex. London, 1728. Ch. XXVI.

Figure 1.11. Fragonard, Théophile. "Le roi soleil en costume de théatre — Louis XIV au carrousel" (1882). Hand colored wood engraving.

La belle danse, modernly known as the "French Noble Style," popularized in the court of Louis XIV and disseminated throughout the courts of Europe, is the direct ancestor of classical ballet. The underlying spirit of *la belle danse* was pride in one's country, one's king and one's self.[46] The foundation of its style were the five positions of the feet, codified by Lully and Beauchamp. Dancing masters taught these five positions for courtly dance, and so a courtier might maintain a noble air; the principles of *la belle danse* taught nobles how to walk with dignity,

[46] Little, Meredith Ellis. "Dance under Louis XIV and XV: Some Implications for the Musician." *Early Music,* vol. 3, no. 4, 1975, p. 334.

stand with grace and execute the perfect bow or curtsy. In short, the proper execution of the five positions displayed one's good breeding. Diderot and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* chapter on manners remarks that "Dancing masters are professors of manners."[47]

The basic principles of technique for *la belle danse* applied equally in social and theatrical settings. All members of Louis' court were expected to participate in the various spectacles (balls, ballets, operas, plays and other *divertissements*). Most nobles began their instruction in the art of dance in early childhood. Still, it was common for courtiers to meet multiple times a week with their dancing masters to continue to hone their craft, for to dance well (and with familiarity of the new steps continuously incorporated by the *Académie*) was how one remained in the good graces of his majesty—to dance poorly at court was social suicide.

The *ballets de cour* were grand theatrical tapestries of costume, scenery, music, poetry, pageantry, and drama, woven together with political allegory. These, and the ceremonial balls hosted by Louis, stirred the admiration and envy of courts across Europe. The weeks leading up to Lent were a particularly fecund time for courtly dance; balls were held nearly every night, often lasting until dawn. Typically, a *branle* would open the festivities, with couples arranging themselves in two lines ordained by social hierarchy. The *branle* was followed by various

---

[47] Diderot, Denis. Jean le Rond d'Alembert. Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers. Paris, 1772, vol. 10, p. 35. "Nos maîtres à danser sont professeurs des manières."

danses à deux, in which one couple would dance at a time, in order of rank from highest to lowest, beginning with the king. These included *allemandes, bourrées, canaries, chaconnes, forlanes, gavottes, gigues, loures, menuets, musettes, passacailles, passepieds, rigaudons*, and *sarabandes*. A first-hand account, translated by Meredith Ellis Little, in her article *Dance under Louis XIV and XV: Some implications for the Musician* describes the experience of attending a ball at the court of Versailles:

> There was a raised platform with two steps, covered with the most elegant Gobelin rugs, on which were arranged in the back armchairs of crimson velvet . . . for the Kings of France and of England, with the Queen, Mme. de Bourgogne, and all the princes and princesses of blood. The three other sides were lined, in the first row, with very elegant armchairs for the ambassadors, the princes and princesses of foreign countries, dukes, duchesses, and the other high officers of the kingdom. Other rows of chairs behind these armchairs were for the persons of distinction of the Court and City. To the right and left of the centre of the ball were the amphitheaters for the spectators. To avoid confusion they had to enter through a turnstile, one after another. There was also a small, separate amphitheater for the 24 violins of the king.
>
> The whole gallery was lighted by great crystal chandeliers enhanced by a number of candelabra with large candles. The king had invited by ticket the most distinguished people of both sexes from the

Court and the City, asking them to appear at the ball only in decent clothing, their finest and most appropriate, in order to have the assemblage be the most brilliant possible. As a result the least of the clothes cost about three or four hundred *pistoles*. Some were of velvet covered with gold . . . others were dressed in cloth of gold and silver. The ladies were no less garmented; the lustre of their jewels in the lights made for an admirable effect.

As I was seated on a bannister opposite the platform where the King was placed, I estimated that this magnificent assemblage was composed of seven or eight hundred people, whose different adornments made a spectacle worthy of admiration. M. and Mme. De Bourgogne opened the ball with a *courante*. Then Mme. de Bourgogne took the King of England to dance; he took the Queen of England; she, the King, who took Mme. De Bourgogne. She took Monseigneur; he took madame, who took M. le Duc de Berri. Thus successively all the princes and princesses of blood danced, each one according to his rank. M. le Duc de Chartres, today the Régent, danced there a *menuet* and a *sarabande* of such exquisite grace, with Mme. La Princesse de Conti, that they attracted the admiration of all the Court.[48]

---

[48] Little, *Dance under Louis XIV*, pp. 331–33

Beginning in the 1670s, the king's personal dancing master, Pierre Beauchamp, devised a system of notation for the various dance steps, so that new dances could be circulated more easily among courtiers. This system, which became known as Beauchamp-Feuillet notation after Raoul-Auger Feuillet (1660-1710) included the notation in his compilation of French choreography, *Chorégraphie, ou l'art de décrire la danse* (Paris, 1700), played an enormous role in the dissemination and practice of French dance in courts all over Europe. Over three-hundred and fifty choreographies were printed in Feuillet's book, including twenty-eight *bourrées*, twenty-six *rigaudons*, twenty-four *sarabandes*, twenty-two *menuets*, seventeen *passepieds*, seventeen *chaconnes/passacailles*, fifteen *loures*, twelve *gavottes*, twelve *forlanes*, thirteen *canaries*, five *galliards*, five *courantes*, two *pavanes* and a smattering of various *entrées*. See below, Beauchamp's notation as illustrated by a Bourrée, followed by a diagram of the five positions of the feet:

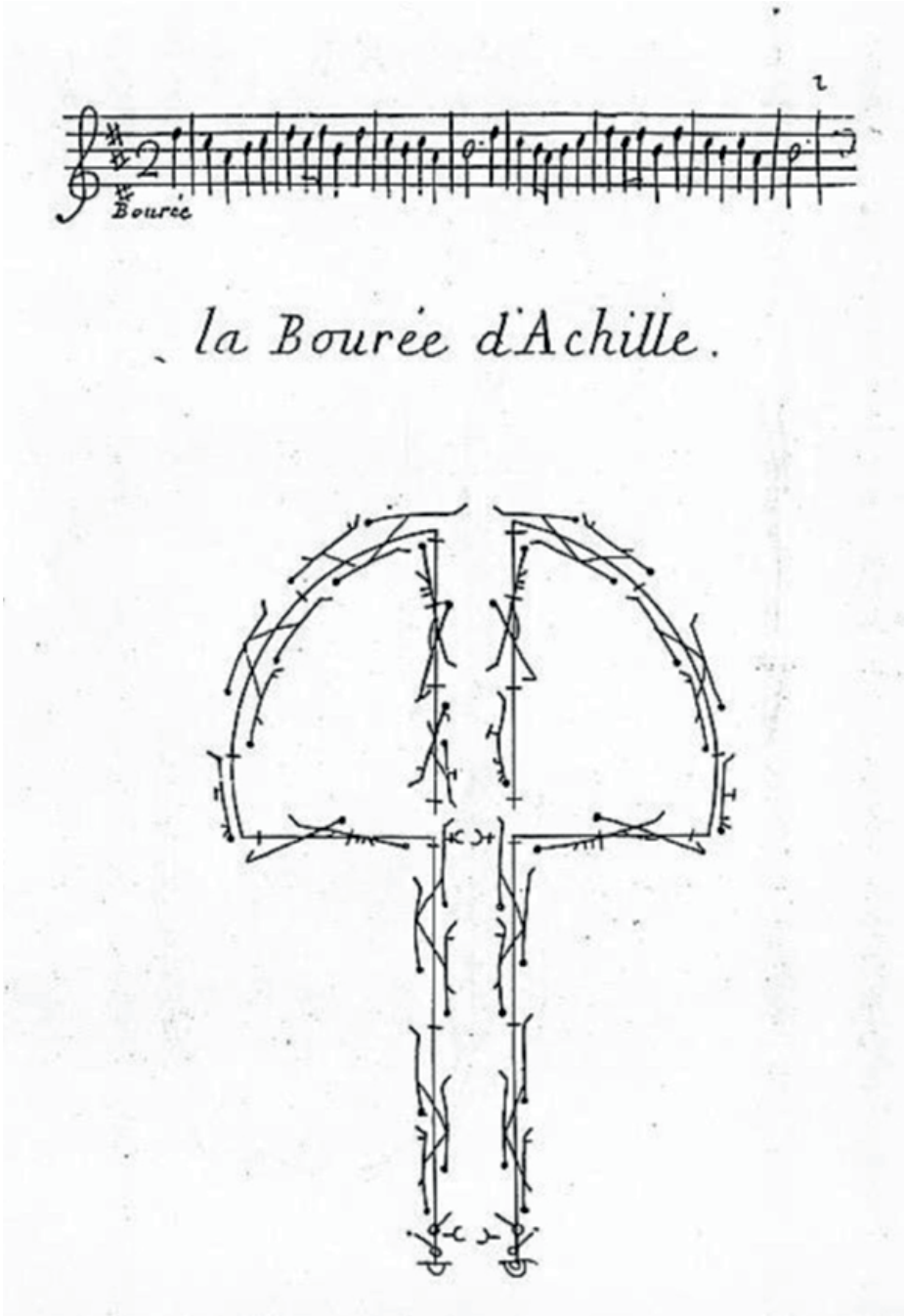
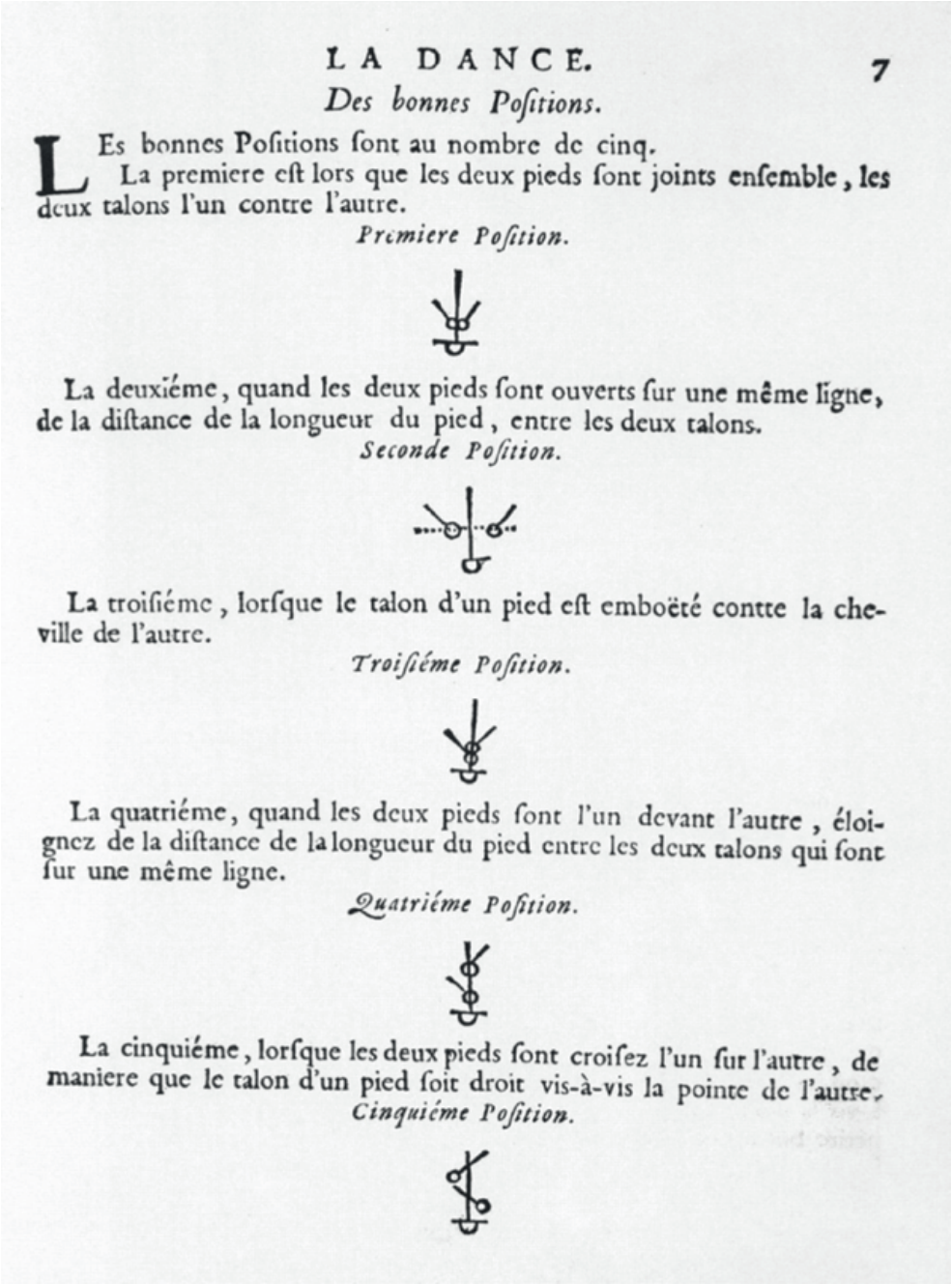


Figure 1.12. Feuillet, Raoul-Auger. "La Bourée d'Achille" (1700).
Receuil de dances composés par M. Pecour. Desais: Paris, 1700



LA DANCE. 7

Des bonnes Positions.

LEs bonnes Positions sont au nombre de cinq.

La premiere est lors que les deux pieds sont joints ensemble, les deux talons l'un contre l'autre.

Premiere Position.

La deuxiéme, quand les deux pieds sont ouverts sur une même ligne, de la distance de la longueur du pied, entre les deux talons.

Seconde Position.

La troisiéme, lorsque le talon d'un pied est emboëté contte la cheville de l'autre.

Troisiéme Position.

La quatriéme, quand les deux pieds sont l'un devant l'autre, éloignez de la distance de la longueur du pied entre les deux talons qui sont sur une même ligne.

Quatriéme Position.

La cinquiéme, lorsque les deux pieds sont croisez l'un sur l'autre, de maniere que le talon d'un pied soit droit vis-à-vis la pointe de l'autre.

Cinquiéme Position.

Figure 1.13. Feuillet, Raoul-Auger. "The five good positions of the noble feet." *Chorégraphie, ou L'artde Decrire la Danse.* Brunet: Paris, 1700.

Figure 1.14. Rigaud, Hyacinthe. *Portrait de Louis XIV en costume de sacre* (1701). Oil on canvas. INV. 7492, Musée de Louvre. Note that Louis' feet and legs are depicted in the fourth position of *la belle danse*.

The cultural impact of *la belle danse* is evidenced by its omnipresence in seventeenth and eighteenth-century portraiture, especially of French and English sitters (remembering that King Charles II of England resided in France in the 1650s, following the civil war in England) who displayed a favor for the fourth position.[49]

The evolution of dance from ceremony, to social life, to portraiture can be attributed to Louis' systematic cultivation of a "culture of the body" at Versailles.[50] This fashion spread, via French dancing masters, to the cities and courts of Europe, infecting the aristocracy with the singularly French art form "to the diffusion of an ideal, that of a refined gentleman."[51]

Cultural Implications of Louis XIV's Reign

The resounding achievements of Louis XIV raised France to a preeminent position in Europe. His reported last words on September 1st, 1715, were: "*Je m'en vais, mais l'État demeurera toujours*" (I depart, but the State shall always remain). The success of Louis' France, realized by his keen political, economic, and cultural vision, was achieved and does, indeed, remain. France's splendor reverberated throughout Europe, and despite political or military conflict, every nation coveted

---

[49] Bouffard, Mickaël. "Standing and the Five Positions of French Noble Dance in Portraiture." *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 33, no. 65, 2012, pp. 167–202.

[50] Bouffard, p. 172.

[51] Ruel, Marianne. *Les chrétiens et la danse dans la France moderne: XVIe-XVIIIe Siècle*. Paris, 2006, p. 25.

its opulent culture. The French language became universal among the European aristocracy; no one dared introduce a gentleman in an elite court if he did not speak it.[52] French dancing masters flooded courts throughout Europe, where it became absolutely essential to know all of the French steps and manners. French architects were engaged to erect palaces modeled after Versailles, French painters were hired to decorate their walls, and French musicians were retained to fill their halls with French music. French fashion reigned supreme, and French etiquette became the benchmark of societal success. In short, through his artistic vision, Louis XIV forged France into a global power, whose cultural supremacy still resonates, centuries after his death. In the words Voltaire: "In spite of all that has been written against him, his name can never be pronounced without respect, or without reviving the idea of an age forever memorable."[53]

---

[52] Fauchier-Magnan, Adrien. *The Small German Courts in the Eighteenth Century*. Methuen, 1958, pp. 30-32.

[53] Voltaire. *Le Siècle de Louis XIV*. Henning, 1751, p. 96. "*& marlgé tout ce qu'on a écrit lui, on ne prononcera point son nom sans respect, & sans avoir l'idée d'un siécle à jamais mémorable.*"

Chapter 2: The French Bass Viol Tradition

To best contextualize the rich history of the French bass viol tradition, it is necessary to discuss its parent tradition of viol playing in mid seventeenth-century England. In England, the viol became the cornerstone of a national school of instrumental polyphonic composition. English makers developed the instrument to be particularly suited to the densely polyphonic repertoires of their tradition, producing viols which sound extremely resonant yet clear. English viols were praised for their timbral similarity to the human voice, and indeed, many Elizabethan polyphonic compositions were written for voices *or* viols. The marked similarity in timbre of the viol and voice was not lost on the French (with their rich tradition of *airs de cour),* who developed a solo viol tradition which sought to emulate all of the beauty and nuance which belonged to the corporeal instrument of which they were so fond (see Marin Marais' *Les Voix Humaines*). Even after France replaced England as the center of virtuosic viol performance in the late 17th century, English viols continued to be the most prized instruments in France (much as Cremonese instruments continued to be prized in the 18th and 19th centuries, even as the locus of composition for them moved to Austria and Germany).

Early History of the Viol

Scholars agree that the viol originated in Spain as a successor to the *vihuela.* The earliest depictions of the instrument appear in late fifteenth-century paintings from Valencia. Johannes Tinctoris (c.1435-1511), a musician and theorist who worked at the Catalan and Neapolitan courts, mentions the instrument in his 1487 *De inventione et usu musicae*. By the turn of the sixteenth century, the viol's image, albeit in rudimentary form, was regularly rendered by painters in Valencia, Majorca, and Sardinia. From Spain, the viol traveled, likely with the Catalan Borgia family, across the sea to Italy, where it was celebrated and refined. From there, the instrument, in all of its variations, spread to the rest of the continent, where it gained popularity in many sixteenth-century courts. [54]

Figure 2.1. Raphael, *The Ecstasy of St. Cecilia* (1516/17).
Oil transferred from panel to canvas; detail. Pinacoteca Nazionale Bologna.

---

[54] Woodfield, Ian. "Viol, 3: Continental Europe, c.1500 to c.1600." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 794.

There is evidence that the viol was first brought to England around 1515 by members of the van Wilder family, who traveled to the court of Henry VIII from Milan.[55] No sixteenth-century courts utilized the viol with such enthusiasm as the Tudor dynasty. By 1540, an entire consort of Italian violists was in residence at court, for which a great number of instruments were procured. In due time, native English violists developed enough skill to replace the Italian imports in court positions, and an English national school of playing developed. Before long, the viol family of instruments had become popularized, not only in the English courts, but among amateur players as well. By the end of the sixteenth century, viol playing in consort had become a staple of entertainment among the Elizabethan nobility, a tradition that continued into the Jacobean era.[56]

Among the earliest English consort works are those that appear in Henry VIII's song book, though these pieces were not written for any instrument in particular. By the mid-sixteenth century, English composers had begun to write viol-specific music, in the instrumental forms of *In Nomines* (fantasias organized around a *cantus firmus* from John Taverner's *Missa Gloria Tibi Trinitas*), Fantasias, dances (such as *Pavans* and *Galliards*), and also in conjunction with voice in "consort songs."[57] Consort music by English composers appeared in

---

[55] Ibid.

[56] Woodfield, Ian. "Viol, 4: England." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 798.

[57] Ibid., p. 799.

continental publications, and countless English musicians were employed by courts in France, Germany, Italy, Holland and Denmark.[58]

While appreciation began to wane for the viol in Italy (in favor of the violin), it remained steadfast in England, where, toward the end of the seventeenth century, consort music for viol became highly idiomatic. Composers began to stretch the confines of the traditional forms; Fantasias, for example, became multi-sectional, as seen in the works of William Byrd (1543-1623) and Orlando Gibbons (1583-1625), and in the Jacobean era, multi-movement Fantasia Suites, such as those of Alfonso Ferrabosco II (1575-1628) and John Coprario (1570-1626), began to appear. Even the conservative *In Nomine* began to dance, while the *Pavan* deviated from its stately homophonic dance origins and began to assume a more polyphonic mien. As the sixteenth-century paradigm of professional consort players gave way to the more amateur-oriented music of the seventeenth century, the chamber organ became an important feature of viol consort music as well, sometimes with its own independent part, but more typically as a reduction of the viol parts.[59]

The fifteen retrospective *In Nomines* and Fantasias of Henry Purcell (1659-1695), written in the summer of 1680 (some twenty years after the appearance of a set of pieces by Matthew Locke which would prove to be the last collection of

---

[58] Dart, Thurston. "Jacobean Consort Music." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 81, 1954, p. 72.

[59] Woodfield, *Grove*, p. 801.

works for viol consort to find a publisher) serve as the swan songs of the great English consort tradition. Already by this time, according to Roger North, consort music was more frequently used "in the ayre for kites or in the fire for singeing pullets" than in household music making.[60] Purcell's deeply felt and distinctly nostalgic works commemorate a singularly special moment in our music-historical past, which, as lamented by Dennis Stevens "will stand for years to come as one of the greatest monuments in a rich but still sadly neglected phase of musical history."[61]

Lyra and Division Viol

Virtuosic solo music for viol became popular in England during the mid-seventeenth century for a variety of different types of viols. The division viol, a smaller version of the consort bass viol, was intended for the playing of brisk linear passages in which a "ground" of long notes was "divided" in virtuosic variations. Divisions were generally meant to be improvised over a ground bass, though they often appear as notated ornamental content in polyphonic viol compositions (see the consort works of John Jenkins). Violist Christopher Simpson (1605-1669) composed two treatises concerning the methods of division playing: *The Division-*

---

[60] North, Roger. *Memoirs of Musick*. G. Bell, 1846. Transcribed and edited by John Wilson's *Roger North on Music.* Novello, London, 1959, p. 290.

[61] Stevens, Dennis. "Purcell's Art of Fantasia." *Music and Letters*, vol. 33, no. 4, 1952, p. 345.

Violist (1659) and *The Division-viol, of the Art of Playing ex tempore to a Ground* (1665).[62] Simpson's treatises elucidate the technical aspects of virtuosic playing and the theoretical knowledge required to improvise divisions. Simpson also includes written-out realizations of divisions over a ground bass, which he calls *Divisions for the Practice of Learners.* These examples serve as musical compositions in their own right.

[62] The 1665 treatise is nearly an exact reprint of the 1659 version.

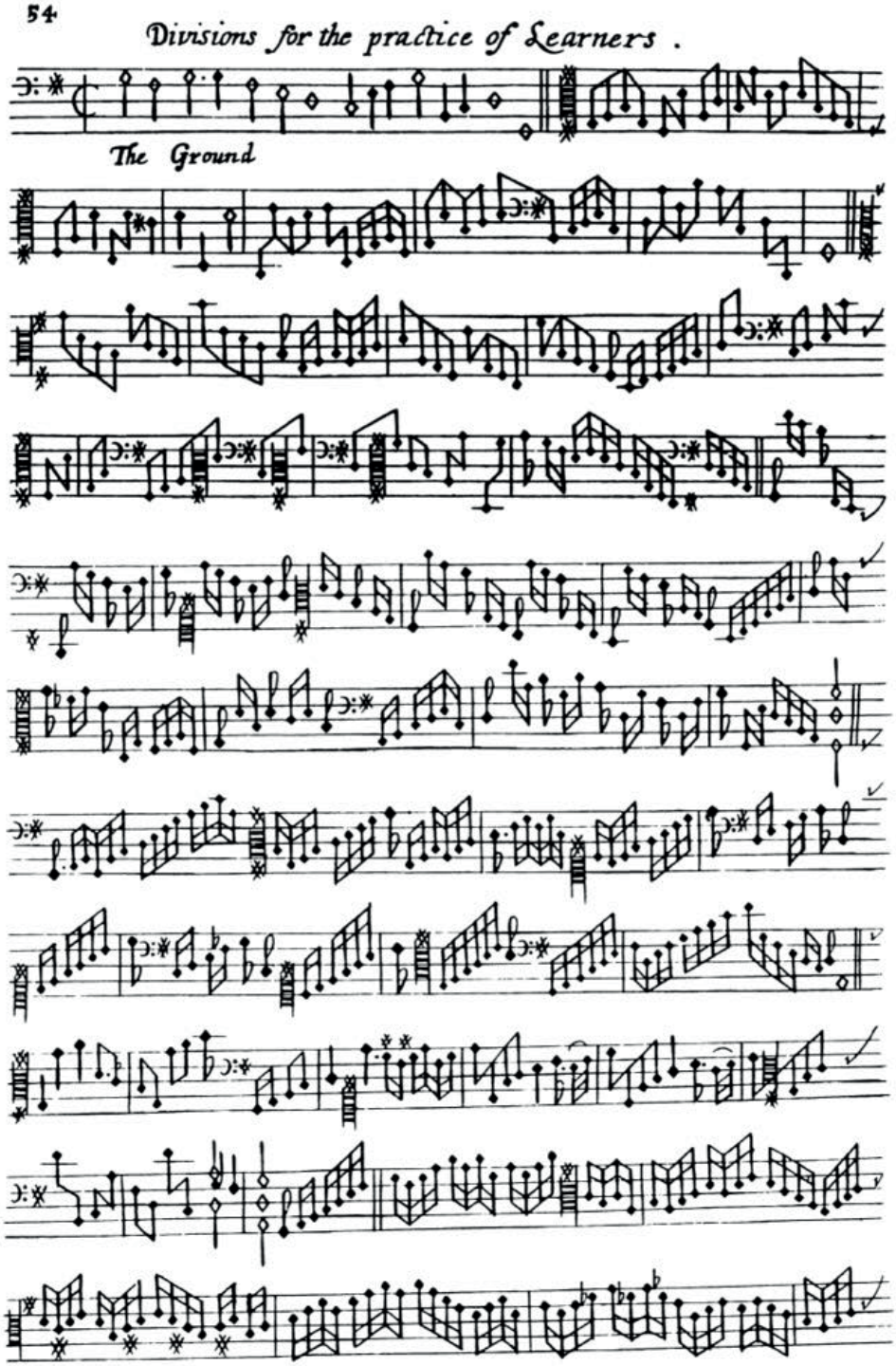


Figure 2.2. Practice division from Simpson's *The Division Violist*. (1659)

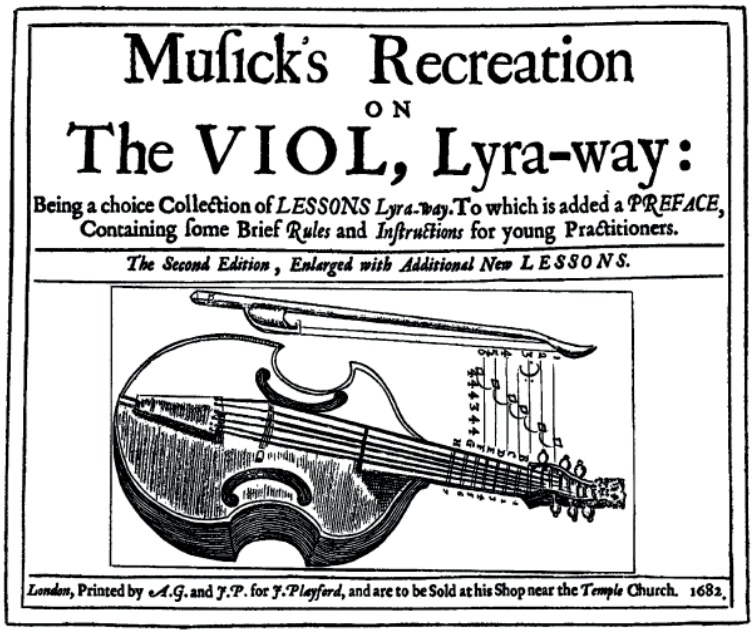

Muſick's Recreation
ON
The VIOL, Lyra-way:
Being a choice Collection of LESSONS Lyra-way. To which is added a PREFACE, Containing ſome Brief Rules and Inſtructions for young Practitioners.
The Second Edition, Enlarged with Additional New LESSONS.
London, Printed by A.G. and J.P. for J. Playford, and are to be Sold at his Shop near the Temple Church. 1682.

Figure 2.3. Cover page of John Playford's *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way.* Second edition. London, 1682, p.54.

Another type of viol suited for virtuosic playing was the lyra viol, a small bass viol ("The smallest of the bass viols," according James Talbott, being roughly 72 cm in string length)[63] with a low string action and a slightly flattened bridge, used to facilitate the playing of chords.[64] Though tangible, these characteristics lack any real significance other than slight convenience to the player, and it was generally known and accepted that the vast repertoires for lyra viol could, in truth,

---

[63] This size is a point of dispute; see Segerman, Ephraim, on "The Sizes of English Viols and Talbot's Measurements." *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 48, 1995, p. 38

[64] Donington, Robert. "James Talbot's Manuscript. (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187). II. Bowed Strings." *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 3, 1950, pp. 31-33.

be executed on any bass viol in the hands of a skilled performer. In any case, the compositional style of virtuosic polyphonic viol playing came to be referred to as the "lyra-way."[65]

For its chordal capabilities, the lyra viol was similar to the lute. Composers exploited this likeness by way of scordatura tunings and tablature notation. As many as sixty different tunings were known to be used for lyra viol. Such variety of tunings aided in the string-adjacent nature of its voice-leading.

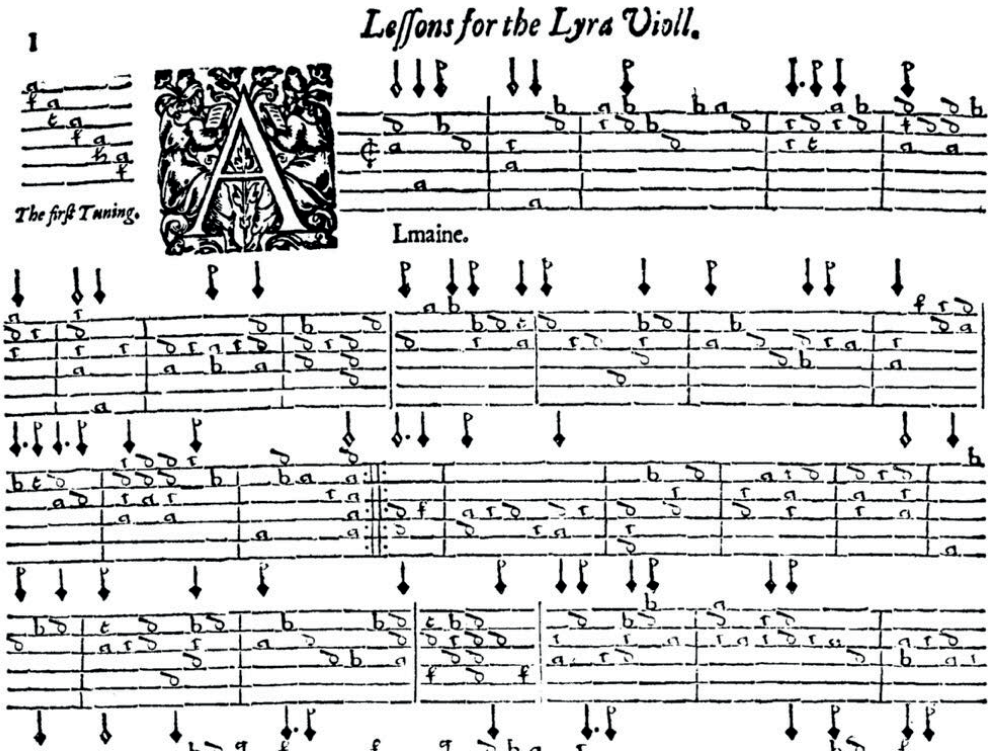


Figure 2.4. Ferrabosco II, Alfonso. *Lessons for 1, 2 or 3 Viols.* London: Thomas Snodham, 1609, p. 1.

[65] See J. Playford: *Musick's Recreation on the Viol, Lyra-way*. London, 1652.

Sympathetic strings were sometimes added to lyra viols and were occasionally plucked—a novelty which led to the development of the Baryton. This curious characteristic, however, does not define the lyra tradition, as there are far more examples of historic lyra viols without sympathetic strings than with. With or without sympathetic strings, plucking was an important fixture of lyra viol performance—many works for lyra viol called for the plucking of open strings, which served as accompaniment for bowed passages. There is evidence, also, that the lyra viol was meant, on occasion, to be held in the lap and plucked or strummed in the manner of a lute.[66] Tobias Hume (1659-1629), writer of several volumes of works for lyra viol, concluded in *The First Part of Ayres,* that viols can produce equally well the musical excellencies of the lute: "And from henceforth, the statefull Gambo Violl shall with ease yield full various and as devicefull Musicke as the Lute."[67] The lyra viol, or any viol played the "lyra way," bridges an important gap in the development of the viol as an instrument capable of both lyrical playing and self-accompaniment.

England's Civil War (1642-1651) followed by the Commonwealth (1649-1653) and the Protectorate (1653-1659) brought the Puritans to power in England. Their lack of appreciation for sophisticated music and theater, coupled with the

---

[66] Traficante, Frank. "Lyra Viol." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 396.

[67] Hume, T. *First Part of Ayres.* London, 1605.

diminution of royal and aristocratic patronage, brought the heyday of the English viol tradition to a close.

The French *Fantasie*

English viol music was known in early seventeenth century France, as evidenced by Marin Mersenne (1588-1648), who includes a fantasy *a* 6 for viols, "composed by an excellent viol player, English by nationality [Ferrabosco]" in his publication *Harmonie universelle* (1636).[68] France also had its own tradition of late-renaissance viol playing. Aside from the somewhat rudimentary dance music published by Pierre Attaingnant and Jacques Moderne in the mid-sixteenth century, the earliest examples of printed instrumental ensemble music in France are *fantasies,* a genre of free-instrumental style (to include viols, though not exclusively) that would become singularly popular between 1610 and 1650.[69] The early publication of ensemble *fantasies* in France was more or less contemporaneous with the transition from manuscript circulation to published fantasies in England. France's first publication of ensemble *fantasies* appeared in 1610, with Eustache Du Carroy's *Vingt-quatre fantasies à quatre parties,* and Charles Guillet's (1575-1654) *Vingt-quatre fantasies.* Claude Le Jeune's (1528-

---

[68] Mersenne, Marin. *Harmonie universelle*. Paris, 1636, pp. 200-201; Also, early French viol virtuoso André Maugars visited London for two years, during which time he served in the court orchestra of James I. Woodfield, *Grove*, p. 801.

[69] Cohen, Albert. "The 'Fantasie' for Instrumental Ensemble in 17th-Century France: Its Origin and Significance." *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 2, 1962, pp. 234-235. Also see the *Orchésographie* of Thoinot Arbeau, 1588, which contains some printed dance music as examples.

1600) three *fantasies* followed, published posthumously in 1612. The ensemble *fantasie* is an outgrowth of the rich corpus of French *fantasies* for solo lute, a tradition borrowed from Italy which was propagated in England and France during the latter half of the sixteenth century.[70]

Over one-hundred-and-thirty French fantasies from this era survive, the most prolific contributors being Eustache Du Carroy (1549-1609), Claude Le Jeune, Etienne Moulinié (1599-1669) and Nicolas Métru (1610-1668, teacher of Lully and Louis Couperin). The early *fantasies* by Du Carroy, Guillet and Le Jeune were scored for three to six parts, and were usually based on a *cantus firmus*, but unlike the English works, they do not display idioms that are viol-specific, and were likely performed on viols, keyboard, viols with keyboard, recorders, cornets, or violins. Though these *fantasies* constitute the first known examples of instrumental ensemble writing in France, they are quite sophisticated, and likely represent an advanced stage of development.[71]

Viol-specific *fantasies* are seen several decades later in the works of Moulinié and Métru. As music director for the court of Louis XIII's brother, Gaston d'Orléans, Moulinié composed several books of *Airs de cour*, the fifth of which contains three four-part *fantasies* for viols. Métru's *fantasies à deux parties, pour les violles* represent a marked transition from the purely imitative counterpoint of

---

[70] Composers of Italian lute *fantasies* include Francesco da Milano, Alberto di Rippa, and the Milanese Albutio and Borrono; also see lute fantasias by the master of the genre, John Dowland and the keyboard fantasias of Byrd and Gibbons.

[71] Cohen, p. 235.

his predecessors to a more homophonic texture. Louis Couperin, whose greatest contribution to the solo *fantasie* genre can be found in his organ works, also developed a more chamber-oriented approach in the ensemble *fantasie*, incorporating dance movements and French overture elements in his *Fantasies de violes* in D minor.[72]

French Ensemble Music

The public performance of purely instrumental music was novel in early seventeenth-century France, especially for groups of viols, which were thought to render themselves most beautifully in support of the voice. This new idea of instrumental music, *sans* voice, was championed by Jacques Mauduit (1557-1627), writer of *fantasies* and director of the *Académie de poésie et de musique* in Paris.[73] Though the *Académie's* original mission was to promote the composition and performance of ancient vocal music, Mauduit made the programming of instrumental music equally important.[74] His responsibilities included the arrangement of concerts (public and private) on behalf of the *Académie*, and also for the court of Louis XIII. These events were not modest affairs; Henri Sauval wrote of Mauduit's concerts, some fifty years after the fact: "all sorts of things were

---

[72] Bauyn Manuscript, F-Pn Rés. Vol. 7 p. 674-675.

[73] It is important to note that Mauduit's *Académie* is separate from the *Académie royale de musique* established by Louis and Lully.

[74] Specifically *musique mesurée l'antique*.

sung in dialogues and in choirs; sometimes by vocal soloists, sometimes by performers on instruments and singers together. Ordinarily there were from sixty to eighty people [performing], often up to one hundred and twenty."[75] Sauval goes on to explain that "in Mauduit's concerts there were not only these instruments [flutes, lutes etc.] but also spinets and viols that he made fashionable."[76] Mauduit must have been quite fond of the viol—its inclusion is documented in every extant record of an *Académie* performance under his leadership.[77] French Instrumental music flourished as a result of Mauduit's promotion. The private house concerts given by the *Académie* became *en vogue*, inspiring the Parisian aristocracy to follow suit, hosting similar events which further contributed to the liberation, in France, of instruments from their vocal chains.[78]

Mauduit is also credited with the addition of a sixth string to the viol. *The Encyclopedia of the Antiquities* (1825) states that "Jacques Mauduit, said to have been a great musician . . . added a sixth string to viols, which originally had but five, and was the first in France who introduced these instruments into concerts."[79]

---

[75] Sauval, Henri. *Histoire et Recherches des Antiques de la Ville de Paris.* Paris*,* 1724. Trans. Cohen, Albert. "A Study of Instrumental Ensemble Practice in Seventeenth-Century France." *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 15, 1962, p. 4.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Cohen, Albert. "A Study of Instrumental Ensemble Practice in Seventeenth-Century France." *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 15, 1962, p. 6.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Fostbroke, Thomas Dudley. *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, *And Elements of Archaeology, Classical and Mediæval*. vol. 2, J. Nichols and Son, 1825, pp. 632–633.

Jean Rousseau also writes, in his 1687 viol treatise, that "the first viols in France had five strings."[80] The claim that Mauduit added the sixth string to the French viol is made by many authors, but first appears in Marin Mersenne's 1636 publication, *Harmonie Universelle*.[81] It is possible, too, that Mauduit simply introduced the six-stringed viols which were so popular in England to French audiences.

Pièces de Viole: Styles and Forms

Figure 2.5. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de Violes, Livre I.* Paris, Marin Marais, 1689. Title page.

---

[80] Jean Rousseau, *Traité de la viole*, pp. 19–20.

[81] Mersenne, np. "*Mauduit a ajouté la 6 chordes aux violes,qui n'enauoient que cinq auparauant,& qu'il a le premier introduit leur concert en France au lieu d'vne basse de violon.*"

From the late 1660s to 1747, France was the leader in virtuosic solo music for bass viol. Publishers seized the opportunity to profit from the ubiquitous taste in Europe for French music, circulating a large corpus of solo viol repertoire throughout England, Germany and the Low Countries. Pupils from foreign lands traveled to France to study compositional techniques and hone their technical ability. Germans displayed a particular interest in French culture, especially music, in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. German violist Ernste Christian Hesse (1676-1762), for instance, was sent to Paris by his employer to study with Marin Marais (1656-1728) and Antoine Forqueray (1671-1745); and Jean-Baptiste Forqueray (1699-1782), son of Antoine, was viol instructor to Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia.

Music for solo viol was generally published in volumes titled *Pièces de viole.* Much like the French baroque lute and harpsichord repertory, *pièces de viole* most often conformed to the familiar style of the French noble dance suite. The term *pièce de viole* implies a work for solo viol with basso continuo accompaniment. The accompaniment, notated as a bass line adorned with figures, would most usually be performed on harpsichord, to realize the harmony, with a second viol to supply the bowed bass line.[82] Marais recommends, in the *avertissement* of the continuo book (*basse continue*, 1689) which corresponds with his first volume of solo pieces (*Pièces a une et a deux violes*, 1686) the use of

---

[82] Robinson, Lucy. "Viol, 5: France from c.1600." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 803.

theorbo as a keyboard alternative, which "goes very well with the viol that plays the solo part." [83]

Pièces de viole were commonly written by virtuoso violists, and also existed, in many cases, as unaccompanied solo pieces. These unaccompanied *pièces* were especially prevalent in the generation of composers pre-Marais. Hundreds of examples of unaccompanied *pièces de viole* survive in the manuscripts of DuBuisson (d. before 1688), Nicolas Hotteman (1610-1663), Jean Sainte-Colombe (fl.1660-1700), and *Le Sieur* De Machy (fl.1685-92). An argument may be made for the unaccompanied performance of some *pièces de viole* which include basso continuo parts, with particular regard for those by Marais, whose first book of *pièces de viol* was published in 1686 as a solo part, and existed for nearly three years before the release of the corresponding continuo part book in 1689.[84]

In 1687 two important treatises on viol playing were published, written by pupils of *Monsieur* de Sainte-Colombe: Jean Rousseau's (1644-1699) *Traité de la viole,* and Danoville's (first name unknown, fl. 1687) *Art de toucher le dessus et la basse de viole.* These earliest treatises mostly concern themselves with the proper way of holding the instrument, hand positions, fingering, bowing and

---

[83] Marais, Marin. *Pièces a une et a deux violes* (Paris, 1689) *basse continue* part book, *Avertissement*, p. 2. "*Je les ay toutes chiffrées, pour les joüer sur le Clavecin, ou sur le Théorbe; ce que fait tres bien avec la Viole, qui joüe le sujet.*"

[84] It is also noteworthy that forty-five manuscript works of Marais, which survive in the Panmure Collection at the National Library of Scotland, all appear to be intended as unaccompanied works. These are thought to pre-date Marais first published volume (1686) by seven years. For more about Marais unpublished manuscript works, see Stuart Cheney's "Early autograph manuscripts of Marin Marais." *Early Music*, vol. 38, no. 1, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 59-72.

ornamentation. Both works praise *Monsieur* Sainte-Colombe, citing his excellent manner of playing. Rousseau begins his *Traité* with the dedication:

> To Mr. Sainte-Colombe: For everyone knows that it is because of your instructions, but particularly the way of holding your hand, which you have taught us, that the viol surpasses all other instruments because it has received, by this means, to imitate perfectly the more beautiful traits of the delicacy of singing.[85]

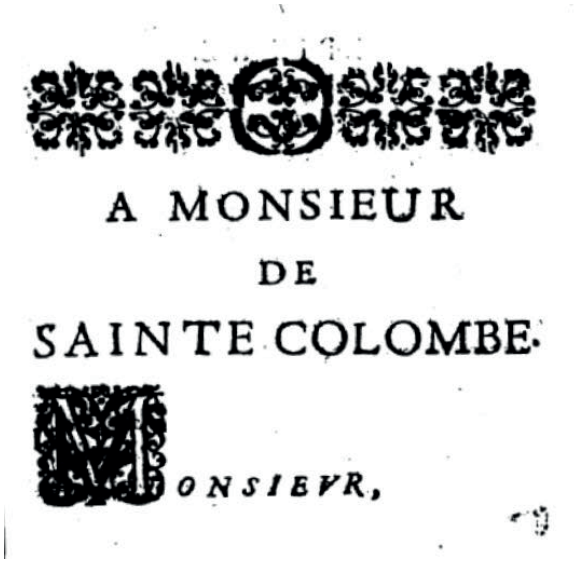

A MONSIEUR
DE
SAINTE COLOMBE.
MONSIEVR,

Figure 2.6. Danoville, *Art de toucher le dessus et la basse de violle.* Paris: Ballard, 1687. Dedication page.

Danoville's forty-seven-page manual (in which he claims that, with it, one may "acquire the perfection of this beautiful science in very little time, and even without the help of a teacher") is comprised of four parts which detail how the viol

---

[85] Rousseau, Jean. *Traité de La Viole*. Ballard, 1687, preface.

is held, staff and tablature notation, matters of the bow, and the "decorations," namely the *tremblement, pincé, battement, port de voix, coulé, tenuë, couché du doigt, balancement de main.*[86]

L'ART
DE TOUCHER LE DESSUS
ET BASSE
DE VIOLLE,
CONTENANT
Tout ce qu'il y a de neceſſaire, d'utile,
& de curieux dans cette Science.
AVEC
Des Principes, des Regles & Obſervations ſi intelligibles, qu'on peut acquerir la perfection de cette belle Science en peu de temps, & meſme ſans le ſecours d'aucun Maiſtre.
Par le Sieur DANOVILLE, Eſcuyer.

A PARIS,
Par CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, ſeul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Muſique.
Et ſe vend
Chez l'Autheur ruë S. Jacques, à l'Image S. François de Sales, chez le Sieur Landry Marchand Graveur en Taille-douce.

M. DC. LXXXVIJ.
Avec Privilege de Sa Majeſté.

Figure 2.7. Danoville, *l'Art de toucher le dessus et basse de violle.* Paris, 1687. Title page.

[86] Danoville. *L'Art de Toucher Le Dessus et Le Basse de Violle*. Paris, Ballard, 1687, title page.

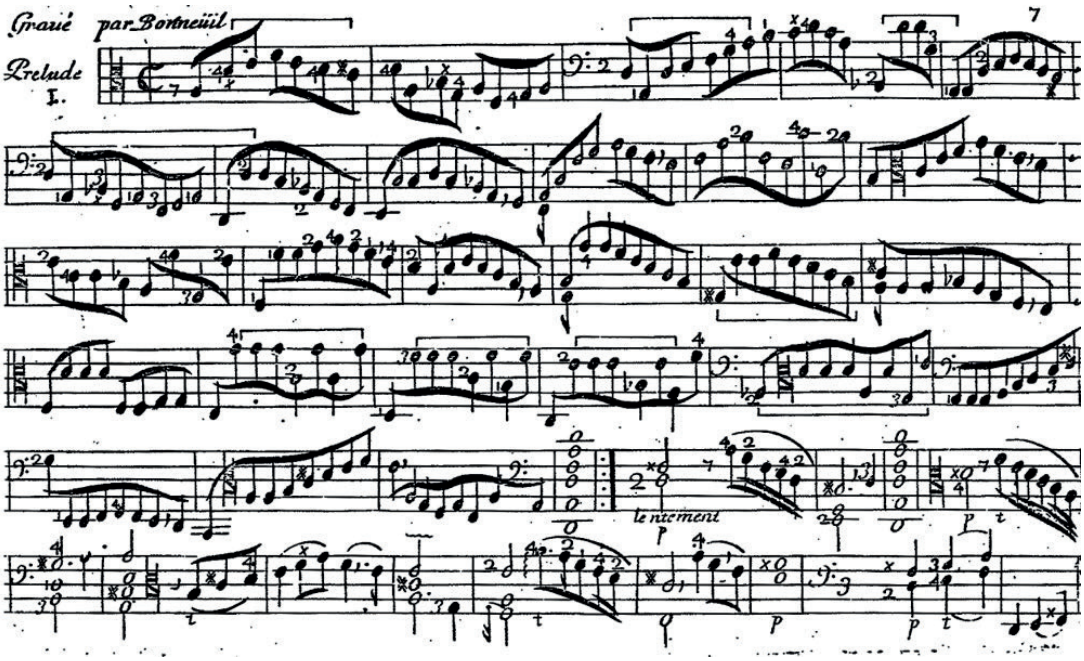
Rousseau's more comprehensive treatise (at one-hundred-and-fifty-seven pages) attends to these matters in greater detail, including historical information and various matters of aesthetics, such as the way of self-accompaniment (when singing), the way of accompanying, the way of melody, the way of harmony, the way of developing and the like.

Of the many attributes of the viol, two distinct styles of soloistic viol playing are distinguished by Rousseau: melodic playing (*jeu de mélodie*) and chordal playing (*jeu d'harmonie*). Rousseau states that the former requires "delicacy and tenderness," while the latter demands a more comprehensive understanding of the instrument, and of music in general.[87] Features of *jeu d'harmonie* include a predominantly polyphonic texture, heavy use of double stops, and arpeggiated or broken chords, which illustrate the heightened harmonic function of the music. These characteristics also feature heavily in the *brisé* (broken) style, so common in French lute and keyboard literature from the analogous time period. Like these instruments, the viol is moderately disadvantaged in terms of sustain, as the bow can play no more than two notes at once, thereby necessitating the incorporation of the *tenüe* technique (as indicated by brackets, featured below in the prelude from Marais' first suite of *pièces de viole*, volume one) of holding down notes with the left hand for far longer than their notated duration, in an effort to maintain the

[87] Rousseau, pp. 56, 59.

pitch's resonance throughout a passage. This technique was commonplace in compositions for lute and harpsichord, as well.

The *avertissements*, found in the prefaces of Marais' *pièces de viole*, function as treatises in and of themselves, with pertinent information regarding ornaments, performance practice, accompaniment, and improvisation. Pedagogical information is also found in the preface of *pièces de viole* by De Machy, and in letters exchanged between Jean-Baptiste Forqueray and Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia. By way of careful study, one might, through osmosis, absorb the methods of virtuosity implied by the various fingering and bowing suggestions printed in the music itself. The most thorough instructional content exists in the published music of Marin Marais:



Example 2.1. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de violes,* book 1. Paris: 1689, p. 1. Note the abundant use of *tenüe* brackets, fingering and bowing suggestions (*t*, pull, *p* push).

As with all music from the French baroque, ornamentation, which Rousseau describes as "melodic salt which seasons the melody and gives it taste" was an essential stylistic element of *pièces de viole*.[88] Marais and De Machy address ornamentation in the prefaces of their works, as do Rousseau and Danoville in their treatises, though among these sources, significant discrepancies exist.

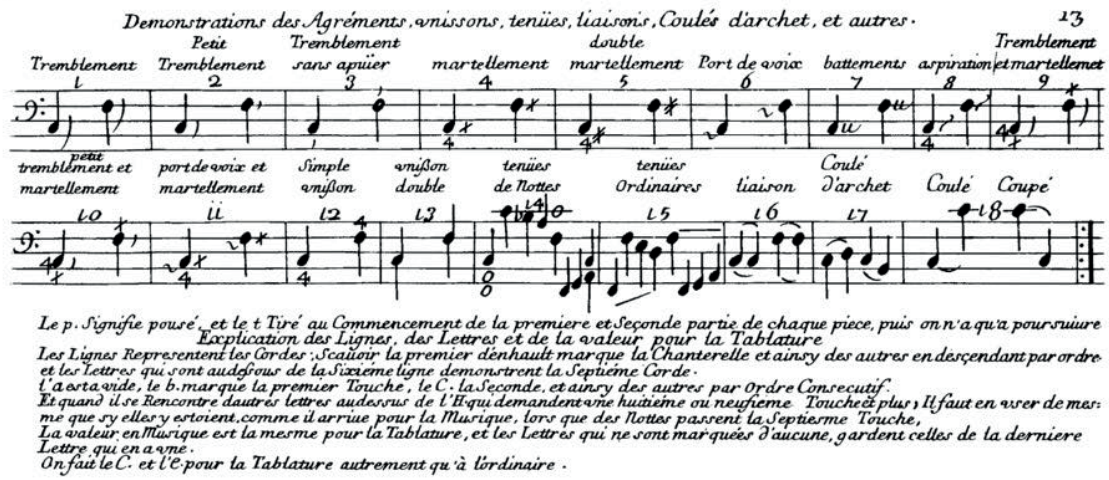


Figure 2.8. Ornament chart from De Machy's *Pièces de Viole.* Paris, 1685.

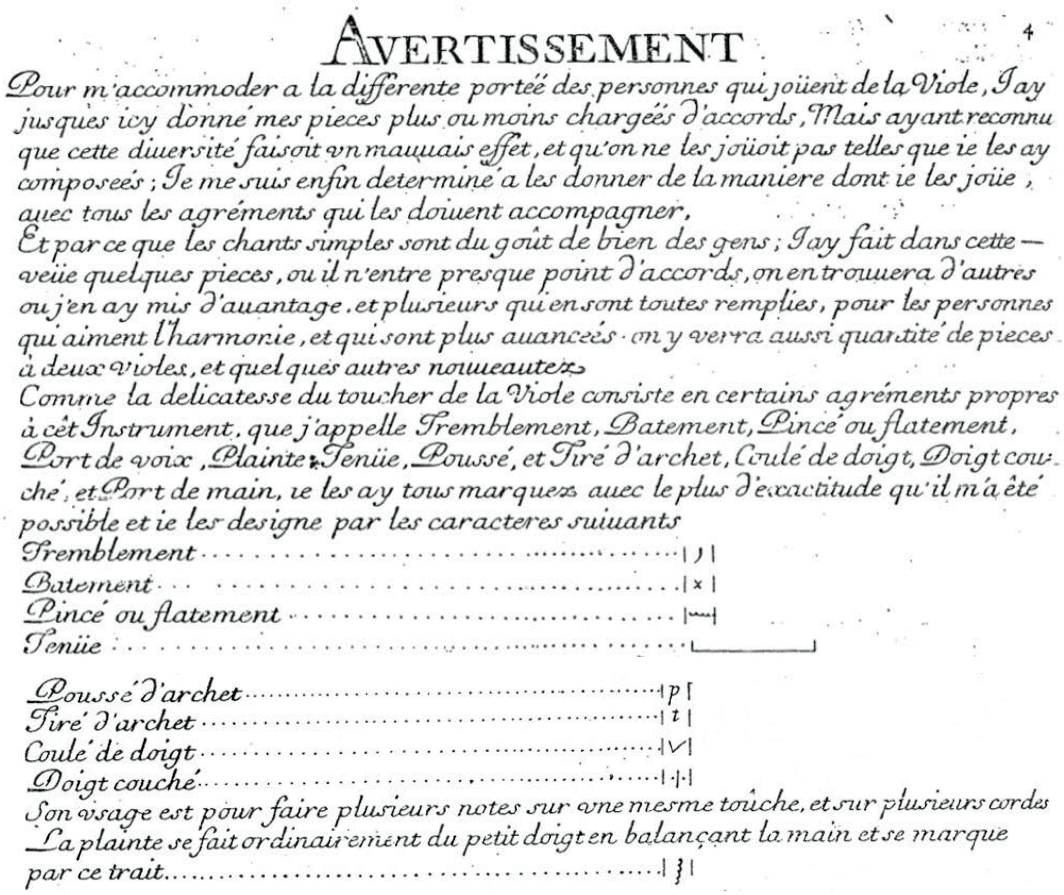
The *avertissement* in Marais' first published volume begins:

> In order to accommodate myself to the differing capacities of persons who play the viol, I have, up until now, presented my pieces more or less with chords; but having recognized that this diversity was creating a bad effect and that people were not playing them as I composed them, I have finally decided to present them in the manner

[88] Ibid., p. 75. "On peut dire encore que les Agréments sont un Sel Melodique qui assaisonne le Chant, & qui luy donne le gout."

in which I play them, with all the embellishments that ought to accompany them.[89]

Marais continues with a list of all of the ornaments one may observe in the pieces which follow:



AVERTISSEMENT 4

Pour m'accommoder a la differente portéé des personnes qui joüent de la Viole, Jay jusques icy donné mes pieces plus ou moins chargéés d'accords, Mais ayant reconnu que cette diuersité faisoit vn mauuais effet, et qu'on ne les joüoit pas telles que ie les ay composeés; Je me suis enfin determiné a les donner de la maniere dont ie les joüe, auec tous les agréments qui les doiuent accompagner.

Et par ce que les chants simples sont du goût de bien des gens; Jay fait dans cette veüe quelques pieces, ou il n'entre presque point d'accords, on en trouuera d'autres ou j'en ay mis d'auantage. et plusieurs qui en sont toutes remplies, pour les personnes qui aiment l'harmonie, et qui sont plus auanceés · on y verra aussi quantité de pieces à deux violes, et quelques autres nouueautez.

Comme la delicatesse du toucher de la Viole consiste en certains agréments propres à cét Instrument. que j'appelle Tremblement, Batement, Pincé ou flatement, Port de voix, Plainte, Teniie, Poussé, et Tiré d'archet, Coulé de doigt, Doigt couché, et Port de main, ie les ay tous marquez auec le plus d'exactitude qu'il m'a été possible et ie les designe par les caracteres suiuants

Tremblement ..... |) |
Batement ..... | x |
Pincé ou flatement ..... | ⁓ |
Teniie ..... |_____|

Poussé d'archet ..... | p |
Tiré d'archet ..... | t |
Coulé de doigt ..... | ∨ |
Doigt couché ..... | ·|· |

Son vsage est pour faire plusieurs notes sur vne mesme touche, et sur plusieurs cordes

La plainte se fait ordinairement du petit doigt en balançant la main et se marque par ce trait ..... | ⁑ |

Figure 2.9. An explanation of Ornaments from the *Avertissement* of Marin Marais' *Pièces de viole*, book 1. Paris, 1701, p. 4.

[89] Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole*, book 1. Paris, 1686, p. 4.

The simplicity of Marais' ornament chart (which consists of only each ornament's name and symbol) suggests a musical practice where the conventions of ornamentation were so understood that to describe them would be superfluous. As his volumes progress, Marais pays more careful attention to his notation of ornaments: book one is rather sparse in decoration, especially when compared to book five. Perhaps Marais deemed the increase in ornamental notation necessary upon hearing the poorly conceived and executed ornaments in performances of the earlier volumes of his works.

The idea of ornamentation as performance practice in *pièces de viole* is corroborated by Jean Rousseau's *Traité de la Viole* (1687), in which the third chapter deals with ornamentation at length, though with barely any mention of the signs used by composers to indicate them. In this chapter, Rousseau presents rules for the appropriate inclusion and execution of the various ornaments discussed. For instance, in Rousseau's description of a *port de voix* he writes:

> The *port de voix* is executed by playing two distinct bow strokes on a note and letting the finger fall on the subsequent note about halfway through the bowstroke. When one rises by conjunct degrees from a shorter to a longer note, one must play a *port de voix*, particularly when rising by a semitone. One can sometimes play a *port de voix* on notes of equal length, particularly when moving by the interval of a semitone, and occasionally even by whole time, so long

> as the following note descends and so long as this does not distort the meter and tempo.[90]

As we can see, the rules of ornamentation laid out by Rousseau in his *Traité* explain not only how but when to include a specific ornament. Rousseau provides justification for these rules:

> I am quite sure that the novelty of my rules for the execution of the ornaments . . . will excite opposition at first, as happens so often when once creates something new in a field, but I am confident that those who examine without prejudice and those who try them out for themselves will find them so securely founded, that, even if they do not judge them to be infallible, will at least admit them to be so general as to have very few exceptions.[91]

John Spitzer elaborates on this subject in his essay *Grammar of Improvised Ornamentation: Jean Rousseau's Viol treatise of 1687*, where he compares the rules of ornamentation laid out in Rousseau's third chapter to the "rewrite rules" of Chomskian linguistics.[92] Using the Chomskian method, Spitzer creates a

---

[90] Rousseau, Jean. *Traité de la Viole*. Paris, 1687. Translated by John Spitzer, "Grammar of Improvised Ornamentation: Jean Rousseau's Viol Treatise of 1687." *Journal of Music Theory*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1989, p. 301.

[91] Ibid., p. 302.

[92] Spitzer, John. "Grammar of Improvised Ornamentation: Jean Rousseau's Viol Treatise of 1687." *Journal of Music Theory*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1989, p. 301.

"Rousseau Machine" through which he runs stripped-down "skeleton" melodies of Marais and Caix d'Hervelois, free of all original ornamentation. The result was a staggering 67% success rate for the machine's recreation the original musical material.

Muffat's *Florilegium Secundum* treats ornamentation similarly to Rousseau, as do Danoville, Freillon-Poncein (1701), Corette (1735) and Monteclair (1735). Though none of these authors are as thorough as Rousseau, the rules they offer which pertain to ornaments differ little. Thus, Spitzer theorizes that Rousseau's rules "may express general principals of ornamentation in late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century music."[93]

Marais' increasingly meticulous notation of ornaments might also be attributed to a changing aesthetic; a serious shift occurred in the late seventeenth century regarding instrumental virtuosi and the printing and publishing of their music. The ornament charts published by Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1601-1672), Étienne Loulié (1654-1702) and Jacques-Henri d'Anglebert (1629-1691), which predate those of Marais, De Machy, Rousseau, and Danoville, provide insight into styles of ornamentation from neighboring solo instrumental schools.[94]

---

[93] Spitzer, p. 325.

[94] Chambonnières is the author of the earliest table of ornaments, printed in his *Pièces de Clavessin* (1670), and is considered today to be one of the most exalted representatives of the early French school of harpsichord playing. Music theorist and pedagogue Étienne Loulié is remembered for his treatise *Éléments ou Principes de Musique* (Paris, 1696). Loulié also wrote, but did not publish, an unfinished treatise on viol playing, sometime thereafter. The ornament chart published in the preface of d'Anglebert's *Pièces de Clavecin* (Paris, 1689) strongly influenced the ornaments employed by F. Couperin and J.S. Bach.

Chambonnières, virtuoso of the first (pre-Lully) *clavecin* school, refused to have his works published until two years before his death, citing his reluctance to let others see and thus copy his idiosyncratic style of ornamentation. In the preface to his 1670 volume, Chambonnières admits that he only issued the publication as a corrective to the garbled transcriptions of his performances, which he felt represented him poorly.[95] In similar fashion, contemporary Louis Couperin did not publish any of his works during his lifetime, despite being one of the most celebrated musicians in Paris. Sainte-Colombe's secretive approach to virtuosity is attested to by Tillet's anecdote of Marais hiding in the bushes to hear his master's playing; Sainte-Colombe's works, (like his contemporary Chambonnières') were only circulated in manuscripts. In contrast, though Marais had studied with Sainte-Colombe, the former's approach to publication follows more closely the model of Lully's other instrumental protégés at court, such as d'Anglebert. Whereas, for Chambonnières and Sainte-Colombe, virtuosity was a highly individualistic achievement to be protected from the dangers of appropriation endemic to publication, the musical culture tightly controlled by Lully required the virtuosi under his leadership (such as Marais) to publish (and explain) their techniques in the name of solidifying a national style of playing. Perhaps the increasing precision of Marais' markings over the course of his five volumes of viol music documents a shift in approach to compositional style from individualistic to didactic, and thus, a more homogenized style of playing.

---

[95] Chambonniéres, Jacques. *Pièces de clavessin.* Paris, 1670, preface.

Figure 2.10. Earliest published table of ornaments, found in the preface of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières' *Pièces de Clavessin* (Paris, 1670).

Figure 2.11. Explanation of various *Tremblements*: Loulié, Etienne. *Éléments Ou Principes de Musique.* Paris, 1696. p. 70.

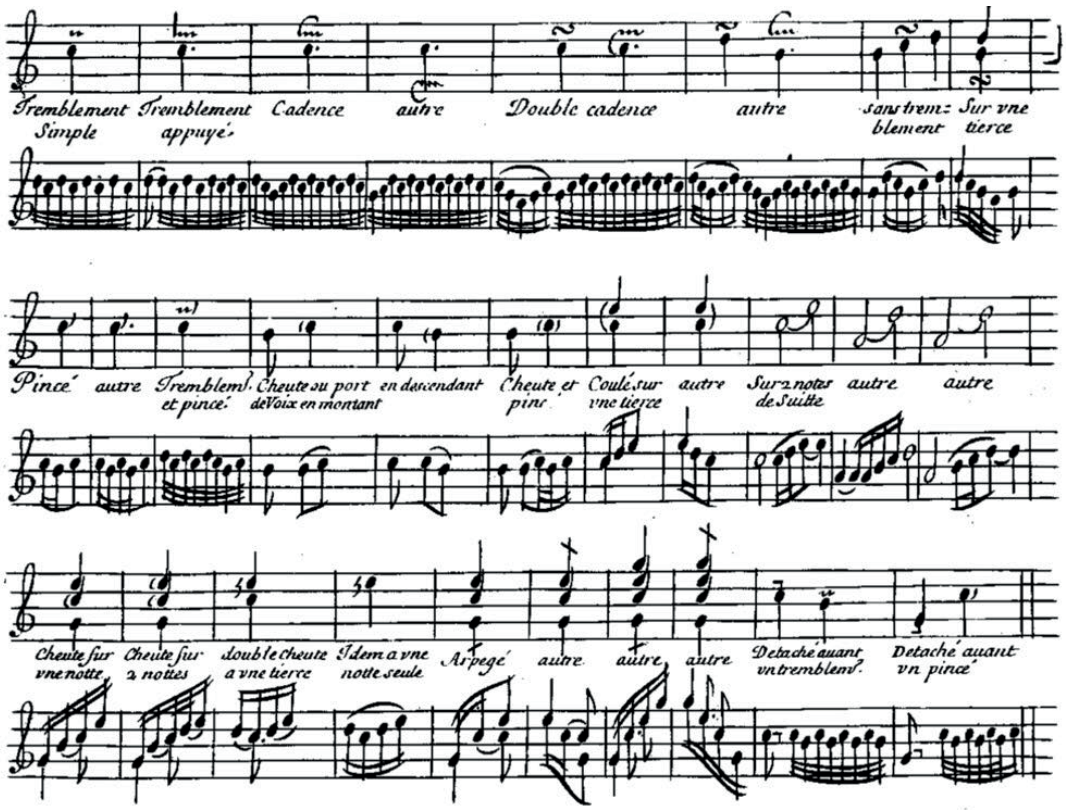


Figure 2.12. Ornament chart found in preface of Jean-Henry d'Anglebert's "*Pièces de Clavecin*" (Paris, 1689).

The comparative chart found in Shaun Kam Fook Ng's dissertation, *Ornaments in Marin Marais' Pièces de Viole* (2013), which deals with ornament symbols in Marais and the music of his contemporaries, provides useful information toward forming a definitive approach to the somewhat ambiguous ornament notation found in seventeenth and eighteenth-century French viol literature:

Marais	De Machy	Danoville	Rousseau	Loulié
Tremblement	*Tremblement*; also uses *petit tremblement*	*Tremblement*, symbol called 'petite virgule', but not shown	*Cadence*; also uses *Cadence avec* and *sans appuy*	*Tremblement*; horizontal bracket over; used comma for solos and x for continuo; uses cross for *tremblement non appuyé*.
Batement	*Martellement*; also uses *Double Martellement*	*Pincé*; symbol called 'petite Croix', but not shown	*Martellement*, no symbol	*Martellement*; also uses *Martellement Simple, Double* and *Triple*; 'little cross'
Pincé or *Flatement*	*Tremblement sans appuyer*	*Battement*; symbol called 'accent circonflexe tiré en longueur', but not shown	*Batement*; no symbol	Probably *Battemen* or *Flatté*; term for the viol not established.
Coulé de doigt	Not used	*Coulé de doigt*; only mentions use on third finger; symbol called 'Trait', but not shown	*Plainte*; no symbol	Not used
Port de voix; uses *note perdüe;* likely on-beat ornament	*Port de voix;* likely on-beat ornament	*Port de voix*; uses *note perdüe*; pre-beat ornament	*Port de voix*; uses *note perdüe*; both pre-beat and on-beat ornament	*Port de voix*; uses *note perdüe*; both pre-beat and on-beat ornament
Plainte	*Aspiration*	*Balancement de main*; no symbol	*Langueur*; no symbol	*Balancement* in vocal treatise; term and symbol for the viol not established.

Figure 2.13. Kam Fook Ng, Shaun. *Ornamentation in Marin Marais'* Pièces de Viole. University of Sydney, 2013.

Pièces de viole: Practitioners

The viol's popularity at court and in concerts held in the private salons of the Parisian nobility led to a monumental rise in the demand for viol music in France. Violists also took to hosting their own recitals; Évrard Titon du Tillet (1677-1762) describes in his *Le Parnasse François* (an anthology of anecdotal stories of the famous French poets and musicians during the reign of Louis XIV) a concert held in the home of *Monsieur* Sainte-Colombe, "where his daughters played, one on the treble viol, and the other on the bass, thus forming a concert for three viols with their father, which was a great pleasure to listen to."[96] With the rise of such splendid music for the viol, both at home and at court, it became a fashionable instrument for the nobility to play, not merely admire, and as members of the aristocracy wished to emulate Louis XIV and other high-ranking nobles who possessed their own *violists du chambre*, there developed a great need among the French aristocracy for proficient performers and instructors of the viol.

Lutenists took advantage of the increased demand for violists in France, given the similarities in tuning and left-hand technique between the two instruments. Many prominent lutenists became accomplished viol players, including Nicolas Hotteman and Léonard Ithier who were employed by the king as performers on both instruments. Hotteman, whose legacy survives in *airs de cour* and solo works for viol and theorbo, served for six years as violist and theorbist to

---

[96] Titon du Tillet, Evrard. *Le Parnasse François.* Paris, 1732, p. 624.

the Duc d'Orléans until 1661, when he (along with Sebastian le Camus) filled the vacancy left by Louis Couperin of *Ordinaire de la musique de la chambre du roi.* Flemish-born Hotteman, also known by his original surname, Hotman, was revered, along with another lutenist-turned-violist, André Maugars (c.1580-1645), by Mersenne, who wrote that "there is no one in France who can compare with Maugars and Hotman in [the] art [of viol playing]," and also by Jean Rousseau, who remembered that "the first to excel as performers on the viol in France were *Messieurs* Maugars and Hotman, they were equally admirable, though their characters were different."[97] Little is known of André Maugars except for his time spent in England, where he likely developed his skill for viol playing. There is a possibility that Hotman was Maugars' pupil.[98]

Rousseau also comments on the specifics of Hottemann's performance practice, writing: "The tenderness of his playing came from the beautiful bow strokes which he animated and sweetened so fittingly and with so much skill that he charmed all those who heard him, and it is this which began to give perfection to the viol, and to make it preferred over all other instruments."[99] Hottemann's oeuvre exists as three manuscripts from the late 1660s, containing twenty-six viol and eight theorbo works. In keeping with the style of the contemporaneous lute

---

[97] Mersenne, *Harmonicorum libri XII*, 1635-6; Rousseau, Jean. *Traité,* p. 23. "*Les premiers hommes qui ont excellé en France dans le Jeu de la Viole on esté Messieurs Maugard & Hotman, Ils estoient également admirables, quoy que leurs caracteres fussesnt different;"*

[98] Thompson, Clyde H. "Hotman, Nicolas." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 730.

[99] Rousseau, p. 23.

tradition, the melodic content of Hottemann's solo viol pieces is not separate, but thoroughly woven into the harmony. Hotteman is remembered not only for these compositions, which constitute some of the earliest repertoire for solo viol in France, but for his innovations in left-hand technique, which borrowed from the lute habit of bringing the thumb in line with the index finger, for the ease of playing chords. This practice is evidenced by the chordal nature of Hottemann's work and that of his pupils, De Machy and the prolific *Monsieur* Sainte-Colombe.

The *Pièces de violle en musique et en tablature* (Paris, 1685) of De Machy, yet another court violist of Louis XIV, also pays homage to the French and English lute traditions to which the viol owes its heritage. These eight suites, four printed in staff notation, the rest in lute-style tablature, feature the melodic/harmonic amalgamation found in Hotteman. In the preface to his *pièces de viole*, De Machy advocates for two main positions of the hand, one for melodic playing, the other (in the tradition of Hottemann) for chords. Also worthy of note is DuBuisson, whose rich polyphonic suites for bass viol without continuo (1666) constitute the earliest extant French music for solo viol. Four of these suites are written in staff notation, the remaining two in tablature. Of DuBuisson, scarce little else is known.

Until Marin Marais, there is no one who furthered the status of the viol as a virtuosic solo instrument more than Jean Sainte-Colombe. Surmised to have been independently wealthy, and thus without any need to seek a royal post, Sainte-

Colombe lived in Paris with his two violist daughters.[100] Praised by Rousseau in his *Traité* as the "one to whom this instrument owes all its perfection," Sainte-Colombe is credited with the expansion of the range of the bass viol down to a low A, with the addition of a seventh wire-wound string.[101] This development in viol playing, which provided even greater contrasts in range, further assisted in self-accompaniment, and accentuated the rich, dark sensuality of the viol's timbre, is not unlike the practice of *ravalments* in French harpsichord making (the practice of expanding the lower range of Flemish keyboard instruments). Of those that underwent the addition of a seventh string, there are roughly a dozen English viols which survive.[102] Seen below, a Meares viol, dated 1664, was originally a six-stringed viol, before being converted to a seven-stringed instrument in early eighteenth-century France.[103]

---

[100] Thompson, Clyde H. "Sainte-Colombe." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 16, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 386.

[101] Rousseau, dedication. "*comme à celuy de qui cét instrument tient toute sa perfection*." Translated by Myrna Herzog, "Looking Through the Mist of *Tous Les Matin du Monde*: Sainte-Colombe Revisited." *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 49, 2015, p. 51.

[102] MacCracken, Thomas and Peter Tourin. Database of Historical Viols, Viola da Gamba Society of America website. https://vdgsa.org/pgs/viols/viols.html

[103] "The conversion of English six-string bass viols of the 1600's to French seven-string instruments is notable especially after 1688, when the exiled court of James II of England was established in France. The extra seventh string was needed in order to play court music, written by French composers such as Jean-Baptiste Lully that was then in high fashion." From the description of the "Meares" viol, Yale Collection of Instruments. Accession Number 4677. http://collection-media.yale.edu/catalog/3903693#.XwzBcS2ZMnU.

Figure 2.14. “Meares” Bass viol. England, 1664.

This extension of the bass viol's range is easily observed in Sainte-Colombe's *Concerts à deux violes esgales,* a volume of sixty-seven multi-movement works for two viols, and in his one hundred and seventy extant solo works for bass viol. These works are rife with dance movements, especially *sarabandes*, *gigues*, *gavottes*, *menuets* and *courantes*, and contain many evocative pieces with titles such as *Tombeau 'Les Regrets'* and *Les Pleurs*. According to Rousseau in the dedication to his *Traité de la viole,* Sainte-Colombe was capable of "imitating the most beautiful inflections of the voice," the highest of compliments for a violist during a time when the instrument was still fighting for its independence from vocalists.[104] Indeed, Sainte-Colombe drew much inspiration from the vocal tradition. While the chordal nature of his music is an extension of the French lute tradition, what is novel about Sainte-Colombe's music is its singing, melody-driven style. This necessitated a lithe and fluid left hand, for which Sainte-Colombe was praised by both Danoville and Rousseau:

> His worth and his knowledge have made him sufficiently known, and if he has developed some pupils who surpass the ordinary, they are indebted for it to his unusual kindness and to the particular care he has taken in teaching them; and they must acknowledge frankly that they owe to him that fine hand position, those beautiful cadences, and

---

[104] Rousseau, dedication. "Car chacun sçait que c'est à la faveur de vos instructions, mais particulierement de ce beau Port de main que vous nous avez enseigné que la Viole surpasse avec avantage tous les autres Instruments, parce qu'elle a reçu par ce moyen, celui d'imiter parfaitement les plus beau traits, & toute la délicasse du Chant."

finally that manner of drawing forth harmony, sometimes tender, sometimes brilliant, which agreeably surprises the ear.[105]

The left-hand technique favored by Sainte-Colombe furthered the viol's emancipation from the lute, favoring, for melodic passages, a hand position in which the thumb parallels the second finger instead of the first, allowing for a nimble facility more capable of navigating the vocal-style ornaments found in his music. The extensive repertory left by *Monsieur* Sainte-Colombe provides an important link between the somewhat experimental solo works of Hotteman, De Machy and DuBuisson, and the compositionally mature catalogues of Marin Marais and his contemporaries.

Sainte-Colombe's most lasting legacy is his prodigal pupil, Marin Marais. Susanna Pell's words typify Marais' particular standing within the French viol tradition: "Indeed, at a time when Louis XlV was the 'Sun King' of France, Marin Marais was the undisputed ruler of a by then flourishing kingdom of French viol players."[106] This echoes Hubert Le Blanc's assessment, some two hundred and fifty years earlier, that "The empire of the viol was founded and powerfully established by *le Père Marais*."[107]

---

[105] Danoville, preface.

[106] Pell, Susanna. *Marais/Sainte-Colombe: Greatest Masterworks.* Spectre de la Rose, Naxos, 1993, liner notes.

[107] Le Blanc, pp. 28-29. "*L'Empire de la Viole étoit fondé & puissament établi par le Père Marais, qui comme Sinon, à l'égard de celui d'Athène, l'avoit formé de belles Pièces en bon nomebres*."

Marais attained such exalted status by way of innate talent, fine instruction, and opportunity. The only information regarding Marais' tutelage is from *Le Parnasse François*; Titon du Tillet describes the story of young Marais, who, after six months of study with Sainte-Colombe, was sent away, the latter claiming there was nothing left to teach his pupil.[108]

At the age of twenty-three, Marais accepted a position offered by Louis XIV of *Ordinaire de la Chambre du Roi.* Such an offer was a superlative testament to Marais' ability, as such positions in Louis' court were generally purchased at a lofty sum by the recipient (even Lully purchased his position as director of the *Académie Royale de musique*).[109] Marais' royal appointment not only placed him among the best artists in all of France, but also came with substantial clout, as King Louis was the ultimate arbiter of good taste.

Marais' salaried position (600 *livres* a year) at court required his services for only six months of the year; the remaining months he spent in Paris, where he would teach, compose, practice, perform in the salons of the Parisian nobility, and more notably, at the lyric theatre of the Palais Royale.[110] There, as at the residences of the king, Marais performed under the authority of Lully, with whom he studied conducting and composition. Records which survive of the premier of Lully's *Atys*,

---

[108] Titon du Tillet, p. 625.

[109] Anthony, James. "Lully, (1) Jean-Baptiste (i), 1: Life." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 314.

[110] Berrocal, Joseba. *Marin Marais: Violoniste à l'opera.* Edited by Benoît Dratwicki, Édition du centre de Musique baroque de Versailles, 2006, p. 28.

(1676), describe Marais, who appeared on stage as a "*songe jouant de la viole*" (a dream, playing the viol). With bass violist Théobald, theorbists Laurent du Pré and Grénerin, renowned flutists Philbert and Descoteaux, and four members of the Hoteterre family all charged with roles as "dreams," Marais exhibited his skill in the ethereal sleep scene of the third act of Lully's famous opera.[111]

Marais spent the greater portion of his life in the royal service of Louis XIV. He was promoted to *Ordinaire de la chambre du Roi pour le viole* in 1679 and remained in service to the king until his retirement in 1725. Among the nobility and *bourgeoisie,* it was considered one of the highest accomplishments to learn the skillful art of viol playing. For these "amateur" players (a distinction less significant than it is today), Marais composed five weighty tomes of solo works. These volumes of *pièces de viole*, likely all composed in the 1680s, were published individually between 1686 and 1725.[112]

The five-hundred-and-ninety-six *pièces de viole(s)* by Marin Marais epitomize the zenith of the French bass viol tradition. The published books, each containing roughly one hundred movements for mostly one, but sometimes two, and occasionally three viols, are organized into suites comprised of the familiar

---

[111] Ibid., pp. 26-27; Theobald di Gatti (c.1650-1727) was a bass violist in the orchestra of the Académie royale de musique, and viol teacher in Paris. Born in Italy, Théobald traveled to France after hearing the music of Lully. He received his papers of Naturalization from Louis XIV in 1675, and henceforth went by the name Théobald. Barthélémy, Maurice. "Gatti, Theobaldo." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 7, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 186.

[112] Vertrees Sadie, Julie Anne. "Marin Marais and His Contemporaries." *The Musical Times*, vol. 119, no. 1626, 1978, p. 674.

French dance movements, along with *fantasies*, *tombeaux* and *les pièces de caractère*; the latter being, perhaps, Marais' most creative works. Accompanied by provocative titles, such as *Le Labrynthe* and *Les Amusement*, these programmatic character pieces possess extra-musical significance, and are similar to the character pieces found in François Couperin's *Pièces de clavecin*. Marais' *Tableau de l'Operation de la Taille,* for instance, is the gruesome retelling of a bladder (or gall bladder) stone removal, experienced first-hand by the composer, without the aid of modern anesthetic—an event which must have been quite traumatic for *monsieur* Marais.[113]

Many of the suites within Marais' *Pièces de viole* are unsuitably long for performance (the longest contains forty-one movements) and require disparate levels of skill between pieces. Indeed, two distinct styles of writing may be found in the works of Marais: Rousseau's *le jeu de mélodie* and *le jeu d'harmonie*.[114] Marais addresses this in the *avertissement* of his first volume of *pièces*: "And because simple melodies meet the taste of a lot of people, I have composed some pieces with this in mind, where chords scarcely enter; one will find others where I have used them more, and several which are entirely filled with them for those who love harmony and who are more advanced."[115] This disparity in difficulty provided a solution to a problem outlined earlier in the *avertissement*, where Marais mentions

---

[113] Marais underwent the procedure c.1720. Thompson (1960), p. 498.

[114] Rousseau, pp. 56, 59.

[115] Marais, Marin. Avertissements, Pièces de viole, book 1, p. 4.

the accommodation of his pieces to the "differing capacities of persons who play the viol . . . But having recognized that this diversity made a bad effect, and that people were not playing the works as I had composed them . . ."[116] It would seem that previously, Marais transcribed his pieces based on the ability of each student, subtracting the more challenging chords, runs and ornaments as necessary. Michael A. Bane describes these early works as being "modular: with a few modifications, the same piece of music could serve the virtuoso as well as the student."[117] This approach, though pedagogically effective, resulted in some lackluster versions of his works circulating among the public. To combat this, Marais, in his first published volume, writes his pieces exactly as they were intended, with all of the chords and ornaments so typical of his style preserved, and intersperses these with simpler works (usually *sarabandes*, *gavottes*, and *menuets*) to suit the needs of less technically accomplished players. The result is a compilation of works designed to accommodate the myriad needs of his public. The first suite of book one (1686), for instance, contains twenty-one movements comprising many repeated dances types: four *préludes*, two *allemandes*, two *sarabandes*, three *courante*s, three *gigues*, two *gavottes*, two *menuets*, two *fantaisie*s and two *rondeaus*. The less demanding melodic movements exhibit pure, linear, lightly ornamented lines, with modest chords near cadences, while the more demanding harmonic style, which manifests itself in *préludes*, *allemandes*, *courantes*, *tombeaux*, *chaconnes*,

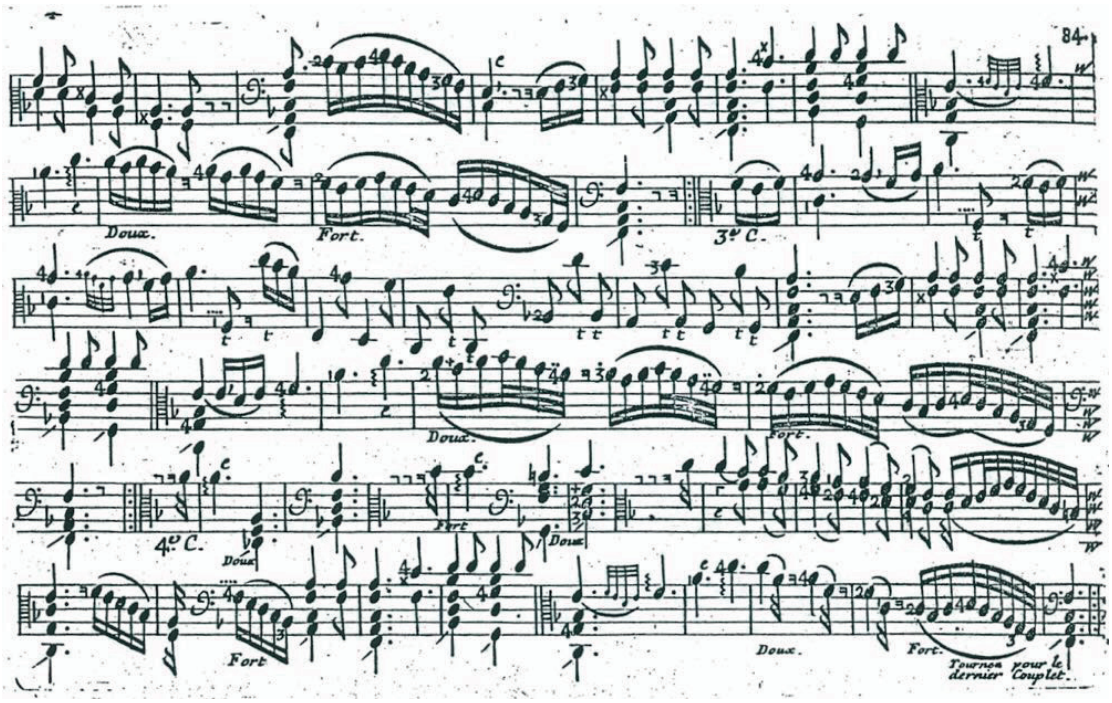
---

[116] Ibid.

[117] Bane, Michael, A. "Marin Marais And His Public." *The Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America,* vol. 50, 2017-18, p. 29.

rondeaux, and elaborate character pieces, feature frequent doubles stops, leaps, large chords, and *style brisé*. Therefore, it is unlikely that the suites found in Marais' *Pièces* were intended for complete, uninterrupted performance. Instead, a player could craft their own suite from the given options, choosing movements based on their own technical capability and personal taste.

Marais was instructor to many virtuoso performers, such as Ernste Christian Hesse, Jacques Morel (1700-1749), Louis de Caix d'Hervelois (1677-1759), Hilaire Verloge (c.1684-1734, also known by his pseudonym, "Alarius"), and possibly even Antoine Forqueray. In the preface to his fourth book of *pièces de viole* (1717), Marais writes that, having received complaints from his students regarding the lack of difficulty in his pieces, he has included in his new volume the "*Suite d'un Goût Etranger*" (Suite of a foreign taste), which was not a typical dance suite, but a collection of virtuosic programmatic works. Marais' *L'Arabesque*, seen below in figure 2.2 is an example of such works, with its wide leaps, large chords, long chains of double-stops and melodic flourishes:



Example 2.2. An excerpt from Marais' "*L'Arabesque,*" from his *Suite d'un Goût Etranger*. Paris, 1717.

The *jeu melodie* style found in Marais' *pièces de viole* was likely of Lullian influence—the latter was lauded for the clarity of his melodic style, particularly in his operas. As the French language is less suited to declamation than Italian, the extremely clear, simple melodies of Lully's stage music was one of the important stylistic shifts he brought to bear, and was perhaps why they "met the taste of so many people." Note to whom Marais' first volume of *pièces de viole* is dedicated:

AMONSIEVR DE LVLLY

Ecuyer, Con.er, Secretaire du Roy Maison, Couronne de France et de ses Finances et Sur-jntendant de la Musique de sa Majesté.

Monsieur,

Je ferois une faute inexcusable, si, ayant l'honneur d'être un de vos Eleves, et vous étant attaché par tant d'autres obligations qui me sont particulieres, je ne vous offrois les essais de ce que j'ay appris en executant vos Sçavantes et admirables compositions. Je vous presente donc ce reciueil, et comme à mon Sur-jntendant, et comme à mon Bienfaicteur. Je vous le presente aussi comme au premier homme qui ait jamais été dans tous les divers caracteres de Musique. Personne ne vous conteste ce titre. Les plus beaux genies confessent qu'ils n'ont point de route plus seure et plus facile, pour reüssir dans cette profession, que l'étude de vos Ouurages. Tous les Princes de l'Europe, qui veulent faire fleurir cet Art dans leurs Etats n'en connoissent plus d'autre voie. Mais quelque puissent être ces avantages, ils vous laisseroient toujours quelque chose a souhaiter. Vn seul a rempli vos desirs et vous a comblé de gloire. C'est d'avoir plû à Louis le Grand, et d'avoir fourni à la Posterité les Airs sur lesquels elle celebrera le Nom et les fameux exploits de ce Monarque. Vos Chants étoient les seuls qui pouvoient dignement accompagner son immortelle Histoire. Ils passeront avec elle chez toutes les Nations. Déja nous avons veu des Peuples, que le bruit de sa grandeur avoit attirez des Climats les plus éloignez de nous, s'en retourner charmez de vos Chansons autant qu'étonnez de la Majesté du Heros pour qui vous les composez. Quels fruits de vos travaux: mais en mesme temps, quel honneur pour moi: d'avoir un si Illustre Protecteur que vous, et de pouvoir tous les jours vous témoigner, par mon attachement et mon respect que je suis

Monsieur

Vôtre tres humble, tres obeissant, et tres obligé Serviteur, Marais

Figure 2.15. Marais' dedication to Lully, found in the preface to his first volume of *Pièces de viole* (Paris, 1686).[118]

---

[118] "Sir, I would be in inexcusable fault, if, having the honor of being one of your students, and being attached to you by other obligations which to me are particular, I were not to offer you these essays of which I learned and executed your knowledge and admirable compositions. I present therefore, this collection to you as to my *Sieur-Intendant*, and as my benefactor. I present it to you also as to the first among men who ever was in all the diverse characters of music. No one may contest this title. The best geniuses confess that there is no other road surer and simpler to be successful in this profession except to study your works. All of the princes of Europe who want to make this art flower in their states do not know another way. But whatever these advantages, they will always leave you something to desire. One simple thing has filled your desires and completed

In addition to his *pièces de viole*, Marais produced chamber music (*Pièces en trio pour les flutes, violon, et dessus de viole,* 1692), and five operas, which were likely inspired by his close association with Lully. Marais' most successful opera, *Alcione* (1796), continued to be staged through the end of the century, and is celebrated for its innovative tempest scene and exuberant act-five chaconne. [119]

By the turn of the century, Marais had established his reputation as the finest bass violist the world had ever known. According to Le Blanc, Marais performed his own pieces, to the exclusion of all others.[120] If this is to be taken at face value (Le Blanc's *Défense* has been described as the ravings of an eccentric), it can be assumed that Marais' *pièces de viole* echoed, for decades, throughout the halls of Versailles and delighted countless in the salons of Paris.[121] In a letter to a friend, Rousseau writes that "everyone all over the world is playing pieces by Marais."[122]

---

your glory. This is having pleased LOUIS LE GRAND and having furnished to posterity the airs upon which is celebrated the name and the famous exploits of this monarch. Your songs were the only ones which were deigned worthy of accompanying his immortal history. These will be disseminated in all of the nations. Already we have seen Peoples whom the sound of his grandeur—has attracted them from the most distant climates and turned away from them through the charm of your songs as well as the astonishment of the majesty of heroes for whom you composed them. What fruits of your work: but at the same time, what an honor for me: to have such an illustrious protector as you and to be able to witness my attachment and my respect. For all days, I am, *Monsieur*. Your very humble, and obeying, and very obliged servant, Marais."

[119] Thompson, Clyde H. "Marais, Marin." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 641.

[120] Le Blanc, *Défense.* Translated by Barbara Garvey Jackson in the *Viola da Gamba Society of America Journal,* vol. 10, p. 14. "Without being restricted he confined himself to his *pièces*, and he who possessed a wealth of harmony was not considered limited by the boundaries which he knew to be prescribed."

[121] Vertrees Sadie, p. 672.

[122] Lesure, François. "Une querelle sur le jeu de la viole en 1688: J Rousseau contre De Machy." *Revue de Musicologie*, vol. 46, 1960, pp. 181-199; Lesure, François. "Marin Marais. Sa Carrière.

Johann Gottfried Walther gives credence to Marais' continental fame in *Musikalisches Lexicon* (1732), where he describes him as "an incomparable Parisian violist whose works are known all over Europe."[123] Indeed, Marais' *pièces de viole* were disseminated throughout Europe; the first three volumes of Marais' *pièces* were published by Huguenot refugee Estienne Roger of Amsterdam between 1701 and 1716.[124] Roger was one of the largest distributors of printed music in Europe, with agents in Rotterdam, London, Cologne, Berlin, Liège, Leipzig, Halle, Brussels and Hamburg.[125] Advertised in printed catalogues which detailed every available publication (between 1698 and 1716), Estienne Roger's scores were sold and circulated all over the continent.

Sa Famille." *Revue Belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap*, vol. 7, no. 2/4, 1953, p. 133.

[123] Walther, Johann Gottfried. *Musicalisches Lexicon*, vol. 6, Weimar, 1728, p. 382.

[124] Thompson, Clyde H. "Marin Marais' Pièces de Violes." *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 46, no. 4, 1960, p. 485.

[125] Pogue, Samuel. "Roger, Estienne." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 16, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 99-100.

Figure 2.16. Front and back images of the medallion forged in honor of Marin Marais, as commissioned by Titon du Tillet, for the Parnasse Française; the monument, at Versailles, which celebrated the glory of France's poets and musicians during the reign of Louis XIV.

Marais' image was circulated throughout Europe as well. In 1704, his portrait (by André Bouys) was engraved, allowing for a large diffusion of the print among his admirers.[126]

Figure 2.17. Engraving of painting by André Bouys, *Marin Marais, Maître de la Musique de la Chambre du Roi.* Paris, 1704.

---

[126] "Biographies de Marin Marais." *Philidor*, Center de Musique Baroque Versailles, p. 34. https://philidor.cmbv.fr/content/download/493793/5340325/file/CMBV-2006-Biographie%20de%20Marin%20Marais.pdf. 7/22/2020.

Hubert Le Blanc lauds Marais as a pillar of the French national style against the onslaught of Italian influence, which posed greater threat to its integrity with each passing year:

> The Divine Intelligence, among its many gifts, has divided up the gift of Harmony among mortals. The violin was allotted to the Italians, the flute to the Germans, the harpsichord to the English and the viola da gamba to the French. Marais senior was so skilled in his genre and had a style of composition which was so pure and performance so refined (reduced to rules which he never violated), that he withstood the onslaught delivered against France by the Romans, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Neapolitans in private concerts, like an Ajax of music on this side of the mountains.[127]

The five volumes of *pièces de viole* by Marin Marais represent true perfection of the viol idiom. Marais' works are keenly expressive, only exploiting extreme virtuosity when necessary, and always for the art's sake. This notion is perhaps best articulated by contemporary François Couperin, in the preface to his first book of *Pièces de clavecin* (1713): "For my part, I frankly confess that I would much sooner be moved than be astonished." [128] That Marais' first volume of pieces was preceded, only by one year, by those of De Machy is remarkable—Marias' works

---

[127] Le Blanc, *Défense*. Trans. Garvey Jackson, p. 13.

[128] Couperin, François. *Pièces de Clavecin, Premier Livre.* Paris, 1713, preface.*"et j'avoüeray de bon foy, que j'ayme beaucoup mieux ce qui me touche, que ce qui me surprend."*

triumph in terms of stylistic integrity, virtuosic achievement and compositional maturity.

Figure 2.18. Bouys, André (1656-1740). *La Barre and Other Musicians*. Oil on canvas. National Gallery, London UK.[129]

[129] In the preface of his *Premier Livre des Pièces pour flûte traversiè* (c.1709), La Barre writes that, in these works, he wishes to achieve on the flute what Marais has on the viol.

François Couperin's (1668-1733) *pièces de viole* (Paris, 1728) are comprised of two suites only, for two viols each (one solo part and one figured bass line, though it is appropriate to play the works for solo unaccompanied viols).[130] The first suite appears in the style of a typical French noble dance suite (*Prelude*, *Allemande*, *Courante*, *Sarabande grave*, *Gavottes*, *Gigue* and *Passacaille*), while the second displays the *goûts réunis* style (which synthesized French and Italian stylistic components) for which Couperin garnered such popularity, and functions more like a four-movement *sonata de chiesa*, with movements titled *Gravemen*t, *Fugette, Pompe funèbre* and "*La Chemise blanche*." Historian James Anthony draws attention to several similarities between Couperin and Marais: "Both composers are miniaturists who, at their best, show a sense of fantasy, a freedom of invention disciplined by melodic purity, and an unerring sense of rhythmic organization." [131] Additionally, F. Couperin and Marais both provide ample information for the performer regarding suitable stylistic practices of their works, and are both lauded as the greatest proponents of French baroque music.

Music of the purest French sensibility and form lost its staunchest enthusiast and fiercest enforcer upon the death of Louis XIV. After 1715, the Italian musical style, which had been appreciated at court before Louis' majority and was already thriving in many courts throughout Europe, even as close as Paris, began to gain ground in the French capitol. The Forquerays, Antoine (1672-1745), and son, Jean-

---

[130] Anthony (1997), p. 402.

[131] Ibid., p. 400.

Baptist (1699-1782), who flowered during the turning of the tide, embraced the Italian influence, and represent the last vestiges of the great French viol tradition.

Sixteen years Marais junior, Antoine Forqueray entered the service of the king as a member of the *musique de chambre du roi* in 1689, when he was just seventeen years old, having already enjoyed his royal debut at age ten:

> Forqueray had the honor . . . of playing the bass de violon in front of the king [Louis XIV], making his majesty so pleased that he commanded that someone should teach him [Forqueray] the bass viol. It is a very difficult instrument. However, he profited so much from the lessons that he received, that at present . . . one finds few that equal him.[132]

It is not known who provided these lessons, which were clearly beneficial to the young Forqueray, but there is little reason to believe it was anyone other than Marin Marais—Marais was a prominent pedagogue, and had been viol teacher to Forqueray's father.[133]

One might imagine an underlying tension between the two supremely talented violists of the king (certainly many have), and though a rivalry between Forqueray and Marais is often alluded to, its substance remains dubious.[134]

---

[132] From the Mercure galant (April 1682), translated by Lucy Robinson. "Antoine Forqueray" *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 714.

[133] Vertrees Sadie, pp. 672–674.

[134] Ibid.

Whatever the status of their relationship, there does appear to be some one-upmanship in their history: Marais dedicated his second book of *pièces de viole* to the Duc d'Orléans, though it was Forqueray who provided his highness with private viol lessons, and though Forqueray did his best to ingratiate himself to the Elector of Bavaria, it was Marais who was invited by Louis XIV to perform for the esteemed visitor to Versailles (the Elector was so taken by Marais' skill that he was asked back after dinner to perform an encore.[135]

It was, perhaps, in an attempt to distinguish himself from Marais, that Forqueray embraced the influence of the Italians, specifically the virtuosity of the Italian violin school of Corelli, Torelli and Vivaldi. Le Blanc chides Forqueray for the extreme displays of virtuosity in his works, which conjure these Italians: "Forcrois [Forqueray] senior sometimes pushed himself forward too much, when he affected a whimsical, fantastic, bizarre manner, through the desire to rise too high, which he did not reconcile sufficiently with the interests of the viol."[136] Conversely, Le Blanc praises Forqueray for reconciliation of the two disparate national styles: "As a result of having heard Marais senior, Forcroi senior created a beautiful style . . . He then founded another school of playing sonatas in the most correct manner in which a sparkling sound resulted from a mature taste, reconciling French harmony to the resonance of Italian vocal melody."[137] This synthesis of

---

[135] Lucy Robinson. "Antoine Forqueray." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 714.

[136] Le Blanc, Trans. Garvey Jackson, p. 22

[137] Ibid.

French and Italian styles begs that comparison be made between Forqueray and Couperin, who operated in the same circles, and often performed together.[138] Is it worthy of note that Forqueray's name, and not Marais,' appears as the title of the proud and self-assured *Allemande "La Superbe ou la Forqueray"* in Couperin's third book of *pièces de clavecin* (1722).[139]

The relentless difficulty of Forqueray's *pièces* casts him in contrast with Marais, who had great concern for the accessibility of his music. And, while Marais was celebrated for his noble, gentle musical style, Forqueray earned notoriety for his dramatic, wild, and brash music. As summarized by Le Blanc, "Marais played like an angel, and Forqueray like the devil,"[140] Though, clearly, not everyone despised the synthesis of French and Italian styles in Forqueray's *pièces de viole:*

> He appeared to the world at the time when this swarm of Italians . . . roused astonishing rivalry in France. He wanted to do on the viol everything that they did on the violin; he succeeded, and moreover is so familiar with his instrument's singularities and the particular characteristics of the good Italian composers, that in all his pieces there is a certain wit and a certain pungency which is not found in Marais' pieces, even the most elaborate; the latter is content with natural grace, the other more *piquant*, more *recherché* . . . If there is

---

[138] Vertrees Sadie, p. 673.

[139] This movement is marked *Fierement, sans lenteur.*

[140] Le Blanc, p. 59.

> something to reproach for him, it is only for having made his pieces so difficult that only he and his son can perform them gracefully.[141]

It is difficult to differentiate the musical style of Forqueray senior from that of his son, Jean-Baptiste, as the only published examples of Antoine's music exist in the 1747 volume of works titled: *Pièces de viole avec la Basse Continuë Composée par Mr Forqueray Le Pere,* published two years posthumously by Jean-Baptiste. Simultaneously issued was a keyboard transcription of the same works, titled *Pièces de Viole Composées Par Mr Forqueray Le Pere, Mises en Pièces de Clavecin Par Mr Forqueray Le Fils.* Many scholars take the authorship described on the title page of these works at face value, but when compared to the four manuscript *Pièces de viole* by "Forcroi" (Antoine) which survive in the *Recueil de pièces de violle* (an anthology of *pièces de viol* copied during the latter years of Louis XIV's reign, which contains, in addition to the four works by "Forcroi," eighty pieces by Marais and nine by Caix d'Hervelois), the styles hardly reconcile.[142] The harmony of *Le Pere's* works found in the *Recueil* is rather straight forward, and displays modulations typical of his generation. Though the *Recueil* pieces possess a marked interest in virtuosity and the new Italian style, the 1747 *pièces* out-pace the *Recueil* works significantly in terms of harmony and idiom,

---

[141] *Mercure de France*, August 1738. Translation by Lucy Robinson, "Antoine Forqueray" *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 714.

[142] Vertrees Sadie, pp. 672–674.

with cadences in six or seven tonal centers per movement, heightened chromaticism, sequences of 7ths and 9ths, exploitation of high positions on all strings, striking contrasts in timbre, and wildly complicated chordal patterns.[143] The later works clearly resemble the Italianate violin music of Jean-Baptiste's colleagues, Leclair and Guignon.[144]

Lucy Robinson's examination of the 1747 publication, *Forqueray "Pièces de Viole" (Paris, 1747): An Enigma of Authorship between Father and Son,* puts forth the idea that, in an attempt to immortalize his father, Forqueray *Le Fils* adapted his father's works to suit the new taste in France for Italianate flash and flare.[145] Why Forqueray *Le Fils* would not want to publish the works in his own name, Robinson cannot surmise, though she is certain that the son composed more than just "the bass line," as stated in the *avertissement*. Whatever the case, it is unfortunate that, despite the indication in Antoine Forqueray's obituary of some three hundred works existing in his name, only the aforementioned works and a handful of manuscript sources survive.[146]

Increasingly in the 1730s and 40s, French nobility began to favor violin playing over that of the viol. Perhaps Jean-Baptist's 1747 publication of *pièces de*

---

[143] Robinson, Lucy. "Forqueray 'Pièces de Viole' (Paris, 1747): An Enigma of Authorship between Father and Son." *Early Music*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2006, pp. 259, 269.

[144] Robinson, Lucy. "Forqueray Pièces de Viole (1747): A Rich Source of Mid-Eighteenth-Century French String Technique." *Viola Da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 43, 2006, p. 6.

[145] Robinson, An Enigma of Authorship, pp. 259–76.

[146] See Mary Cyr's recently published edition: *Antoine Forqueray, Jean-Baptiste Forqueray, Michel Forqueray, Nicolas-Gilles Forqueray*. The Works. The Broude Trust, 2012.

viole, the amalgamation of his and his father's works, aimed to stifle the rise in popularity of the violin among his patronage. Indeed, in the dedication in this volume of thirty-two pieces to his student, Princess Henriette-Anne (1727-1752), J.B. Forqueray laments that "The Viole, in spite of its merits, has become a forgotten Species; your taste, Madame, can excite emulation from those who cultivate music."[147]

The contributions of Louis de Caix d'Hervelois (c.1675-c.1760) should also be mentioned in the discussion of the French violist composers, as he is one of the three members of Le Blanc's "Empire de Viole," accompanied by Marias and Forqueray.[148] Having never been employed by the king, Caix d'Hervelois garnered support from individual patrons, to whom he would dedicate his works as thanks. The five collections of *pièces de viole* published by Caix d'Hervelois between 1719 and 1748 are comprised of suites and sonatas for one and two solo viols, with figured bass accompaniment. Though the earlier of these works are written in the purely French style typical of Marais, the later works offer modest incorporations of the Italian style. Marais scholar Clyde H. Thompson observes that, while at his best in the small dance movements of his suites, Caix d'Hervelois misses the "grand conception and sureness of form" typical of Marais, and that the "excessive use of ornamentation combined with the artifices of virtuosity and over-stylized melody"

---

[147] Robinson, A Rich Source of Mid-Eighteenth-Century French String Technique, p. 6.

[148] Le Blanc, *Défense*, p. 29.

which "frequently create an atmosphere of preciousness" aided in the eventual demise of the French viol tradition.[149]

Sadly, the viol's once lofty position in France faded toward the middle of the eighteenth century. As summarized by James Anthony, "The adoption by viol composers of fashionable Italian clichés, on the one hand, and their retreat into ever more difficult performance practices, on the other, pulled post-Marais viol music in two directions at once and did nothing to stem its decline."[150] The flourishing in late seventeenth-century France of the instrumental virtuosi championed by Lully (via the transformation of how his resident musicians practiced and transmitted their music) in the interest of Louis XIV's desire for cultural hegemony, allowed the viol to attain its status as one of the pillars of the French instrumental style.[151] Marais became the epitome of this culture, celebrated for his skillful exploitation of the viol's tender nuance and subtlety, combined with displays of melodic and harmonic virtuosity.

---

[149] Thompson, Clyde H. "Caix d'Hervelois, Louis de." *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 3, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 610.

[150] Anthony, *French Baroque Music*, p. 403.

[151] Identified by Martin Cooper as the viol, *clavecin* and organ schools. Cooper, Martin. "France, I, 4: Art Music, "Gran siècle." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 748.

Chapter 3: The Cultural Influence of France in Germany, During and After Louis XIV's Reign

"Music has always been the passion of the greats; it is easy to make the proof, because today it reigns in the courts of all the princes of Europe, & principally in that of Louis the Great, the most powerful of the kings of the earth."[152]

Six Concerts
Avec plusieurs Instruments.
Dédiés
A Son Altesse Royalle
Monseigneur
CRETIEN LOUIS.
Marggraf de Brandenbourg &c. &c. &c.

GYMNASIO
REG. JOACHIM.
LEGAT. AB ILLU-
STRISS. PRINCIPIS
AMALIA

Pour tres-humble & tres obeissant Serviteur
Jean Sebastien Bach,
Maître de Chapelle de S. A. S. le
Prince regnant d'Anhalt-Cöthen.

Poss: Joh. Phil: Kirnberger.

Figure 3.1. The title page of the Brandenburg concertos (Köthen, 1721), written in Bach's own hand, reads *Six Concerts avec plusieurs Instruments*.

---

[152] Danoville, L'art de toucher le dessus et basse de violle, contestant tout ce qu'il y a de necessaire, d'utile, & de curieux dans cette science. Paris, 1687, Preface. *"La Musique a toûjours esté la passion des Grands; il est aisé d'en faire la preuve, puisqu'elle regne aujourd'huy dans les Cours de tous les Princes de l'Europe, & principalement dans celle de LOUIS LE GRAND, le plus puissant des roys de la terre."*

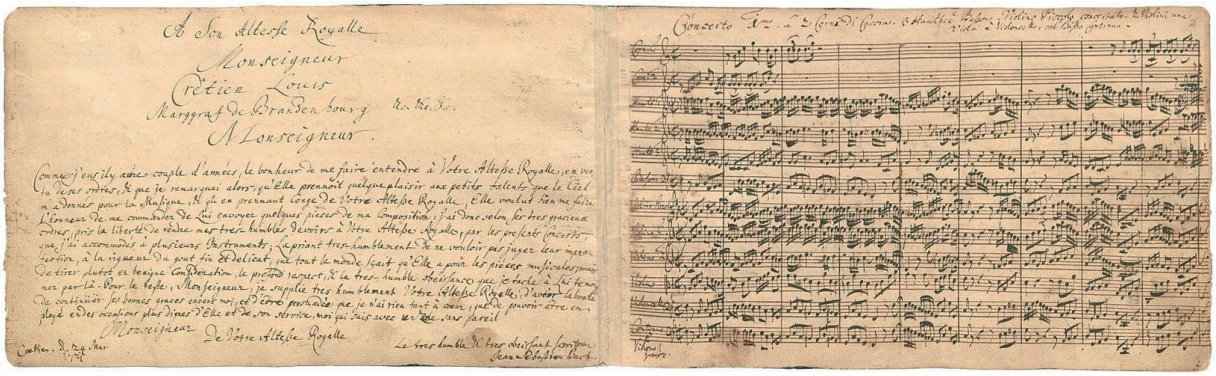


Figure 3.2. Dedication to the Margrave of Brandenburg,
written in Bach's hand (in French).[153]

The following chapter is dedicated to a discussion of the profound influence of French culture, especially music, in early eighteenth-century Germany, with particular attention to the spheres of influence surrounding J.S. Bach. As the Italian influence in Germany has been thoroughly documented and much discussed with regard to musical history, it is only referenced tangentially in this chapter. By omitting it from this discussion, I not mean to imply an absence of Italian musical presence or influence in Germany during this time period.

---

153 Geck, Martin. Johann *Sebastian Bach: Life and Work*. Harcourt, 2006, p.106. "Monseigneur, whereas I had the good fortune a few years ago to be heard by Your Royal Highness, at Your Highness's commands, and as I noticed then that Your Highness took some pleasure in the little talents which Heaven has given me for Music, and as in taking Leave of Your Royal Highness, Your Highness deigned to honour me with the command to send Your Highness some pieces of my Composition: I have in accordance with Your Highness's most gracious orders taken the liberty of rendering my most humble duty to Your Royal Highness with the present Concertos, which I have adapted to several instruments; begging Your Highness most humbly not to judge their imperfection with the rigor of that discriminating and sensitive taste, which everyone knows Him to have for musical works, but rather to take into benign Consideration the profound respect and the most humble obedience which I thus attempt to show him."

German Emulation of French Culture

Germany's central government had dissolved as a result of the Thirty Years War (1618-1648). Thereafter, the fractured Reich existed as over three hundred principalities, each with their own absolute ruler. In the words of Bach scholar Karl Geiringer, despite their often diminutive domains, each independent prince "wished to build his own Versailles and organize festivities that would emulate in magnificence and splendor those of the *roi soleil*." [154] French became the aristocratic language in Germany, and many members of the nobility prided themselves for speaking it as effortlessly as their mother tongue.[155] A letter from Sofia Wilhelmina, the Margravine of Bayreuth, to her brother, Frederick II, typifies the infatuation of the German nobility with France: "The language, wit and fashion of France, have found their chosen place at our court."[156]

While Versailles was already moving on to the Italian-influenced trio sonata popularized by Corelli's Op. 5 and Vivaldi's "*L'Estro Armonico,*" the small German courts were still in the thrall of all things French. The emulation of Gallic culture in Germany persisted through the middle of the eighteenth century. Thomas Campbell's *Frederick the Great and His Times* documents this phenomenon with a first-hand account of Frederick's grandfather's court in Berlin:

---

[154] Geiringer, Karl. *The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius*. Oxford University Press, 1954. p. 83.

[155] Fauchier-Magnan, pp. 30-32.

[156] Ibid.

> Most German courts are modeled after the French, and whoever wishes now-a-days to obtain an appointment in them must understand French, and above all, must have been in Paris . . . if not, he must not expect anything at court . . . When children, we have scarcely begun to talk, and are but four or five years old, they are sacrificed without mercy to the French Moloch: they are introduced to French Galantries, and their parents begun to think of a French language-master and dancing-master.[157]

Beginning in the mid seventeenth century, the French style of courtly dance (curated by Louis XIV and his *Académie royale de danse*), which embodied the essence of French culture in its truest sense, became highly favored in Germany. Just as Louis XIV understood the civilizing nature of courtly dance, German nobles, too, saw the advantages offered by French noble dance. To ease the trauma inflicted by the Thirty Years War, German courts sought French dance as a method to rebuild and recover their lost sense of social status and pride. Thus, French dancing masters went forth from Paris as a swarm, pollinating the courts of Europe with their French steps and French tunes, brought forth on their *pochette* violins.

These Parisians were employed all over Germany, to provide the instruction of proper dance techniques, the latest trends, and the compulsory social rituals of bowing, taking off one's hat and other such behaviors which had become essential

---

[157] Campbell, Thomas. *Frederick the Great and His Times*. Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, 1842, p. 52.

for anyone wishing to be presented in a German court. Bach would certainly have been familiar with these customs, as he was no stranger to courtly life.

Figure 3.3. Bonnard, Nicolas (1637-1718); engraver. "*Dancing Master,*" depicted as standing in fourth position, the favored position for portraits of Louis XIV. Inscription: "This dancer has a charming air, he attracts many caresses. One can see easily that his master has many mistresses."

Just as in France, dancing masters were the manners-makers of Germany. Social balls were held regularly at the aristocratic courts and also in market towns, such as Leipzig, and were enjoyed by commoners and nobles alike.[158] In addition to these balls, the higher-ranking courts held other elaborate events, such as plays, operas and ballets, all in the French style.

Figure 3.4. French *pochette*, or "pocket" violin, c.1700-1799, maple, ivory, ebony. Height: 41.9cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, accession number 89.4.2901. The Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments, 1889. The slim profile of these instruments made them suitable for transport; the name implies they were carried in a dancing masters' coat pocket.

---

[158] Little, Meredith, and Natalie Jenne. *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach, Expanded Edition*. Indiana University Press, 200l, p. 29.

J. S. Bach had ties to three of the most respected dancing masters in Germany: Johannes Pasch (1653-1710), Pantaleon Hebenstreit (1667-1750) and Jean-Baptiste Volumier (c.1670-1728). Pasch was raised in the Dresden court, where he began training in the art of *belle danse* in early childhood. Owing to his merit as a fine dancer, Pasch traveled to Paris on a regular basis for lessons with dancing master to Louis XIV, Pierre Beauchamps. Pasch enjoyed a career as dancing master in Leipzig, where he taught French social dance for forty years. Two treatises on French Dance were published by Pasch: *I.H.P Maître de Danse, Oder Tanz-Meister* (1705) and *Beschreibung wahrer Tanz-Kunst* (1707). The choreographies included in Pasch's works offer no difference to the steps created by Louis' *Académie,* indicating a clear enthusiasm in Germany for French choreography.[159]

In addition to being a dancing master, Panteleon Hebenstreit was a virtuoso of violin and of an instrument of his own invention, the *Pantaleon*, which was a rather oversized dulcimer. Hebenstreit began his career (after several missteps related to debt evasion) as dancing master in Leipzig, before accepting a position as court dancing master to Duke Johann Georg of Weissenfels. In 1705 he visited Paris, where he performed for Louis XIV, who was quite taken with the *Pantaleon* and its inventor.[160] Hebenstreit moved to the court of Eisenach (Bach's birthplace)

---

[159] Ibid., p. 33.

[160] Härtwick, Dieter. "Hebenstreit, Pantaleon." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, p. 426.

in 1706, where he was dancing master to the children of Duke Johann Wilhelm, before forming the musical establishment of which Telemann would later become director in 1708, and *Kapellmeister* in 1709.[161] Telemann praised Hebenstreit for his virtuosity on both violin and *Pantaleon*, and for his mastery of the French style (this mastery might be attributed to Hebenstreit's three-month visit to Jean-Baptiste Volumier in Berlin c.1697).[162] In 1714 Hebenstreit joined the court *Kapelle* of Dresden as chamber musician and Pantaleonist, earning an unusually high salary of 1200 thalers per year.[163] Of his known works, there were ten suites for orchestra (which were sadly destroyed in 1944), each complete with a Lullian French overture.[164]

Belgian-born Jean-Baptiste Volumier was raised in the resplendent French court of Louis XIV. Volumier enjoyed a fruitful and varied career as a violinist, dancing master, and eventually *Konzertmeister* in Berlin, before relocating to Dresden in 1709, where he resumed mostly the same responsibilities. Bach and Volumier were close friends; it was Volumier who instigated the infamous musical duel between J.S. Bach and French keyboard virtuoso Louis Marchand (who was engaged in an extensive German musical tour, performing for the emperor and

---

[161] Ibid., p. 427.

[162] Telemann, George Philipp. *Autobiographie 1718, 1729, 1739.* Republished by Karl-Maria Guth, Berlin, 2017, p. 17. "*Monsieur Panlon, sage ich hatte nebst der Frantzösischen Music und Composition eine ungemeine Geschicklichkeit woraus ich mehr Vortheil goschöpfet als ich hier anzuführen vermögend bin.*"

[163] Härtwick, *Grove,* vol. 8, p. 426.

[164] Ibid., p. 427.

members of the nobility) during Bach's 1717 visit to the Dresden court. The anecdote of Bach's victory, (Marchand fled after the first of the two-day competition, for fear of total defeat, under early morning's cover of darkness),[165] points toward Bach's high measure of skill and ease in the French style of keyboard playing.[166] In fact, according Jakob Adlung, Bach played Marchand's own works for him "in his own way, that is, very rapidly and artfully."[167] Marchand's intimidation speaks volumes; being one of the most prestigious keyboardists in all of France, he presented a worthy opponent for Bach, and surely would not have embarrassed himself—his skill had earned him much fame in France, including a position at Versailles as an *organistes du roi* in 1708.[168]

In keeping with the demand in Germany for Lullian, French-style music, German *Kapellen* increasingly began to resemble French orchestras. Ensembles increased their volume of string players, especially violinists and violists (suggesting Lullian-style five-voice textures), and added French oboists, flutists and bassoonists to their ranks.[169] Increasingly, court musicians became listed in

---

[165] Moroney, Davitt. "*A Germanic* Art de Toucher le Clavecin, *or a French* Wahre Art?" *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe,* edited by Christopher Hogwood, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 116.

[166] Schulze, Hanz-Joachim. "French Influences on Bach's Instrumental Music." *Early Music,* vol. 13, no. 2, 1985, p. 182.

[167] Adlung, Jakob. *Anleitung, zu der musikalischen Gelahrheit*. Erfurt, 1758, translated by Davitt Moroney in "A Germanic Art de Toucher le Clavecin, or a French Wahre Art?" p. 118.

[168] Higginbottom, Edward. "Marchand, Louis." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 656.

[169] Spitzer, John, and Neal Zaslaw. *The Birth of the Orchestra: History of an Institution*, *1650-1815*. Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 221.

records as single-instrument specialists, rather than in general terms such as "*Instrumentisten*" or "*Musiker.*"[170] As summarized by Neal Zaslaw and John Spitzer, "Occasionally, at one or another German court, these new traits emerge so rapidly and so distinctly that a modern observer seems once again, as in Lully's Paris or Corelli's Rome, to witness the birth of the orchestra."[171]

Celle

"The court of Celle . . . is completely French."[172]

As a student at the *Michaelisschule* in Lüneburg (1700-1702), Bach would have been exposed to French language and culture by way of his aristocratic colleagues in attendance at the adjacent *Ritterakademie* or "Knights Academy," a boarding school dedicated to the education of noble youth. The *Ritterakademie*, which shared faculty, classrooms and facilities with the *Michaelisschule*, was a center of French culture in Germany. French was the obligatory spoken language

---

[170] Ibid.

[171] Ibid.

[172] Glozier, Matthew, and David Onnekink. "War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713." *Routledge*, 2017, p. 195. "The Dutchman Constantijn Huygens reported in June 1680 in his travel diary that Frenchmen would stand in the highest favour at the court of Georg Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, due to the influence of the Duchess, Eleonore Desmier d'Olbreuse. The court lists from that time reveal how many French people were present in Celle; although not all of them were Huguenots, most of them were. Whilst it would undoubtedly be too simplistic to think of the Celle Huguenot refuge primarily as a court community, nevertheless even those Huguenots who were not directly involved with the court found their lives entangled with it. The numerous French people in Celle offered the possibility of opening up Georg Wilhelm's court to French culture, which had become the model for the princes of Europe, not least because of the splendour of the court of the 'Sun King,' Louis XIV."

at the school, which was also known for its productions of French operas and plays.[173] According to the obituary written by Carl Philipp Emmanuel Bach, the young Johann Sebastian's time in Lüneburg provided him "the opportunity to go and listen several times to a then famous band kept by the Duke of Celle, consisting for the most part of Frenchmen."[174] Scholars suggests it was *Kapelle* violinist Thomas la Selle (a former student of Lully who also served as dancing master to the *Ritterakademie*) who, based on the young man's musical talent, first brought Bach to the court of Celle to hear the French *Kapelle*.[175]

The court at Celle, ruled by Duke Georg Wilhelm and his second wife, Eleonore d'Olbreuse (1639-1722, a Huguenot of French nobility) became a "veritable French colony" after the edict of 1684, which welcomed French Huguenots to the duchy.[176] A patron of the arts, Dutchess d'Olbreuse brought with her to Celle a company of French artisans to beautify her court and an entourage of Frenchmen to inhabit it.

---

[173] Marshall, Robert L., and Traute M. Marshall. *Exploring the World of J. S. Bach: A Traveler's Guide*. University of Illinois Press, 2016. p. 24.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Little and Jenne, p. 4.

[176] Marshall, and Marshall. *Exploring the World of J. S. Bach,* p. 24.

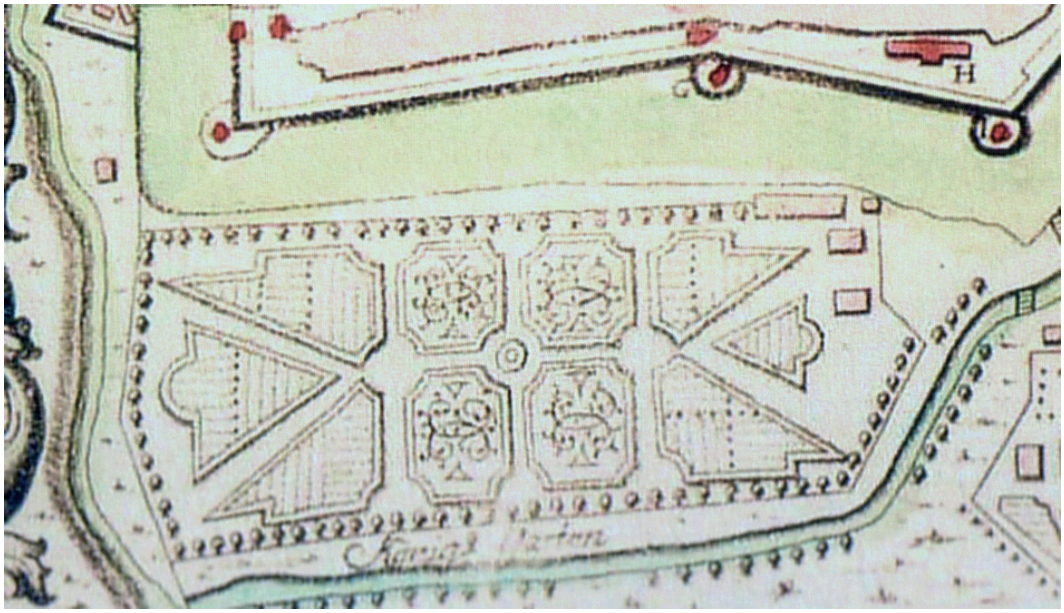


Figure 3.5. Plans for the French Garden *(Französischer Garten*) in Celle, designed and maintained by French gardeners Henri Péronnet (from 1670) and René Dahuron (from 1680-1701) in the service of Duke George William.

Referred to as a "miniature Versailles" by Geiringer, Celle was home to French theatre, music and dance. Together with the court of Hanover, (which was praised by the *Mercure galant* for adopting "so galantly all the manners and customs of France"), the Duke and Duchess of Celle shared a Lullian-styled band of twenty-four violins.[177] Combined, the two courts employed forty-five French musicians in their *Kapellen* between 1666 and 1727.[178] Duke Wilhelm of Celle hosted an "unending" series of concerts and *divertissements* fashioned after those

[177] Mercure galant, April 1681.

[178] Delpech, Louis. "French Musicians in Northern Germany (1660-1730): Questions of Method." *Nomadic Music: Objects, Networks, Routes*, vol. 26, 2015, pp. 57–73. Open Edition, doi:10.4000/diasporas.406.

of Louis XIV, which must have been of the highest artistic standard, as records indicate significant financial investment (14,000 thalers were spent on entertainment in 1690 alone).[179] There, Bach likely encountered the music of Lully, performed by the magnificent French orchestra, and the French keyboard music of François Couperin, Nicolas de Grigny, and Charles Dieupart.[180]

André Pirro, in *The Aesthetics of Jean-Sébastian Bach* (1907), posits that it was Celle's court organist Charles Gaudon who first introduced Bach to the French keyboard aesthetic, though Spitta, in his seminal biography, argues that the influence of Georg Böhm (1661-1733), organist at the principal church in Lüneburg, is not to be overlooked: "Böhm was more than merely superficially touched by the influence of the French, as is proved more particularly by his love for ornate embellishments and florid treatment of melodic passages; and if he did not precisely arouse Bach's desire to make acquaintance with French music, he no doubt must have strengthened it."[181] Pirro suggests, too, that Bach might have gained access to French musical manuscripts brought by the Huguenot refugees to Lüneberg and Celle.[182]

---

[179] Geiringer, Karl. *The Bach Family,* p. 126.

[180] "Christoph Wolff, "Bach, III: (7) Johann Sebastian, 2: Lüneburg" *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. I, p. 787

[181] Pirro, André. *The Aesthétic of Jean-Sébastian Bach*. Paris, 1907, translated by Joseph Armstrong, Macmillan Publishers, 2014, p. 422; Spitta, Philipp. *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*. Translated by Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller Maitland, vol. I, London, Novello and Company, 1899.
pp. 202-203.

[182] Pirro, p. 424

According to Wolff, Bach's keyboard suites "reflected, from the very beginning, a deliberate attempt to integrate genuine French elements into this quintessential courtly-French genre."[183] Indeed, the so-called "English Suites" (BWV 806), from the end of Bach's Weimar period, are unmistakably French in style and character, and also exhibit a consistent use of French markings; the title page reads: *Prelude avec les suites. Composée par Giov. Bast. Bach.* [184]

There is strong evidence to suggest that Bach's keyboard ornaments are derived from the French *clavecin* school, Couperin in particular. Edward Lockspeiser, in his article *French Influences on Bach*, writes "Bach must have been well acquainted with Couperin's harpsichord music. The resemblance between Bach's and Couperin's *maniérés* is striking."[185] Lockspeiser continues with an elegant explanation for the lack of notated ornamental figures in Bach's music: whereas in Couperin's *pièces de clavecin* ornaments are "an added grace," in Bach's music they become "fused" with the melody:[186] "Ornamentation grew into design and the frills that covered the pegs of the notes became an essential part of

---

[183] Wolff, Christoph. *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*. Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 182.

[184] This title comes from the curious annotation "*fait pour les Anglais*" (made for the English) written in the copy of Bach's youngest son, Johann Christian. Nicolaus Forkel writes that, in light of this dedication, these earliest keyboard suites must have been "composed for an Englishman of rank." Alfred Dürr, in "The Historical Background of the Composition of Johann Sebastian Bach's 'Clavier' Suite, Part I," *Bach*, 1985, suggests, instead, that these suites were not written for any one individual, but are simply in the style of famous French keyboardist Charles (François) Dieupart, who was quite active in London in the early eighteenth century.

[185] Lockspeiser, *French Influences on Bach,* p. 315.

[186] Ibid.

figuration."[187] A fine example of this is found in the *Allemande* of Bach's sixth cello suite, BWV 1012, which is so laden with written-out ornaments, it could easily function as the double of a nude version of itself.

Bach owned handwritten copies of Nicolas de Grigny's *Livre d'Orgue*, which, interestingly, includes d'Anglebert's ornament table.[188] Bach also possessed two keyboard suites of Dieupart. Of this influence, Edward Dannreuther, in *Musical Ornamentation,* says:

> There can be no doubt that Bach took many a hint from Dieupart. There is an unmistakable flavour of Bach in Dieupart's *Allemandes*, *Courantes* and *Gigues* and the slow portions of Dieupart's *Ouvertures* shadow forth similar movements of Bach's—thus the *Ouverture* to the Partita in B minor, for a harpsichord with two keyboards, the companion piece to the Italian Concerto, Clavieruebung II, is simply Dieupart transfigured and glorified.[189]

Bach's affinity for French keyboard ornaments is also evidenced in the decorative writing found in the two *Notenbücher* for Anna Magdalena (1722, 1725) and the *Clavier-Büchen für Wilhelm Friedemann* (1720), which includes an amalgamation of d'Anglebert and Dieupart's ornament table.[190] Further evidence of Bach's

---

[187] Ibid., pp. 315, 319.

[188] Schulenberg, David. *The Keyboard Music of J.S. Bach*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2006, p. 165.

[189] Dannreuther, Edward. *Musical Ornamentation: From Diruta to J.S. Bach*. Vol. 1, London, 1893, p. 138

[190] Schulenberg, p. 165.

familiarity with Couperin is seen in the Rondeau found in Anna Magdalena's *Notenbuch,* which is actually a copy of F. Couperin's *Les Bergeries.*[191] Bach's pupil, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, taught Couperin's *pièces* to his pupils, in apparent emulation of Bach's pedagogical practices.[192]

Examples of the young J.S. Bach's French influences are found in the "Möller Manuscript" and the "Andreas Bach Book," two volumes of works compiled by Bach's elder brother Johann Christoph. These volumes contain the earliest sources of Bach's compositions, and include works of many Northern German composers such as Reincken, Böhm and Buxtehude, along with examples of the French masters Lully (Möller Manuscript, *Chaconne* in G major from *Phaëton*) and Marais (Andreas Bach Buch, *Suite d'Alcide*) as keyboard transcriptions. In collections of works compiled by Bach's students for their own teaching, there appear many pieces of Bach's, alongside works of the French keyboardists Marchand, Nivers, d'Anglebert, Dieupart, and Clérambault, suggesting that the study of the French *clavecin* school was an essential element of Bach's own teaching.[193]

If Bach showed interest in the styles of the French keyboardists, might his interest have extended to French violists as well?

---

[191] Lockspeiser, French Influence on Bach, p. 319.

[192] *Dokumente zum Nachwirken Johann Sebastian Bachs: 1750-1800*. Edited by Hans-Joachim Schulze, Barenreiter, 1972, p. 473.

[193] Spitta, Philipp. *Johann Sebastian Bach,* p. 202.

Other Frenchified German Courts

Celle was not the only German court to have earned the accolade of "Miniature Versailles." The former hunting-castle-turned-baroque-palace of Schwetzingen was home to an orangery, a temple dedicated to Apollo, a five hundred seat court theatre, and acres of French-inspired gardens (designed by Nicolas de Pigage) which rivaled those of Versailles. Voltaire visited the court of Schwetzingen on more than one occasion, the longest of which (a fortnight) is documented in Stephen Tallentyre's *The life of Voltaire*: "The Elector fetched him to Schwetzingen . . . the gayest and most charming of little Courts . . . There were *fêtes* and concerts . . . four plays of his were acted."[194]

Though certainly not "mini," the style of the palace at Mannheim had its roots firmly planted in France. Construction of the palace, designed by French architects Jean-Louis de Froimont, and Guillaume Hauberat (former pupil of French royal architect Robert de Cotte), with the initial plans by Louis Rémy de La Fosse, began in 1720 and was completed in 1731.[195] The *Elektor* Karl III Philip had the palace built to rival the size of Versailles, going so far as to include exactly one window more than Louis XIV's magnum opus.[196] The palace's centerpiece, a *cour d'honneur*, certainly evokes its muse:

---

[194] Tallentyre, Stephen G. *The Life of Voltaire*. Vol. 1, G. P. Putnams's Sons, 1910, p. 289.

[195] Heartz, Daniel. *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style*, 1720-1780. W.W. Norton & Company, 2003. p. 495.

[196] Ibid.

Figure 3.6. *Cour d'Honneur*, Palace of Mannheim.

Figure 3.7. *Cour d'Honneur*, Palace of Versailles.

Prince Ernst Ludwig of Darmstadt traveled to France with his brother and two of their court violinists on his *Kavaliersreise,* spending six months in Paris over the winter of 1685.[197] After witnessing the premier of Lully's *Acis et Galatée* in Paris (1686), an inspired Prince Ernst Ludwig sought and secured five French musicians for his *Hofkapelle,* which, according to his desire, was to fully embrace

[197] Fauchier-Magnan. *The Small German Courts*, p. 33. "The powerful German race had no instinct for gracefulness. It had to find it abroad. Thus, from the end of the seventeenth century a European journey for every well-bred young German who would be called upon to hold an important position was an essential feature of a good education. This journey, known as the 'knight's tour,' usually consisted of a visit to England, Holland, Spain and Italy, but most particularly France."

the French style.[198] In 1687, the Prince proudly staged *Acis et Galatée* at his own residence.[199] Of the new members of the Darmstadt *Kapelle* was Parisian-trained virtuoso violist August Kühnel (1645-c.1700), in addition to violinists J.B. Tayault, P.F. Demoll, F.J. Etienne, and F. Dubois.[200] It is not known with whom Kühnel studied in Paris, but it is not absurd to imagine the works of Marais (whose pupils were required to perform the complete cycle of his *pièces de viole* every two weeks) being performed in Darmstadt, and at the courts of Kühnel's later positions in Weimar, Dresden, and Hesse-Kassel.[201]

Ernst Ludwig was evidently quite fond of the music from the French viol tradition. Following Kühnel's departure in 1688, the landgrave appointed young but promising violist Ernst Christian Hesse (1676-1762) to his *Hofkapelle* in 1694. As an investment in the young musician, the landgrave sent Hesse on a three-year excursion to Paris, beginning in 1698, where Hesse would study with masters Marin Marais and Antoine Forqueray. In the anecdote told by Johann Adam Hiller in the *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit,* Hesse, wishing to avoid conflict, introduced himself to one master as "*Monsieur*

---

[198] Kramer, Ursula. "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt." *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, edited by Samantha Owens et al., Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011, p. 335.

[199] Spitzer. The Birth of the Orchestra. p. 223.

[200] Ibid.

[201] Le Blanc, Hubert. *Defense,* Amsterdam, 1740, translated by Barbara Garvey Jackson in the *Viola da Gamba Society of America Journal,* vol. 10, p. 16.

Sachs" and to the other as "*Monsieur* Hesse."[202] The *gigue* was up when, "On one occasion Marais and Forqueray wanted their respective favorite pupils to be heard and compete one against the other, in a concert expressly organized for that purpose. You can imagine their astonishment when they found their two pupils united in one and the same person."[203] Though charming, this story is most useful as proof, beyond doubt, that Hesse did, indeed, study with the best violists ever to grace France. Upon his return from Paris, Hesse was engaged in extensive European concert tours, and was promoted to *Kapelldirektor* of Darmstadt in 1707.[204] Hesse concertized in Hamburg, the Netherlands, London, Dresden, and Vienna, where he was highly praised by Emperor Joseph I.[205]

The Calenberg court in Hanover had strong musical ties to the Frenchified courts of Dresden and Berlin.[206] Hanover was governed, for a time, by Georg Wilhelm, who resided there from 1648, and married Eléonore Desmiers d'Olbreuse in 1664—one year before moving to Celle, which would become one of the most Gallicized courts in all of Germany. Hanover was then governed by Johann Friedrich (1625-1679), followed by Ersnt August (1629-1698). Ernst August's son,

---

[202] Hiller, Johann Adam. Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit. Leipzig, 1784, p. 167. Translation by Michael O'Loghlin, Frederick the Great and his Musicians: The Viola da Gamba Music of the Berlin School. Routledge, 2017, p. 167.

[203] Ibid.

[204] Noak, Elisabeth. "Hesse, Ernst Christian." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 536.

[205] Ibid.

[206] In addition to sharing a twenty-four-piece violin band à la Louis XIV with the court of Celle, Hanover shared "dynastic connections" with Berlin, and shared musical resources with Dresden.

Georg Ludwig I (1660-1727), who would become King George of England in 1714, inherited the court in 1698. Duchess Sofia of Hanover (wife of Ernst August) was inspired by the luxury of Le Nôtre's gardens at Versailles, which she visited frequently. She expanded the existing Hanover court grounds, commissioning French gardener Martin Charbonnier to create the magnificent *Große Garten* of Herrenhausen, one of the most distinguished baroque gardens in Europe.[207] The gardens of Herrenhausen bore a marked resemblance to those of Versailles: there was a robust orangery (home to many exotic trees and plants); a network of ornate fountains, often placed in the center of geometric diagonally connected bosquets; and the grounds, ornamented with statues in the form of ancient mythological deities, were home to a garden theater.[208]

---

[207] Gollwitzer, Gerda. "Great Garden at Hanover Returns to Original Design." *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, vol. 66, no. 3, 1976, p. 231.

[208] Ibid. pp. 232, 235-236.

Figure 3.8. Unknown. *Maison de plaisir d'Herrenhausen*. c. 1708.

According to the research of Erik Albertyn, the period from 1689 to 1714 marks the most fruitful years of the Hanover *Kapelle*. Of the ensemble, Telemann wrote in his autobiography: "from Hannover and Braunschweig, where I was frequently a visitor for special festivals and fairs and otherwise as well, I was given the opportunity to learn how to distinguish between the French style on the one hand and the theatrical style on the other," implying that the court of Hanover was

of French musical persuasion.[209] Courtly instrumental activity in Hanover (like in most early-eighteenth century German courts) was ill-documented; concerts did not have printed programs, and were often performed in informal settings, and court records indicate lists of instrumentalists without names. Furthermore, the *Herrenhaus*, where music was kept and performed, was destroyed during Allied bombing in World War II. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain the particulars of Hanover's musical life.

There was an Italian opera company in Hanover for roughly a decade, though in 1698 the ensemble was transformed into a French-styled court orchestra, comprised of mostly French musicians. For this ensemble, court composers wrote opera, *comédie-ballets* and orchestral suites. Albertyn has attempted to piece together a "picture of routine activities at court" through the lens of the French orchestral suites of Hanover, of which he has discovered many examples, including three sets of suites entitled *Erstlinge musikalischer Blumen* by Clamor Friedrich Abel (1634-1696), court violist of Hanover and Celle, and father to Christian Ferdinand Abel, colleague of Bach in Köthen. Abel's suites are comprised of *Preludes* which resemble French overtures, with slow introductions followed by quick fugato sections; these are followed by the typical French noble dance movements. It is of particular interest that the third set of Abel's suites contains a

---

[209] Telemann, Georg Philipp. *Georg Philipp Telemann: His Autobiography*. Hamburg, 1718. Translated by Thomas Braatz, 2009, p. 5.

part scored for scordatura viol, as indicated in the preface. Unfortunately, the viol part book is lost.

Many more orchestral suites from Hanover's ripest musical period are implied in Jean-Baptiste Farinelly's (1655-1720) *Livre pour la Flûte*, an educational collection of works compiled between 1697 and 1706. Previously thought to be flute concertos, Albertyn's work has proved that many of the selections in this volume are actually flute parts from larger French-styled instrumental ensemble suites composed by Farinelly, Stephan Valoix, Venturini and several anonymous composers. Farinelly, *Maître des Concerts* of the Hanover *Kapelle* from 1680 to 1713, played a significant role in the musical milieu of Hanover. In addition to composing court dances, he was also known to appear on stage in *comédie-ballets*. An Overture-Suite by Stephan Valoix, existing in a volume of operatic arias and solo cantatas, dated 1689, also survives from Hanover. History holds few details of Mr. Valoix (Valois, de Valois, Valow, de Valloy, Valox, Veloyes), save that the talented Parisian was a violinist, dancer, actor, and composer of ballets in Mannheim before assuming the same duties at the court of Hanover, c.1680.

The anonymous *12 Concerts en Partition,* a volume of orchestral suites found in the Darmstadt library collection, can also be attributed to the court of Hanover. Owing to Albertyn's scholarship, it is evident, even when observed through the narrow scope of the orchestral suite, there was a rich musical tradition at the court of Hanover, keenly influenced by the French suite genre.[210]

---

[210] Albertyn, Erik. "The Hanover Orchestral Repertory, 1672-1714: Significant Source Discoveries." *Early Music*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2005, p. 449-467.

Of course, it would be a mistake to omit Hanover's most notable court composer, George Friedrich Handel (1685-1759), who resided there from 1710 to 1712. Though Italian styles are more immediately apparent (and more often noted) in Handel's music, his works bear many marks of French influence as well. In the charming words of Charles Cudworth, "Handel [spoke] his German, French and English with a strong Italian accent."[211] Cudworth puts forth the idea that in the distinctively "Frenchifyed" works of Handel, performers would do well to observe and pay mind to the "peculiar" conventions of the Gallic style: "[one would be] foolish to ignore the power of the double dot in the performance of his great French overtures or the sly introduction of a *coulé* or a note *inégales* in the execution of his gavottes and minuets."[212] This sentiment is reinforced by John Byrt, who advocates in his essay *Alteration in Handel: A Fresh Approach* for the use of the French style of *Notes Inégales* in pertinent works of Handel.[213]

Handel's most French moments appear in his operatic overtures, which are modeled on Lully's slow-fast-slow template.[214] These are always donned with the appropriate French spelling (*ouverture),* and typically use the French *lentement* at the return of the slow sections, which dutifully manifest Lully's hallmark dotted

---

[211] Cudworth, Charles. "Handel and the French Style." *Music & Letters*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1959, p. 131.

[212] Ibid., pp. 122, 131.

[213] Byrt, John. "Alteration in Handel: A Fresh Approach." *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 1, 2001, pp. 194–219.

[214] Cudworth, pp. 122-123.

rhythms (Cudworth suggests these would be best executed in the traditional French manner of double-dotting).[215] Many of Handel's overtures contain French dance numbers (a practice typical in German productions of Italian opera); the most prominent example is found in the overture of Handel's *Rodrigo* (1707), which contains a strain of eight French dances: *Gigue, Sarabande, Matelot, Menuet, Bourrée I, Bourrée II, Menuet,* and *Passacaille*. It is intriguing that in the same year in which Bach is supposed to have composed his suites for unaccompanied cello—which are so reminiscent of the French tradition of *Pièces de viole*—Handel puts forth his *Suites de Pièces pour le Clavecin.*

The free imperial city of Hamburg has been called the "Venice of the North," for its many beautiful canals. Venetian Opera was likely an early influence for the musical institution in Hamburg, however, surviving French librettos and scores of simple, binary dance-arias cause scholar George J. Bulow to suggest that the Opera in Hamburg (founded in 1678) was only "superficially" Italian.[216] Documented performances of Lully's *Acis et Galatée* and *Achille et Polixène* underline the "strong influence of French opera in Hamburg."[217] In addition to performances of Lully's operas, Bulow's work emphasizes the French influence displayed in operas of lesser-known German composers performed in Hamburg:

---

[215] Ibid.

[216] Bulow, George J. "Opera in Hamburg 300 Years Ago." *The Musical Times*, vol. 119, no. 1619, 1978, p. 27.

[217] Ibid.

"the few surviving examples of opera in Hamburg during the late seventeenth century clearly show a striking resemblance of French musical style . . ."[218]

Another French connection in Hamburg exists in Georg Friedrich Telemann (1681-1767), German composer and multi-instrumentalist (Telemann was a performer of French instruments such as the transverse flute, oboe, viol and chalumeau, in addition to being a fine violinist and keyboardist).[219] In addition to the surviving trove of solo and chamber music by Telemann (including a solo viola da gamba sonata, TWV 40:1, Hamburg, 1728, and fifteen recently discovered fantasies for unaccompanied viol, Hamburg, 1735), his many staged works prove that he was a prolific composer for the opera in Hamburg, producing some twenty there between 1721-1738.[220] Telemann is remembered as the most celebrated composer of his generation; in *Telemann and the French Style Revisited*, Ian Payne attributes the composer's success to his "complete mastery of *le goût français* of Lully and his disciples."[221] Of his earliest French influences, Telemann writes in his autobiography (1718):

> In 1704 I accepted an appointment as court conductor/music director in Sorau, where His Excellency Count Erdmann von Promnitz

---

[218] Ibid. Bulow cites the following works: Franck's *Don Pedro oder Die abgestrafte Eifersucht* (1679), *Die drei Töchter Cecrops* (1680), Quinault's *Alceste* (1680), Strungk's *Theseus* (1693), and John Georg Conradi's *Adriadne* (1691).

[219] Telemann, trans. Braatz, p. 6.

[220] Bulow, p. 27.

[221] Payne, Ian. "Telemann and the French Style Revisited: Transformative Imitation in the Ensemble Suites (TWV 55)." *Bach*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2006, pp. 45–80.

> resided. The splendid character of this court which had been furnished in a truly royal manner moved me to undertake enterprising projects enthusiastically, particularly in regard to instrumental pieces of which I chose exquisite *ouvertures*, with their accompanying movements, because the count had recently returned from France and had grown to love this type of music. I obtained scores by Lully, Campra and other good composers and shifted my efforts to concentrate almost completely on the same style of composition which they represented so that, over a period of two years, I had composed about 200 *ouvertures* in this style.[222]

While Telemann remains coy about the identities of the "other good composers" referenced, Payne presents two first-generation German "Lullists" as candidates: Georg Muffat and Johann Sigmund Kusser (1660-1727). French-born Muffat was one of the most significant importers of French music to Germany. Having studied in Paris from 1663 to 1669, Muffat absorbed Lully's quintessentially French *goût*, and synthesized it into his *Florilegium* collections (two volumes of French-styled instrumental ensemble suites, published in Passau). *Florilegium Secundum* is prized for its lengthy preface, rife with information regarding French styles and performance practices. Kusser, like Muffat, studied with Lully in Paris and also at Versailles, between the years of 1674 and 1680. Kusser's *Composition de musique* (1682) contains the first German orchestral suites to include French overtures, an

---

[222] Telemann, trans. Braatz, p. 9.

example followed by Muffat in his suites several years later.[223] The five-part string textures of Kusser's *Composition de musique* and Muffat's *Florilegium* closely resemble Lully's orchestration for twenty-four violins.[224]

Hamburg was also home to luthier Joachim Tielke (1641-1719), who Georg Kinsky declares in his *Katalog des Musikhistorischen Museums von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln* (1912) as "the most eminent and most fabulous lute and viol maker of his time."[225] Of the one hundred and thirty-nine instruments of Tielke which survive (including lutes, theorbos, violins, guitars, barytons, and violes d'amore), there are forty-seven viols and three *pochette* violins.[226] The work of Friedemann Hellwig examines the likelihood that Tielke did not craft these *pochettes*, but, instead, was a German merchant of Parisian *pochettes* made by Jacques Regnaut, indicating a demand for French instruments in Germany.[227]

---

[223] Wollenberg, Susan. "Georg Muffat." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 12, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 761.

[224] Ibid.

[225] Kinsky, Geor. *Katalog des Musikhistorischen Museums von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln,* vol. II, Cöln, 1912, p. 275.

[226] Hellwig, Friedemann. "Hamburg and Paris: Joachim Tielke's Pochettes." *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 62, 2009, p. 183; Hellwig, Günther. "Joachim Tielke." *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 17, 1964, p. 28.

[227] Ibid., p. 190.

Figure 3.9 Teilke viol 1696, Hamburg, Germany.

Figure 3.10. Weidmann, Friedrich Wilhelm. *Frederick I of Prussia* (1701). Oil on Canvas. Schloss Friedrichshof. Note the position of the feet.

Despite his political opposition to France, Elector Frederick III of Prussia (1657-1713) was enamored of French culture. With assistance from his second wife, Queen Sofia Charlotte of Hanover, Frederick lavishly styled Berlin's court after the splendor of Louis XIV's Versailles, nearly bankrupting the state in the process.[228] In the colorful words of Richard Cavendish, the Berlin court is described: "French was the first language, French etiquette was *de rigeur* and the king trotted about in high heeled red shoes and a long wig to hide his hump, spending money like water, and doing his best to emulate Louis XIV."[229] The self-promotion of Elector Frederick III to Frederick I King in Prussia (there could be no King of Prussia, as Brandenburg belonged to the Empire) was largely in response to Louis' grandeur.

---

[228] Heartz, Daniel. *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2003. p. 354.

[229] Cavendish, Richard. "The Kingdom of Prussia Is Founded." *History Today*, vol. 51, no. 1, Jan. 2001, p. 27.

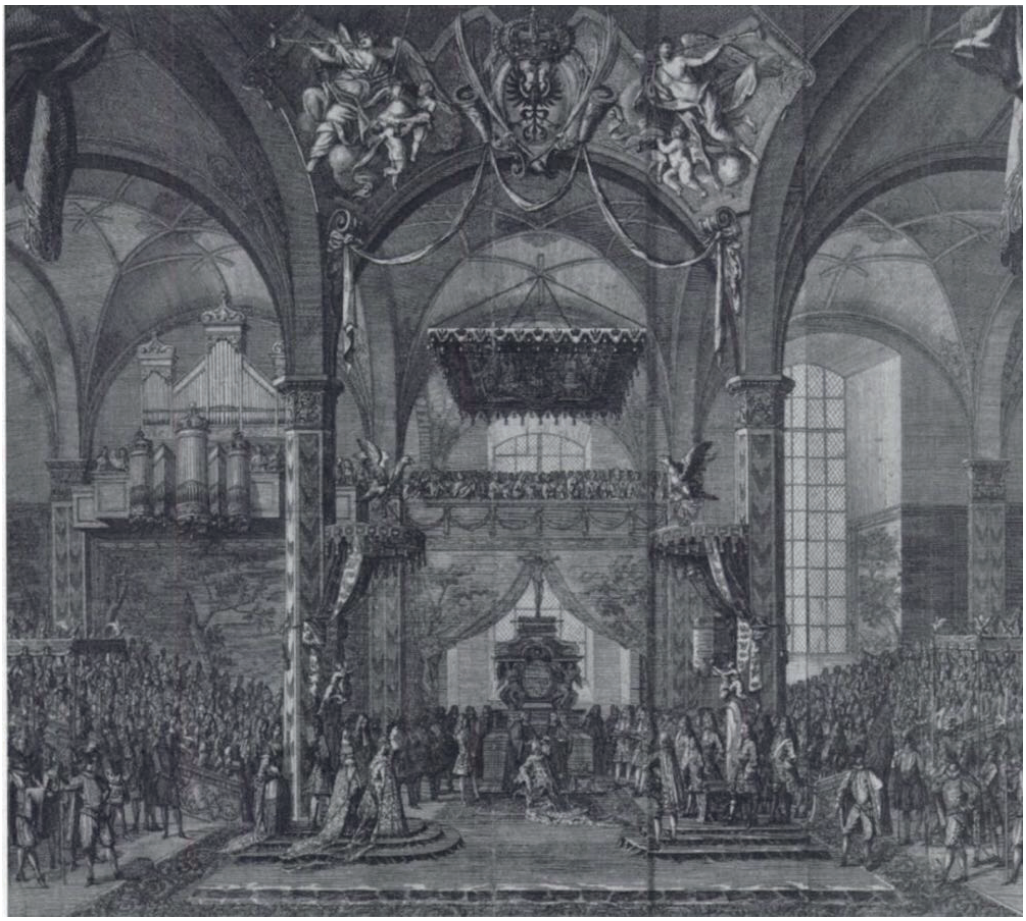


Figure 3.11. Merian, Matthaeus. *Theatrum Europaeum; Coronation of Elector Frederick III of Brandenburg as King Frederick I in Prussia. Königsburg, 1701.* Copper Engraving. Daniel Schneider, 1708. Note the large band of musicians in the upper gallery.

Due to the beautification efforts of "Frederick I" and his wife, Berlin was transformed into a truly baroque city—a magnet for artists and intellectuals. Thomas Campbell writes in *Frederick the Great, His Court and Times*, of the "general mania" in the court of Frederick I, which prevailed among all monarchs

of this time, for imitating Louis XIV: "among their subjects, as well as themselves . . . aping the manners and dress of the French, whose language was the only one spoken by educated persons. In this regard, indeed, Louis may have been said to have realized his scheme of a universal monarchy."[230] Campbell goes on to quote an eyewitness account from a pamphleteer on the subject:

> It is but too well known that since the French demon has reigned over us Germans, we have so changed our lives, manners and customs, that we might fairly pass, if not for naturalized Frenchmen, yet for some new nation transformed into French. Formerly, the French were not esteemed by the Germans; now-a-days we cannot live without them.
>
> Everything must be French—French language, French dresses, French dishes, French furniture, French dances, French music, French diseases, and, I much fear me, a French death will follow.[231]

The Berlin *Kapelle* was significantly expanded by King Frederick I who was a zealous patron of the arts. The ensemble was further transformed under the direction of J. B. Volumier who, during his tenure (1692-1708), reformed the Berlin *Kapelle* in the style of French instrumental performance. Volumier also served as dancing master to King Frederick's court; French ballets (featuring many compositions by Volumier) were a staple of entertainment there. Volumier's

---

[230] Campbell, Thomas. *Frederick the Great,* p. 51.

[231] Ibid.

entrées, dances and arias graced the wedding opera (1706) of the king to Sophia Charlotte, sister of George I of England.[232] Berlin's considerable *Kapelle* boasted twenty-seven members before its abrupt dissolution in 1713, following Frederick's death. Though French styles were tempered by those of the Italians as the century progressed, that Jean Baptiste Forqueray was viol instructor to Friedrich Wilhelm II serves as evidence that even as late as 1767, French culture was still important at the court of Berlin.[233]

Outside of Versailles itself, Berlin was rivaled in its Frenchification only by the glorious court of Dresden. Deeply impressed with the grandeur of Versailles and Louis' artistic patronage, Friedrich August, King of Poland and Elektor of Saxony, created, in Dresden, a court internationally renowned for its cultural brilliance. In the words of Meredith Little and Natalie Jenne, "Dresden had one of the most elaborate, splendid and expensively maintained courts in Europe . . ."[234]

French culture had been coveted in Dresden long before Louis' reign, as evidenced by a record from 1620 of the court's German dancing master, Gabriel Mölich, having been sent to Paris for training; and another, from 1650, of a production of *Ballet von dem Paris und der Helen,* comprised of five acts, each complete with multiple large form *entrées*, closely resembling the grandiose style

---

[232] Härtwig, Dieter. "Volumier, Jean Baptiste." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 20, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 76.

[233] Robinson, "Antoine Forqueray," *Grove*, p. 714.

[234] Little and Jenne, p. 30.

so typical in France.[235] Though Dresden's Francophilia was not novel when Friedrich Augustus I (1670-1733) succeeded his brother to the throne in 1694 (there had been an ensemble of exclusively French violinists beginning in 1675), it was he who fostered the court's most palpable period of French cultural emulation.[236]

Dresden's courtly life was particularly rich during the majority of "August der Starke," whose Grand Tour (1687-89) brought him to Louis' Versailles during its prime, just several years after the Sun King had fashioned the palace as his permanent residence and seat of government. Having been received by Louis "*Le Grand*" personally on several occasions, Friedrich August experienced, first hand, the spectacles of Louis' *divertissements*, French opera, ballet, and theatre.[237] In Versailles, August found inspiration for his own court; spellbound by Louis' grandeur, he initiated an extraordinary artistic and architectural transformation of the Dresden court, in which the French style predominated.[238] King August fashioned his court as a pleasure palace, hosting lavish balls, extravagant courtly events, gatherings, and outdoor garden festivities. Summarized by Spitzer and Zaslaw, "He [Friedrich Augustus I] embarked on a campaign of courtly display and cultural exhibitionism modeled on and even rivaling Louis XIV's."[239] The Royal

---

[235] Ibid., p. 28.

[236] Spitzer and Zaslaw. The Birth of the Orchestra, p. 221.

[237] Ibid., p. 221.

[238] Landmann, Ortrun. "The Dresden Hofkapelle during the Lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach." *Early Music*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1989, p. 20.

[239] Ibid., p. 225.

Palace of Dresden was, indeed, modeled upon Louis' Versailles, in all of its representative splendor. Of the few surviving artifacts depicting the palace's Royal Apartments (a structure described as a "tremendous human achievement" by Marion Ackermann, general director of Dresden's state art collections), many of which were destroyed during the Allied bombardment of February 1945, are photographs which document the seven hundred and fifty square feet of elaborate ceiling paintings (this documentation was ordered by Adolf Hitler, in anticipation of the building's imminent destruction), by French artist Louis de Silvestre.[240] Silvestre trained with Charles le Brun before becoming a member of the *Académie Royale de peinture et de sculpture* in 1702, eventually being promoted to professor at the *Académie* in 1706. August met Silvestre during one of his many trips to France and offered the artist a position as his court painter in 1716, which Silvestre accepted. The French painter became director of the Dresden Royal Academy of Arts in 1727.

According to the research of Christoph Wolff, the financial investment of the Dresden court in art and entertainment was unprecedented during Bach's lifetime; the French ballets, alone, cost approximately 17,000 *thaler* a year.[241]

---

[240] Daley, Jason. "'The Versailles of Dresden' Has Been Rebuilt. 74 Years After World War II." *Smithsonian Magazine*, 26 Sept. 2019, www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/versaille-dresden-has-been-rebuilt-74-years-after-world-war-ii-180973225. Also see: Schmid, Rebecca. "Restoring a Corner of Dresden's Royal Past." *New York Times* [New York, NY], 14 Mar. 2019, www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/arts/dresden-royal-palace-tefaf.html.

[241] Wolff, Christoph. *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*. Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 183.

Friedrich August fostered the performance of French music in particular, attracting the most renowned musical talent in Europe. During the first decade of his reign, a chamber music ensemble was established in Dresden along the "most up to date French lines . . ."[242] In 1708, he ventured to the Low Countries to recruit a troupe of French musicians and actors from Lille, and in 1709, August secured the French *Maitre de Concert*, Jean-Bapstiste Volumier.[243] In 1714 a royal chamber ensemble accompanied Friedrich August on a trip to Paris to provide himself and his guests with entertainment and to enrich the edification of his musicians. *Kapellmeister* Johann Christoph Schmidt and keyboardist Christian Petzold returned as "devoted followers of the French *goût.*"[244] In 1715 virtuoso flautist Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin (teacher to the exceedingly influential Joachim Quantz) was added to the distinguished ranks of the Dresden *Kapelle*.[245] Incidentally, J. S. Bach's beloved brother (see BWV 992 *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello dilettissimo*) Johann Jakob Bach (1682-1722) studied flute with Buffardin before joining the *Kapelle* of the Stockholm court in 1713.[246] The court orchestra of Dresden—which was home to numerous distinguish French musicians, such as Buffardin, François

---

[242] Ibid., p. 19.

[243] Ibid., p. 20.

[244] Ortrun, p. 22.

[245] Pirro, André. *L'Estétique de Jean-Sébastian Bach* (1907), translated by Joe Armstrong. Roman & Littlefield, 2014, p. 411.

[246] Ibid.

LeRiche (oboe), Simon le Gros (violin), Jean Cadet (violoncello), Jean-Baptiste de Tilloy (violoncello) and Jean-Baptiste du Houlondel (violoncello); and German musicians learned in the French styles such as Johann Joachim Quantz, Pantaleon Hebenstreit, and lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss—became internationally renowned under Volumier's tenure as *Konzertmeister* (1709-1721). Of the French-led ensemble, Quantz insisted he had never heard a better orchestra than that of Dresden under Volumier.[247] It was this culture of musical excellency which drew Bach to visit the Dresden court on so many occasions.[248]

---

[247] Härtwig, "Volumier, Jean Baptiste," *Grove*, p. 76.

[248] According to Wolff, Bach visited Dresden at least seven times. The most notable visit, for the consideration of French influence, occurred in 1717, before the tide had turned toward the Italian favor of Hasse and Pisendel. Wolff, Christoph. *Johann Sebastian Bach,* p. 208, also Ortrun, pp. 20, 23.

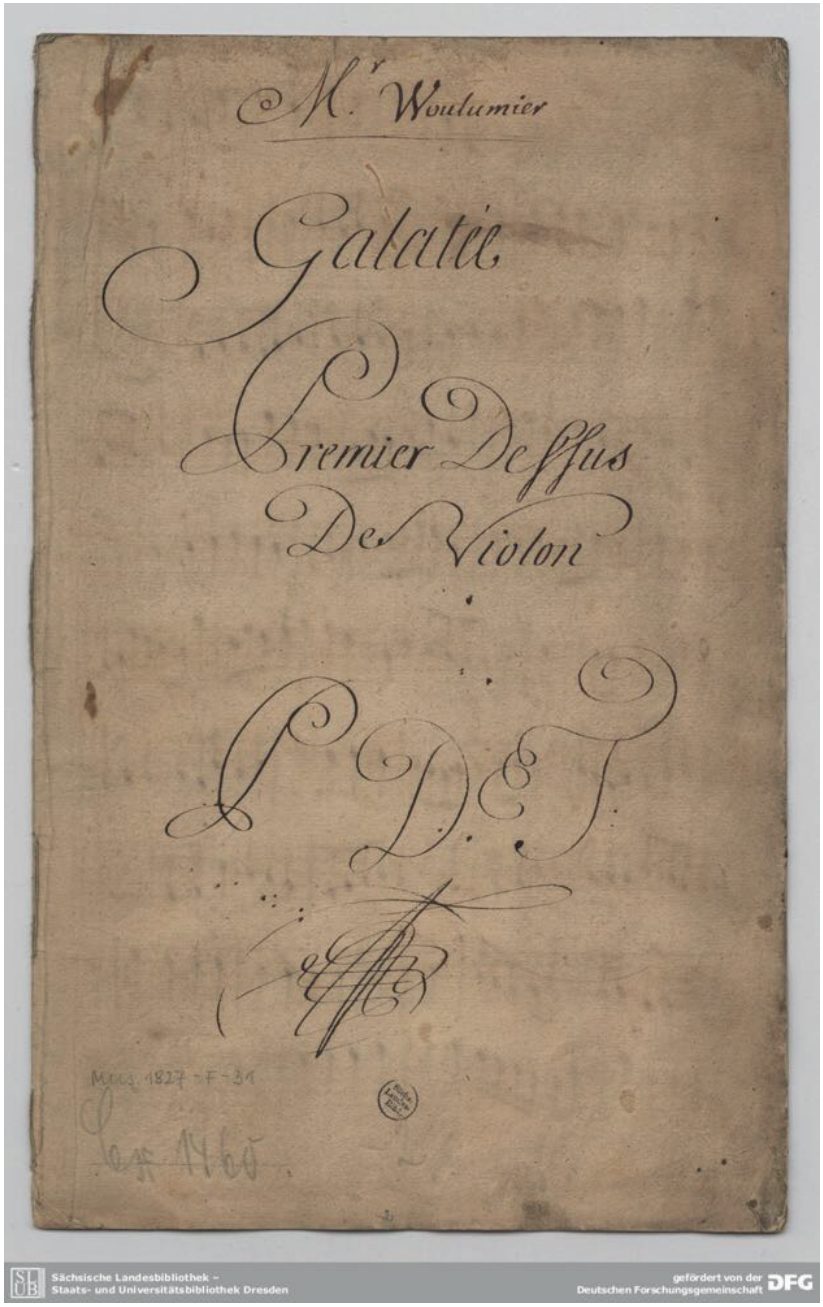


Figure 3.12. Title page of first violin part, marked “Wolumier,” of Lully's *Acis et Galatée*, from a performance in Dresden.

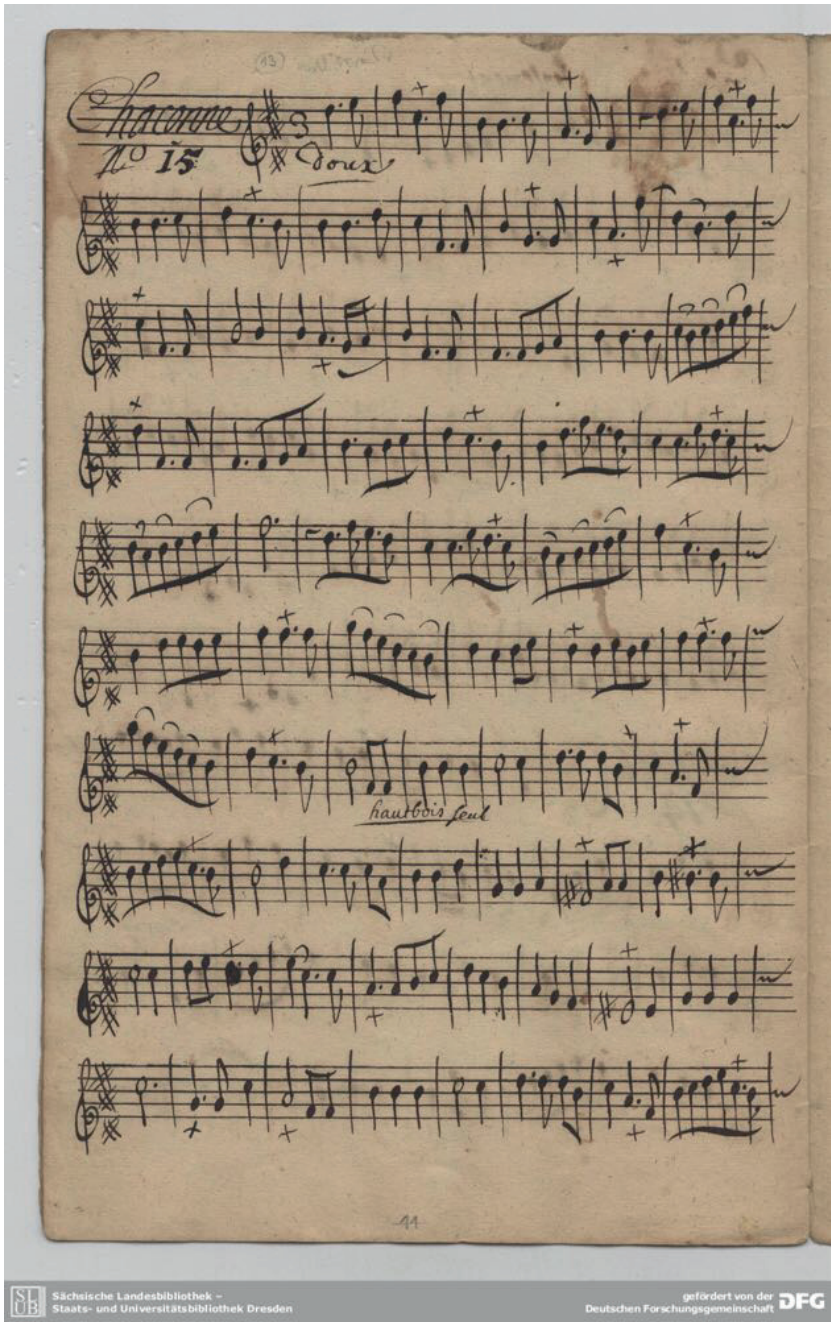


Figure 3.13. Chaconne, from the first violin part, marked “Wolumier” of Lully's “Acis et Galatée,” from a performance in Dresden, complete with hand-written French ornaments and slurs.

August's unconditionally French orientation ruled supreme at the court of Dresden during the first two decades of the 18th century. When his son (August II, later Augustus III, 1696-1763) embarked on his own grand tour from 1714 to 1717, he returned with a taste for Italian *gusto;* the Dresden *Kapelle* was subsequently expanded to accommodate the needs of the modern Italian style.[249] Furthermore, the deaths of the three most stalwart proponents of the French style in Dresden—Volumier and Schmidt in 1728, and Friedrich August in 1733—in addition to the appointments of the Italian-leaning Johann Georg Pisendel (as concert master in 1728), and Johann Adolph Hasse (as *Kappellmeister* in 1731), ushered in a new age of Italianate musical style. Henceforth, the "mixed" style (the combination of Italian and French influences which would become so popular in mid-eighteenth-century Germany) became the predominant one in Dresden. The Saxon court was famous for its opera, which performed mostly works bearing Italian titles. This has led many to believe that the court of Dresden favored Italian influences over French, though according to court records, all of these operatic performances contained large ensemble French dances before, after, and in between acts, indicating a mixed influence of French and Italian styles in Dresden toward the middle of the eighteenth century.[250]

Scarce few records of solo and small chamber music performances survive from Dresden's prime musical years (c.1697-1763), as far less documentation was

---

[249] Ortrun, p. 20.

[250] Little and Jenne, p. 28.

necessary for those than for the many large-scale musical endeavors at the Saxon court, such as operas, ballets and orchestra performances. As most of the surviving chamber music scores come from Pisendel's private collection, there is little left to show for Dresden's tradition of French chamber music. There is record of one violist being employed in the Dresden *Hokpalelle* from 1712 to 1716, and of two being employed from 1717 to 1719, though the identity of these players remains unknown.[251]

Anhalt-Köthen

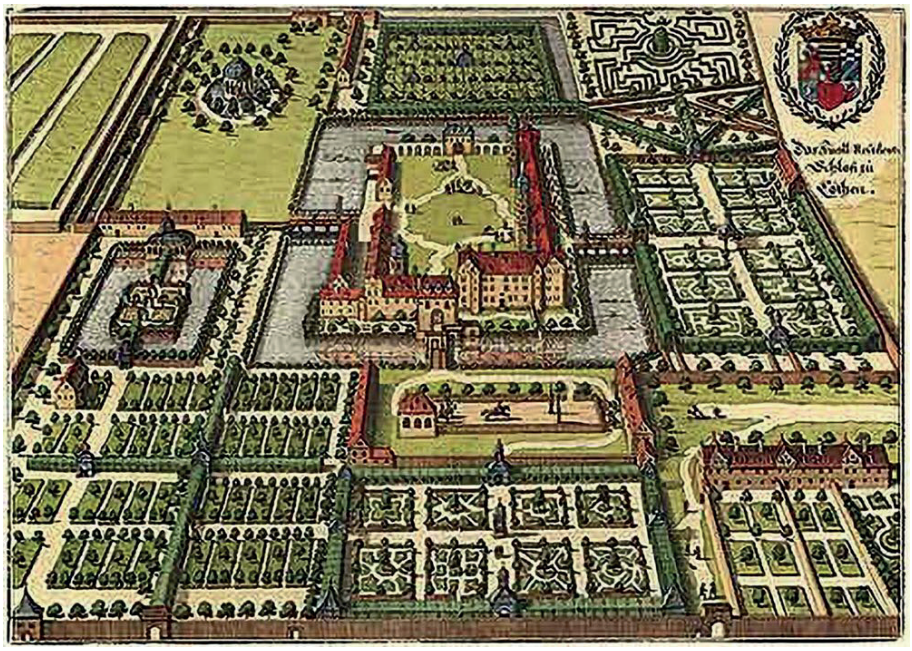


Figure 3.16. Engraving of Köthen palace and estate.
Merian, Matthäus der Ältere. *Köthen, Schloß.* Copper engraving.

[251] Ortrun, p. 21.

Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Köthen (1694-1728) was particularly fond of music, being a singer, violinist, keyboardist, and violist. Writing of the Prince's musical talent, Bach insisted he was not only a lover of music but was one who understood it.[252] Leopold developed an appreciation for fine art during his studies at the *Ritterakademie* in Berlin (1707-10), where he was wholly immersed in the opulence of French culture, including the Prussian King's famed *Kapelle*. On Prince Leopold's *Kavaliersreise* (1710 – 1713) he traveled to The Hague (where he attended the opera twelve times, acquiring rare printed scores by Lully), followed by Amsterdam, England, Vienna, Dresden, France and Italy.[253] Wolff's research draws attention to the recurring expenses of concert tickets, printed music harpsichord rentals, repairs, and strings incurred during Leopold's travels, which "attest to considerable musical activity."[254]

---

[252] David, Hans Theodore, et al. The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents. W. W. Norton & Company, 1999. p. 152.

[253] Geck, Johann Sebastian Bach, p. 101; Wolff, Christoph. Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician, p. 191.

[254] Wolff, p. 198.

Figure 3.14. *Leopold von Anhalt-Köthen* (n.d.). Oil on canvas.
Collection of Köthen Castle. Notice the position of the Prince's feet.

Under the guidance of Prince Leopold, a permanent *Hofkapelle* was formed at the court of Anhalt-Köthen, albeit by humble beginnings; at age twelve Leopold requested from his mother three court musicians, with whom he might play chamber music. In 1713, while on his grand tour, Leopold caught wind of the "cultural barbarism" committed by the "Soldier King" Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia, in the disbanding of his father's esteemed court *Kapelle*.[255] The young prince, seizing the opportunity, urged his mother to intercept the wayward Berlin musicians, which she did with haste.[256] Thus, six of the finest musicians in Germany took up residence in Köthen, including former Berlin Kapellmeister Augustin Reinhard Stricker (c.1675-c.1720). By 1716, the Prince had amassed eighteen musicians of excellent repute, thereby establishing a respectable court *Kapelle*.[257]

Among the Berlin *Kapelle* were famous virtuosi violist Christian Ferdinand Abel, cellist Christian Bernhard Linicke, and soprano Anna Magdalena Wilke. Being a violist himself, Leopold must have been particularly pleased with his procurement of Abel, as he would have one of Germany's finest violists at his disposal to listen to, play with, and to learn from. Bach arrived in Anhalt-Köthen to replace Stricker in 1717. His time spent in Köthen was particularly significant for Bach; he forged close musical and personal friendships with Prince Leopold and

---

[255] Ibid., p. 194.

[256] Ibid.

[257] Ibid.

violist Christian Ferdinand Abel, and, following the death of his first wife Anna Barbara (for which Bach was tragically absent), he married court soprano Anna Magdalena.

In keeping with the latest fashions, Prince Leopold maintained French styles at his court—in addition to the French-trained orchestra, there was a requisite French dancing master, Jean-François Monjou, and, in a particularly Versailles vein, Leopold constructed a *Speigelsaal*, or "hall of mirrors" in the palace. Completed in 1722, the hall doubled as a music room and Leopold's throne room, where he would receive guests and preside over his council. It was in this space where many of Bach's chamber works were performed.[258]

Figure 3.15. Köthen' a Hall of Mirrors.

[258] Sadie, Julie Anne, and Stanley Sadie. *Calling on the Composer*. Yale University Press, 2005, p. 93.

Bach's position in Köthen was self-described as "*Capellmeister* and director of the Prince's chamber music."[259] Bach was not involved with the music at the three churches in the town, and being a Calvinist court, there was no sacred music at the palace. Without reasonable demand for sacred music, Bach focused his attention on the production of secular music. The young prince was especially fond of chamber music, and being unmarried (until 1721), threw himself into the musical performances which took place in the castle, breaking royal protocol to join his musicians as equals.[260] It is generally accepted by scholars that the sixth Brandenburg concerto BWV 1051 (c.1721) was written with Prince Leopold (and Abel) in mind.[261]

Of the relationship between Bach and his employer, Philipp Spitta writes: "He [Prince Leopold] soon became aware of the treasure he had found in Bach and showed it in the frankest manner. He could not bear to part with him—he took him on his travels and loved him as a friend; and after the prince's early death, Bach always cherished his memory."[262] The travels referenced by Spitta were to Carlsbad, a popular spa village in Baden-Württemberg. On several occasions his

---

[259] David, Hans Theodore, et al. *The New Bach Reader,* p. 152.

[260] Spitta, Philipp. *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work,* vol. II, p. 6.

[261] For a spirited, yet speculative discussion of the social implications of BWV 1051, see Michael Marissen's "Relationships between Scoring and Structure in the First Movement of Bach's Sixth Brandenburg Concerto." *Music & Letters,* vol. 71, no. 4, 1990, pp. 494-504.

[262] Spitta, vol. II, p. 6.

highness brought his beloved *Kapellmeister* (along with several other members of the band, most likely including continuo players Linicke and Abel, to accompany him to Carlsbad.[263] Further evidence supporting the friendship between Bach and Prince Leopold include the latter serving as godfather to Bach's seventh child, and that Bach's yearly salary was twice that of his predecessor, Stricker. Thus, it would seem that Bach was held in the highest regard by Leopold. Bach remained in the service of the Prince until 1723, when, due to growing professional dissatisfaction stemming from Leopold's marriage and financial issues, Bach applied for and accepted a position at the *Thomaskirche* in Leipzig.[264]

So, which of Bach's works were composed in Köthen? It is generally accepted that the Brandenburg concertos belong to this period. Due to the paucity of existing source materials, the other surviving compositions for orchestra (BWV 1041, 1042, 1043 and 1066-69) are difficult to date with certainty. The chamber and keyboard works are easier to categorize based on established dates on title pages and on fair copies. The *Sei Solo Violino senza Basso accompagnato*, BWV 1001-1006, are from 1720. This is also when the collection of pieces for Bach's eldest son Wilhelm Friedemann is begun. He begins the *Notenbüchlein* for Anna Magdalena and part one of *Das Wohltemperierte Klavier* in 1721. The "French

---

[263] Spitta, vol. II, pp. 7-8. "On May 9, 1718, the Prince set out to take the baths at Carlsbad, which was at that time a favorite resort of all the high personages of Germany, and took with him Bach and six members of his band. Again, in 1720, Bach had to accompany the Prince to Carlsbad."

[264] Spitta, vol. II, p. 157; Wolff, *Bach*, pp. 202, 204.

Suites" which appear in the *Notebüchlein* are generally accepted as belonging to this period as well. The *Inventions und Sinfonias* are begun in 1723. The solo suites for cello BWV1007-1012 come to us in a manuscript copied by Anna Magdalena which dates from around 1720.[265]

There are doubts as to the dates for the sonatas for various solo instruments with harpsichord obligato. Geck suggests that they, too, can be, at least hypothetically, assigned to the Köthen period,[266] though more recent scholarship by Laurence Dreyfus speculates that Bach's instrumental sonatas, including those for viola da gamba and harpsichord BWV 1027-1029 were written later, during his Leipzig years (this later date of composition might explain the more Italianate nature of the gamba sonatas).[267] It is of great irony that Bach's works for solo viola da gamba (a French instrument) exude mostly Italian styles, such as sonata and concerto forms, and long, seamless melodic lines, while the suites for cello (an Italian instrument) offer a far more French sensibility.

---

[265] Schwemer, Bettina and Douglas Woodfull-Harris. J.S. Bach, *6 Suites a Violoncello Solo senza Basso*, BWV 1007-1012: Text Volume. Bärenreiter, 2000, pp. 9-10.

[266] Geck, p. 109. If these works are, indeed, from Köthen, they were likely written with Christian Ferdinand Abel in mind, for the court musician's personal performance (with Bach), or as instructional fodder for their violist-employer, Prince Leopold (remembering that Abel was not a composer).

[267] Bach, J.S. *Drei Sonaten für Viola da Gamba und Cembalo*, BWV 1027-1029. Edited by Laurence Dreyfus, Peters, 1985, critical notes.

Abel and the Cello Suites

Christian Ferdinand Abel (b. Hanover, c.1683-c.1737 Köthen) served as court violist and violinist in Anhalt-Köthen from 1716 until Prince Leopold's death in 1728, overlapping with Bach during the latter's tenure from 1717 to 1723.[268] Clamor Heinrich Abel, father of Christian Ferdinand Abel, was raised in the courts of Hanover and Celle; he later served at both courts as organist and violist.[269] Christian Ferdinand, too, was raised in these two French-styled German courts, though most of his childhood was spent in Celle, as Clamor left Hanover when Christian Ferdinand was just two years old. Prior to his employment in Köthen, Christian Ferdinand likely served as court musician in Celle. Though nothing is known of Abel's musical education, one may surmise that, growing up in such a Frenchified court as Celle as the court violist's son, Abel was likely well educated in the French bass viol tradition, and grounded in all of the manners of French instrumental performance.

According to Spitta, it is likely that Bach composed his unaccompanied cello suites BWV 1007-1012 for Christian Ferdinand Abel: "for the violoncello he [Bach] possessed a friend in the gamba-player Abel, who could be at hand to give

---

[268] Knape, Walter, and Murray R. Charters. "Clamor Heinrich Abel." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 10.

[269] Ibid., Clamor Abel worked as court organist and violist in Celle from 1662-4, spending one brief year in Hanover, where he held the same positions, before moving back to Celle in 1685.

his advice on technical points, and for whom the suites were probably written."[270] This quote is puzzling, as there is no historical evidence outside of it to indicate that Abel was, in fact, a cellist.[271] It is unclear whether Spitta means to imply that the cello and viol techniques were so similar at this time that a fine violist such as Abel could have provided insight and/or feedback for the inchoate compositions (which is entirely plausible), or that Abel actually was a cellist (also entirely plausible, given Abel's apparent proficiency on violin and viol). Martin Geck does write of Abel: "it is not surprising that he [Prince Leopold] engaged the most famous virtuoso on the cello and viola da gamba in the person of Christian Ferdinand Abel.[272] If Abel was, indeed, a cellist, as well as violist and violinist, that he is listed as court violinist and violist da gamba, and not cellist, in the Köthen *Kapelle* records, can be explained by the presence of Carl Bernhard Linicke, who arrived in Köthen the same year as Abel (1716), having transitioned from the dissolved Berlin *Kapelle*. Interestingly, Karl Neumann refers to Linicke as a "notable" German virtuoso violist, and suggests that the solo cello suites were written with either he or Abel in mind, noting that they were "ambidextrously proficient on both instruments and seemed to have passed in performance freely from the one to the

---

[270] Spitta, Philipp. *Johann Sebastian Bach,* p. 100.

[271] Knape, Walter, and Murray R. Charters, *Grove*, vol. 1, p. 10.

[272] Geck, p. 50.

other."[273] Scholars also point out that Christian Bernhard Linicke, being one of the highest paid court musicians in Köthen, might have been Bach's intended dedicatee for the suites.[274]

It is certainly not beyond the scope of believability that, given his knowledge of the violin and viol, Abel would make a fine cellist. Indeed, the archaic cello technique from this time period differed little from viol technique, especially in Germany, where most cellists held their bows underhand, a practice attested to in the research of Mark Smith, in his article "The Cello Bow Held Viol-Way: Once Common, But Now Almost Forgotten."[275] This way of bowing is corroborated by Quantz, who, in his 1752 treatise *On Playing the Flute*, says: "Some [cellists] move the bow as is customary on the viola da gamba, that is, instead of a down-stroke from left to right for the principal notes, they make an up-stroke from right to left, beginning with the tip of the bow," and also, "If the violoncello has frets, as is customary upon the viola da gamba, the violoncellist must, in playing notes marked

---

[273] Neumann, Karl. "The Slur Marks in Bach's Cello Suites." *The Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 3, 1966, pp. 46-47.

[274] Ledbetter, David. *Unaccompanied Bach: Performing the Solo Works*. Yale University Press, 2010, p. 35; Marshall, and Marshall, p. 67.

[275] Smith, Mark. "The Cello Bow Held Viol-Way: Once Common, But Now Almost Forgotten." *Chelys*, vol. 24, 1995, pp. 47–61. "Ample evidence can be found to show that many early cellists, including some of the most distinguished, held the bow with the hand under. It seems likely that hand-under bow-holds were more common than hand-over bow- holds for cellists (at least outside of France) until about 1730, and it is certain that some important solo cellists used a hand-under bow-hold not only until 1730, but well into the second-half of the eighteenth century."

with flats, depress the strings a little above the frets . . ."[276] It is of much interest that in Germany, even as late as 1752 (the date of Quantz's publication), cello technique bore such a striking resemblance to that of the viola da gamba. In any case, scholars seem to agree that Abel's presence in Köthen provided impetus for Bach's cello suites; renowned Bach scholar Hans T. David writes that "The [cello] suites were probably tailored originally to the abilities of Christian Ferdinand Abel."[277]

It does seem plausible that being close as they were (Bach was godfather to Abel's first-born daughter in 1720), the two colleagues (and friends) would collaborate.[278] Perhaps Abel was curious and encouraged Bach to compose something which would explore the capabilities of the bowed bass instrument so similar to the viol, yet with such a disproportionately small amount of solo repertoire. While it cannot be known for certain, it is interesting to meditate upon the solo viol repertoire Abel might have played for Bach, having been trained in the "completely French" court of Celle. No manuscripts or records survive to indicate that Abel was a composer of music himself. Assuming no such works

---

[276] Quantz, Johann Joachim. *On Playing the Flute (1752)*. Translated by Edward Reilly, Faber and Faber, 1966, pp. 241, 245-246.

[277] David, Hans T. *Johann Sebastian Bach's Suites for Violoncello*, "School of Music Programs," University of Michigan, School of Music, January, 1982.

[278] Wolff (2000), pp. 195-196.

existed, what would such a celebrated player perform . . . perhaps the French repertoire of Sainte-Colombe, De Machy, Forqueray and Marais?

Figure 3.17. Probably Balthasar Denner (1685-1749). *Group portrait of musicians* (c.1730). Oil on canvas. This portrait is long believed to depict Johann Sebastian Bach and his sons, though, the research of art historian and Bach portrait expert Teri Noel Towe suggests that the sitters are, instead, violist Christian Ferdinand Abel and his sons (including Carl Friedrich Abel, third from left). The small cello depicted presents equal interest if held by either father and is likely the instrument used for Bach's cantatas arias scored for "violoncello piccolo," and also serves as a suitable candidate for the cello suites.

The German Viol School

In keeping with the emulation of French culture in Germany, there developed a German school of virtuosic viol playing contemporaneous with that in France. Considered, for the purposes of this paper, an extension of the French tradition, the German viol school's most notable members include Christian Ferdinand Abel (1682-1761), his son, Carl Friedrich Abel (1723-1787), Konrad Höffler (1647-c.1705), August Kühnel (1645-c.1700), Ernste Christian Hesse (1676-1762), Johann Christian Hertel (c.1697-1754), and Johannes Schenck (1660-c.1710). Of the music of this tradition, there exists a synthesis of styles from the French viol school (whose later promoters such as Antoine Forqueray and François Couperin synthesized Italian violin traits into their French music), and the German contrapuntal style, referred to by scholars as the "mixed style."[279] It is known that Hesse and Kühnel both studied in Paris, and that Hertel was a student of Hesse; this points to a strong French pedagogical foundation.[280] There are no records to indicate with whom Schenck studied, though it is possible he might have studied with Marais, as the latter was a venerated pedagog who took pupils while at court and in Paris, even long after his retirement from the royal service.[281] In any

---

[279] Ledbetter, pp. 63-64.

[280] Anonymous. *Instruction oder eine Anweisung auff der Violadigamba* (early 18th century). Edited by Bettina Hoffman. Güntersberg, 2014, introduction.

[281] Titon du Tillet, *Parnasse,* p. 627. "He rented a room on the rue du Batoir, quartier Saint-André-des-Arc, where, two or three times a week, he gave lessons to those wishing to perfect their viol playing." "*Il louoit cependant une Salle rue du Batoir, quartier Saint André des Arcs, où il donnoit deux ou trois fois la semaine de leçons aux personnes qui vouloient se perfectionner dans la Viole."*

case, Schenck's highly polyphonic viol suites, of which there are fourteen, display both French styles, in their pure and mixed forms.

The twelve viol suites of Conrad Höffler which comprise his *Primitiae Chelicae* (1695), contain improvisatory characteristics and highly virtuosic elements such as rapid runs and flourishes, arpeggios and chordal polyphony. All twelve suites, composed for solo viol with basso continuo, follow the order of *allemande*, *courante*, *sarabande* and *gigue*; the fourth and sixth begin with *preludes*. Höffler's dance movements exude the pure French styles so typical of Marais' *pièces de viole*.[282] Höffler studied viol with Gabriel Schütz in Nuremberg, and was employed by the courts of Bayreuth, Ansbach and Halle before transferring to the court Weissenfels in 1680, where he enjoyed a well-respected appointment until his death in 1705.[283] Less relevant to the discussion of Conrad Höffler, but important contextual fodder nonetheless, are Bach's ties with Weissenfels; for a time, the court was the home of Bach's second wife, soprano Anna Magdalena. Accounts of Bach's travels to Weissenfels in 1718 in hopes of recruiting the gifted soprano to sing in Köthen cannot be confirmed nor refuted. Bach also enjoyed a friendship with Duke Christian of Weissenfels and was appointed "*Kapellmeister* to the Prince of Saxony-Weissenfels" in 1729, a title from which he derived much pride.[284]

---

[282] Ledbetter, p. 40.

[283] Hüsch-Pfleger, Lini. "Höffler, Konrad." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol.8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 617-618.

[284] Marshall, and Marshall. *Exploring the World of J.S. Bach*, pp. 194-5.

At the age of sixteen, German violist August Kühnel was appointed as court musician of the chapel in Zeitz.[285] Kühnel resided in Zeitz until 1669, though his tenure was interrupted by a year-long excursion to study viol in Paris. It is not known with whom Kühnel studied in France, though the timing would have been appropriate for Sainte-Colombe or DuBuisson. Kühnel moved to Darmstadt in 1686 to accept a new post as director of instrumentalists under *Kapellmeister* W. C. Briegel, but threat of attack from France forced him to depart in 1688.[286] Kühnel found a home, for a time, in Weimar, where he held the same position as in Darmstadt. From 1695-1699 he served as *Kapellmeister* to the court of Kassel. In Kassel, Kühnel enjoyed an environment which favored the viol—the Landgrave Carl of Hesse-Kassel was an enthusiastic amateur player of the instrument. Kühnel's compositions for viol consist of fourteen sonatas and partitas for one and two viols with bass, published in Kassel in 1698. The first two and final four works of this volume are of particular interest to this discussion: in the volume's preface, Kühnel indicates the pieces may be performed without continuo (the bassline does little more than merely double notes which exist in the solo part), and therefore may be regarded as unaccompanied works.[287] The dance movements of Kühnel's partitas adhere to French conventions and should certainly be played in the style of French *pièces de viol*.

---

[285] Noak, Elisabeth. "Kühnel, August." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 10, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 302.

[286] Ibid.

[287] Kühnel, August. *Sonate ô partite.* Kassel, 1698.

Johannes Schenck was born in Amsterdam, though spent most of his adult life in Germany. No records indicate with whom Schenck studied, though the unique qualities of the French viol tradition radiate through his many published and manuscript works, as do elements of German and Italian styles. Of his twelve catalogued works (ten of which were published with opus numbers), seven are scored for one or two solo viols, with and without bass: Op. 2 *Tyd en Konst-Oeffeningen* (fifteen sonatas for viol and basso continuo. Amsterdam, 1688), Op. 6 *Scherzi musicali* (fourteen suites for viol and basso continuo *ad libitum*. Amsterdam, c.1698), Op. 8 *Le Nymphe di Rheno* (sonata/suites for two viols. Amsterdam, c.1702), Op. 9 *L'Echo du Danube* (sonatas for viol and basso continuo, two sonatas for unaccompanied viol. Amsterdam, c.1704), Op. 10 *Les Fantaisies bisarres de la goutte* (suites for viol and basso continuo, viol part lost. Amsterdam c.1711), two sonatas for unaccompanied viol (manuscript) and nine movements in tablature for two viols (manuscript).[288] Ledbetter suggests that Schenck's published viol works, which were widely distributed, represent some of the earliest examples of the German mixed style.[289] In these works, which exhibit disparate levels of difficulty (some being highly virtuosic, such as Op. 2, while others, such as Op. 8, are more approachable), Schenck incorporates French dance movements, such as *overtures, rondeaus, gavottes, bourrées, minuets*, and *chaconnes*. Schenck's first

---

[288] Holman, Peter. "Preliminary Checklist of Music for One or More Bass Viols Printed Without Continuo Printed Before 1800." *Chelys*, vol. 5, 1973, p. 66.

[289] Ledbetter, p. 41.

professional appointment was as violist to the court of Düsseldorf; his talent was surely appreciated by the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm I, who like many of the German aristocracy, enjoyed viol playing as a leisure pursuit befitting a noble person's status.[290] Schenck was highly respected in his position in Düsseldorf, and from 1710 until his employers death he served as court chamber counselor.[291] Proof of Schenck's popularity is found in the fact that his Op. 9 was reprinted in Paris, c.1742.[292]

Highly regarded German violist Ernst Christian Hesse distinguished himself as a fine instrumentalist during his youth in Eisenach.[293] Hesse gained employment at the Francophile court of the Landgrave Ernste Ludwig of Hessen-Darmstadt, and as aforementioned, studied in Paris with Marin Marais and Antoine Forqueray from 1698 to 1701. Reference to an apparently significant number of French-styled solo suites and sonatas with and without bass are mentioned by Hiller:

> Of his compositions, especially the many sonatas and suites for the viola da gamba, partly alone, partly with an accompanying bass instrument, are extraordinary. They possess not only the whole strength of the instrument, but also, with otherwise very much fire, a particularly pleasant nature and a happy mixture of the French and Italian tastes of that time, whereby,

---

[290] Hintermaier, Ersnt. "Schenck, Johannes." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 16, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 623.

[291] Ibid.

[292] Ledbetter, p. 42.

[293] Ibid.

> however, the former seems to have the upper hand; this is also not surprising, since Hesse formed himself after his abovementioned French masters.[294]

The "abovementioned" masters, referenced by Hiller, are no doubt Marin Marais and Antoine Forqueray. Hiller's mention represents all that is known of Hesse's compositions, as virtually none survive, though testaments to his ability, printed long after his death, imply a great talent in Hesse: "One of the most famous German viola da gambists was Ernst Christian Hesse."[295]

Desiring edification in French viol technique and style, Johann Christian Hertel thought to study in Paris, but found a bonafide French viol pedagog in Hesse, instead.[296] Hertel was a pupil of Ernst Christian Hesse at the court of Darmstadt in 1717, and was hired the following year in Eisenach, as court violist to Duke Johann Wilhelm.[297] Hertel later became concert master in Eisenach, in the year 1733. According to Hiller, Hertel visited Prince Leopold's court in Köthen in 1718, significant timing for the discussion of Bach's cello suites (c.1720).[298] Though

---

[294] Johann Adam Hiller. *Lebensbeschreibungen berühmter Musikgelehrten und Tonkünstler neuerer Zeit 1*, Leipzig, 1784), p. 170, translated by Thomas Fritzsch.

[295] Brockhaus, F. A. *Allgemeine deutsche Real-Encyclopädie für die gebildeten Stände (Conversations-Lexicon),* vol. 4, sixth original edition, Leipzig, 1824, Translated by Thomas Fritzsch.

[296] Ledbetter, p. 42.

[297] Härtwig, Dieter. "Hertel. (3) Johann Christian Hertel." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 523.

[298] Hiller, p. 154.

celebrated during his lifetime as a skilled violist and composer, none of Hertel's solo viol music survives.

Carl Friedrich Abel represents the last bastion of virtuosic viol performance in Europe, until the viol-revivals of the late nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries.[299] A composer of the late baroque and Early Classical periods, Abel is remembered for his viol pieces, orchestral overtures, sonatas, trio sonatas, symphonies and string quartets. Born in Köthen during Bach's tenure as *Kapellmeister,* Carl Friedrich studied viol with his father, Bach's colleague and friend Christian Ferdinand Abel.[300] Though Bach would depart for Leipzig the year of Abel's birth, the Abel-Bach connection would remain. Music historian Charles Burney, who knew Abel, stated that Abel was a "disciple of Bach" leading some scholars to believe that, following the death of his father in 1737, Carl Friedrich enrolled at the *Thomasschule* in Leipzig, where he would have studied with Johann Sebastian.[301] Definitive proof of this remains hidden, as Abel is absent from the *Thomasschule* rosters. The familial connection persisted however, for in Dresden, owing to a recommendation of J. S. Bach, Abel (in 1743) earned his first position

---

[299] See Rutledge, John B. "Late 19th Century Viol Revivals." *Early Music*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1991, pp. 409–418.

[300] Knape, Walter, and Murray Charters. "Abel. (4) Carl Friedrich Abel." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 11.

[301] Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music, From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period.* Vol. IV, London, 1789, p. 678.

as court violist.[302] Johann Sebastian held a position there as well, as court composer (from 1736), and Abel would certainly have become acquainted with Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710-1784), court organist in Dresden until 1746. Carl Friedrich and Johann Sebastian's son, Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782), became colleagues in London as chamber musicians to Queen Charlotte, preserving the family ties still. In London, circa 1764, the sons established their wildly successful "Bach-Abel" concert series, the first ever subscription concert series in England. In London, both Bach and Abel formed an acquaintance with the Mozart family, serving as mentors to the prodigal son, Wolfgang Amadeus.[303] Abel's symphony in E-flat, Op. 7, no. 6 was long attributed to Mozart (catalogued as K. 18), as the latter had copied the piece in his youth. In addition to performing for the royal family and nobility of London, Abel frequently traveled to Paris and also Potsdam, where he would perform for the accomplished amateur violist, the Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia. Abel's surviving manuscript works for viol exist in two distinct forms: unaccompanied polyphonic pieces and sonatas with basso continuo accompaniment. The collection held at the British Library in London bears the signature of Abel's pupil Lady Pembroke, and contains mostly accompanied sonatas of little or only moderate difficulty.[304] The so-called "Drexel-Manuscript,"

---

[302] Walter and Charters, *Grove*, p. 11-12.

[303] Ibid.

[304] Cyr, Mary. "Carl Friedrich Abel's Solos: A Musical Offering to Gainsborough?" *The Musical Times*, vol. 128, no. 1732, 1987, p. 319.

held in the New York Public Library, contains twenty-five unaccompanied virtuosic solo works, which likely present a better representation of Abel's personal style.[305] In Abel's obituary from the *Morning Post*, June 22, 1787, it is written: "his favorite instrument was not in general use, and will probably die with him."[306] While this is mostly accurate, the viol was still enjoyed by private circles in Germany well after Abel's death.[307]

Having been born in 1723, Carl Friedrich was in no position to influence BWV 1007-1012; this does not mean, however, that Abel is irrelevant to the discussion of Bach's cello suites—in Abel's twenty-five unaccompanied pieces for viol (found in the so called "Drexel Manuscript," Ms 5871) there exist traits which reflect Bach's cello suites, and French *pièces de viole.*[308] That the cello suites of J.S. Bach might have influenced Carl Friedrich Abel's unaccompanied works for viol, (pieces which strongly exhibit the traditions of the French viol school, as well),

---

[305] Ibid.

[306] Burney, p. 678.

[307] Ibid., p. 679.

[308] Carl Freidrich Abel's "*Arpeggiata*" (Ms Drexel 5871, p.18) features long strains of arpeggiated chords, similar to the climax of Bach's *Prelude* of BWV 1010 and the theme and several couplets of Marais' *Badinage*, (Pièces de viole, livre IV, no. 87). Abel's *Fuga* (Ms Drexel 5871, p. 22) harkens to the *Prelude* of BWV 1011. Abel's *menuet* movements resemble those of De Machy and Marais, and his untitled piece on p. 11 of the Drexel manuscript is clearly a French *bourrée*. The D major Allegros (Ms Drexel 5871, pp. 1 and 12) are composed using sequence and counterpoint techniques favored by Bach in his cello suites and often seen in the latter's *preludes*, *allemandes* and *courantes*. Abel's untitled movement on p. 2 of the Drexel Ms features French elements of *tierce de coulée* and virtuosic improvisatory runs, all while displaying Rousseau's technique of "accompanying one's self while singing" (though, in this case, the singing and accompanying are both occurring on the viol); and the *Adagio* (Ms Drexel 5871, p. 22), with its somber, melancholy cast, languishing chords, improvisatory virtuosic runs, strings of double stops and unmeasured feeling bring to mind the many similar *preludes* of Marin Marais.

suggest that BWV 1007-1012 fit squarely within the genealogy of the French viol tradition, bookended by the rich genre of which they may be considered a part.

Figure 3.18. Gainsborough, Thomas. *Portrait of Carl Friedrich Abel*. Oil on canvas, 1777. Gainsborough (1727-1788) was close friend to Abel and amateur violist.

Further Comments

While I have touched on the most significant sources of French musical style and culture in Germany, with specific regard for those most pertinent to the life of J.S. Bach in the years leading up to and surrounding the composition of his unaccompanied cello suites BWV 1007-1012, more scholarship is required to fully ascertain the extent of France's musical influence in German courts and on German composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. In J. S. Bach's necrology, written in 1754 by Carl Phillip Emmanuel Bach and Johann Friederich Agricola, there is explicit mention of French musical influence on the young Johann Sebastien Bach:

> From Lüneburg he journeyed now and again to Hamburg, to hear the then famous Organist of St. Catherine's, Johann Adam Reinken. And, here, too, he had the opportunity to go often and listen to a then famous band kept by the Duke of Celle, consisting for the most part of Frenchmen; thus he acquired a thorough grounding in the French taste, which, in those regions, was at the time something quite new.[309]

The modern research of Louis Delpech shines light on Bach's necrology to illuminate the shortcomings in music history concerning the influence of French

---

[309] *New Bach Reader*, p. 300. "Von Lüneburg aus reisete er zuweilen nach Hamburg, um den damals berühmten Organisten an der Catharinenkirche Johann Adam Reinken zu hören. Auch hatte er von hier aus Gelegenheit, sich durch öftere Anhörung einer damals berühmten Capelle, welche der Hertzog von Zelle unterhielt, und die mehrentheils aus Frantzosen bestand, im Frantzösischen Geschmacke, welcher, in dasigen Landen, zu der Zeit was ganz Neues war, fest zu setzen."

musicians in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Germany, in his work titled *French Musicians in Northern Germany (1660-1730): Questions of Method*:

> This passage, cited in all of Bach's biographies, has not yet inspired work specifically devoted to the migration of French musicians to northern Germany. This can be explained by several factors, among which are prominently the [scant music-historical evidence] left by . . . the dramatic developments in the Franco-German relationship from 1870, the privilege granted to national musical traditions on both sides of the Rhine up to the second half of the twentieth century, and the almost complete absence of French musicologists trained in the paleography of "old German," which is indispensable to the preliminary reading of the German manuscript sources. This is why, while the migration of Italian musicians and the circulation of trans-alpine musical models in Germany has already given rise to several large-scale works, the circulation of French music and musicians in the Empire remains an object still very little studied.
>
> However, from the middle of the 1660s and until the 1730s, several phenomena testify to an intensification of musical exchanges between France and the Germanic territories of the Holy Empire: the hiring of French musicians in several German courts, the dissemination and copying of printed sources of French music, the performance of French or French-inspired works in several German musical centers . . . Recent historiographical developments on cultural transfers, crossed history and circulation, in which musicology has found its place, allow us to consider

> the question from a new angle and promise fruitful advances in this field."[310]

Continued work in this field will certainly unveil further evidence proving France's profound musical influence in Germany, which should be applied to the study of Bach's music, and that of his German contemporaries. This blind spot in music-historical study, caused by the souring relations between France and Germany during the infancy and maturation of modern musicology, is compounded by the destruction of pertinent manuscripts, printed music, and records, caused by the ravages of the two World Wars.

---

[310] Delpech, Louis. "French Musicians in Northern Germany (1660-1730): Questions of Method." Nomadic Music: Objects, Networks, Routes, vol. 26, 2015, pp. 57–73. Open Edition, doi:10.4000/diasporas.406.

Chapter 4: Evidence of French Viol Influence in Bach's Cello Suites

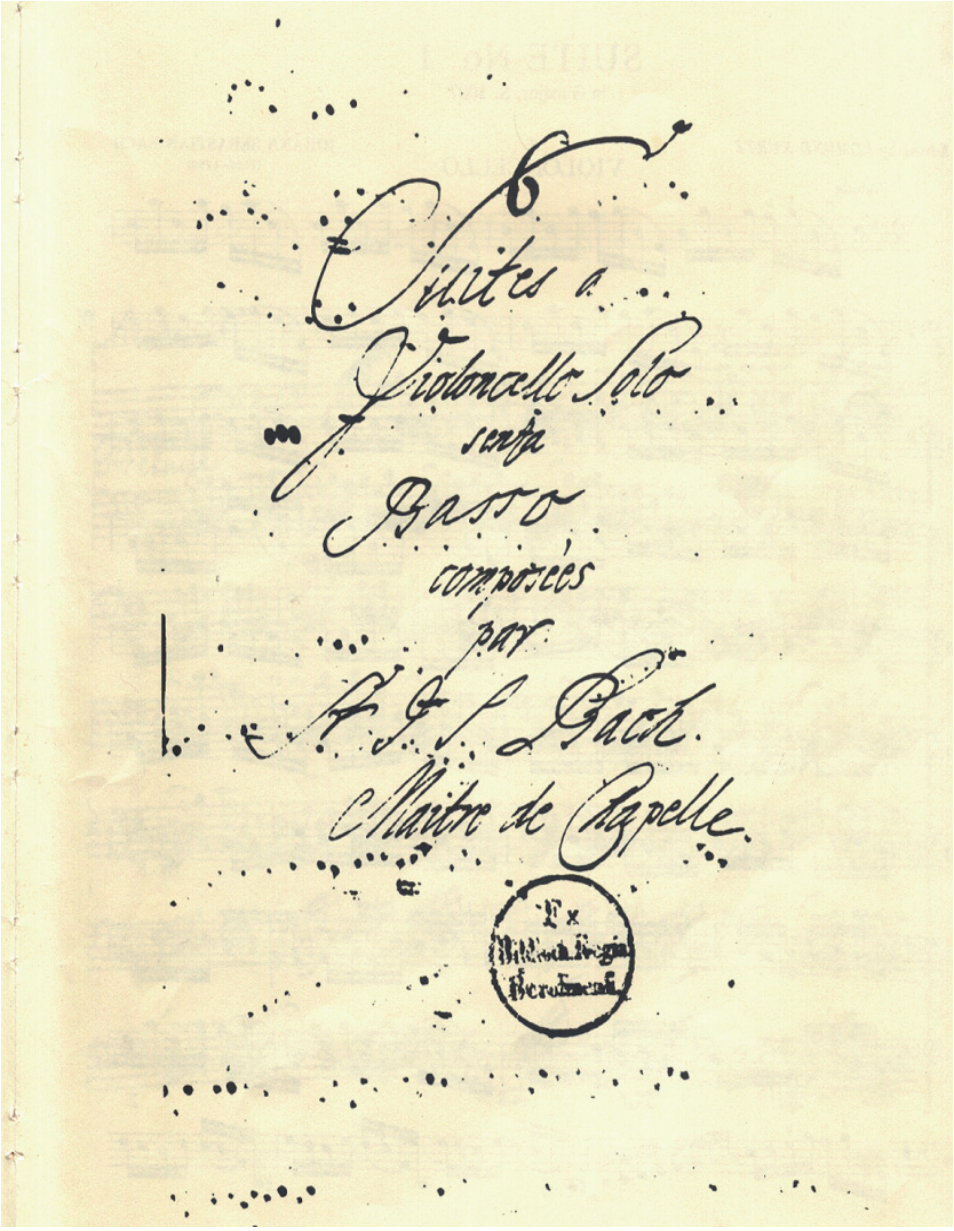


Figure 4.1. Cover page of Anna Magdalena manuscript of BWV 1007-1012, in the hand of Bach's student Ludwig Schwanenberger (1696-1774).

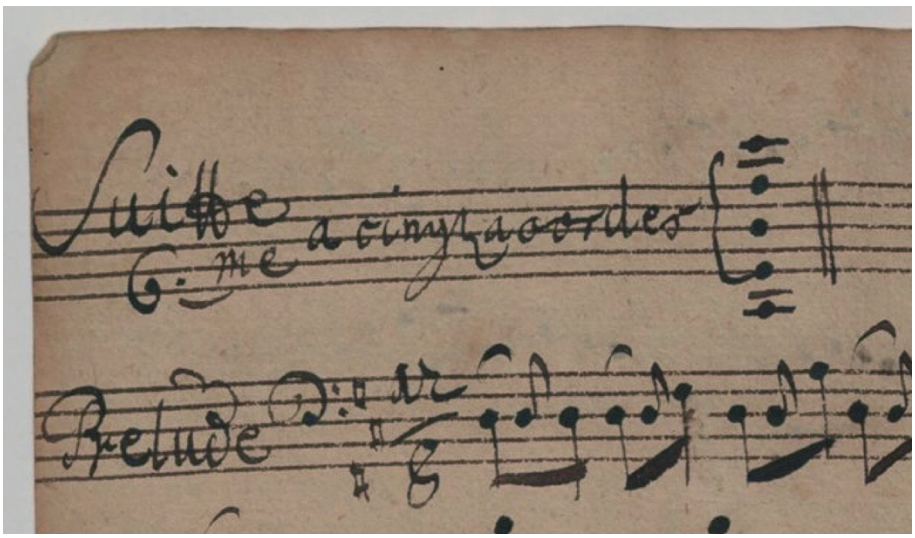


Figure 4.2. "*Suitte 6me, a cinq acordes,*" marks the first page of BWV 1012. With the exception of the title page (which is written in the hand of Bach's student Ludwig Schwanenberger and includes French and Italian writing), all of the markings in Anna Magdalena's manuscript copy are French.

The environment in which Bach conceived of his unaccompanied cello suites BWV 1007-1012 was one immersed in French culture; in Köthen, Bach was living and working in a French-inspired court with French-trained musicians. Bach was intimately familiar with the viola da gamba and players of it, as evidenced by his close personal and professional relationship with Christian Ferdinand Abel. In addition to Abel, Bach must have had minor associations, at least, with violists in Weimar and even earlier in Mülhausen (though no identifying records survive), as three of the seven cantatas which include viola da gamba parts pre-date the cello suites.[311] Though much scholarship has been devoted to the influence of French

[311] BWV 106 "*Gottes Zeit ist die Allerbeste Zeit*" is lauded by Bach historian Alfred Dürr as "a work of genius such as even the great masters seldom atchieve." Dürr, Alfred. The Cantatas of J.S. Bach, trans. Richard Jones, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 758-760. The cantata, which

keyboard music in Bach's keyboard repertoire, and Lullian French orchestral style in Bach's orchestral suites, little space has been devoted, thus far, to the influence of French viol music in Bach's cello suites.

In his essay concerning the early keyboard works of J. S. Bach, Stephen Crist says of twentieth century Bach scholars, "Bach's greatness has too often been extolled at the expense of the seventeenth-century Masters to which he was heir."[312] Perhaps Christoff Wolff falls victim to this phenomenon too, when he writes "if Westhoff [Paul Von Westhoff, Weimar violin virtuoso] provided the principal impulse for the idea of violin solos, no model Bach would have known existed for the violoncello suites." Westhoff published the *Ernstes Dutzend Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden und Giguen Violino Solo sonder Basso Continuo* in 1682 (Dresden), and six unaccompanied partitas in 1696 (Dresden); according to Wolff, Bach was likely familiar with these works even before his employment in Weimar. In his solo suites for violin, Westhoff elevated unaccompanied virtuosic practices to an unprecedented level. Though these works fall firmly within the school of the German contrapuntalists (with a dash of Italian flare), there is French influence here too. Westhoff's choice to use the French dance suite form was only natural, considering the pervasiveness of French dancing masters in the service of German

---

features two violas da gamba, is hypothetically dated to c.1707, during Bach's time of employment in Mülhausen. BWV 199 "*Mein Herzen Schwimmt im Blut*" dates from Weimar between 1711-1714, and BWV 152 "*Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn*" was also composed in Weimar, in 1714.

[312] Crist, Stephen A. *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*. Edited by John Butt, Cambridge University Press, 1997. p. 81.

nobility. Bach's "direct personal contact" with Westhoff is "nearly a given," according to Wolff, as Westhoff enjoyed the last years of his career at the court of Weimar, overlapping with Bach at the latter's first place of employment in 1703.

Of the models of unaccompanied cello repertoire which Wolff implies did exist, albeit outside of Bach's circle, he does not elaborate. They are most likely the twelve *Ricercate sopra il violoncello o clavicembalo* Op. 1 (Bologna, 1687) of Giovanni Battista degli Antoni (the instrumentation of the piece is unclear, with a possible violin part having been identified in the Estense Library in Modena), and the *Ricercari* of Domenico Gabrieli (1689), also in the Estense Library, though these pieces are described as mere "instructional material" by David Ledbetter.[313]

If Bach was not familiar with these Italian prototypes, as Wolff suggests, is it beyond the realm of possibility that Bach drew inspiration for his cello suites from the four decades of virtuosic bass viol music from France which precede them? As suggested by Ledbetter, "The question of viol influence [in Bach's cello suites] is not a merely theoretical one, but radically effects performance style."[314] Therefore, it is essential for performers wishing to form a thoughtful interpretation of these works to familiarize themselves with the French bass viol tradition, and its many vestiges within Bach's cello suites.

Despite the widely-held belief that Bach resurrected from obscurity the noble viol for his passions, relevant cantatas, sonatas, and sixth Brandenburg

---

[313] Ledbetter, p. 36.

[314] Ibid., p. 38.

concerto,[315] the viola da gamba had not yet begun to collect dust in Bach's Europe. Martin Cooper, in *Grove*, identifies the three pillars of the French baroque instrumental style as "the harpsichord suite, cultivated by such composers as d'Anglebert, Chambonnières, Couperin and Rameau . . . the music of the French organ school, by Titelouze, Nivers, de Grigny, Marchand, Louis and François Couperin, . . . and the dark-coloured viol music of the French gamba school, of which the leading figure was Marin Marais."[316] Regardless of the viol's relegated status in today's musical milieu, French viol music was absolutely essential to that of the French baroque. The viol thrived as a solo instrument through the first quarter (at least) of the eighteenth century in France, and also in Germany where it enjoyed an even longer life. One would do well not to forget that Marais' fifth and final book of *pièces de viol* was not published until 1725, some five years after the composition

---

[315] Gardener, John Eliot. *Bach: Music in the Castle of Heaven*. Knopf Doubleday Publishing Company, 2013, ch. 9, p. 4. "It [Aria from BWV 152, "*Tritt auf die Glaubensbahn*," premiered in 1714] is constructed as an allegorical dialogue between Jesus (bass) and the soul (soprano), an intimate chamber piece in which three archaic instruments – a recorder, a viola d'amore and a viola da gamba – standing for the old order." Also see Michael Thomas Roeder's *A History of the Concerto*. Amadeus Press, 1994, p. 95. "The emphasis on the lower strings, the use of the then-almost-obsolete viola da gamba." The liner notes of Montero and Boccaccio's *J.S. Bach Sonatas for Viola da Gamba.* Composed by J.S. Bach, Brilliant Classics, 2016, read: "The three sonatas composed by J.S. Bach around 1720, when the viola da gamba was already an archaic instrument." Ana Marinkovic's writes, in *The Interpretation of Bach's Gamba Sonata BWV 1029 on the Cello,* "Bach's use of the gamba for sonatas thus plays a game with historical time by implanting an archaic instrument in a modern genre," Agder University College, 2006, p. 38. Allison Crum and Lauren Cummings liner notes state: "Composing for the viol in the way was, by the early eighteenth century, archaic," in their recording of "J.S. Bach Sonatas for Viola da Gamba and Harpsichord," Signum Classics, 2000.

[316] Cooper, Martin. "France, I, 4: Art Music, "Grand siècle." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 748.

of Bach's cello suites. Pondering that Bach's cello suites can be considered part of the bass viol tradition, one might consider the cross pollination from BWV 1007-1012 to the solo viol works of Carl Friedrich Abel and the viol fantasies of Telemann, all of which are unaccompanied, enveloping Bach's cello suites in the rich history of the viol. In the following chapter, I will address the implications of French viol performance styles in Bach's cello suites.

Bach's Violoncello

In the early half of the eighteenth century, there was not yet a standard design for the violoncello. Unlike the violin, the cello existed in many sizes and configurations, some with three, four, five or even six strings. There were cellos much larger than today's standard, which were held *gamba* style, off of the floor with the player's legs, and smaller cellos, or cello-viola hybrids, which were held on the arm or shoulder, *da braccio,* or *da spalla* style, sometimes with the aid of a strap. For these instruments, an over-held bow grip would be most natural; for the leg-held versions, it was common to use an underhand bow grip, like that of a violist da gamba, as seen in figures 4.3-4.6:

Figure 4.3. Unknown painter (possibly Charles Philips). *Portrait of a Gentleman with a Cello.* Oil on canvas. England, c.1720.

Figure 4.4. Metsu, Gabriel. *The Cello Player.* Oil on canvas. Amsterdam, c.1658.

"It is our *Quinte de Violon*, or a *Petite Basse de Violon* with five or six strings."[317]

Figure 4.5. Painting depicting a five or six stringed violoncello by David Teniers The Younger. *The Painter and his Family*. Oil on oak, c.1646.

[317] De Broussard, Sebastian. *Dictionnaire de Musique.* Paris, 1703. *"C'est proprement nôtre Quinte de Violon, ou une petite Basse de Violon à cinq ou six Chordes."* Gallica.bnf.fr/bibliothèquenationaledefrance.

"The Violoncello is an Italian bass instrument similar to a viol; it is played like a violin, as in it is partly supported by the left hand and the strings are stopped by the fingers of the left hand, however, owing to its weight, it is attached to the button of the coat . . . it is tuned like a viola."[318]

Figure 4.6. An engraving, marked "Viola" by Filippo Bonnanni, dated 1720.

---

[318] Walther, Johann Gottfried. *Praecepta der musikalichen compositionen.* Weimar, 1708. Reprinted in *Jenaer Beiträge Zurich Musikforscghung,* vol, 2, Leipzig 1955, p.161. "*Violoncello ist ein Italiaenisches einer Violadigamba night ungleishes Bass-Instrument, wird fast tractiret wie eine Violin, neml. Es wird mit der lincken Hand theirs gehalten, und die Griffe formiret, theils aber wird es wegen der Schwere an des Rockes Knopff gehänget . . . Wird gestimmet wie eine Viola"*

"The excellent Violoncello, the Bass Viola and the Viola *di Spalla* are small bass violins in comparison with the larger ones, with five or also six strings, upon which one can play all manner of rapid things, variations, and ornaments with less effort than on larger machines."[319]

Figure 4.7. An Italian drawing, c.1700. Present location unknown.

[319] Mattheson, Johann. *Das Neu-Eröffnet Orchester.* Hamburg, 1713, p. 285.

“. . . in particular the *Viola di Spalla*, or shoulder-viol, has a large effect in accompaniment, because it cuts through strongly and can express the notes purely. A bass can never be brought out more distinctly and clearly than on this instrument. It is attached to the chest with a strap and thrown onto the right shoulder, and therefore has nothing which disturbs or impedes its resonance.”[320]

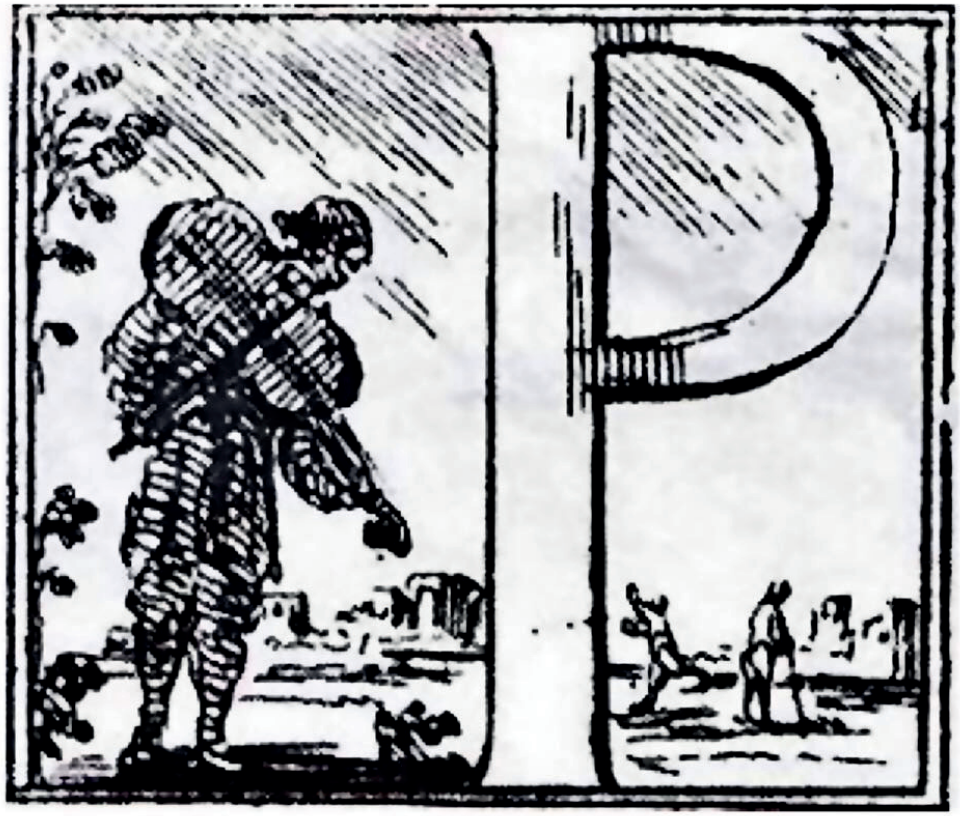


Figure 4.8. An image included in the cello part book of Giuseppe Torelli’s *Concerto per Camera a Violino, e Violoncello* Op. IV. Bologna, c.1690.

[320] Ibid.

The preceding images and descriptions convey the experimental state of the violoncello's turn-of-the-century (seventeenth to eighteenth) idiom and form. By 1710, Antonio Stradivari had settled on a medium-sized body of 75-76 cm in length, (significantly smaller than the seventeenth-century norm of 77-80cm). Many early eighteenth-century cellos were built to include a fifth string (C-G-d-a-e). Experimentation with an even smaller body size began following the invention of metal-wound gut strings. This technique allowed for the C and G strings of the violoncello to respond and produce an agreeable tone with far less length than unwound gut. These smaller cellos, which could be held on the shoulder and played in the manner of a violin, fostered the development of a more virtuosic capability among performers.[321] It is only as we approach the middle of the century that the violoncello's standards of form and technique become more clearly defined, bearing descriptions not unlike our modern version.[322]

All of this begs the question: what type of "violoncello" did Bach have in mind for BWV 1007-1012? According to Wolff, "The score of the cello suites suggests that Bach intended to accommodate a fluid situation without being prescriptive," which is in congruence with the manuscript's requirement that the

---

[321] Marx, Klaus. "Violoncello." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 856-859.

[322] In 1756, Leopold Mozart wrote in his *Gründlich Violinschule* "The bass viol, after the Italian Violoncello, calls the Violoncell. Formerly, this has five strings, but now only has four. It is customary to play the bass on this instrument, and although some are larger, others are smaller, they differ little from each other excepting in the strength of their tone, according to the fashion of their stringing...Nowadays the violoncello is also held between the legs." Mozart, Leopold. *A Treatise on the Fundamental Principals of Violin Playing*, 1756. Translated by Editha Knocker, 2nd Edition, Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 11.

fifth suite be performed scordatura, and the sixth use a cello *à cinq acordes.*[323] Indeed, even the name *violoncello* suggests generality: *viola*—one—cello. (*viola* = stringed instrument, *one* = big, *cello* = little); a "violoncello" means, simply, "big, little stringed instrument."[324]

Cello vs. Viol

Many are fond of the romanticized notion that the gnarled, wizened viol, a relic of an instrument, vanished in a puff of smoke at its first glimpse of our triumphant hero, the violoncello. This is not the case. The bass viol and violoncello coexisted, fulfilling roles as bowed bass continuo (*bass d'archet*), often interchangeably, for the better part of a century. With the earliest cello sonatas dating from the late 1680s (D. Gabrielli's two *Sonate a Violoncello Solo con Basso Continuo*) and copies of Vivaldi cello concerti from as early as 1708, it is clear that there was a significant, decades-long overlap between the two virtuosic

---

[323] Wolff, Christoph. *Bach's Musical Universe: The Composer and His Work*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2020, p. 96; Miriam Bolduan contributes to this, with regard to Bach's scoring for obbligato "Violoncello Piccolo" in many of his cantatas, in her essay "The significance of the Viola Pomposa in the Bach Cantatas." *Bach,* vol.14, no.3, 1983, p. 12. "Although the instruments were played in different positions - on the floor, on the knee, on the arm, under the chin - and although they were named differently, some were, for a given piece of music, interchangeable. One played the instrument at hand, or the instrument on which one was more competent."

[324] For more about the development of the violoncello, see Steven Bonta's "From Violone to Violoncello: A Question of Strings?"

traditions.[325] Many seventeenth and eighteenth-century musicians, amateur and professional, owned both a cello and a viol, choosing one over the other depending on one's taste and desired balance.[326] As mentioned in the previous chapter, Bach scholar Karl Neumann suggests that Christian Ferdinand Abel and Christian Bernhard Linicke were proficient on both cello and viol. It is also curious that in his copy of Bach's cello suites, Kellner's title page reads "*Pour le Viola da Basso*," a term which was generally reserved for the bass viol in Bach's Germany.[327]

It was not until public concerts in large halls came into fashion in the latter half of the eighteenth century that the viol fell out of favor. This overlap of cello and viol traditions is evidenced by Hubert Le Blanc's enthusiastic, albeit somewhat dramatic 1740 publication, *Defense of the Viola da Gamba Against the Enterprises of the Violin and the Pretensions of the Violoncello*. In her translation of Le Blanc's pamphlet, Barbara Garvey Jackson surmises that, based on his fixation on Marais and Forqueray Sr., Le Blanc must have been old enough to have formed his musical tastes and opinions between 1690 and 1710.[328]

---

[325] Copies of several cello concerti of Vivaldi exist in the hand of musician Franz Horneck, which survive in the Library of Counts Schönborn. Talbot, Michael. "Vivaldi, Antonio." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 20, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 32-33.

[326] Sadie, Julie Anne. "Bowed Continuo Instruments in French Baroque Chamber Music." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 105, 1978, pp. 39-40.

[327] Schwemer, Bettina and Douglas Woodfull-Harris. *J. S. Bach: 6 Suites a Violoncello Solo senza Basso*. Text volume, Bärenreiter, 2014, p. 7.

[328] Garvey Jackson, Barbara. "Hubert Le Blanc Défense de la viole." *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 10, 1973, p.11.

Leclair scores a trio from his second book of violin sonatas (c.1728) for violin or flute, viol and '*clavecin ou violoncel.'* The third of Jean-Baptiste Quentin's *Sonates en trio*, Op. 15 (c.1730s), is a quartet with one part labeled "*viole*" and another "*violoncello.*" The viol part is predominantly in alto clef, the cello part in the bass; the two bowed bass instruments are scored in either tenths or in unison. Telemann's *Paris Quartets* (1736 and 1738) may have been performed with a cello playing the continuo line, and a viol carrying out the solo. Telemann also published an alternative solo part for cello, instead of viol, for those so inclined. Michel Corretté's 1741 method of cello playing contains an entire chapter dedicated to violists, titled *Useful for those who know how to play the Viole and want to learn the Violoncello*. The chapter begins:

> As most people who play the Viole are at present in the way of wanting to play the Violoncello . . . we can see on top the relationship of the seven strings of the Viole to the four strings of the Violoncello upon which we make as many notes and even with more facility than on the seven strings of the Viole. The bow articulates better and pulls more sound out of four strings than on seven. Also in a concert one single Violoncello makes more effect than six Violes.[329]

Corretté's remark regarding the violoncello making more "effect" than six viols is apropos— sound production was the mortal enemy of the viol, and the cause of its

---

[329] Correttè, Michel. *Methode, Thérique et Pratique Pour Apprendre En Peu de Tens Le Violoncelle Dans Sa Perfection*. Paris, 1741, p. 43.

eventual demise. More than a decade after Correttè's remarks, Ancelet, in his *Observations sur la musique* (1757) writes of the viol: "if it is banished from big concerts, because of its feebleness of sound, it is very agreeable in the chamber, especially with the *clavecin*."[330] Indeed, as musical performances transitioned from domestic chambers to concert halls, the earthy, veiled sound of the viol could not compete with the abundance of volume produced by the violin family of instruments.

French Styles as seen in BWV 1007-1012

Notes inégales

"The goût français *became an established concept in European music-making, and always reflected the spritely rhythms and neat, tasteful, lively yet disciplined style of performance suited to music, much of which originated in dance rather than song."*[331]

Defined in *Grove* as: "a rhythmic convention according to which certain divisions of the beat move in alternately long and short values, even if they are written equal," *notes inégales* style conveys the lively yet refined spirit of French

---

[330] Ancelet. *Observations sur la musique, les musicians, et les instruments.* Amsterdam, 1757, p. 24.

[331] Cooper, Martin. "Goût Français." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 747.

baroque music, and is the very source of the aforementioned sprightliness in its rhythms.[332] The style of *Notes inégales* is well documented in the many French treatises, prefaces and *avertissements* of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, though lack of explicit notation of this style in French music both (a) proves its pervasiveness, and (b) presents significant difficulties to the modern performer. Couperin himself, one of the greatest proponents of the French baroque style, freely admits that the lack of notation of this style presents challenges:

> In my opinion there are flaws in our way of writing music, which are similar to flaws in the way we write our language. It is that we write differently from what we execute, which makes foreigners play our music less well than we play theirs. On the contrary, the Italians write their music in the true values in which they think them. For example, we dot many eighth notes in a row which move by step; and yet we mark them equally. Our usage [of this notation] enslaves us, and yet we continue this way.[333]

The general rules of *notes inégales*, which may be discerned from the relevant source material, suggest that inequality occurs when a melody or line is conjunct, without leaps, and is applied differently in different meters; generally, the second division of the beat in duple meter (eighth notes in 2/2, sixteenth notes in 2/4 and 4/4), and the first division of the beat in triple meter (quarter notes in 3/2, eight

---

[332] Fuller, David. "Notes inégales." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 13, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 420.

[333] Couperin, François. *L'Art de Toucher le Clavecin*. Paris, 1716, pp. 39-40.

notes in ¾, and sixteenth notes in 3/8) may be played unequally.[334] Inequality is usually canceled out by long slurs. While these rules are useful for forming an interpretative framework, the ultimate and overwhelming consensus on the matter is that the style's application should never be uniform and should always be left up to one's better judgement, or *bon goût*.

The question of whether or not to apply *notes inégales* style to Bach's music is the crux of a long and ongoing debate among performers and musicologists alike, and is not one which I seek to answer definitively in this paper.[335] One of the loudest voices in the conversation of *notes inégales* and Bach belongs to Frederick Neumann, whose extremely comprehensive article on the matter addresses the particulars of the *notes inégales* style and its various applications in French music.[336] While there is much to learn from Neumann's work regarding the French practice of *notes inégales*, his conservative approach to the application of the style outside of France (including the complete dismissal of the German treatises by Quantz and Muffat, which discuss *notes inégales* at length), and his outright refusal

---

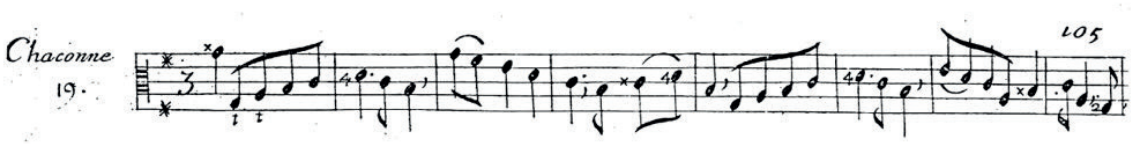
[334] Neumann, Frederick. "The French 'Inégales,' Quantz and Bach." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1965, p. 321.

[335] See John Byrt's *Alteration in Handel: A Fresh Approach*, for a strong argument being made for inequality in the music of Handel. Also arguments by Neumann, Donnington, Dolmetsch, Collins and Babitz.

[336] Neumann, Frederick. "The French 'Inégales,' Quantz and Bach." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1965, pp. 313-51.

to entertain its implications in the music of J.S. Bach has, more recently, been attributed to staunch German nationalism.[337]

Those who oppose the alteration of rhythm in Bach's music cite the fact that Bach does notate dotted rhythms on occasion, displaying his capability of doing so when the effect is desired, and therefore Bach does *not* wish for the unequal division of his equally valued notes. This argument, reasonable as it may sound, is flawed, for the very simple reason that most French baroque composers write dotted rhythms in their music, though not to the exclusion of *notes inégales* in other equally notated sections. The following examples, all excerpted from Marais' *pièces*, display various notations of inequality. Observe, noting that it is firmly entrenched in the performance practice of the French baroque to play the evenly notated eight and sixteenth notes unequally (depending on the meter):

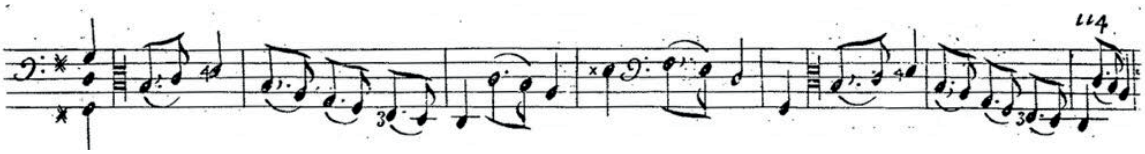


Example 4.1. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de viole,* book 1, *Chaconne,* excerpt.

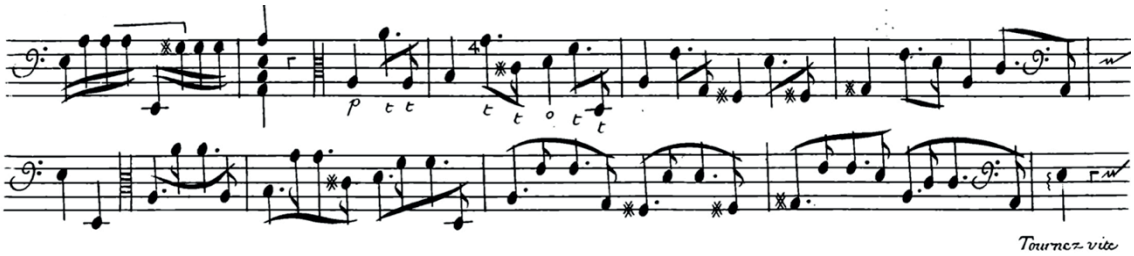
Example 4.2. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de viole,* book 1, *Chaconne,* excerpt.

---

[337] Dirst, Matthew. "Bach's French Overtures and the Politics of Overdotting." *Early Music*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1997, p. 42-43. "Francophobia among German musicians was, of course, but part of their culture's new emphasis on indigenous art, as epitomized in the '*Sturm und Drang'* movement of the 1770s, when German literary figures set about establishing a truly national literature. A rejection of the long-standing cultural hegemony of France—in literature, music and even the language used at court—was fundamental to this desire for a German culture."



Example 4.3. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de viole,* book 1, *Chaconne,* excerpt.



Example 4.4. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viol*, book 3, *Grand Ballet,* excerpt.

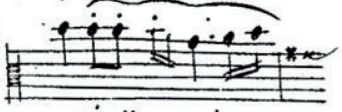
Example 4.1. expresses the typical notation of inequality—the nature of the music, with its conjunct eighth notes in triple meter tacitly implies the style. Example 4.2. is written in a dotted fashion to ensure inequality under a slur; the same applies to example 4.3. The disjunct nature of example 4.4. demands that the dotted rhythm be notated, as the general rule was to apply *notes inégales* to mostly conjunct lines.

There are several possible reasons for the notation of expressly dotted rhythms in music which otherwise would have been played unequally: (1) they are notated as such to convey the absolute necessity of inequality in the rhythm, thereby relieving the composer of any risk that the performer might play the notes equally, and/or (2), the dotted rhythms are meant to conjure a more extreme disparity, or inequality of the note values. The converse of this, Marais addresses in the *avertissement* of his second book of *Pièces de viole:*

On trouuera souuent des points, et en differentes situations, voicy a quoy ils sont propres.

Les points marqués ainsy au dessus ou au dessous des nottes auec Liaison

{ Exemple page 1re Prelude 1er }

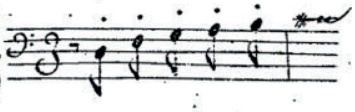


Signifient qu'il faut d'vn seul coup d'archet articuler plusieurs nottes comme si elles etoient de coups d'archet differens, et cela en appuiant vn peu le doigt qui touche en dessus le crin de l'archet.

Exemple

Les points qui sont au dessus des nottes non Liés

{ 12e Couplet des Folies d'espagne }



Signifient qu'il faut faire chaque notte égalle, au lieu qu'on les pointe ordinairement de la premiere a la seconde : & Lorsqu'ils ne sont point marqués pour ces sortes de mouuemens, On peut encore les faire comme s'ils l'étoient, attendu que le goust de la piece le demande quelque fois naturellement, comme les Allemandes qui n'ont pas besoin de cette obseruation, et je ne les ay marqués qu'aux endrois qui pouuoient souffrir quelque doute et meme dans les basses continües ; ces points sont fort en vsage chés les Etrangers.

Figure 4.9. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole*, book 2. *Avertissement*. Paris, 1701.

One will frequently find dots, and in different situations. Here is what they are for:

{Example: Page 1, *Prelude* 1} The dots which are above or below notes which fall under a slur signify that you must, with one single stroke of the bow, articulate several notes as if they were with separate bow strokes. This is done by pushing slightly with the finger which is underneath the stick. {Example: 12 *Couplet des follies d'espagne*} The dots that are above the notes without a tie signify that each note is to be made equal in duration instead of, as is customary, dotting them from the first to the second; and whenever, for movements of this kind, they are not indicated, one can still make them as if they were, provided that the style of the pieces calls for it, sometimes

> naturally, like *allemandes*, which have no need of this observation; and I have marked them only in the places that could suffer from some doubt, even in the thoroughbasses. These dots are greatly in use among the foreigners.[338]

From this, one may infer that in Marais' *pièces de viole(s)* a model of "*inégales* unless otherwise notated" is appropriate.[339] This *modus operandi* may be extrapolated to other French *pièces de viol,* and may also, in turn, be applied to certain movements of Bach's cello suites. Of course, inequality is a spectrum; one may vary the unevenness from scarcely perceptible to the sounding equivalent of a double dot. The *notes inégales* style was far from rigid or regular in its application, and any "correct" use of it could be applied differently throughout a single work, single passage, or left out altogether. This style was considered to be one of the most effective means of expression in French music, and, as such, was not overly prescribed but left to the discretion of the performer.[340]

If the roots of French music lay in dance, and the *notes inégales* style was pervasive, as is suggested in all of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century treatises from France which contain pertinent content regarding measure, meter and time, it

---

[338] Translation by Gordon J Kinney, Marin Marais as Editor of His Own Compositions. *Viola da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 3, 1966, pp. 10-11.

[339] Marais' mention of the *Allemande* initially led scholars to believe that the German dance was not subject to *notes inégales*, though contemporary musicologists, such as David Ledbetter, agree that the inequality was simply relegated to the sixteenth note division, and not left out entirely. Ledbetter, p. 79.

[340] Fuller, *Grove*, p. 425.

should follow that the unequal style was essential to the proper execution of French noble dance and *ballets de cour*, both in spirit and in execution of choreography. It is of my opinion that in his compositions of dance suites, stylized as they are, the French style of *notes inégales* would not have been lost on Bach, and may be applied to his French-styled music when the performer deems it appropriate, albeit with care, consideration and good taste.

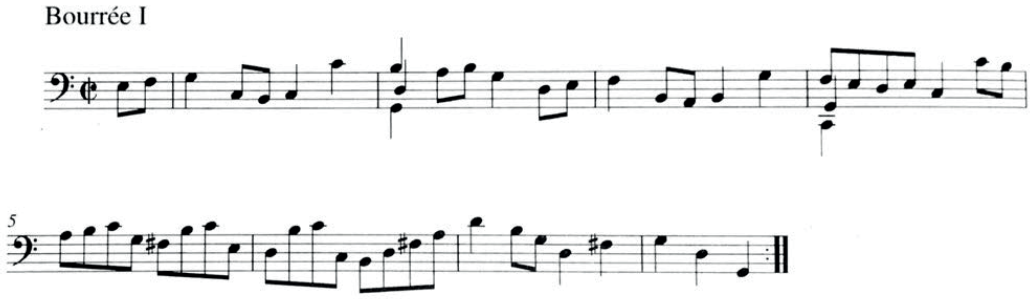
Frederick Neumann does admit, in the summary of his article, that there were "islands of complete French musical domination" in Bach's Germany.[341] I believe these "islands" were larger than Neumann wished to believe—the French influence in Germany was profound, and Bach was, indeed, influenced by its musical styles. Arnold Dolmetsch was a devotee of inclusion of *note inégales* in the music of J. S. Bach. In his *Interpretation of the Music of the XVII & XVIII Centuries,* he vehemently supports its application to the St. Matthew Passion (BWV 244) the cello suites (BWV 1007-1012), and the "French" keyboard suites (BWV 812-817).[342]

---

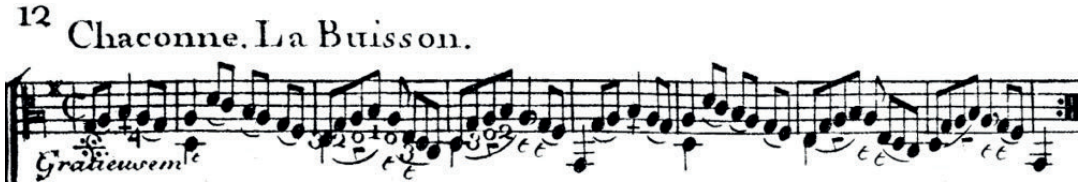
[341] Neumann, p. 358. "Inequality cannot be considered a general Baroque practice, nor one that was current among German musicians outside islands of complete French musical domination; and that, with the possible exception of a very few marginal instances, there seems to be no reason why it should be applied to the music of J. S. Bach."

[342] Dolmetsch, Arnold. *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII & XVIII Centuries*. London, Novello and Company LTD, 1916, pp. 84-87.

The French *notes inégales* style is certainly something that should be considered in a contemporary performer's decision-making process. Many of the dance movements in Bach's cello suites respond well to the application of *notes inégales* and emerge featuring a blatant resemblance to French *pièces de viole*. Below are several examples of movements from BWV 1007-1012 which may benefit from the inclusion of some inequality at the decorative division of the beat. This is by no means a comprehensive list, and many more examples may be found in the thirty-six movements which comprise BWV 1007-1012. In the first example, note the similarities on the page between the *Bourrée* from the third cello suite of J.S. Bach (Ex. 4.5) and *Chaconne La Buisson* by A. Forqueray (Ex. 4.6). Despite these similarities, modern interpreters apply drastically different performance styles to these works, when, perhaps, they belong to the same French tradition.

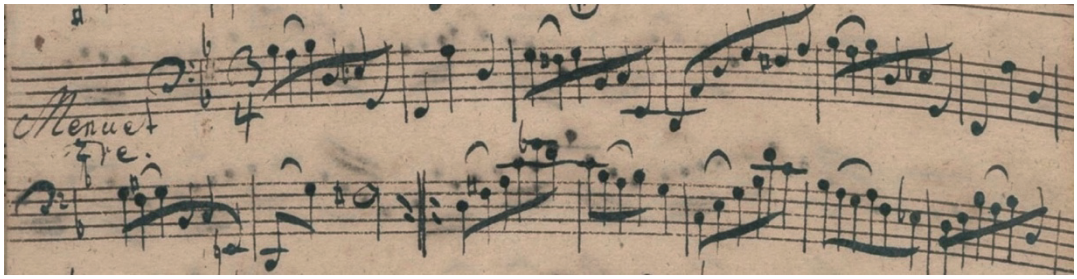


Example 4.5. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Bourrée,* excerpt.



Example 4.6. Antoine Forqueray's *Pièces de viole*, *Chaconne La Buisson*, theme.

Another potential recipient of *notes inégales* in Bach's suites is the second *Menuet* of BWV 1007. If executed tastefully, the movement takes on the air of a Lullian *chaconne*, with its regular four-bar phrases, its emphasis on the second beat of the second measure of each phrase, its bass line which outlines a descending tetrachord and its tell-tale cadential hemiolas.[343]

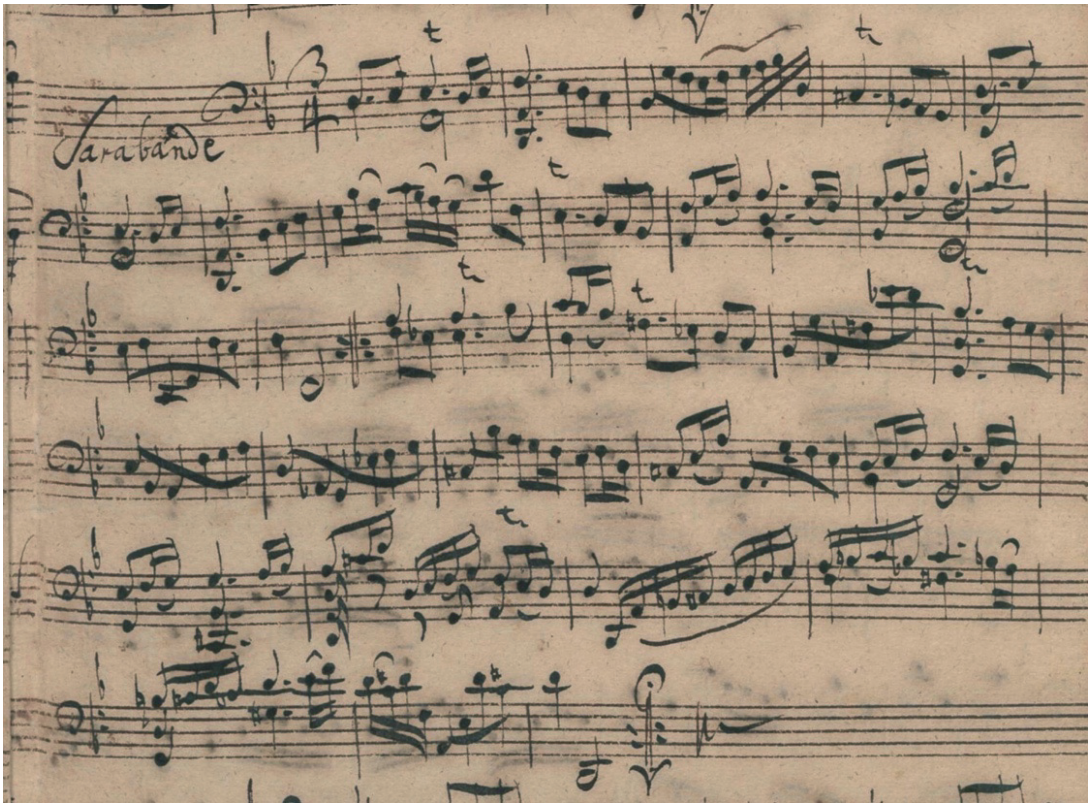


Example. 4.7. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Menuet* II, excerpt.

The *Sarabande* of BWV 1008 possesses many hallmark characteristics of a *Sarabande* from a suite of French *pièces de viole*: the unison in the first measure (a prominent feature of *pièces de viole* which will be addressed later in this chapter), the cadential trills, the written-out *tierce de coulé* figures (mm. 2, 4, 8 and 16), the broad, sonorous chords, and the sensual double stops. The French style of this movement may be accentuated further with the application of *notes inégales*. As articulated by Ledbetter, "it is essential that they [the eighth notes] preserve some

[343] Anthony, p. 137.

flexibility and feeling of on-beats and off beats. To treat the eighth notes, and even more the sixteenths, as fundamental is to lose the rhythmic shape."[344]



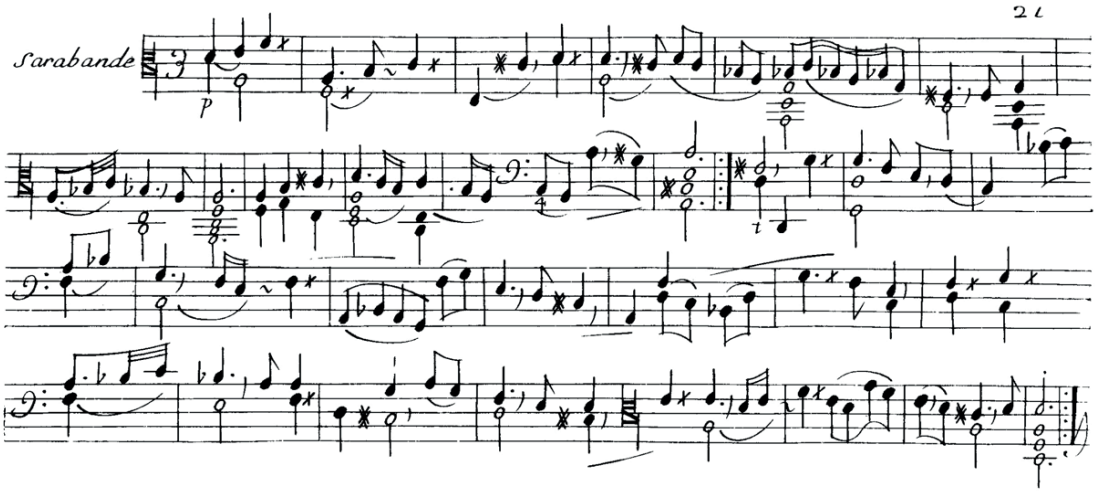
Example 4.8. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, of BWV 1008, *Sarabande.*

Ledbetter compares Bach's D minor *Sarabande* to one of De Machy's in the same key, noting that the eighth and sixteenth notes would unquestionably be played unequally in the latter's example, and may also be, with good conscience, in Bach's.[345]

---

[344] Ledbetter, p. 79.

[345] Ledbetter, pp. 192-193.



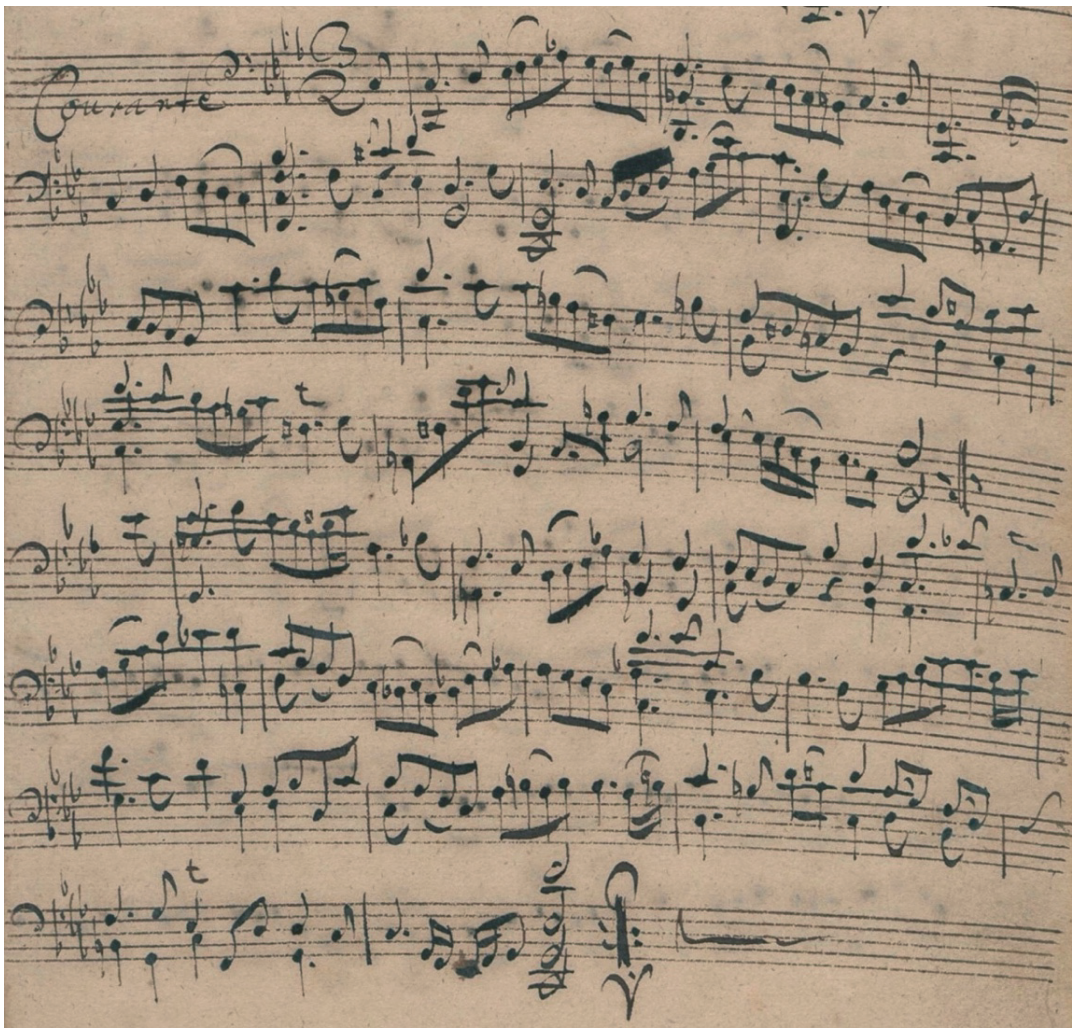
Example 4.9. De Machy, *Pièces de violle*, Suite in D minor, *Sarabande.*

The *Courante* from BWV 1011 is the only true French *courante* (the favorite dance of Louis XIV) in BWV 1007-1012 (the remaining five resemble more the Italian *corrente*, meaning "running"). The separate quarter notes in this movement are quite typical of the French courante, as are the movement's *grave* 3/2 meter, contrapuntal style, metrical ambiguities and cadential hemiolas.[346] Of this Courante, Ledbetter says "it is difficult for anyone who is familiar with the keyboard and chamber music of Couperin to feel the eighths here as completely equal."[347] I would expand Ledbetter's statement to include the French *pièces de viole* of Marais, De Machy, Caix d'Hervelois and Forqueray.

---

[346] Quantz, p. 58. "The *entrée,* the *loure* and the *courante* are played with majesty, and the bow is detached at each crochet."; Little, Meredith Ellis and Suzanne G. Cusick, "Courante." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 4, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 875.

[347] Ledbetter, p. 222.



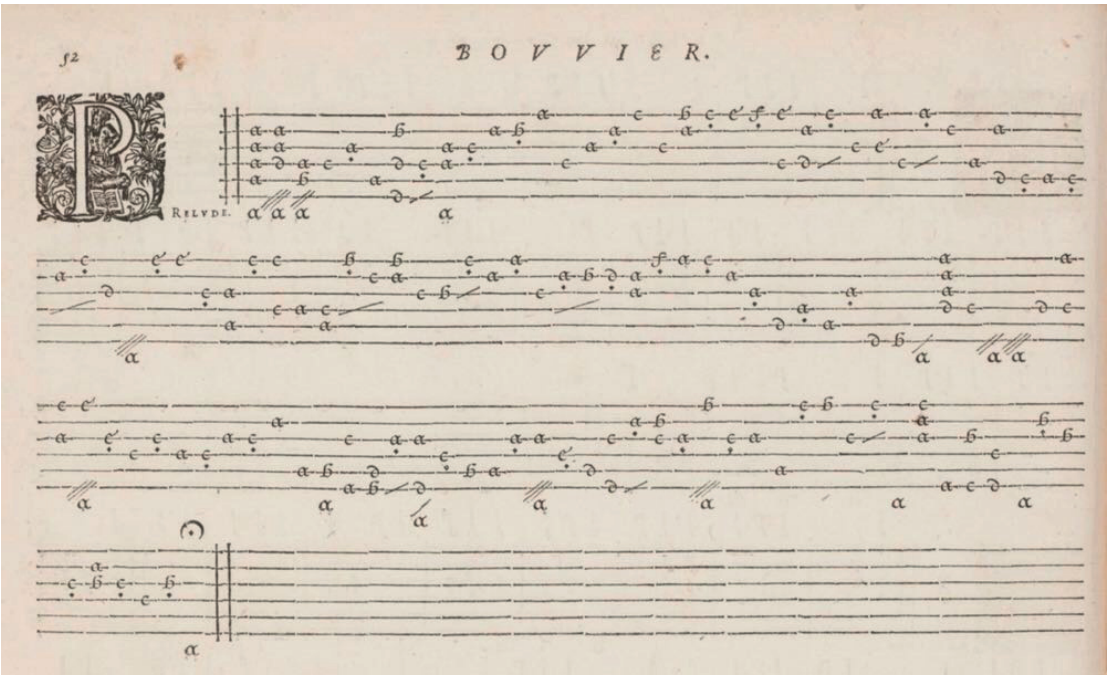
Example 4.10. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Courante.*

French baroque expert James Anthony writes: "In my opinion, we should use extreme discretion in applying rules of inequality to music composed outside France unless this music is unmistakably in the French style."[348] It is quite clear that BWV 1007-1012 fall into the category of music which is "unmistakably in the French style," and therefore the rules of inequality should apply. The unequal

[348] Anthony, p. 441.

execution of eighth and sixteenth notes (and in some case quarter notes) radically alters the style and feel of movements within Bach's cello suites, and, in many cases, brings to the surface their innate Frenchness.[349]

Unmeasured Preludes



Example 4.11. An unmeasured *prelude* for lute by Bovier, from Pierre Ballard's anthology of lute tablature, *Tablature de luthe de différents auters*. Paris, 1631.

An echo of the French lute tradition, the unmeasured, or non-measured prelude (*prelude non mesuré*) is worth mentioning, as an influential genre which migrated to both the French keyboard and viol repertoires of the baroque. *Prelude*

[349] Dolmetsch advocates for the inequality of quarter notes in the *Sarabande* of BWV 1012, as seen in his arrangement of the piece on p. 85 of *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII & XVIII Centuries*.

non mesuré describes a *prelude* in which the pitches are presented without rhythm, or with imprecise or ambiguous rhythm, leaving the interpretation largely to the discretion of the performer. Unmeasured *preludes* first surfaced during the Renaissance era as brief, improvisatory pieces for lute, whose function served to introduce a larger work. As the solo lute tradition dwindled in France over the course of the seventeenth century, the unmeasured *prelude* persisted through its new viol and keyboard hosts. In the viol and especially keyboard repertoires, the unmeasured prelude maintained its improvisatory character, but developed into a lengthier, more elaborate event; though the genre evolved, its main purpose remained: to comprise a few motivic ideas and arrange them into a tonal scheme which will explore the harmonic possibilities of the greater work's key, as well as familiarize the performer with the instrument and "warm up," so to speak. Nicolas Lebègue describes the function of the *prelude* in a letter to a friend: "A prelude is nothing but a preparation for playing pieces in a certain key, for trying out the instruments before you play the pieces and for exploring the key which you wish to use."[350] Utilitarian purposes aside, it is clear that *prelude* was meant to introduce a key, and all of its harmonic and sonic implications. This aim is observed in the unmeasured preludes of L. Couperin, De Machy and d'Anglebert as well as in the measured yet improvisatory *preludes* of F. Couperin, Marais, and Bach. To fully appreciate and understand the function of the *prelude* in Bach's suites, a cursory understanding of the French tradition of the *prelude non mesuré* is necessary.

---

[350] Gustafson, Bruce. "A Letter from Mr. Lebègue concerning his Preludes." *Recherches sur la musique française classique,* XVII, 1977, Picard, Paris, p. 9.

Louis Couperin (1626-1661) is acknowledged as the first composer of keyboard music to embrace the unmeasured *prelude*, and is also the most prolific composer of the genre, having composed a total of sixteen such works.[351] Other practitioners of unmeasured *preludes* for keyboards include Lebègue (1677, five), Élisabeth Jacquet de la Guerre (1677, four), Jean-Henri d'Anglebert (1689, three), Louis Marchand (1703, one), Louis-Nicolas Clérambault (1704, two), Gaspard Le Roux (1705, four) and Jean-Philippe Rameau (1706, one).[352] L. Couperin's unmeasured preludes are easily recognizable by their exclusive use of *croches blanches*, dramatic, gestural lines and slur markings. According to Colin Tilney, whose 1991 edition of unmeasured *preludes* is the first to combine all existing examples in a single publication, "function links the *prelude* with such semi-improvised forms as the *intonatio*, the *fantasia* and the *toccata*."[353] The unmeasured preludes of Louis Couperin and subsequent composers are also inspired by the *tombeaus* and *allemandes* of Froberger.[354]

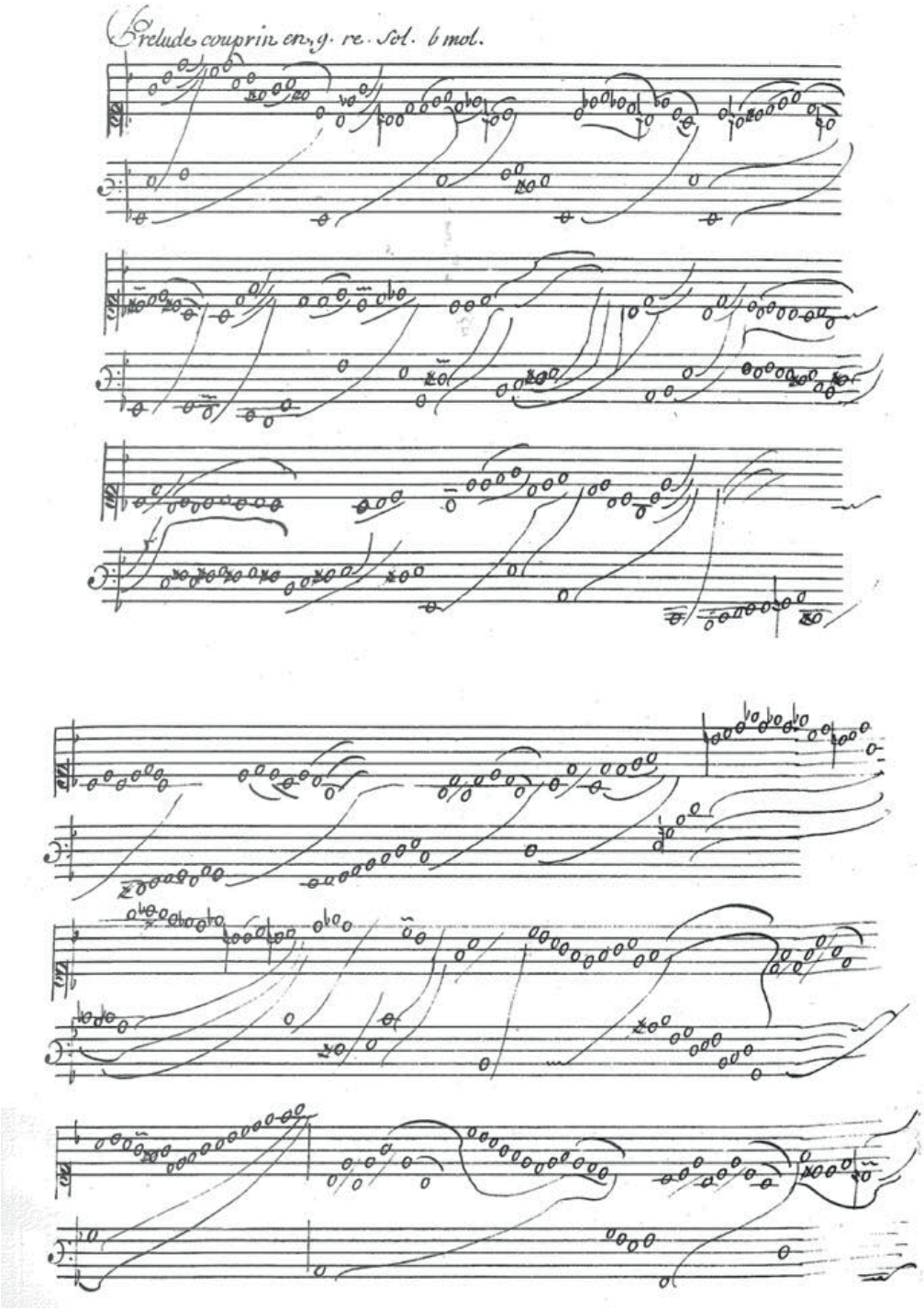
---

[351] Tilney, Colin. *The Art of the Unmeasured Prelude for Harpsichord: France 1660-1720*. Vol. 3, Schott, 1991, p. 1.

[352] Ibid.

[353] Ibid.

[354] Ibid., p. 2.



Example 4.12. A *prelude non mesuré* by Louis Couperin.

Being of the composer/performer tradition, Louis Couperin's unmeasured preludes existed solely in manuscripts. Unsatisfied with the restriction of conventional notation, Couperin found inspiration in the tablature system of French lute notation.[355] Changing the letters of lute tablature into simple breve notes which indicated pitch, and nothing else, Couperin also borrowed another lute device: the line. In Couperin's *croches blanches* notation (as well as the letters of lute and viol tablature), the most important evidence for interpretation is found in the various yet distinct treatments of slur lines. Lines define which notes are sustained (usually if the content within the slur is chordal) and for how long (Tilney compares this to the lute and viol *tenüe*), lines indicate which notes belong together gesturally, lines indicate rhythmic gestures, ornaments, and also isolate groups of notes from others.[356]

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the roles of composer and performer began to diverge, and with the rise in popularity of published music, unmeasured *preludes* began to incorporate more precise clues for their interpretation.[357] In published unmeasured *preludes*, the semibreve notation seen in Louis Couperin is abandoned. The three unmeasured *preludes* of d'Anglebert prove immeasurably useful, as they exist in two forms. D'Anglebert's manuscript

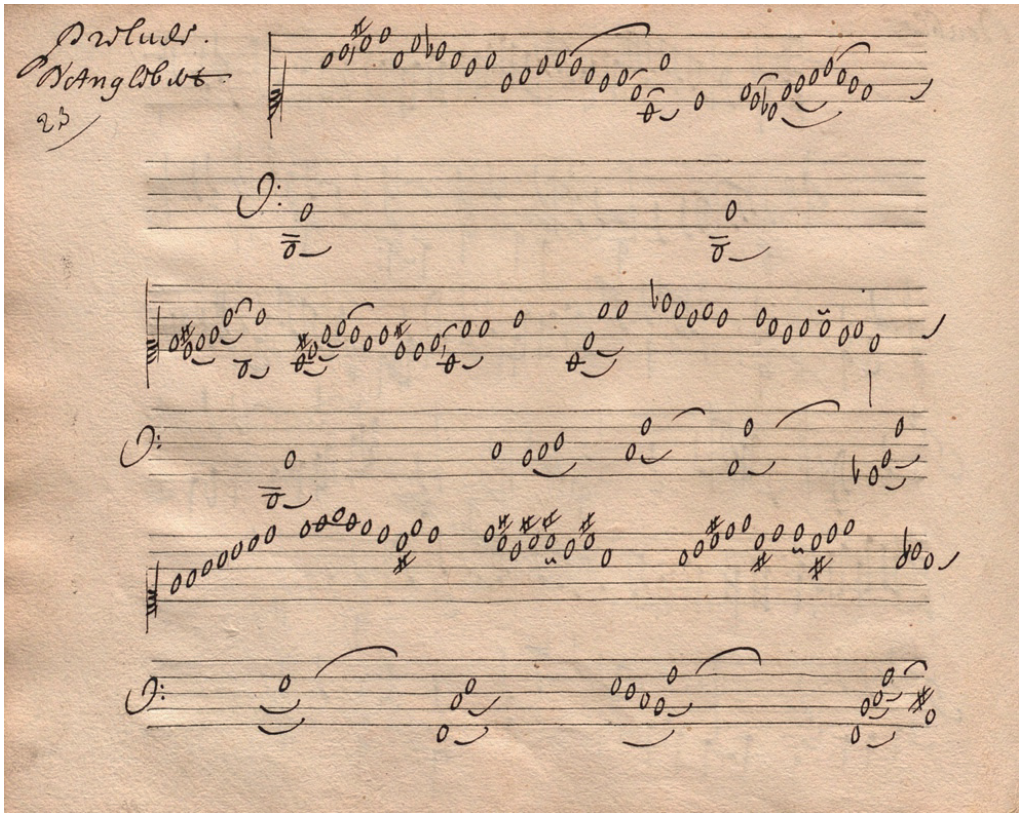
---

[355] Ibid., pp. 3, 5-7.

[356] Moroney, Davitt. "The Performance of Unmeasured Harpsichord Preludes." *Early Music*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1976, p. 147.

[357] Odermatt, Ariana Jane. *Historical Performance Practice of the Prélude Non Mesuré and Its Relationship to Recording and Performance*. Australian National University, 2018, p. 14.

preludes are noted much like L. Couperin's, in *croches blanches* which represent all note values, while his published versions are adapted for a broader audience of interpreters and feature differing note values. These smaller note values do not necessarily alter the speed of the notes (as one might think) but help to discern melody from harmony.[358] Simply put, d'Anglebert chooses white notes for harmonic pitches, and black notes for melodic content.[359] The *prelude non mesuré* of Marchand is notated in a similar fashion to those of d'Anglebert.

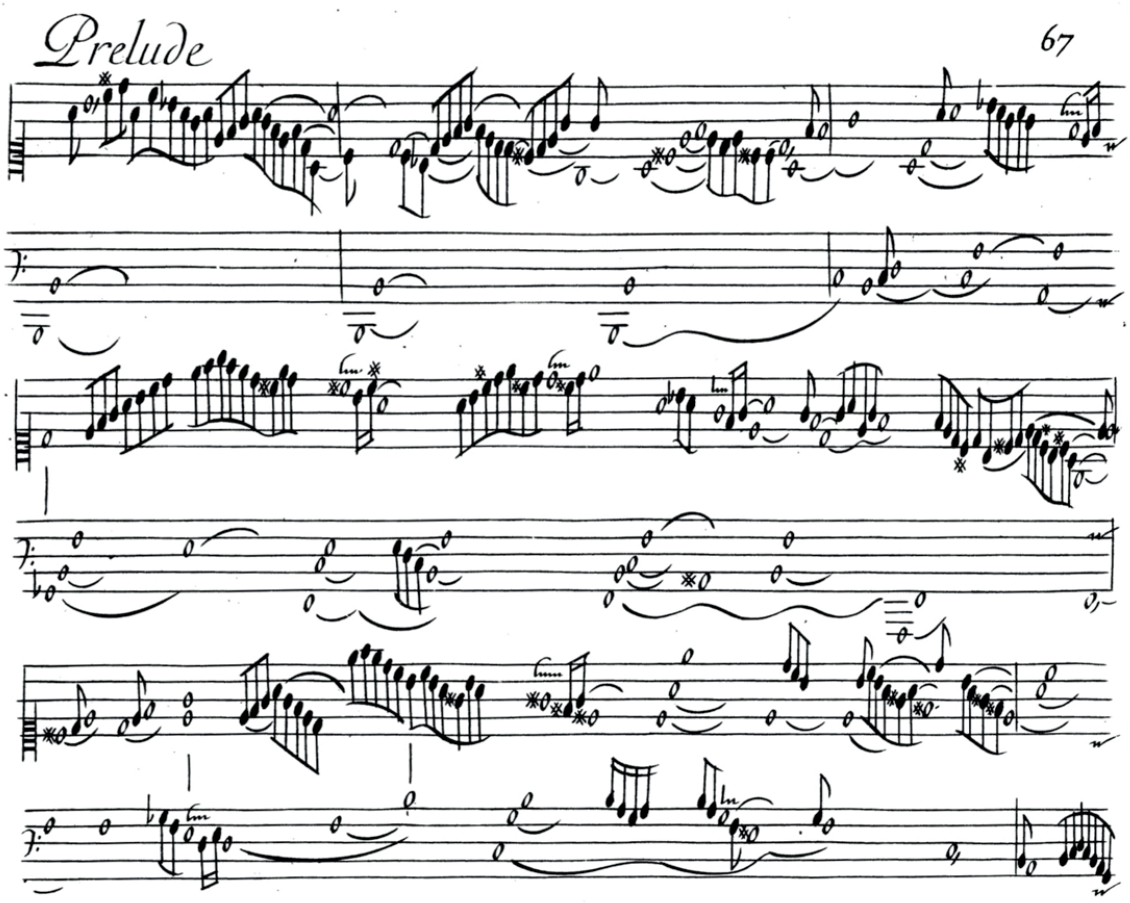


Example 4.13. A manuscript version of an unmeasured *Prelude* by d'Anglebert.

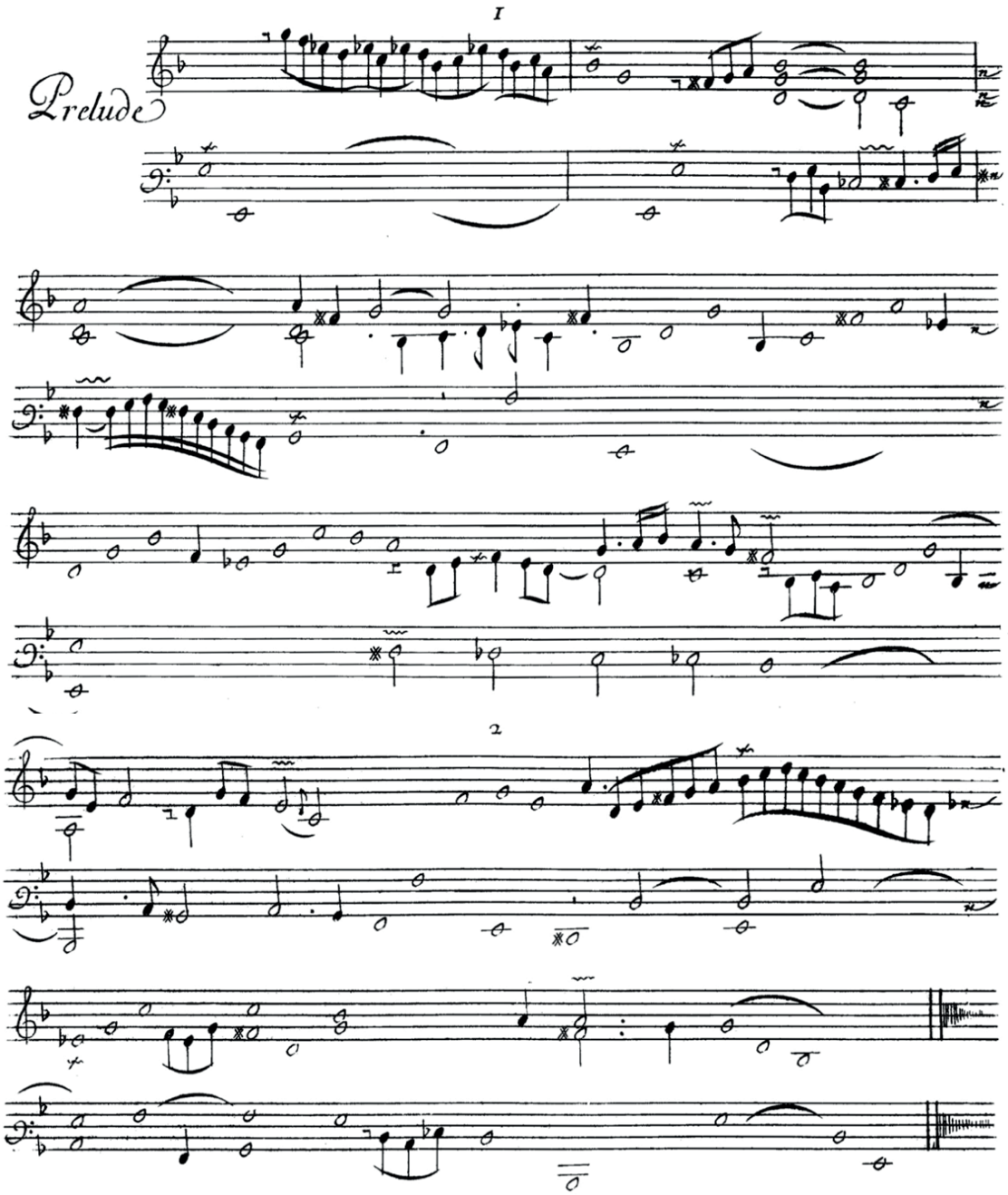
---

[358] Ibid, p. 150.

[359] Ibid.



Example. 4.14. A published unmeasured *Prelude* of d'Anglebert, *Pièces de clavecin.*



Example 4.15. An unmeasured *Prelude* by Louis Marchand.
Pièces de Clavecin, Livre Second.

Beautiful for its simplicity and enigma, unmeasured notation was certainly not without its own unique set of challenges. Lebègue speaks of the "*grande difficulté*" of notating his music specifically enough while maintaining the improvisatory "*métode de preluder.*"[360] Davitt Moroney posits that the newer means of notating (of d'Anglebert and Marchand) failed as well, which is why François Couperin, in his 1716 *L'art de toucher au Clavecin,* resorted to orthodox notation with verbal directions to play in a free manner "with discretion."[361] Tilney goes on to say that some publishers chose to exclude unmeasured preludes from reprinted editions of volumes previously containing them.[362]

De Machy includes eight unmeasured *preludes* in his *pièces de violle* (1685), and Sainte-Colombe includes many movements, introductions and interludes in the unmeasured style in his works for one and two viols, with instructions such as "because it is unmeasured, one plays it as one wishes" and "because it is unmeasured, it should be played only by ear."[363]

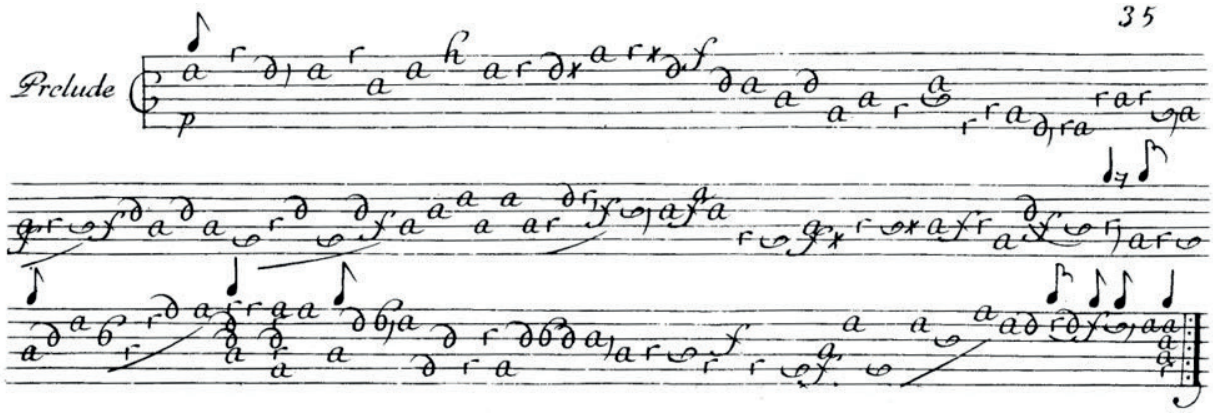
---

[360] LeBègue, Nicolas. *Les Pièces de Clavessin.* Paris, 1677, preface.

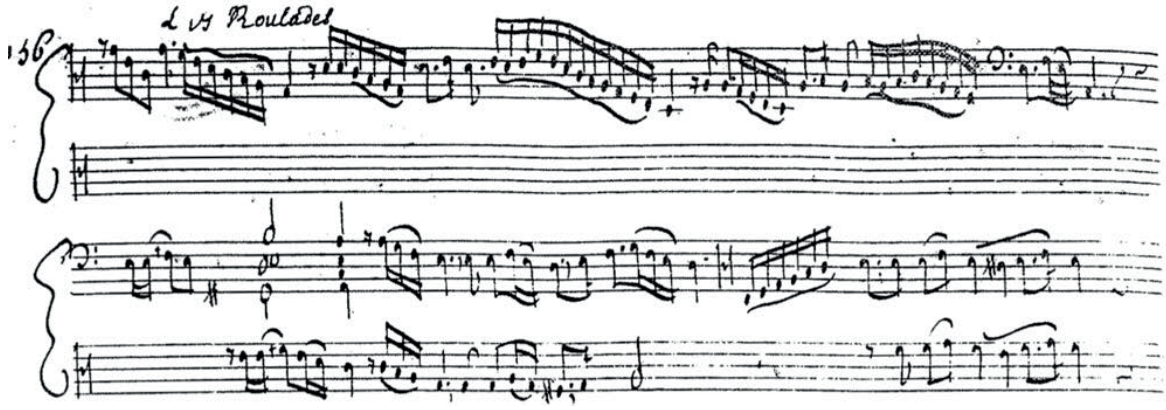
[361] Moroney, p. 143.

[362] Tilney, p. 2.

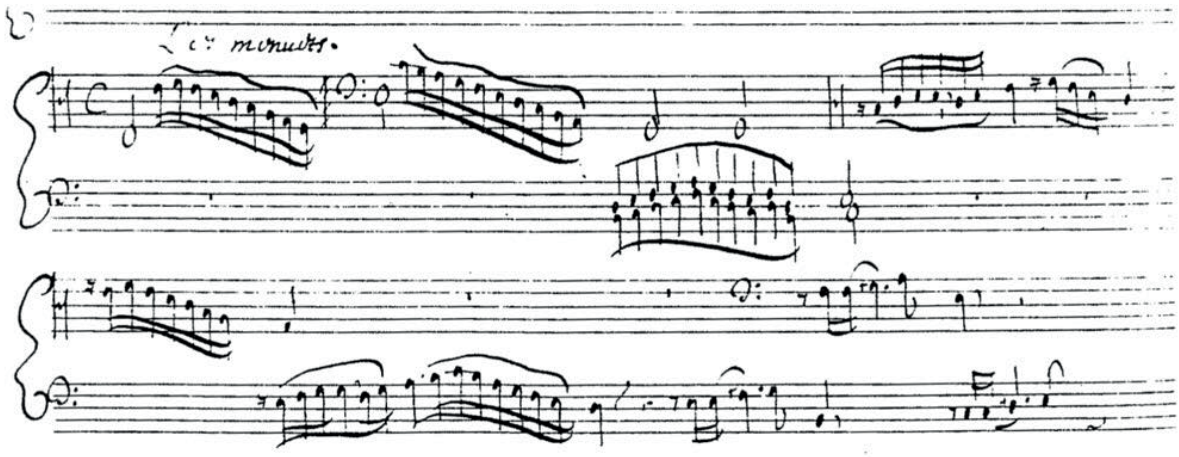
[363] Haynes, Bruce, and Geoffrey Burgess. *"The Pathetick Musician" Moving an Audience in the Age of Eloquence*. Oxford University Press, 2016, p. 215.



Example 4.16. A *prelude non mesuré* for viol, notated in tablature. De Machy, *Pièces de violle, Prelude.* Paris, 1685. The note values above the staff give the performer an indication of the general note values intended, until otherwise notated.



Example 4.17. An unmeasured introduction. Sainte-Colombe, *Concerts à deux violes esgales.*



Example 4.18. An unmeasured introduction. Sainte-Colombe's *Concerts à deux violes esgales.*

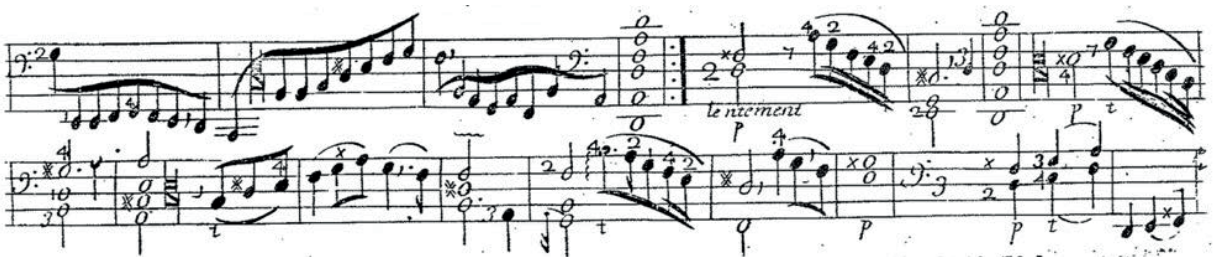
By the time F. Couperin published his *L'Art de toucher* in 1716, the unmeasured notational style was essentially obsolete. Though his *preludes* are composed in fully measured notation, several are marked "*non mesuré,*" in an attempt to convey the desired style. Of *preludes*, Couperin writes that they are based on a:

> style dictated by custom . . . A prelude is a free composition in which the imagination gives rein [sic] to any idea which presents itself. But it is rather rare to find geniuses capable of producing them on the spur of the moment, and so those who resort to these non-improvised preludes should play them in a free and easy style, not adhering too closely to the exact rhythm. Thus one may suggest that in many things, Music (as compared with poetry) has its prose and verse.[364]

---

[364] Couperin, *L'Art*, trans. Moroney, p. 145.

Like his contemporary François Couperin, Marais did not write any music without bar lines. However, James Troeger, in his essay "Meter in Unmeasured Preludes," posits that many of Marais' preludes indicate a strong influence of the unmeasured style, highlighting their overwhelming sense of freedom and persistent use of duple meter. Troeger suggests that many unmeasured preludes cast a sense of duple meter, even in the absence of time signature, and that their closest compositional cousins are the *toccata* and the *tombeau* (the latter being a favorite of Marais).[365] Troeger continues with his thesis, stating that Marais likely notates with meter for ease of coordination between solo and basso continuo.[366]

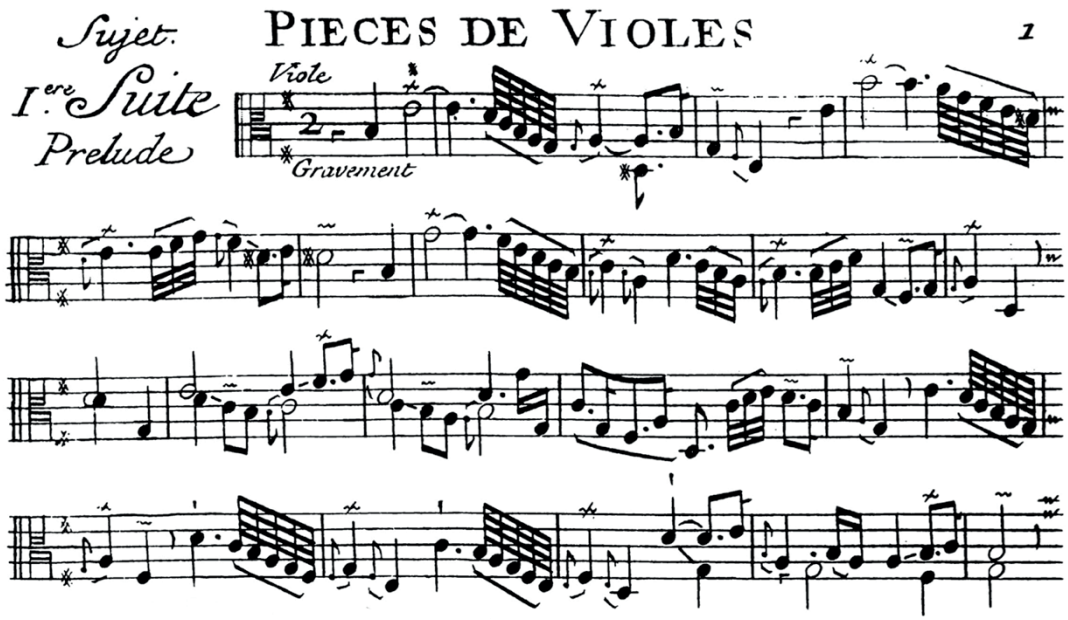


Example 4.19. A section, marked *Lentement*, reminiscent of a free, unmeasured style. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de viole*, book 1, Suite 1, *Prelude*.

---

[365] *Tombeau de M. Lully, Tombeau pour Marais le cadet, Tombeau de M. Meliton, Tombeau de M. de Ste-Colombe.*

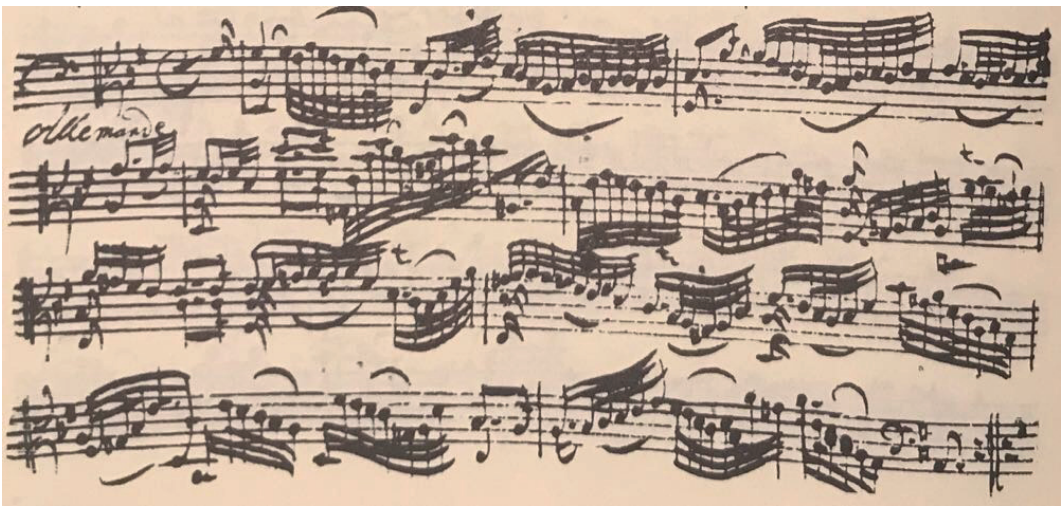
[366] Troeger, James. "Meter in Unmeasured Preludes." *Early Music*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1983, pp. 341–342.



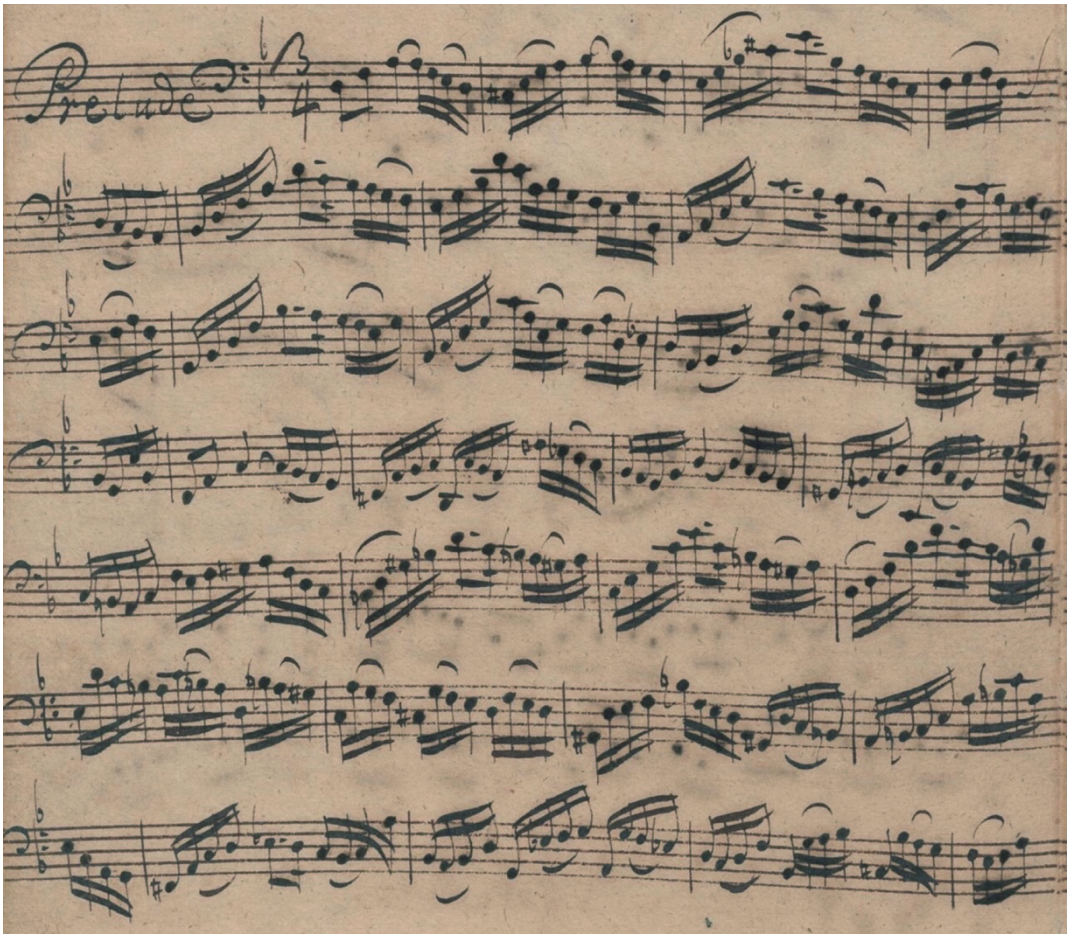
Example 4.20. Couperin, François, *Pièces de violes,* Suite 1, *Prelude*, excerpt.

The preludes found in the cello suites of J.S. Bach are composed using conventional notation, though the unmeasured influence may be seen, particularly the *tombeau-allemande* style prelude, as seen in the *Prelude* of BWV 1008, which unfolds as a slowly arpeggiated chord (a hallmark of the lute-style unmeasured prelude) followed by cascades and groupings of notes which fill out the harmonies. The *Allemande* of the sixth suite in D major BWV 1012 exhibits the free, unmeasured style as well. Its highly improvisatory flourishes conjure the gestures found in the unmeasured *preludes* of L. Couperin and d'Anglebert, and unmeasured viol music of De Machy and Sainte-Colombe. [367]

[367] Rutt, Audrey S. "A Blend of Traditions: The Lute's Influence on Seventeenth-Century Harpsichord Repertoire." *Musical Offerings*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2017, pp. 25-26.

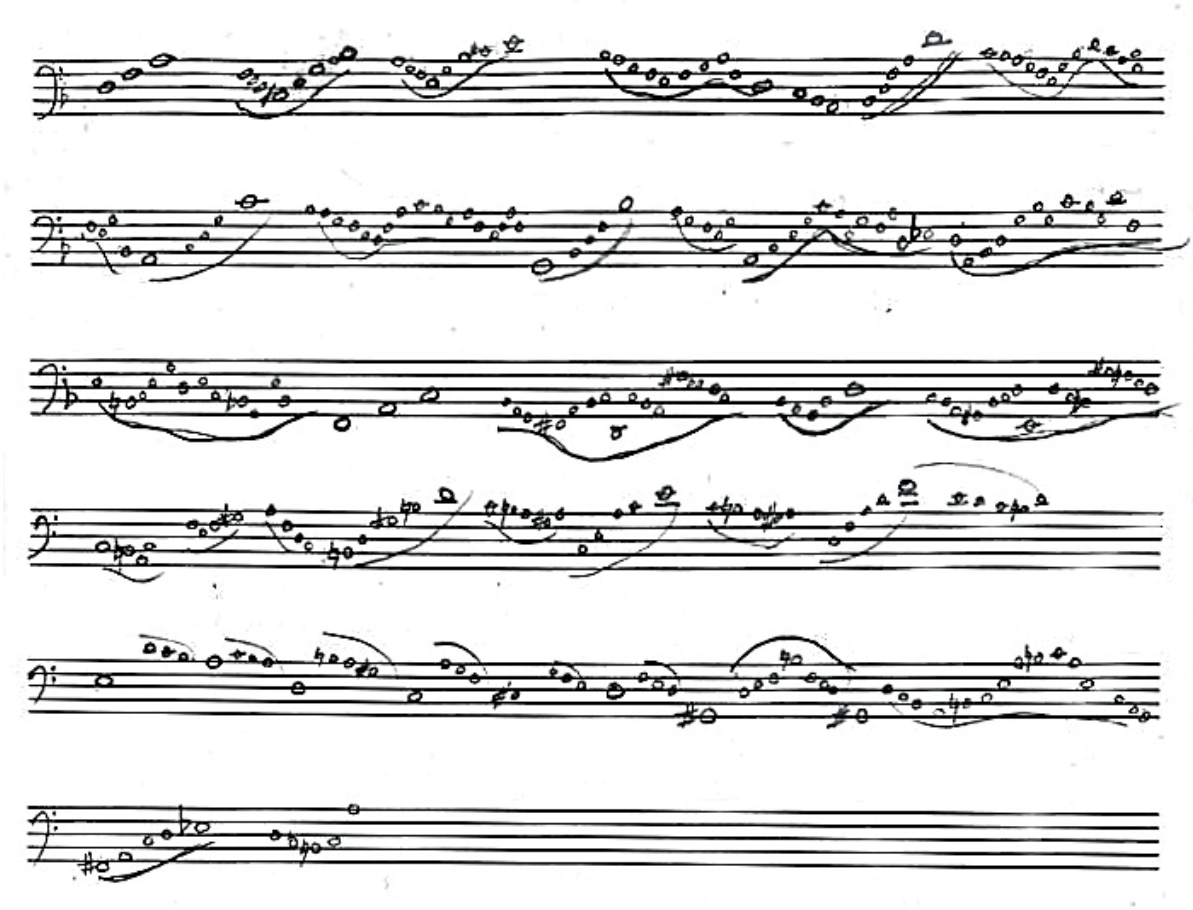


Example 4.21. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Allemande*, excerpt.



Example 4.22. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Prelude.*

The following is an example of what a Bach prelude might look like if written in the unmeasured style:



Example 4.23. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, Prelude, mm. 1-25. transcription in the unmeasured style by Chelsea Bernstein.

The sage advice which concludes the preface to Tilney's edition of unmeasured preludes provides an excellent reminder to a performer of *preludes,* measured or otherwise: that one should "be aware from first note to last that it is his business to compose, not to perform."[368]

---

[368] Tilney, p. 7.

Dotted Rhythms in Bach's Cello Suites

One of the most blatant examples of French writing in Bach's cello suites is the *Prelude* of the fifth suite BWV 1011. Written in the form a Lullian French overture, the C-minor prelude begins with a slow, serious introduction, in common time, articulated by pointy dotted rhythms, concluding (as the style dictates) in a half cadence before giving way to the fugue, brisk, in 3/8 time. If John Byrt's theories regarding rhythmic alteration in the music of Georg Friedrich Handel (whose music is generally associated with Italian styles, over French) are valid (the author believes they are), the same practice should be extended to Bach's music, in certain works where the French style of double dotting (the practice of playing a single dotted rhythm as if the longer note were notated with two dots, shortening the small note again by half) might be appropriate.[369] Regarding this quintessentially French style, Quantz writes: "Quavers, semiquavers, and demisemiquavers do not follow the general rule [which states that a dot increases a note's value by half] on account of the vivacity which they must express," and "one holds the dot and disposes quickly of the following note."[370] Of *tirades*, Quantz says "You must, then, before playing them, wait until the very end of the time which belongs to them."[371] C. P. E. Bach joins the conversation of double dotting in his

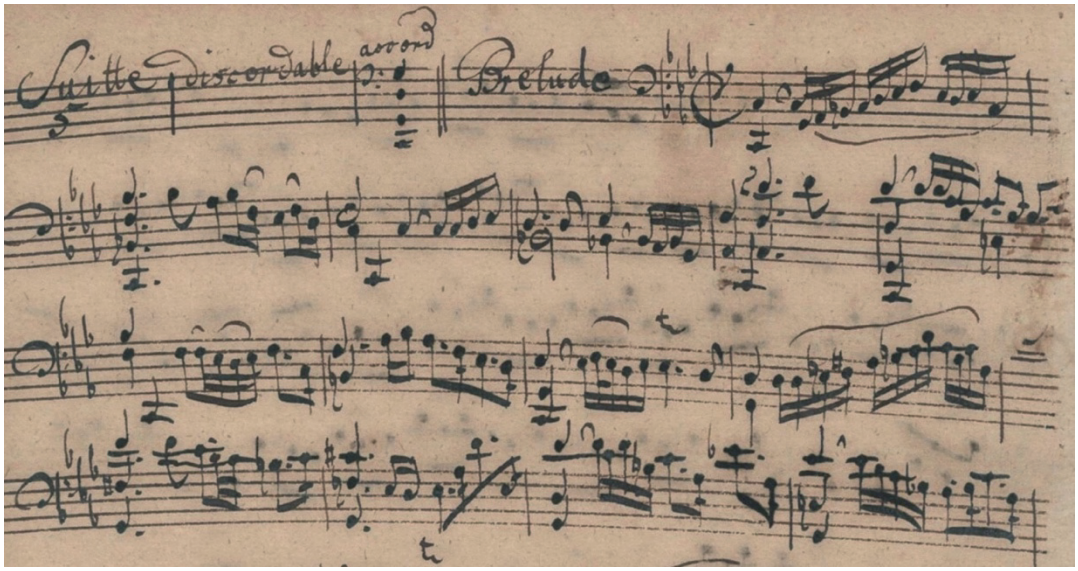
---

[369] Byrt, John. "Alteration in Handel: A Fresh Approach." *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 1, 2001, pp. 202, 211.

[370] Quantz, trans. Dolmetsch, pp. 54, 58-59.

[371] Ibid., p. 58.

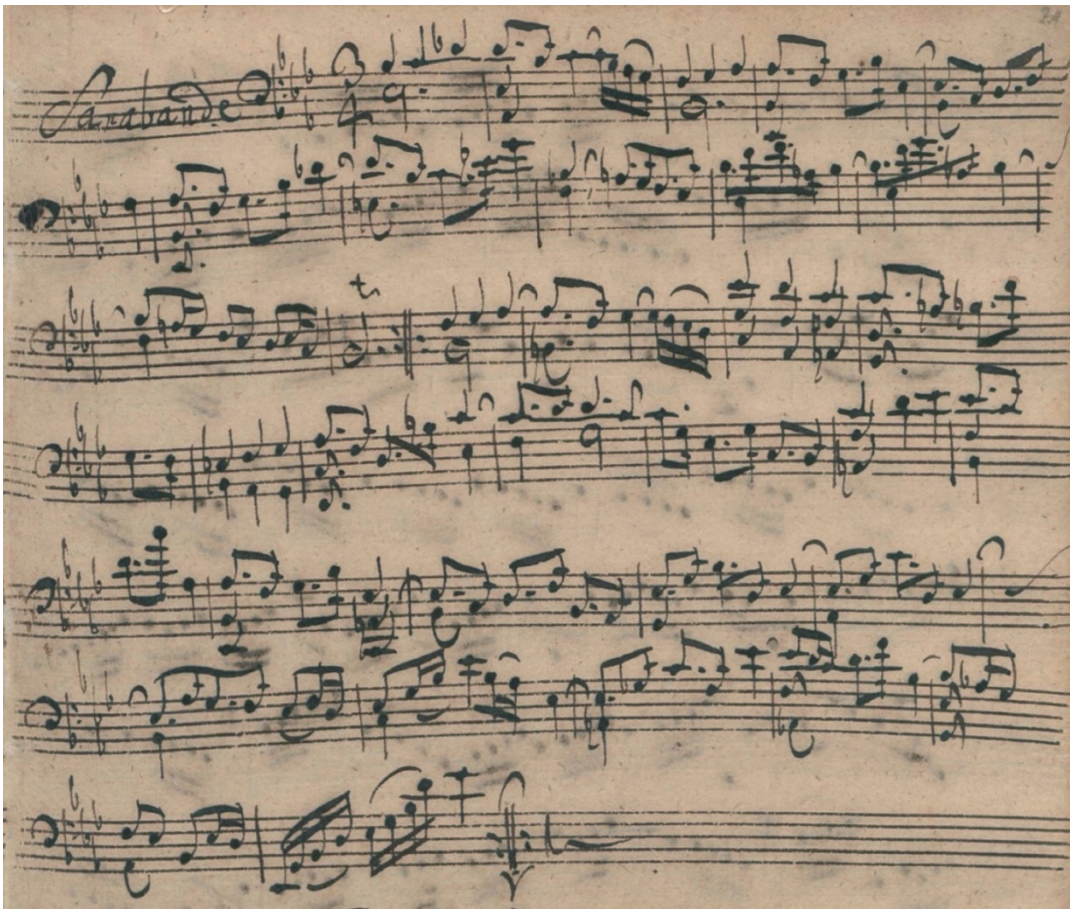
treatise on harpsichord playing, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (1753), writing "The short notes which follow dots are always made shorter than the written text indicates, so that it would be superfluous to write them with dots to the long ones or additional strokes to the stems of the short ones."



Example 4.24. An excerpt which features the slow "French Overture" introduction, complete with dotted figures and *tirades.* J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Prelude*.

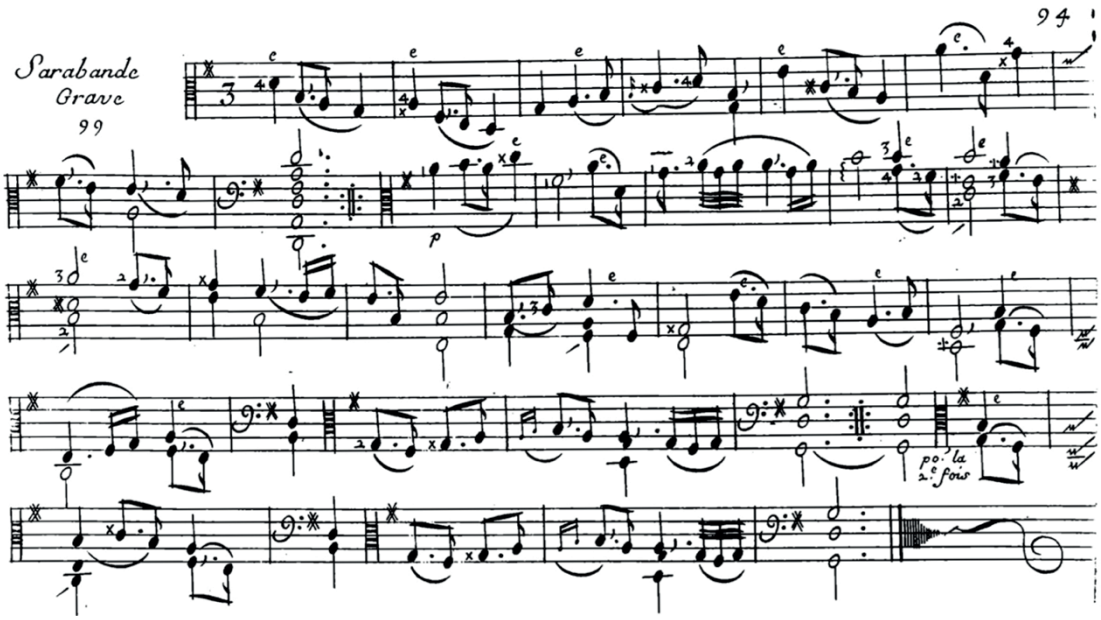
Because this *Prelude* is so unambiguously based on Lully's French overture style, it would be appropriate to alter the pertinent rhythms in the ways prescribed by Quantz and C. P. E. Bach if so desired.

The *Sarabande* from BWV 1010 also resembles a French overture, with its dotted rhythms and thematic use of *tirade* upbeats in the first and second sections, and is also a candidate for this type of alteration described by Quantz and Bach:



Example 4.25. J.S. Bach, Suite in E-flat major, BWV 1010, *Sarabande.*

This practice is typical in many slow movements of Marais, as shown below in an excerpt from a *Sarabande* from his third volume of *pièces de viole:*

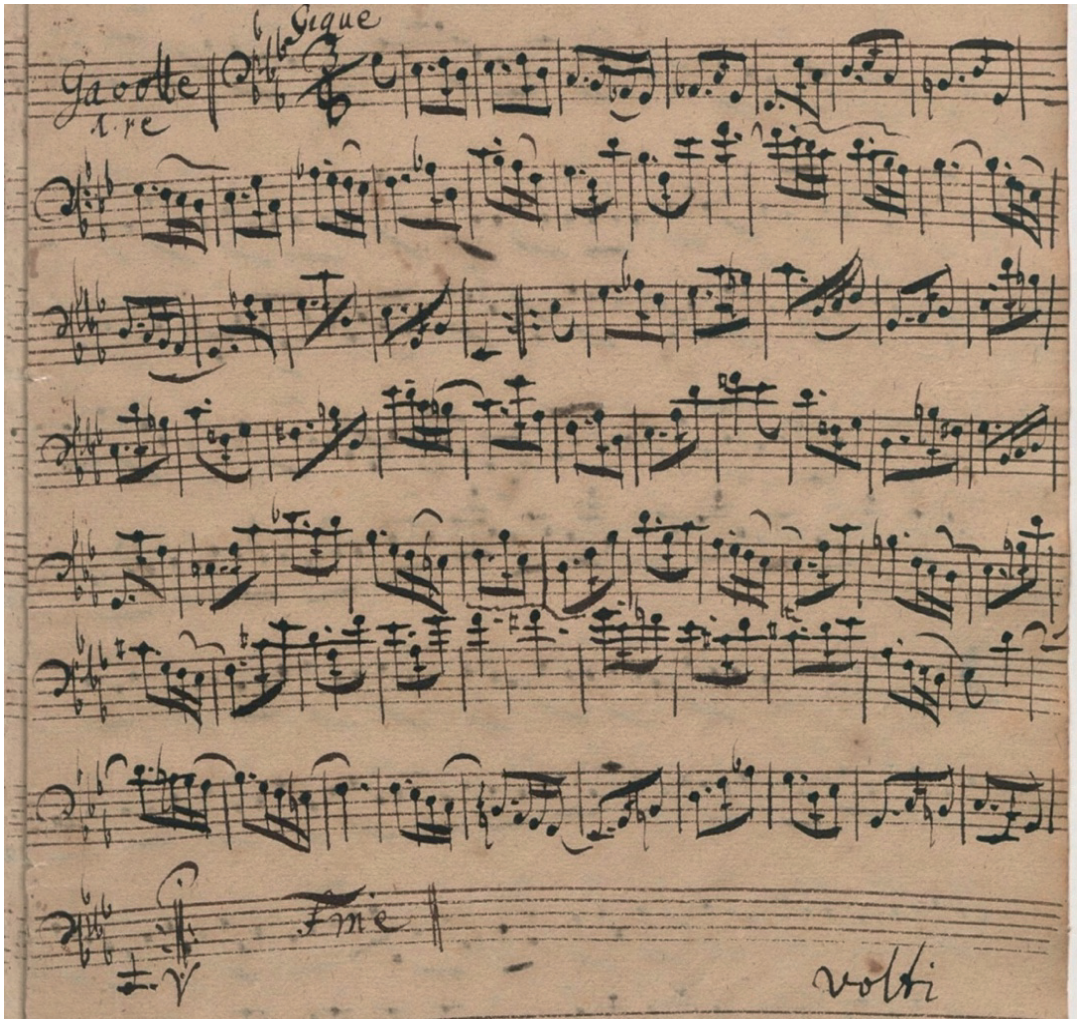


Example 4.26. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole,* book 3, *Sarabande*.

The *Gigue* of BWV 1011 is one of only two French-style *gigues* to appear in Bach's instrumental works.[372] This *Gigue*, which is similar to those so utterly common in *pièces de viole* of Marais and de Machy, features all of the stylistic components of the French *gigue*: it is comprised of ternary beats, grouped in twos, is in 3/8 meter, (many French *gigues* are also written in 6/8 meter), exhibits the pervasive skipping *Sautillant* figure (a dotted eighth followed by a sixteenth, then

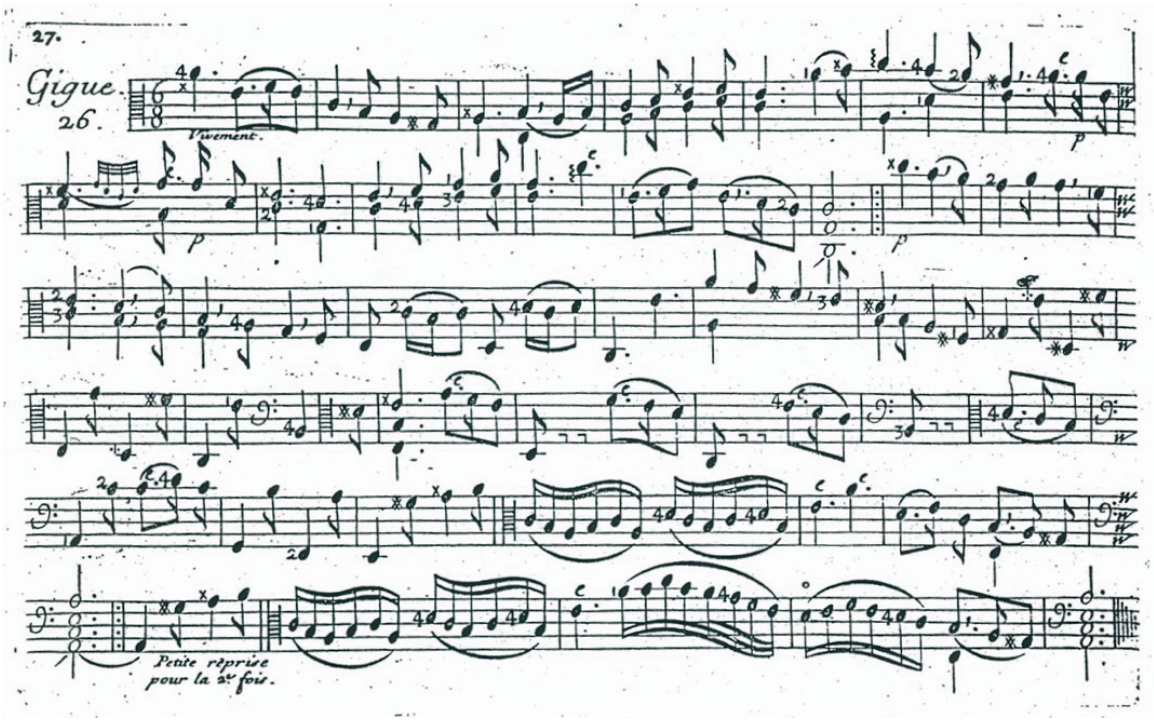
[372] The other being the seventh variation of BWV 988, marked "*al tempo di giga*." Elements of the French *gigue* also appear in several cantata arias, "*Ist Gott versöhnt und unser Freund*" BWV 122/4, "*Wege, bereitet die Bahn*" BWV 132/1, "*Lass, Seele, kein Leiden von Jesu dich scheiden*" BWV 186/10, and "*Vergnügen un Lust*" BWV 197/8. Little and Jenne, p. 251.

another dotted eighth), displays imitative texture and a rapid harmonic rhythm, and is generally organized into neat four-bar phrases grouped by two.[373]

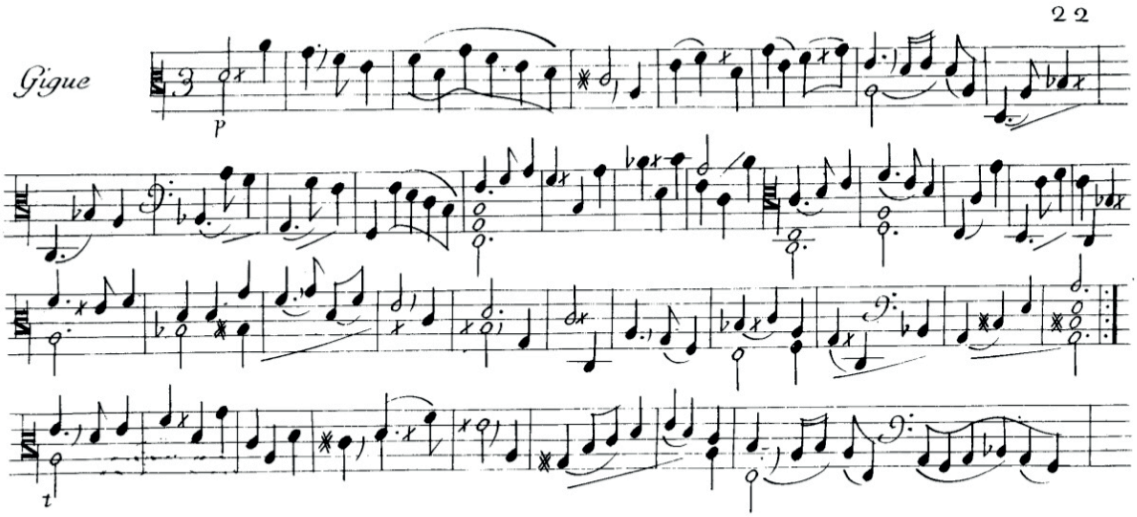


Example 4.27. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Gigue.*

[373] Little and Jenne, p. 251.



Example 4.28. Marin Marais' *Pièces de viole, livre 4,* fourth suite, *Gigue.*



Example 4.29. De Machy, *Pièces de viole,* suite in D minor, *Gigue*.

The *Muzette*

The *Muzette*, or *Musette,* a diminutive French bagpipe instrument, was popular at the court of Louis XIV in the lavish *divertissements* at Versailles under the auspices of the *Grand Ecurie du Roi.* The sun king's most remembered flautists, Jean Hotteterre and Michel de La Barre were also *muzettists*. The instrument was popular among ladies and gentlemen of the nobility, who showcased their skill at court celebrations, while dressed in pastoral costume.

Music for *muzette* was notated in special tablature; many seventeenth and eighteenth-century treatises on *muzette* playing were published, including Borjon de Scullery's *Traité de la musette* (Lyons, 1672) and Jacques Hotteterre's *Méthode pour la musette* (Paris, 1737). Naturally, a dance evolved to evoke the pastoral qualities of the instrument; the *muzette* was danced in several operas of André Campra (*Les Muses* 1703, *Les Ages* 1718).[374]

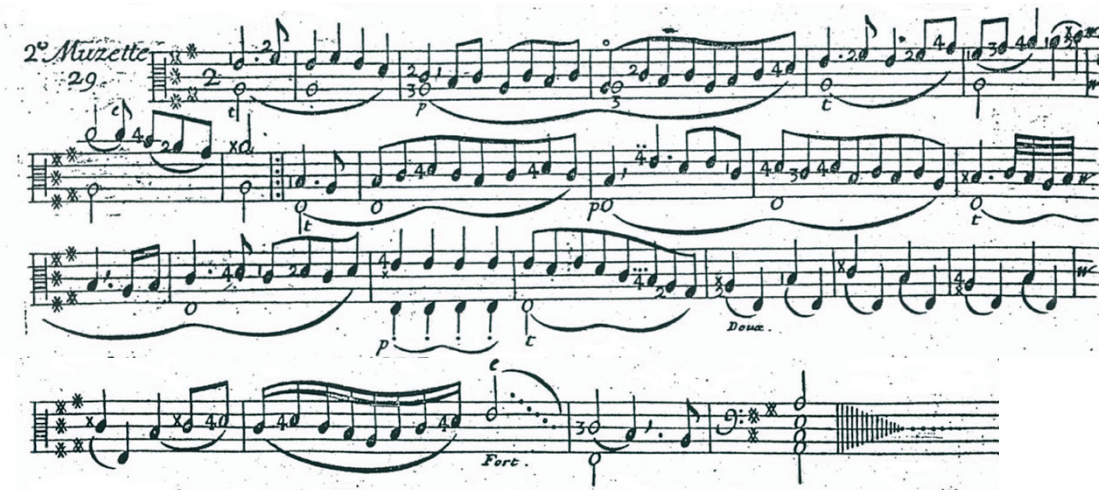
French composers such as Marin Marais and François Couperin wrote stylized *muzette* dances; Couperin's *Muséte de choisi* and *Muséte de taverni* can be found in his *Pièces de clavecin, XVe ordre* (1722). Marais' *pièces* include binary *Muzettes* I & II in the second volume, and three *Muzettes* in his fourth, including a robust, three-part *Muzette* for two viols, which concludes the edition.

---

[374] Baines, Anthony, C. and Meredith Ellis Little. "Musette." The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 12, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 978-979.

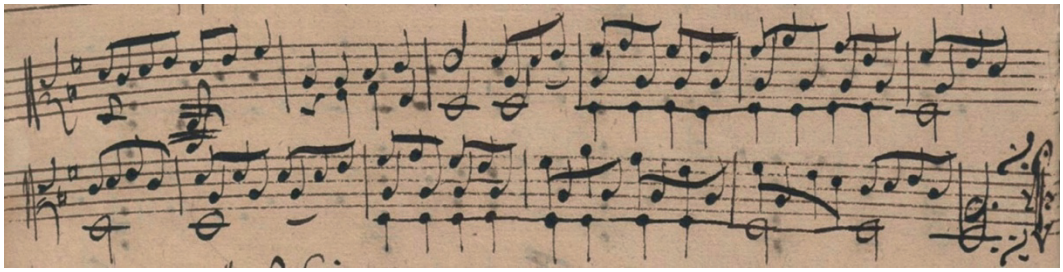
Characteristics of the *Muzette* include a tonic or dominant drone (*bourdon*) in the bass, with a conjunct, simple melody above.

Figure 4.10. Portrait of Gaspard de Gueidan playing the *musette* (*Gaspard de Gueidan en joueur de musette*) by Hyacinthe Rigaud (portraitist of Louis XIV), 1738.



Example 4.30. Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole*, book 4, *2nd Muzette* pp. 29-30.

In his third English suite BWV 808, Bach titles the *Gavotte* II *Gavotte ou la musette*. In his sixth cello suite BWV 1012, the second *Gavotte* very plainly resembles a *muzette,* but is not marked as such in any existing copy:



Example 4.31. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Gavotte II,* excerpt.

The *goût Français* is keenly felt in Bach's keyboard suites, namely the "English" BWV 806-811 (c.1713-14) and "French" BWV 812-817 (c.1722) harpsichord suites, which typify the style of the French harpsichord school

championed by Henri d'Angelbert. Bach's suites for Lute amalgamate the French harpsichord and lute traditions, among others.[375] Noting the overlap of the French viol and lute traditions, it is of interest that Bach's third suite for Lute, BWV 995 (c.1730), is a transcription of his fifth cello suite BWV 1011.

Viol Idioms in Bach's cello suites

Scordatura Tuning

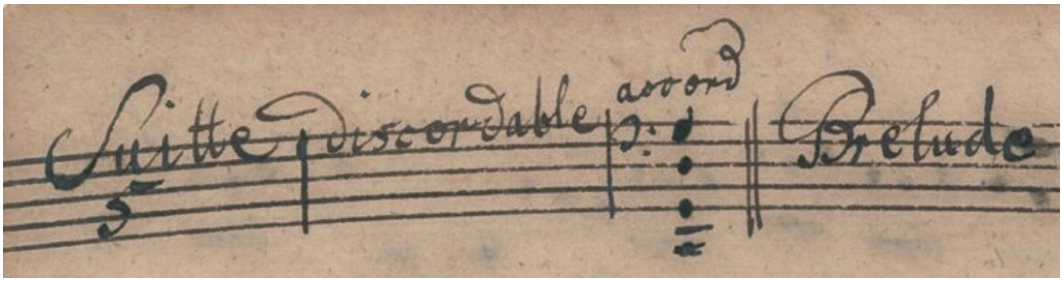


Figure 4.11. "*Discordable* tuning," annoted by Anna Magdalena Bach, BWV 1011.

The *discordable*, (scordatura) tuning of Bach's fifth suite, BWV 1011, might be meant to resemble a viol tuning, with the substitution of a fourth, in place of the typical fifth between the top two strings, as suggested by Hans David:

---

[375] Henning, Uta. "The Most Beautiful among the Claviers: Rudolf Richter's Reconstruction of a Baroque Lute-Harpsichord." *Early Music*, vol. 10, no. 4, 1982, p. 477.

> Thus he wrote the c-minor Suite for the tuning of C-G-d-g. The scordatura somewhat enriched the range of the available chords and, more important, gave to the violoncello a richer sound, reminiscent of the tuning in fourths found on the viola da gamba—and the lute, for which Bach himself arranged this suite.[376]

This tuning could also be a reference to the lyra viol tradition, which favored variable tunings bespoke to suit the needs of a chosen key. In this case, the A string being tuned down to a G creates an enhanced sonority, and allows for the incorporation of many open stringed double stops (more idiomatic of the viol than the cello) which Bach exploits.[377] The choice Bach makes to notate the pitches which occur on the top string (previously A, but in this case G) not as they should sound, but where the player should place their finger, harkens to the viol (and lute) style of tablature notation, which was used to accommodate the large variety of tunings typical of their traditions.[378]

---

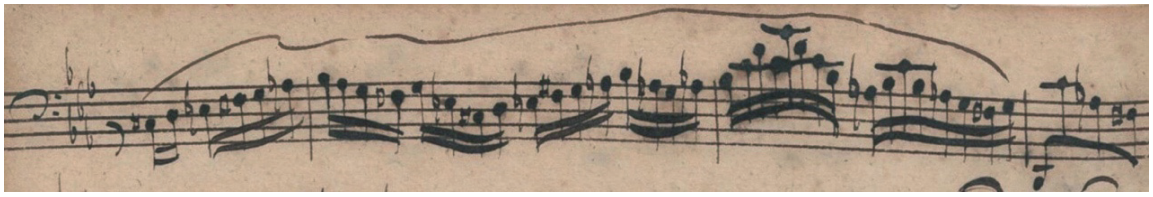
[376] David, Hans T. *Johann Sebastian Bach's Suites for Violoncello*, "School of Music Programs."

[377] There was also a short-lived Bolognese tradition (c.1660s) of tuning smaller cellos (outfitted with the two lower strings wound in copper) to C-G-d-g. This tuning did not gain traction outside of Italy, and is not referenced, even in Italy, after the turn of the century. See Cheon, Sera. *Scordatura Tuning in Performance and Transcription: A Guide Using Domenico Gabrielli's Seven Ricercari for Violoncello Solo*. University of Cincinnati, 2013.

[378] The German term for tablature notation was, *Griffnotation*, or *Grifftschrift*. This practice was use among composers of German organ music. Bach, himself, uses this system in his *Orgelbüchlein*, when there was not enough space on the page for standard staff notation. For more on this, see Egon F. Kenton's "A note on the Classification of 16th Century Music." *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1952, p. 213.

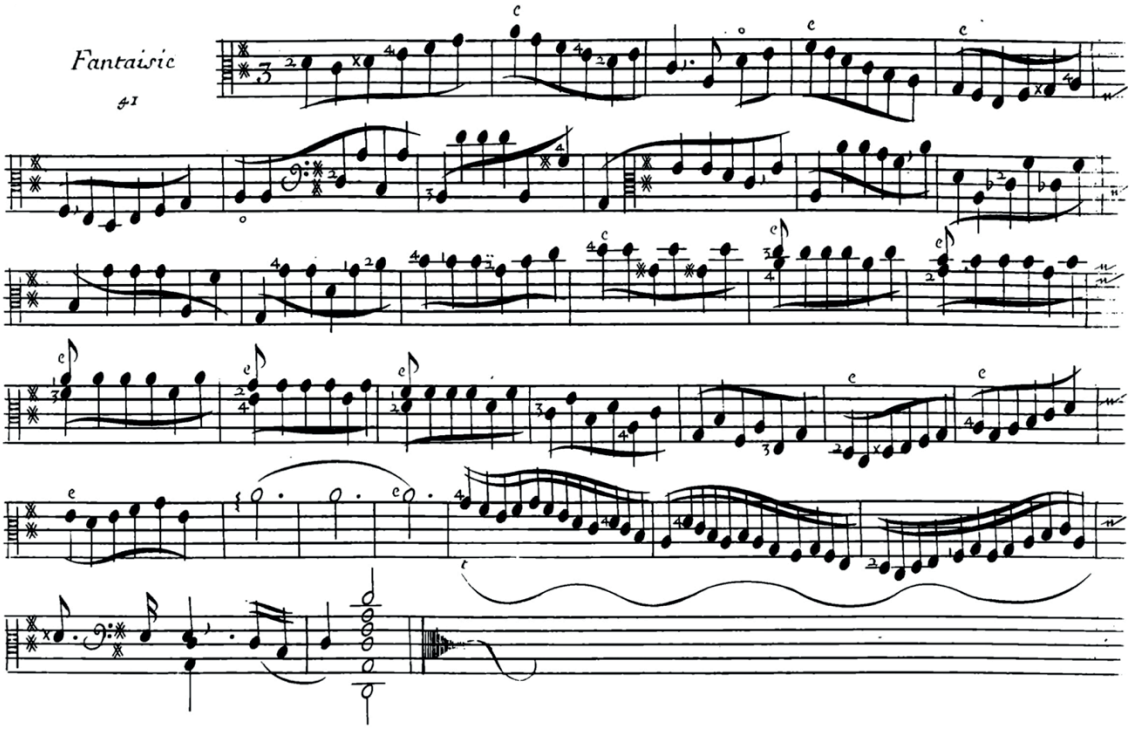
Improvisatory Ornamental Runs

The French viol school made use of rapid melismatic runs (perhaps a remnant of the English "division" viol tradition) as a means of fervent expression. Improvisatory ornamental runs present several times in Bach's cello suites, specifically in the *Allemande* of BWV 1008 and in the *Prelude* of BWV 1010 (Ex. 4.32 and 4.33).



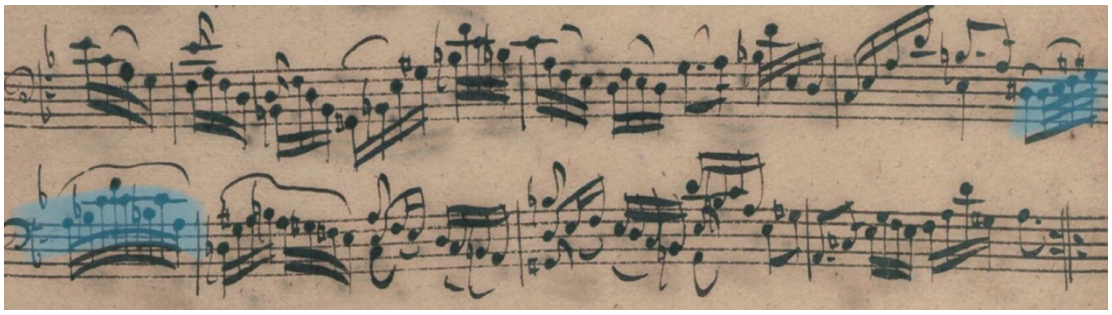
Example 4.32. Improvisatory ornamental run. J.S. Bach, Suite in E-flat major, BWV 1010, *Prelude*, mm. 49-51.

The long improvisatory run in Bach's prelude is similar to the one below, featured in Marais' *Fantaisie* from his third book of *pièce de viole*:

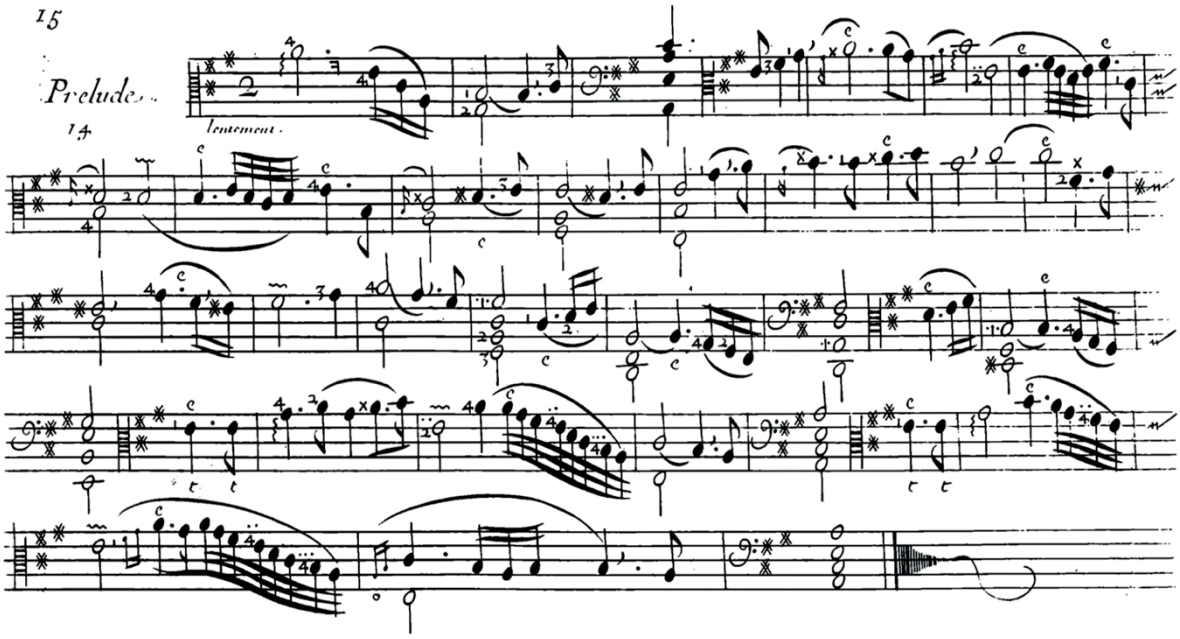


Example 4.33. Marais, Marin. Pièces de violes, book 3, *Fantaisie*, excerpt.

Bach and Marais also include shorter versions of these expressive outbursts, as seen below in the *Allemande* of BWV 1008, and several times in the following prelude of Marais:

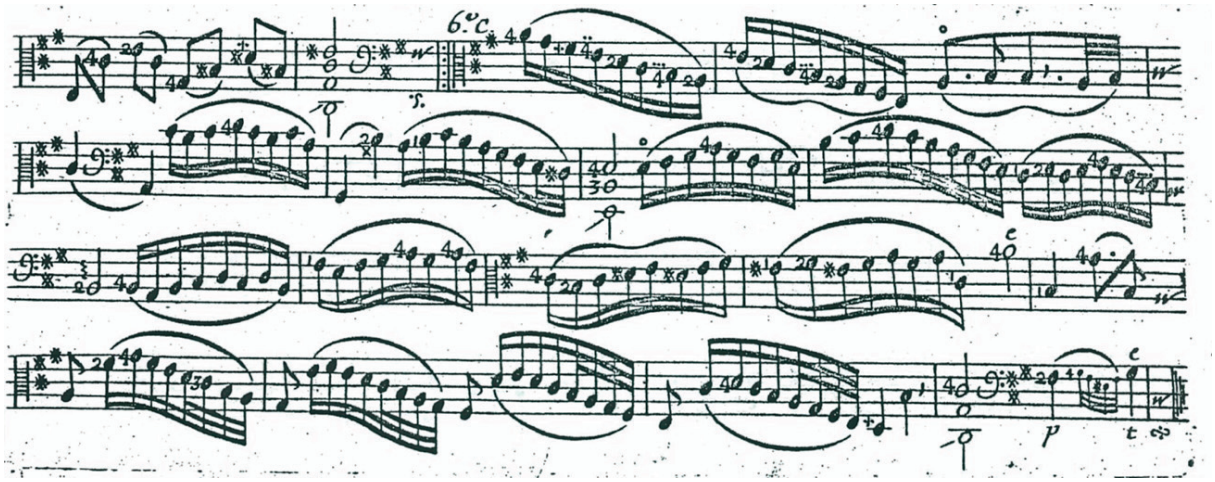


Example 4.34. Improvisatory ornamental run. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Allemande*, m. 9.

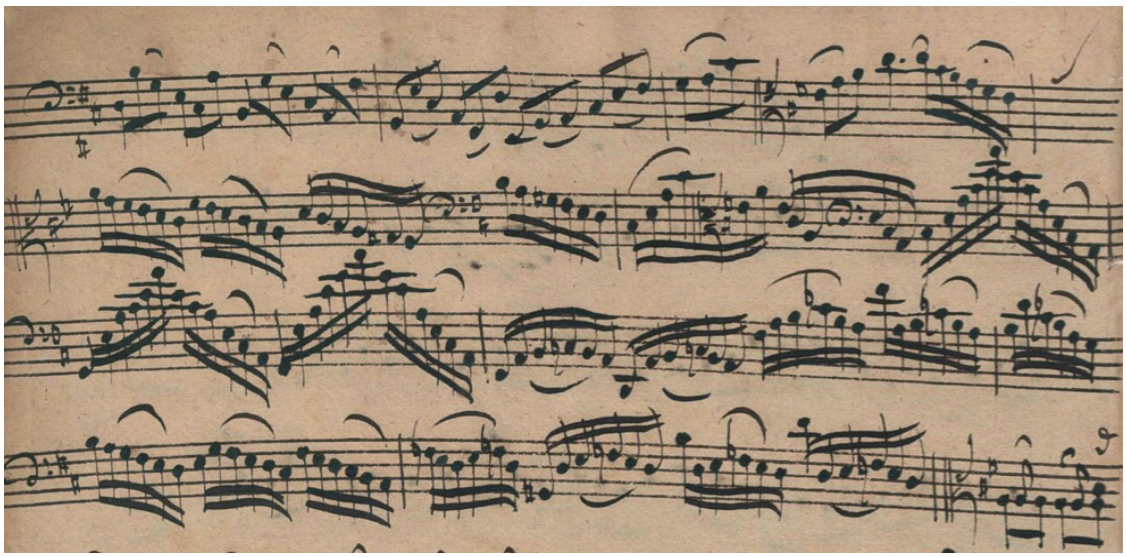


Example 4.35. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de viole*, book 3, *Prelude*, excerpt.

Two extreme examples of this practice are found in the final couplet of Marais' *Le Badinage,* from his fourth book of *pièces de viole,* and in the climactic fireworks display of the *Prelude* from BWV 1012:



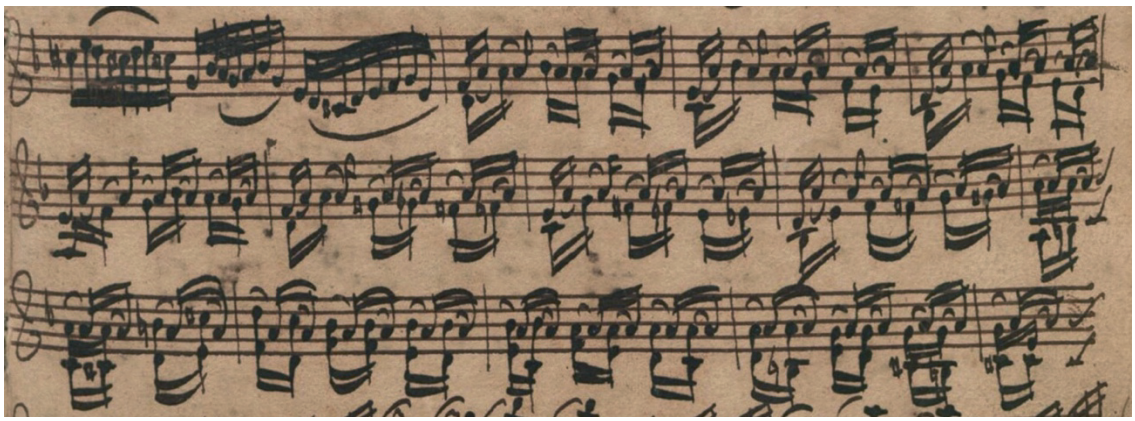
Example 4.36. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de viole,* book 4, *Le Badinage*, final couplet.



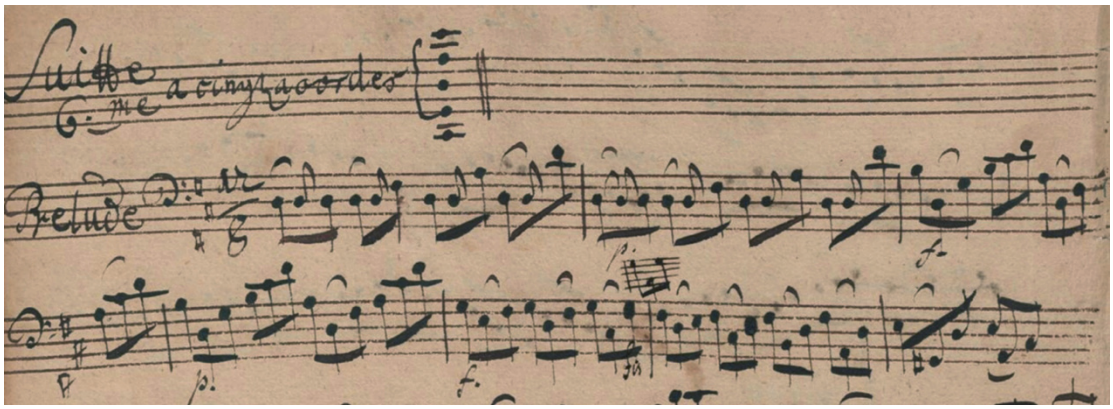
Example 4.37. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Prelude*, mm. 83-89.

Bariolage

Bariolage (French for "multi-colored") is a stringed-instrument technique often associated with violin playing; it involves the rapid alternation between notes on adjacent strings, one of which is usually an "open" (or un-fingered) string. Often, *bariolage* features one static note against a strain of moving notes. Bach exploits this technique in his violin writing, most notably in the *Preludio* of his E major violin partita BWV 1006. *Bariolage* also appears in the French viol repertoire of Marais and Forqueray. In his cello suites, Bach's treatment of the *Bariolage* technique reflects both violin and viol practices of *bariolage*. Below, one can see the apparent similarities between the *bariolage* in Bach's violin partita no. 2 in D minor BWV 1004 and in the *Prelude* of the sixth cello suite BWV 1012. In these, Bach indicates that the performer should alternate strings under a slur while playing the same note—one on an open string, and one on the string below, fingered.

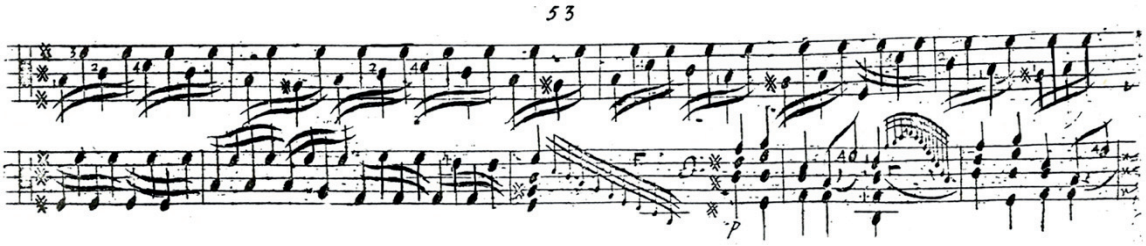


Example 4.38. J.S. Bach, Partita no. 2 in D minor, BWV 1004, *Chaconne,* excerpt.

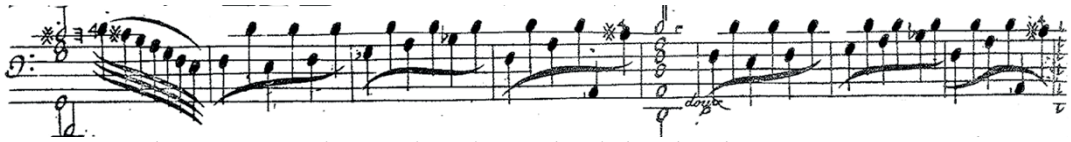


Example 4.39. J.S. Bach, Suite in D major, BWV 1012, *Prelude,* excerpt.

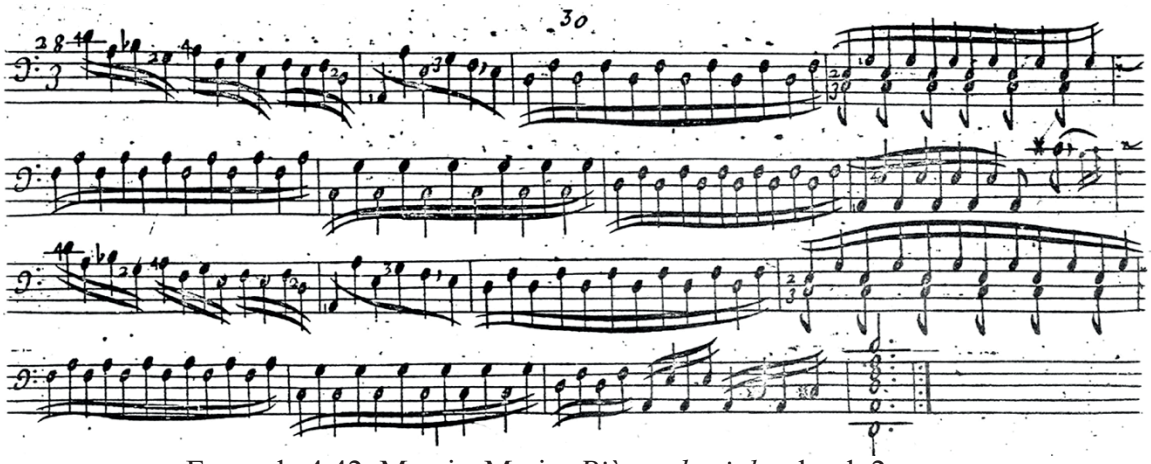
The *Bariolage* featured in BWV 1007 and 1009 resemble several passages of Marais and Forqueray in their *pièces de viole*, as depicted in the following:



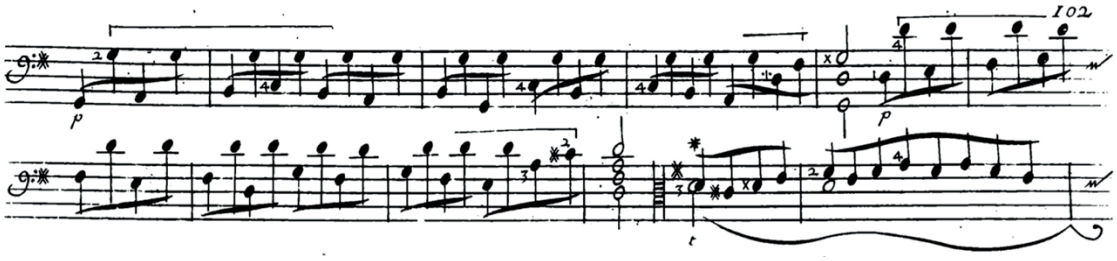
Example 4.40. Marais, Marin, Pièces de violes, book 2,
Cloches ou Carillon, excerpt.



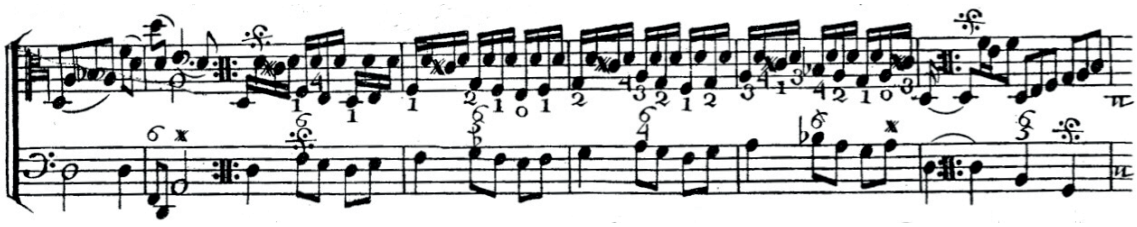
Example 4.41. Marais, Marin. Pièces de violes, book 2, *Caprice*, excerpt.



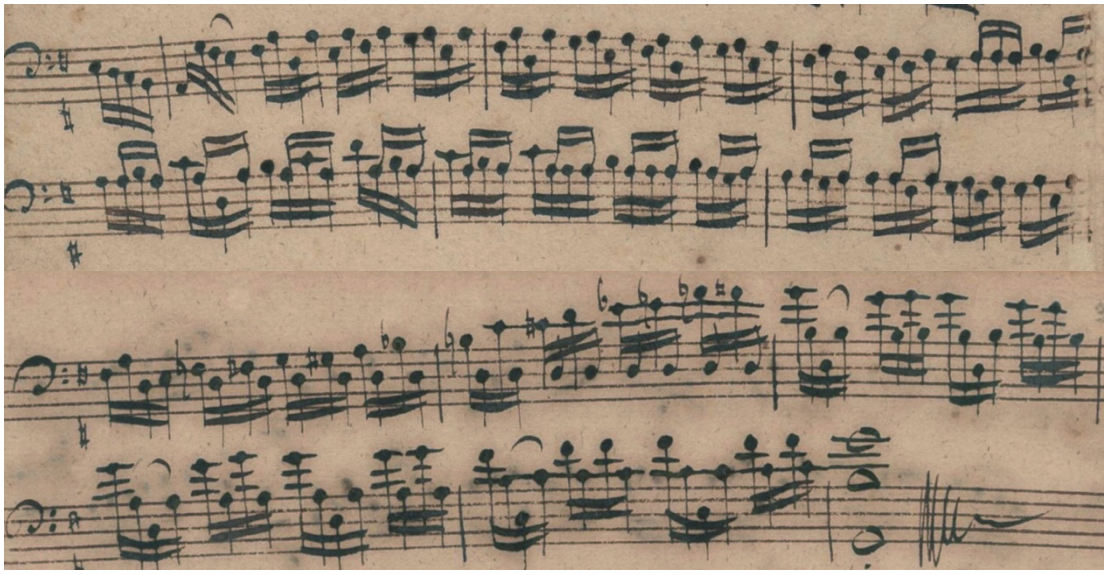
Example 4.42. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de violes,* book 2,
Couplets de Follies, excerpt.



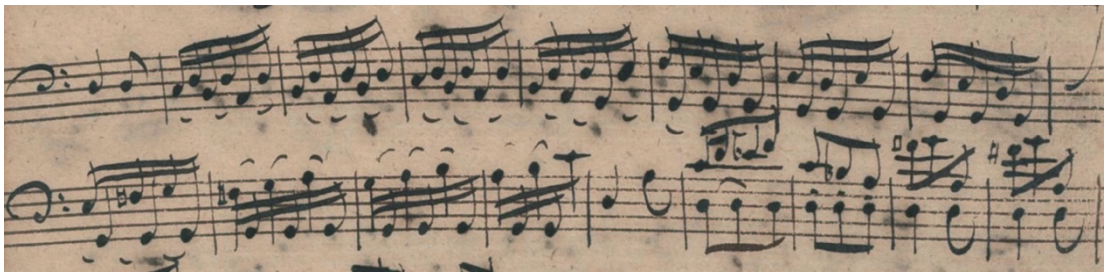
Example 4.43. Marais, Marin, *Pièces de violes* book 3, *Muzette*, excerpt.



Example 4.44. Forqueray, Antoine, *Pièces de violes, Chaconne.*
La Morangis ou La Plissay, excerpt.



Example 4.45. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Prelude,* excerpt.

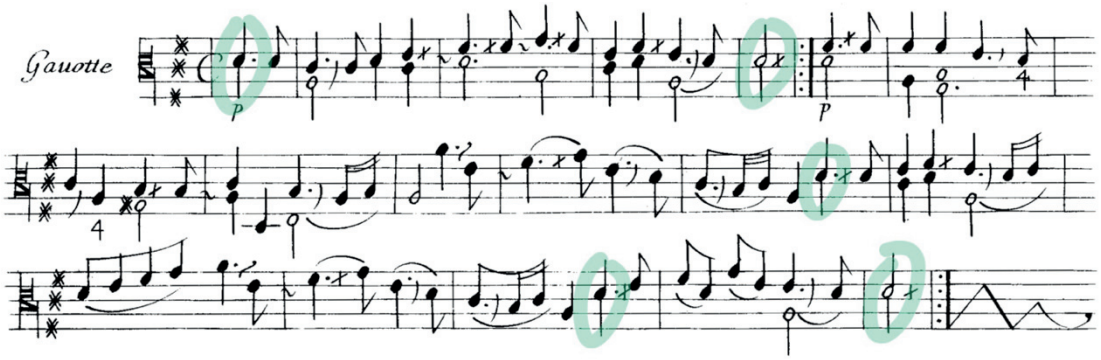


Example 4.46. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Gigue*, excerpt.

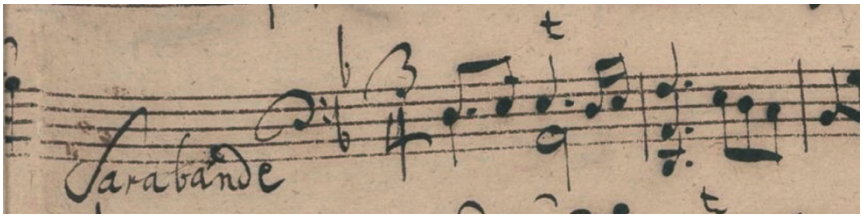
Unisons

I would like to draw attention to an effect which, though only utilized once in the entirety of Bach's cello suites (in the *Sarabande* of BWV 1008), possesses some significance. The unison was born of the lute tradition and became typical in viol repertoire. Unisons were particularly favored in the thick-textured music of the French viol school. Because of the narrow intervals between strings on a viol, the player does not need to shift into a higher position to play a unison, making this

interval a relatively easy one to achieve. In De Machy, unisons appear frequently on harmonically and rhythmically significant notes, as seen below in Ex. 4.47. In De Machy's *pièces*, as in those of Marais and Forqueray *Le Pere*, the unison is treated like an ornament. It would seem that, to begin his darkest and most sensual movement of the cello suites, Bach chose a unison to evoke the tradition from which he drew his inspiration.



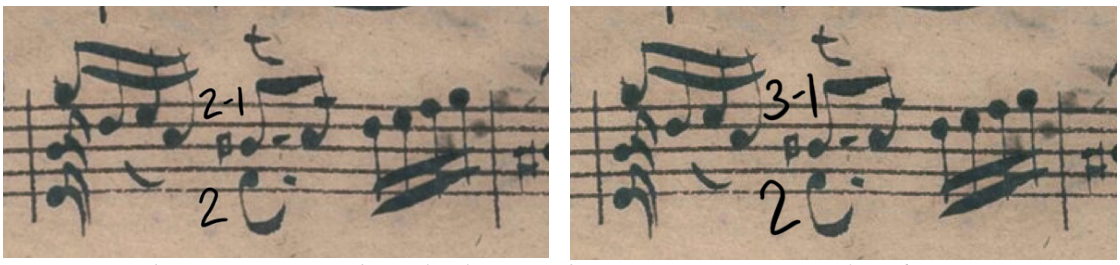
Example 4.47. De Machy, Suite no. 2 in D major, *Pièces de violle* (Paris, 1685), *Gavotte.*



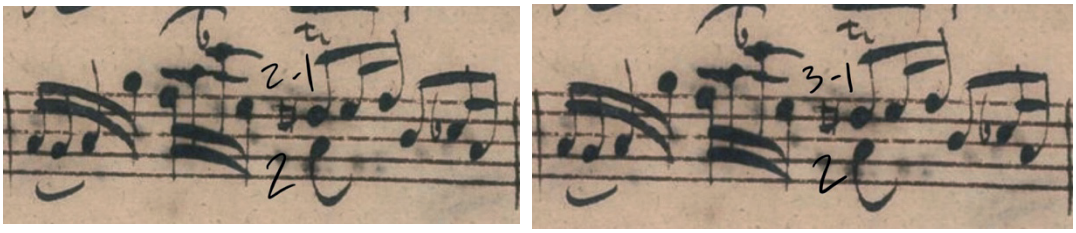
Example 4.48. A unison, in BWV 1008. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Sarabande*, mm. 1-2.

Left hand techniques

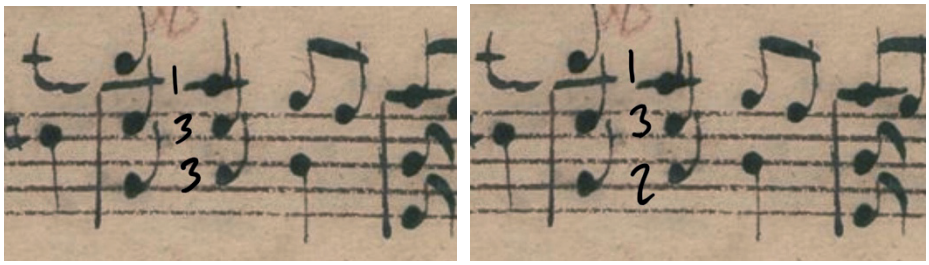
There are several instances in Bach's cello suites where modern cello technique, namely, the barring of the interval of a fifth with a single finger, has come to dictate the harmonic implications of chords and double stops. The root note, especially of chords adorned with trills, is too often sacrificed by the modern cellist, whose left-hand technique is designed with a more linear function in mind. In cases such as these, it would benefit the performer to adopt a more viol-typical left hand technique (an evolution of the lute tradition), built to accommodate the playing of fingered fourths or thirds (the equivalent of a fifth on a cello), when necessary, instead of barring. This style of left-hand technique assists resonance and intonation, and makes it possible to sound all notes for as long as desired. Below are shown several examples, with cello-typical fingerings on the left, and viol-typical fingerings on the right. Note how the viol fingerings allow for all notes to be sounded at once:



Example 4.49. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Sarabande,* m. 10, two ways.

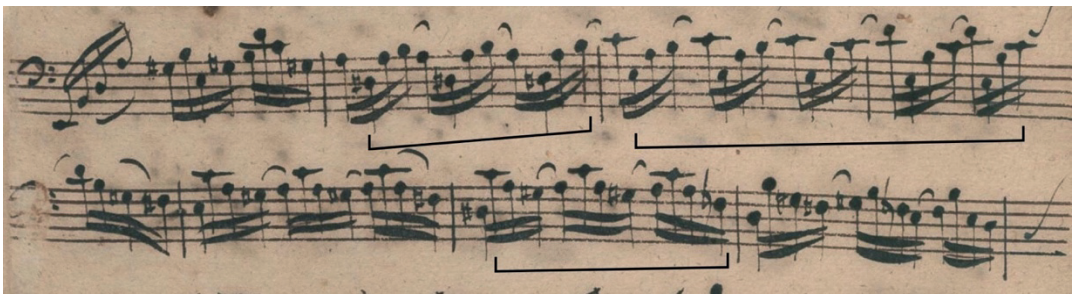


Example 4.50. J. S Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Menuet*, m. 17, two ways.

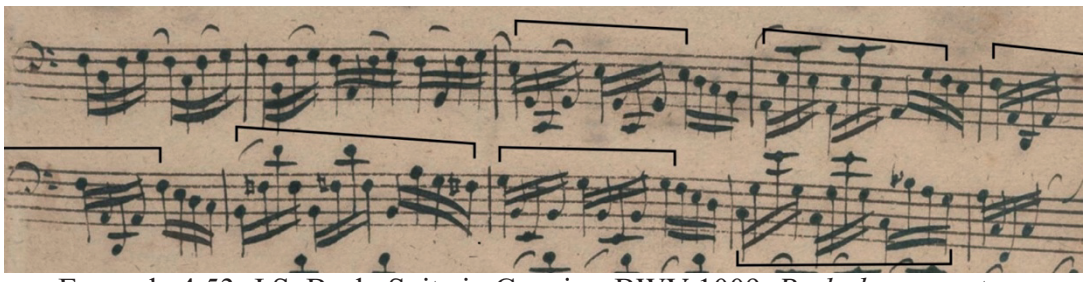


Example 4.51. J. S Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Menuet*, m. 19, two ways.

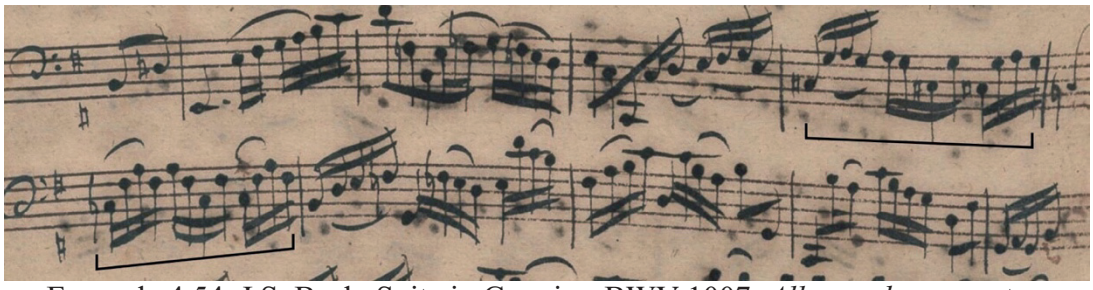
Another viol idiom which would serve a modern cellist well in their interpretation of Bach's cello suites is the *tenüe* technique—the continued left-hand depression of a note for added resonance, mentioned briefly in chapter two. The *tenüe* technique is especially useful in unaccompanied polyphonic music, as the maintained resonance of bass notes may assist the listener in their observation of the harmonic function. Below, I have notated several excerpts from BWV 1007-1012 with *tenüe* brackets in places where the technique might be appropriate and useful.



Example 4.52. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Prelude*, excerpt.



Example 4.53. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Prelude,* excerpt.



Example 4.54. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Allemande,* excerpt.

Even in passages which are too short to justify a *tenüe* bracket, one should observe this viol technique of garnering added resonance, and hold all bass notes for as long as possible.

Of the bow . . .

Stemming from the rich tradition of *airs de cour*, the French viol school prided itself in its ability to convey every nuance of the human voice. The essence of such expression is achieved through supple nuance and variety of bow strokes. The Italian school of violin playing strove, too, to sing through their instruments, though by different means of expression. Le Blanc compares the two national traditions, describing the French as:

> tic-tac, with lifted bow strokes, all in the air, which take so much from the pluck of the lute or the guitar, on which model Marin Marais composed his *pièces,* which . . . one might criticize as having something of a lack of expression of the harpsichord in that they suffer from being *simple* . . . and not complex, as in the Italian manner where, by the use of smooth and well-connected up-bows and down-bows whose changes are imperceptible . . . [379]

Though most modern cellists value the Italian style of long, uninterrupted lines, produced by "an endless chain of notes that appear as a continuous flow" (as described by Le Blanc), [380] this style of playing proves impossible when attempting to follow the bowings provided by Anna Magdalena in her manuscript.[381] The only

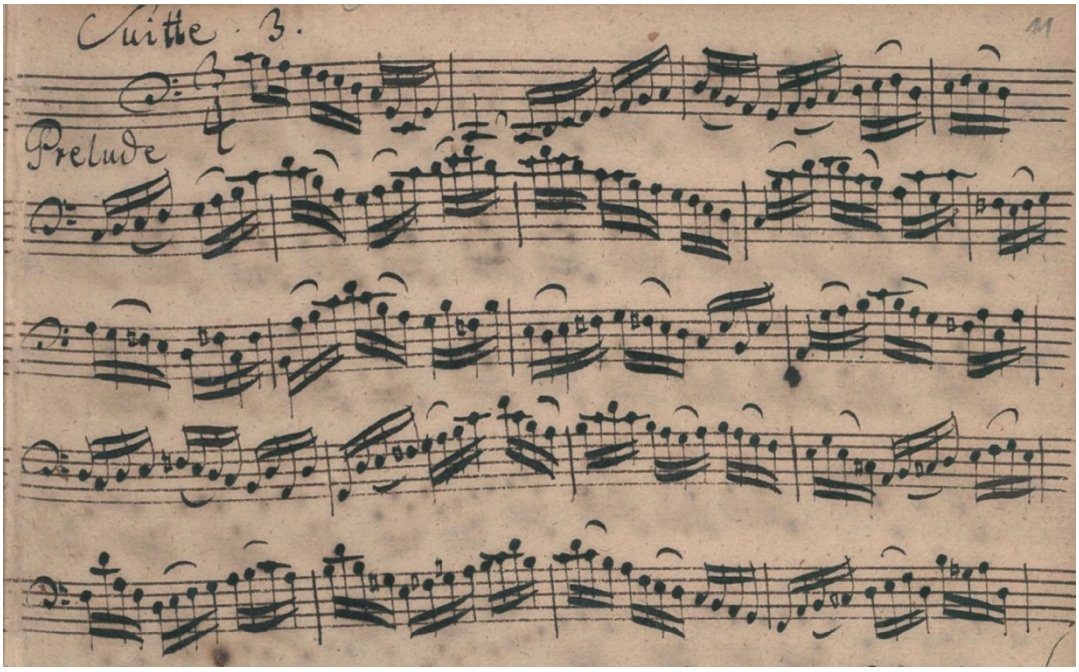
---

[379] Le Blanc, Hubert. *Défense,* p. 23.

[380] Ibid., p. 24.

[381] Of course, one must take into account the imprecise quality of Anna Magdalena's penmanship, and regard her bowings in a general sense, without being too literal (her slurs tend toward being too high and often are pushed too far to the right).

way to achieve the beauty and variety of expression which Le Blanc attributes to Marais, in the execution of Anna Magdalena's bowings, is to use the bow in the "French" manner, with nimble, light and lifted strokes. This "lifted" approach does not lend itself well to a Tourte style bow or modern bow hold, which favors the production of weighty, sustained bow strokes (this is why many modern cellists choose to play longer, more regular slurs in Bach's cello suites). A lifted, airy approach to bowing is made easier by the adoption of a viol-style underhand bow grip, or a French baroque style bow hold, with which the bow is held overhand, several finger-widths in front of the frog, closer to the balance point of the bow.



Example 4.55. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Prelude*, mm. 1-19.

Throughout Bach's cello suites, an interpreter will find many diverse bowings for similar motivic content within sequences. As one can see in figure 4.55, few patterns and regularities may be found in the groupings of sixteenth notes within Bach's C major prelude, much to the consternation of anyone wishing to create a "logical" interpretation. Often, too, one will find themselves "backward" during the repeated sections of the binary dance movements—for these reasons, many cellists modify or abandon these bowings all together in favor of uniformity. Of this inclination, celebrated cellist and Bach interpreter Anner Bylsma insists: "A modern player, in his naïve routine of workmanship, is bound to immediately change slurs to make them the same both times, and as a result many beautiful things will never be known to him."[382]

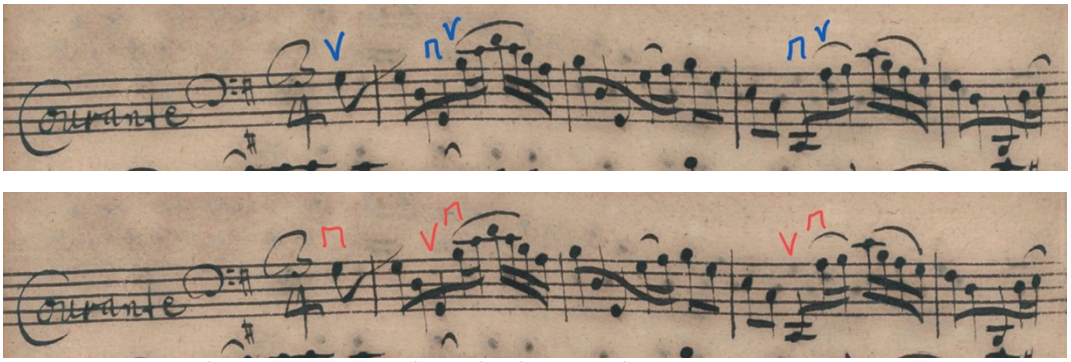
Musicologist Karl Neumann's critical study of the bowings marked in Anna Magdalena's manuscript is pertinent to this discussion, in light of its exploration of the parallels between French *pièces de viole* and Bach's cello suites. Neumann reminds us that the technique used by cellists during Bach's lifetime would be considered archaic by today's standard, with much of their idiomatic technique being borrowed from violists (often they were the same players).[383] We are already aware of the fact that most baroque-era cellists held the bow the "viol way" (i.e. underhand), as explained in the essay by Mark Smith referenced earlier in this

---

[382] Bylsma, Anner. *Grumbler's Bach: About Bach's b minor Solo for Violino Senza Basso.* Amsterdam, 2016, p. 12.

[383] Neumann, Karl, p. 36.

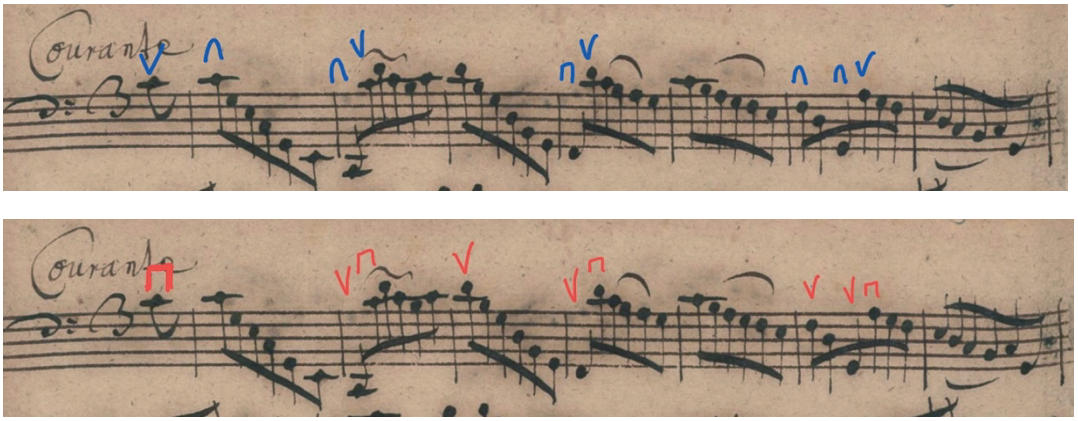
chapter. Neumann echoes this idea: "By reason of this transient survival of viola-da-gamba procedures within the context of the early 'cello technique, the theoretical possibility cannot be ruled out that Bach wrote the suites for a 'cellist still in the 'archaic' viola-da-gamba manner."[384] Not only does this idea support the thesis of this paper, but it also provides essential information for the execution of many of Anna Magdalena's bowings. When bowing the "viol way," the strong and weak bow strokes become reversed; with an over-held bow, the down-bow is strongest, but when held underhand, the up-bow becomes the forceful stroke. If one applies this reversal of strong/weak bow direction to Bach's suites, many kinetically awkward passages become remarkably more ergonomic. Neumann highlights two passages which benefit from such reversal, which are included below, first annotated with a bowing typical of a modern cellist (in blue), followed by the same passage annotated with a viol-typical bowing (in red). Note how, in the passages which require string crossings, the circles required of the arm are notably more efficient when executed the "viol-way."



Example 4.56. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Courante,*

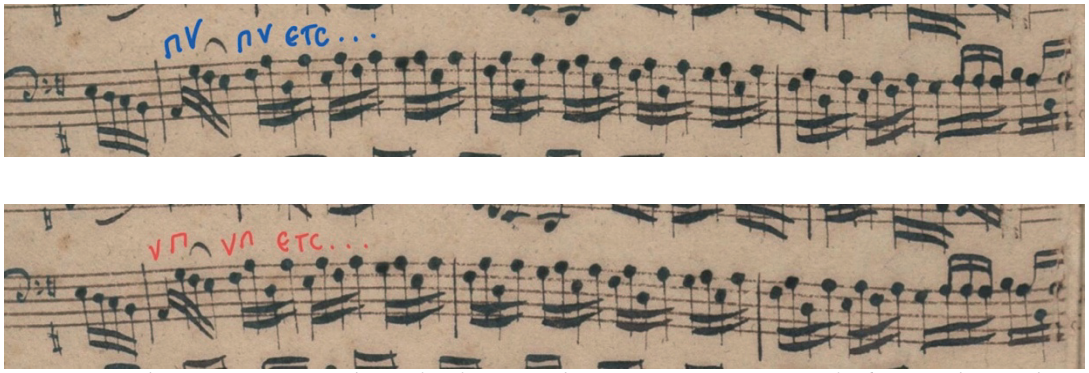
[384] Ibid, p. 48.

two bowed versions of excerpt.



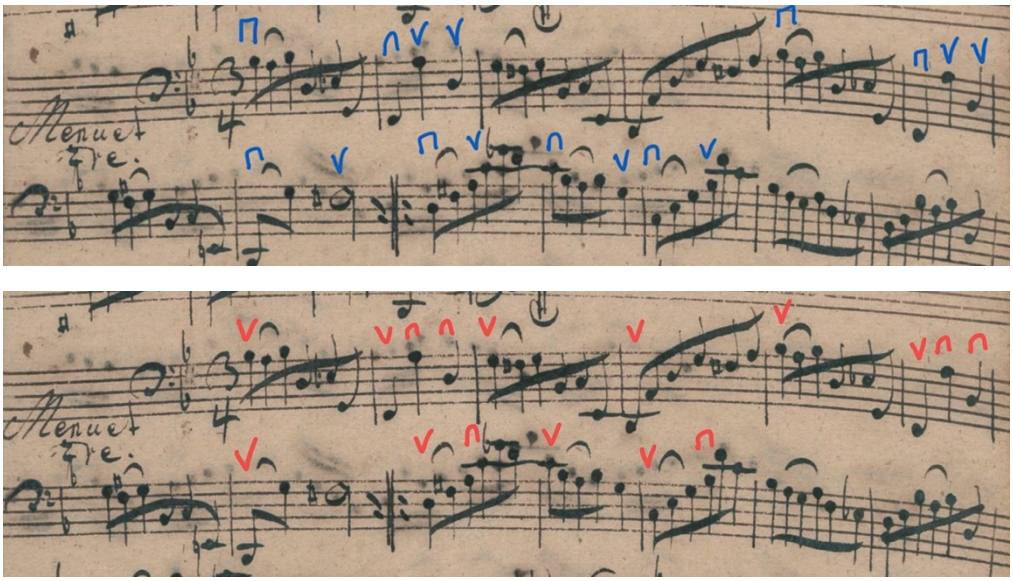
Example 4.57. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, of BWV 1009, *Courante,* two bowed versions of excerpt.

Neumann states that "these are not the only awkward bowing patterns to be found in the suites."[385] Other such "awkward" bowing passages include the bariolage figure toward the end of the G major *Prelude* BWV 1007, and the second *Menuet* of the same suite.



Example 4.58. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Prelude*, two bowed versions of excerpt.

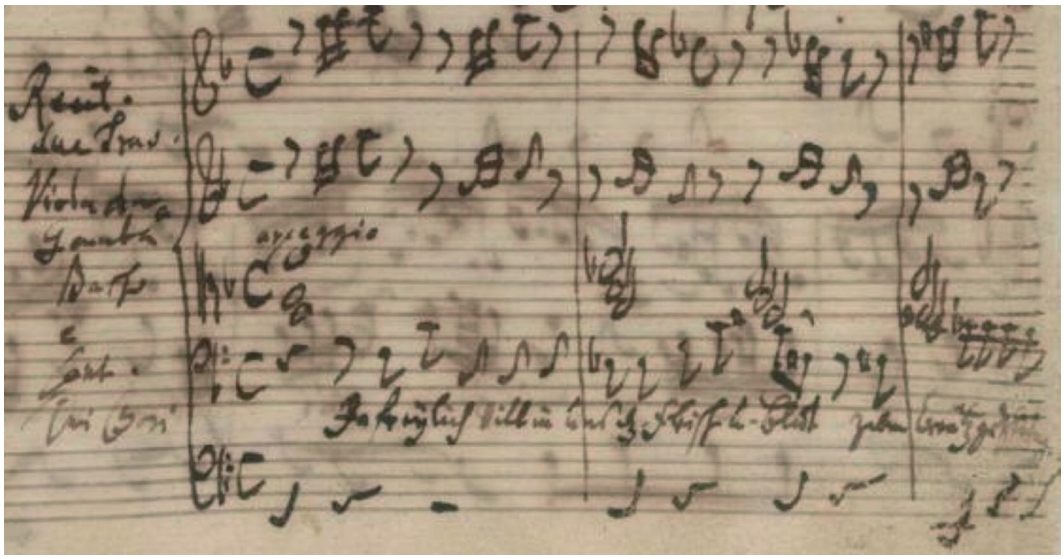
[385] Ibid., p. 49.



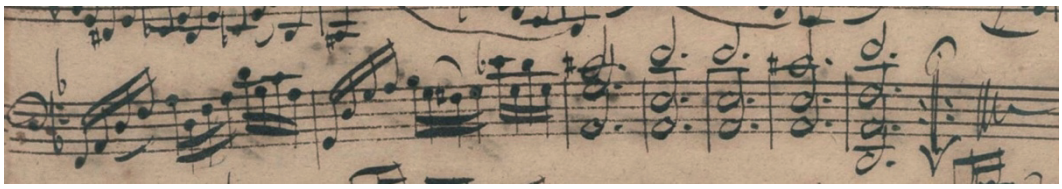
Example 4.59. J.S. Bach, Suite in G major, BWV 1007, *Menuet*, two bowed versions of excerpt.

It would be beneficial for modern cellists to keep an open mind regarding their approach to the many grand three and four-note chords found in Bach's suites. Three, four, five and six note chords feature heavily in French *pièces de viole* and are always played with an up-bow. This makes sense, in part, as one generally wants to apply the most weight to the lowest notes of the chord, but also because the arm is traveling from right to left—in the same direction as the chord is being spread. Spreading a chord from the bass-up is common practice for modern cellists as well, though this is most often executed with a down-bow, thus engaging in the sometimes awkward, uncomfortable practice of activating the strings from left to right while spreading the chord from right to left.

In his St. Matthew Passion BWV 244, Bach leaves cellists a possible clue as to how he might have imagined the blocked chords at the end of the *Prelude* from BWV 1008 to be performed. In BWV 244, the recitative, *Ja! Freilich will in uns das Fleisch und Blut*, which precedes the famous obbligato viola da gamba aria *Komm Süsses Kreuz* features chords notated in a similar fashion to those in the D minor prelude, though in the Passion, Bach's holograph manuscript includes the inscription "arpeggio," found above the viola da gamba line:

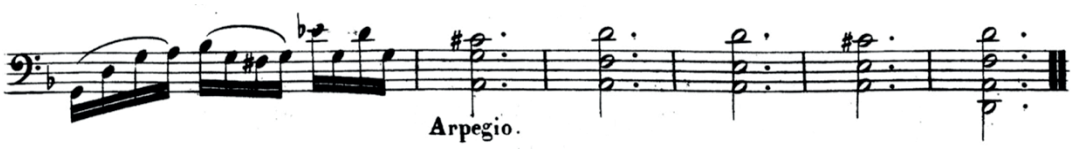


Example 4.60. J.S. Bach, St.Matthew Passion, BWV 244,
Holograph Manuscript, n.d. (c.1736).



Example 4.61. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Prelude,* excerpt.

Bach's similar treatment of the cello and viol in these works is noteworthy; even more so is the fact that the first published edition of Bach's cello suites (Janet et Cotelle, Paris, 1824), the source of which is a lost autograph manuscript copy of the score, includes the instruction "*arpegio*."[386]



Example 4.62. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Prelude*, from the first published edition of Bach's cello suites. Paris, 1824.

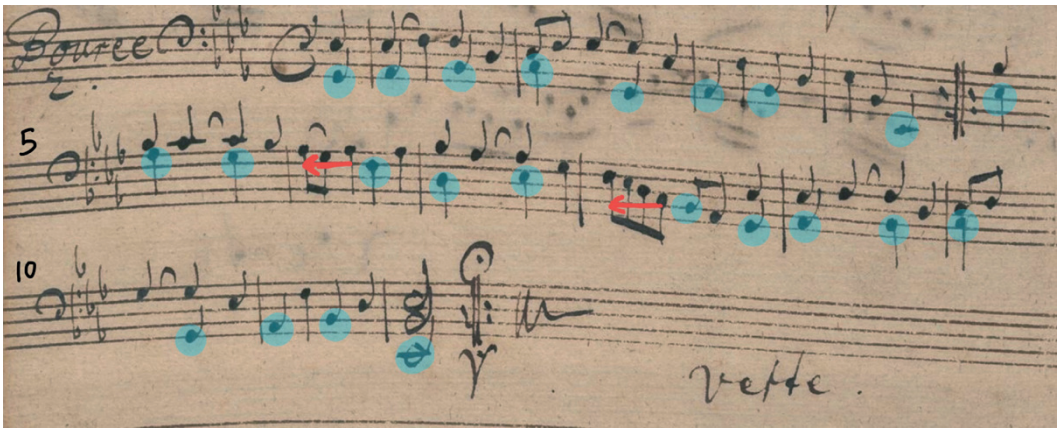
We will almost certainly never know what Bach intended here, but it seems unlikely that he envisioned the contemporary performance practice of this *Prelude's* grand finale: one single, broken chord played per measure, during which, the top two notes are agonizingly sustained for the entire duration, bringing the music to a jarring halt, and suspending all previous animation. Perhaps Anna Magdalena, in haste, omitted the word "*arpegio*" from her copy, perhaps the practice was simply implied, or perhaps Bach hoped for a cadential improvisation.

---

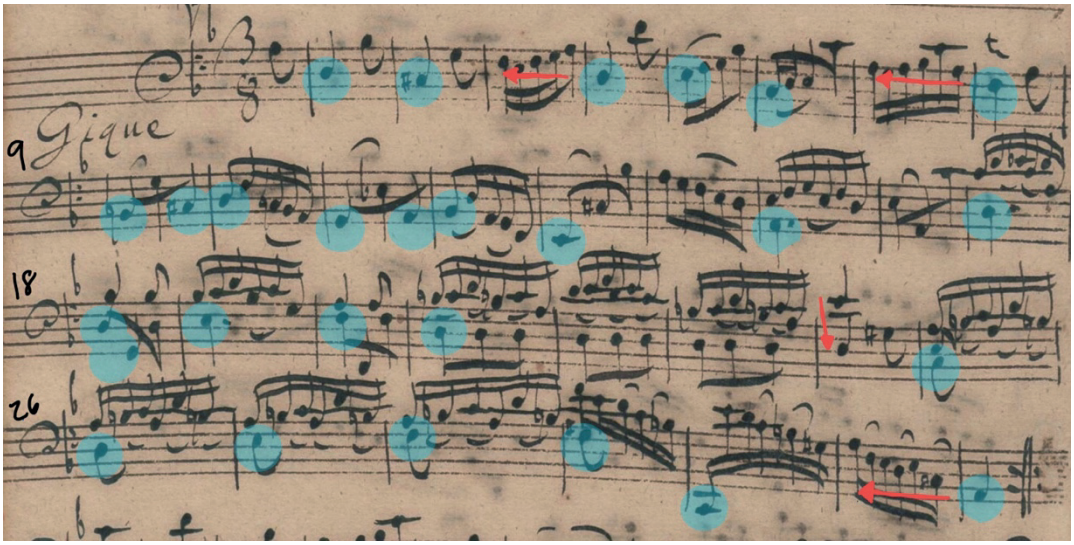
[386] That the first edition of Bach's cello suites was published in Paris is noteworthy in and of itself. Pure coincidence, though interesting, nonetheless, is that the edition's preface credits the discovery of the source, an autograph manuscript copy, to Pierre Noblin (1781-1854), the *premier* cellist in the *Academy royale de musique*: "*aprés beaucoup de recherches en allemagne, Noblin, de la musique du roi, premier violoncelle de l'académie royale de musique, a efin recuailli le fruit de sa persévérance, en faisant la découverte de ce précieux manuscrit."* Schwemer, Bettina and Douglas Woodfull-Harris. Text volume, p. 5.

Bach's Incorporated Bass Lines

In *pièces de viol*, the addition of a basso continuo line allowed the solo viol part (or parts) to take advantage of the higher ranges of the instrument, without the cumbersome effort of crossing two or more strings to access the bass. Given its tuning of strings in fifths (instead of fourths and a third), the cello has the advantage of being able to access its high and low registers in a more string-adjacent fashion. In his cello suites, Bach presents himself with the challenge of incorporating a basso continuos line into the solo part itself. Many of Marais' *pièces* do the same, especially in book one, where in many cases the continuo line merely doubles bass notes already expressed in the solo part; It is for this reason, the unaccompanied music in the Panmure collection, and the three-year delay in publishing book one's continuo part, that many violists condone the unaccompanied performance of book one *pièces*.

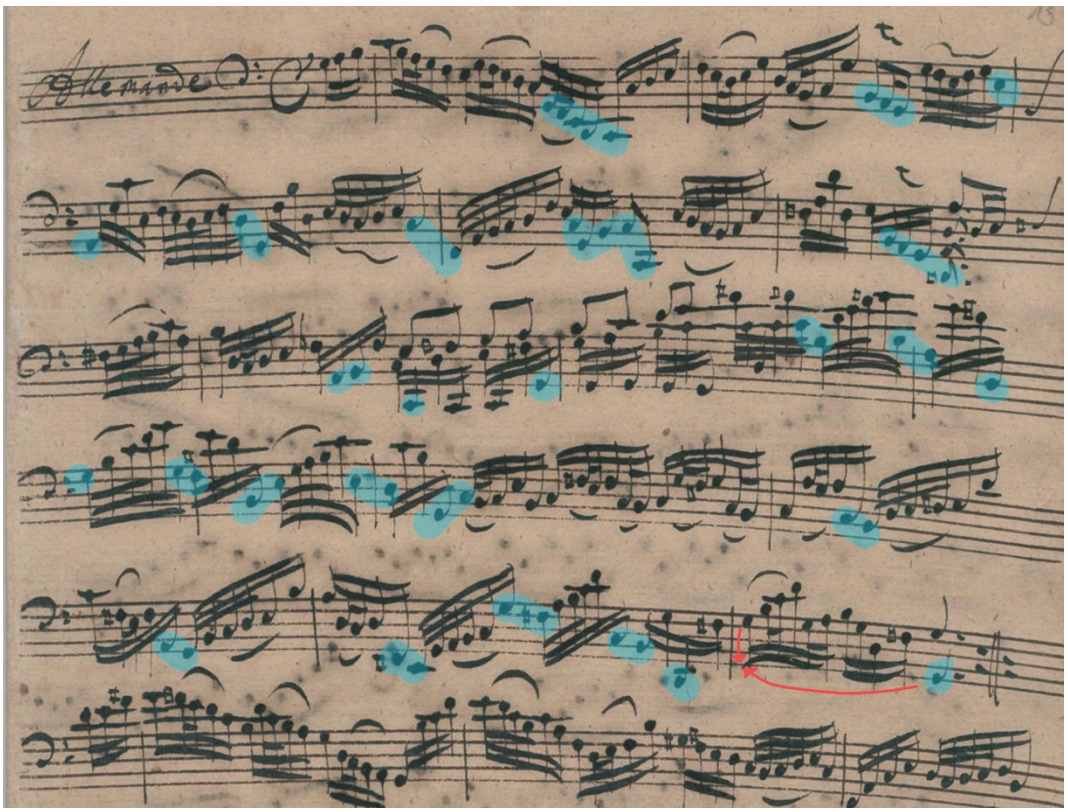


Example 4.63. A built-in bass line. J.S. Bach, Suite in Eb major, BWV 1010, *Bourrée 2.*

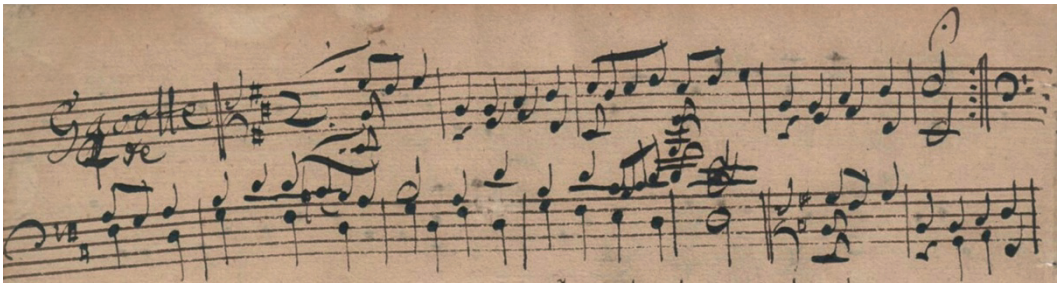


Example 4.64. A built-in bass line. J.S. Bach, Suite in D minor, BWV 1008, *Gigue*, excerpt.

In the more linear passages of Bach's suites, some bass notes may be delayed by a beat, a bar, or even a series of bars, and are occasionally displaced in register. Examples of this may be observed above, in Ex. 4.63 and 4.64, as seen in the *Bourrée* of BWV 1010, and the *Gigue* from BWV 1008. The red arrows indicate bass note displacement, with each arrow's point indicating the implied location of the displaced note. The downward-pointing arrow in bar 24 of Ex. 4.64 indicates that the E above middle C actually belongs to the bass line and can be thought of as sounding an octave lower.

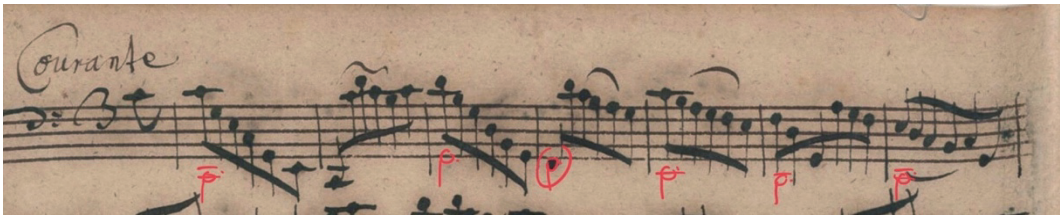


Example 4.65. Built in bass line. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Allemande*, excerpt.



Example 4.66. Built in bass line. J.S. Bach, Suite in D Major, BWV 1012, *Gavotte II*, excerpt.

In the grand preludes and charming dance movements of Bach's cello suites, even when the bass line isn't expressly played or outlined, the function of Bach's harmony is so clear that it may easily be conjured in the "mind's ear." Below, I have sketched a bassline which is implied by the harmonic motion in the *Courante* from BWV 1009. While this is but one small example of Bach's implied bass lines, this phenomenon pervades his suites for solo cello.



Example 4.67. Implied bass line, superimposed. J.S. Bach, Suite in C major, BWV 1009, *Courante,* mm. 1-7.

Ernst Kurth suggests that, at their essence, Bach's cello suites are exercises in linear composition, in which the melodic element is of utmost importance: Bach's line never becomes bogged down in a feeble playing with harmonies.[387] According to Kurth, Bach compensates for chordal affects with increasing melodic strength.[388] Marais music, too, displays an affinity for melodic bass lines in his works for solo viol. As stated in the *avertissement* which accompanies the *basse continue* part book which accompanies his second book of *pièces de viole:*

---

[387] Kurth, Ernst. *Grundlagen des linearen Kontrapunkts. Einführung in Stil und Technik von Bachs melodischer Polyphonie.* Berne, 1917, p. 260.

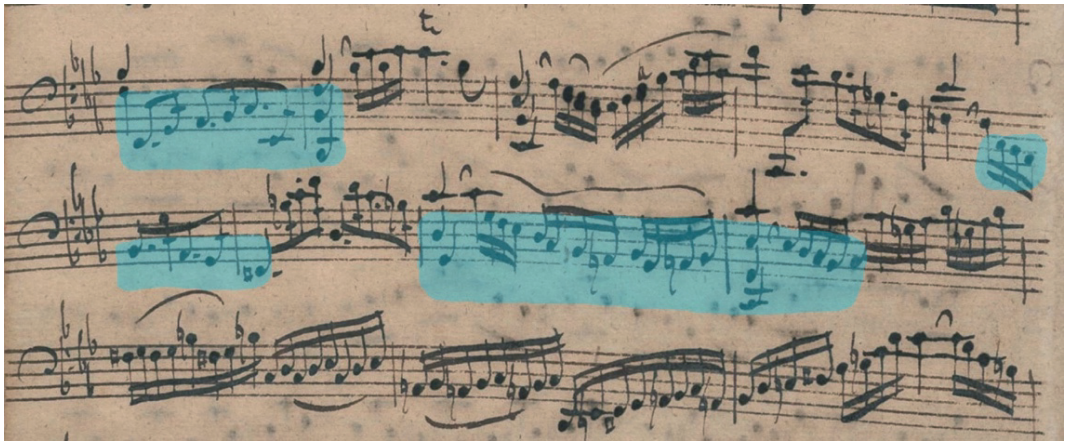
[388] Ibid.

> [the] *basse continue* parts are quite melodious, which contribute very much to the facility of players who will wish to trouble themselves to adapt them to whichever instrument in particular. I have tried also to make it easy to extract the subjects [melodies] in my pieces. However when one will meet with empty places in some of them, such as in *Preludes, Allemandes*, and *Gigues*, where one is [usually] obliged to [play] many intervals as is typical of the viol, it is necessary to reflect on the *basse continue*, so that it can be filled in with the most graceful melody, and the most convenient one possible, which will be very good.[389]

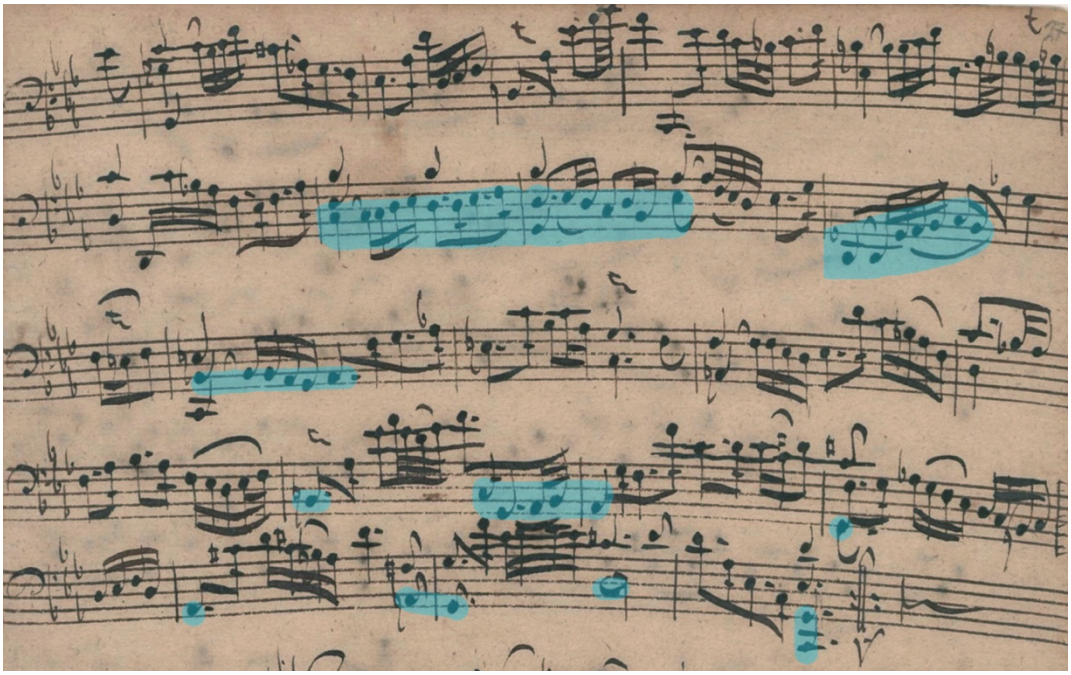
The technique of a bass line being filled in with melodic material is employed by Bach in, among other instances, the *Prelude* and *Allemande* of BWV 1011, and the *Allemande* of BWV 1012, as seen below, in Ex. 4.68, 4.69., and 4.70:

---

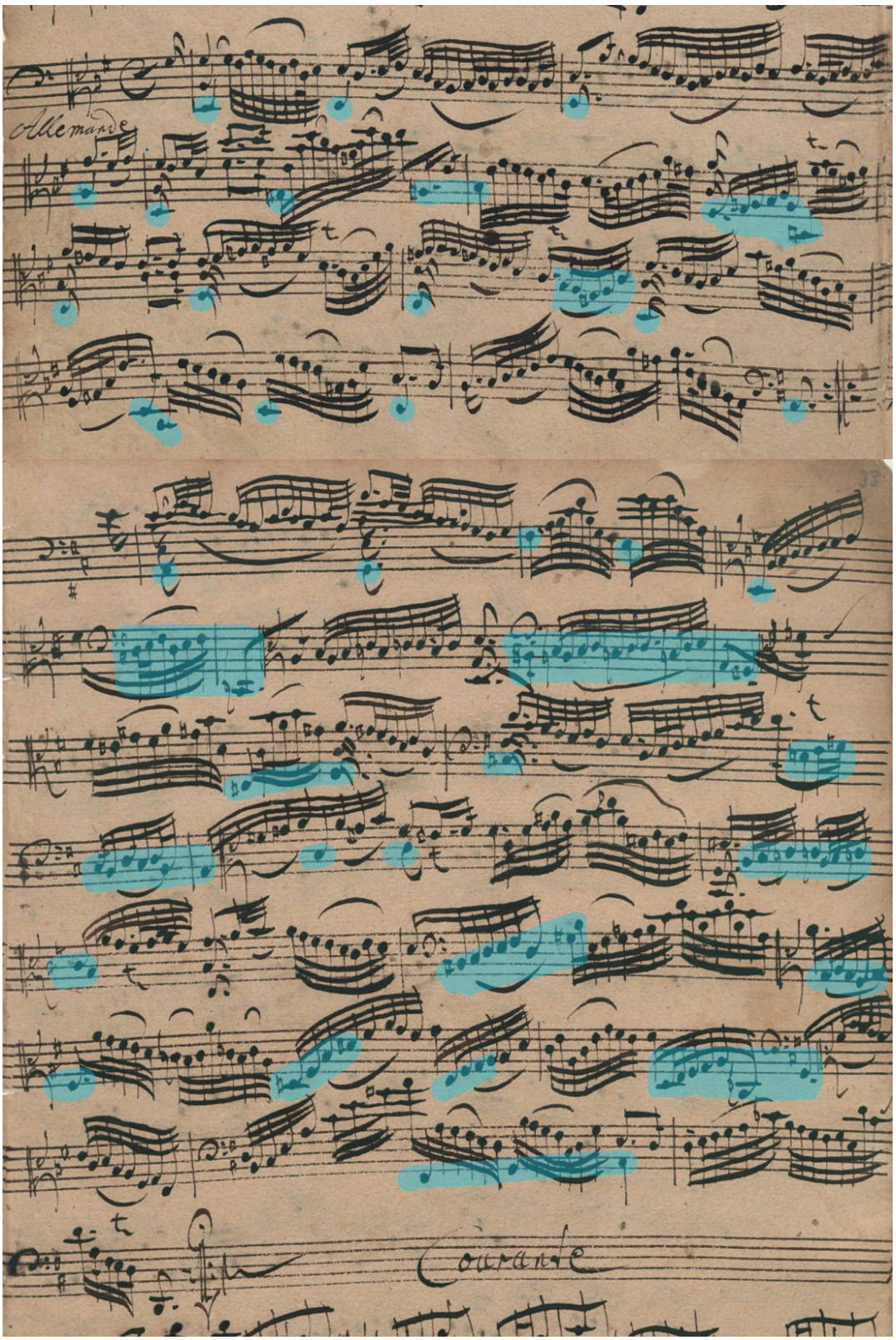
[389] Marais, Marin. *Pièces de viole*, vol. II, 1701, *avertissemens.* Translated by Mary Cry in "Marin Marais, the 'Basse Continue' and a 'Different Manner' of Composing for the Viol." *The Musical Times*, vol. 157, no. 1936, 2016, p. 58.



Example 4.68. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1001, *Prelude*, excerpt.



Example 4.69. J.S. Bach, Suite in C minor, BWV 1011, *Prelude,* excerpt.



Example 4.70. J.S. Bach, Suite in D Major, BWV 1012, *Allemande*.

The "filling in" of a bass line with melodic content was typical of violists and cellists when playing bowed bass continuo parts, not just in *pièces de viol*, but in French chamber music at large. Advice found in the treatises of Rousseau, Ancelet, Mattheson, Corretté and Michel de Lambert regarding the art of accompanying implore nuance, subtlety and *bon goût*. Ancelet's scathing remarks about Forqueray's improvised continuo realizations illuminate the dangers of this practice, if taken to an extreme:

> . . . he never plays the Bass as it is written; he claims to make it much better by the great quantity of brilliant features which his mind furnishes upon it; he competes, so to speak, with the one who plays the upper part; all Music seems to him only a canvas, which he claims to improve by embellishing it, and often the composer of the work is as dissatisfied as the violinist who performs it.[390]

It would seem that *Monsieur* Forqueray was more comfortable in the spotlight than in the rhythm section. Ancelet's quote is interesting because it provides two opposing standpoints regarding the practice of improvisation within a bowed bass continuo line; Ancelet believes the bass should be played as written, whereas Forqueray believes it should be improved via embellishment. As with most things, a happy medium is generally best practice, and is likely what Marais extols in his

---

[390] Ancelet, p. 24. ". . . il n'execute jamais la Basse telle qu'elle est excrite; il prétend la rendre beaucoup meilleure par la grande quantite de traits brillans que lui fournit sa tête; il lutte, pour ainsi dire, avec celui qui joue le dessus; tout espéce de Musique ne lui paroit etre qu'un Canevas, qu'il prétend embellir en la travaillant, et souvant le compositeur de l'ouvrage est aussi mécontent que le violon qui l'exécute."

avertissement, and what Bach achieves in the incorporated bass lines in his cello suites.

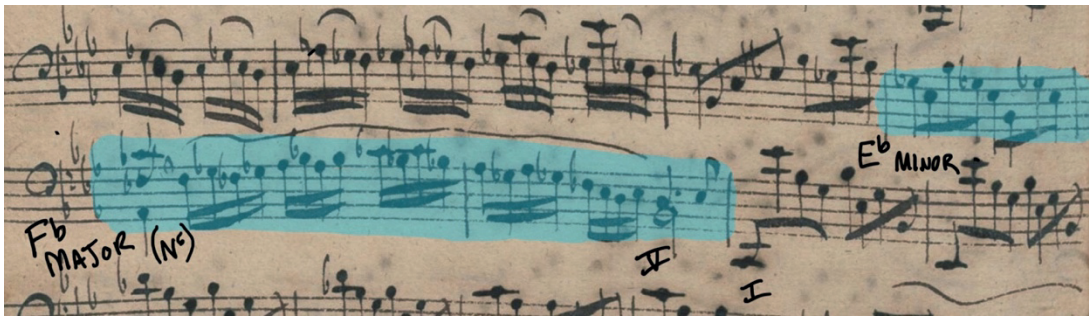
Further Observations

As with Marais in his *pièces de viole*, Bach includes disparate styles of chordal and melodic writing, which qualify, respectively, as examples of *jeu d'harmonie* and *jeu de melodie.* The linear *Sarabande* of BWV 1011, for example, contrasts greatly with the polyphonic gavottes which follow. In many movements, Bach ingeniously integrates these two styles, providing melody and accompaniment in one. This has been observed by Hans David: "In a fashion different from the violin solos, they [the cello suites] combine what the theorists of the period [Rousseau] called the 'play of melody' and 'play of harmony.' Even where no multiple stops are played, Bach creates the illusion of complete harmony."[391]

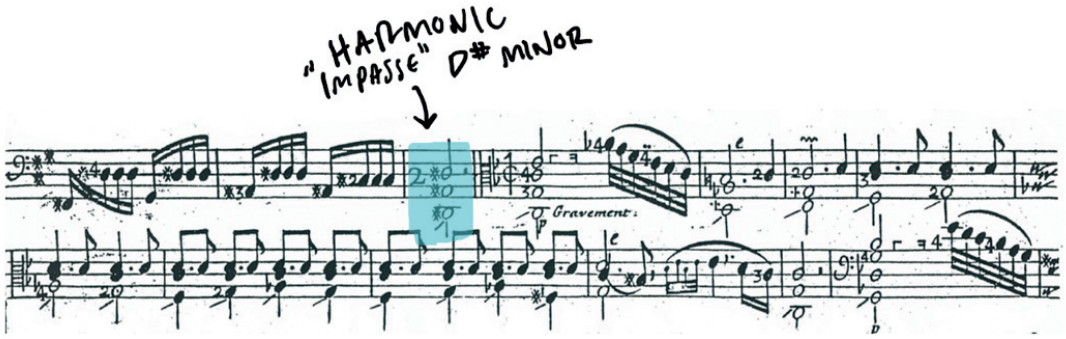
A comparison may be made between the *Prelude* of Bach's Suite in E-flat major, BWV 1010, and Marais' *Le Labyrinthe* from book four. Toward the finale of Bach's *Prelude*, the sensation of hitting a harmonic "brick wall," is evoked by a jarring Neapolitan 6th chord which flourishes into a rush of dominant relief, beckoning the return of the theme in the home key of E flat major. In Marais' evocative character piece, a similar "discovery of the way out" moment is expressed

[391] David (1982), program notes.

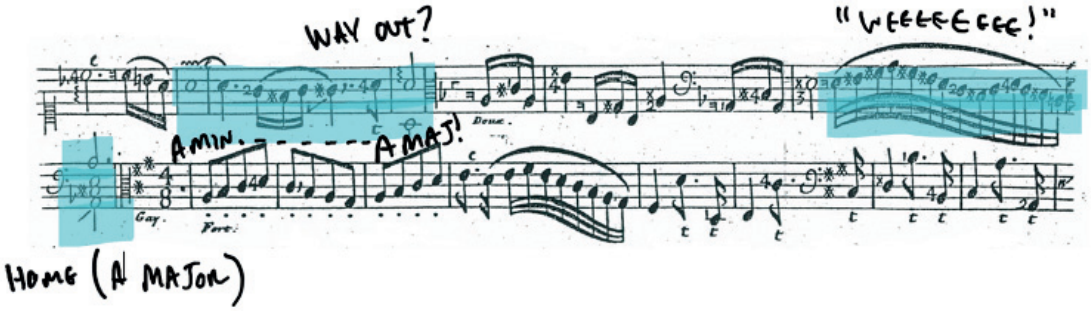
by a modal modulation from A minor to A major, which follows the total harmonic impasse of a D sharp minor chord. What Marais stretches into nearly three pages of trial, travail and dead ends, Bach condenses into a whirlwind four-bar event:



Example 4.71. J.S. Bach, Suite in Eb Major, BWV 1010, *Prelude*, excerpt.



Example 4.72. Marais, Marin, *Le Labyrinthe*, *Pièces de viole*, book 4, excerpt, p. 73.



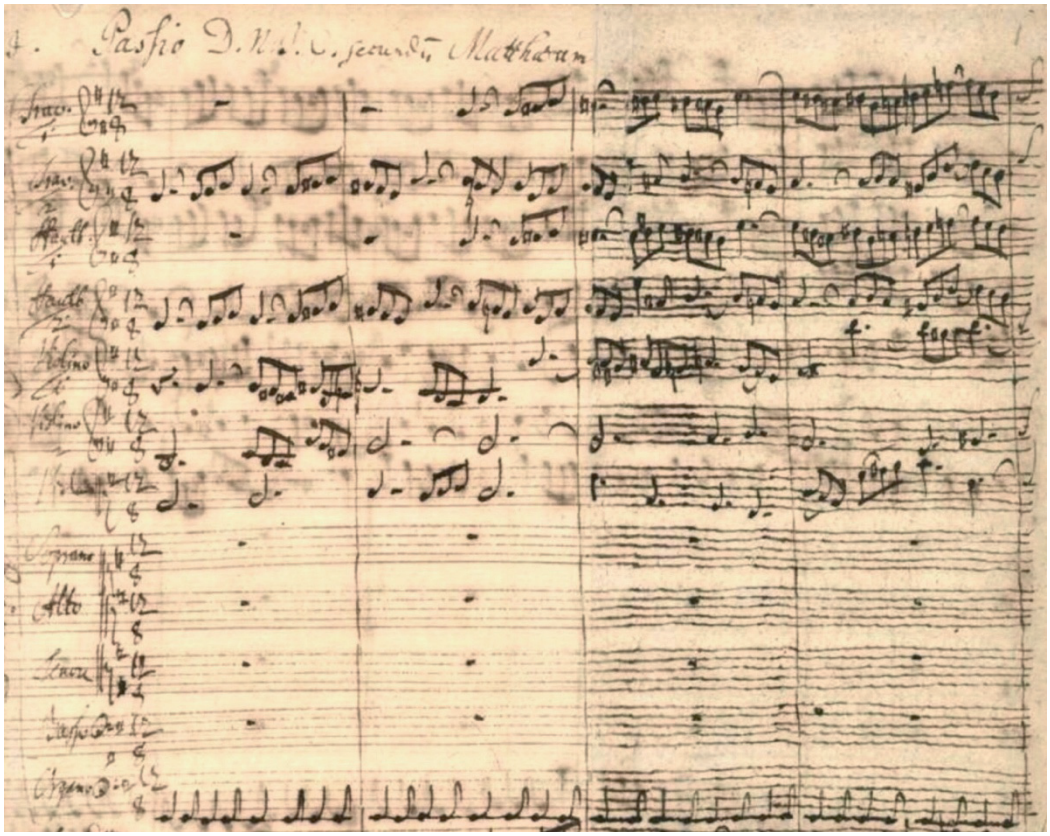
Example 4.73. Marais, Marin, *Le Labyrinthe*, *Pièces de viole*, book 4, excerpt, p. 75.

Of course, we cannot know if Bach was familiar with Marais' *Le Labyrinthe*, though this comparison certainly sheds light on a common practice.

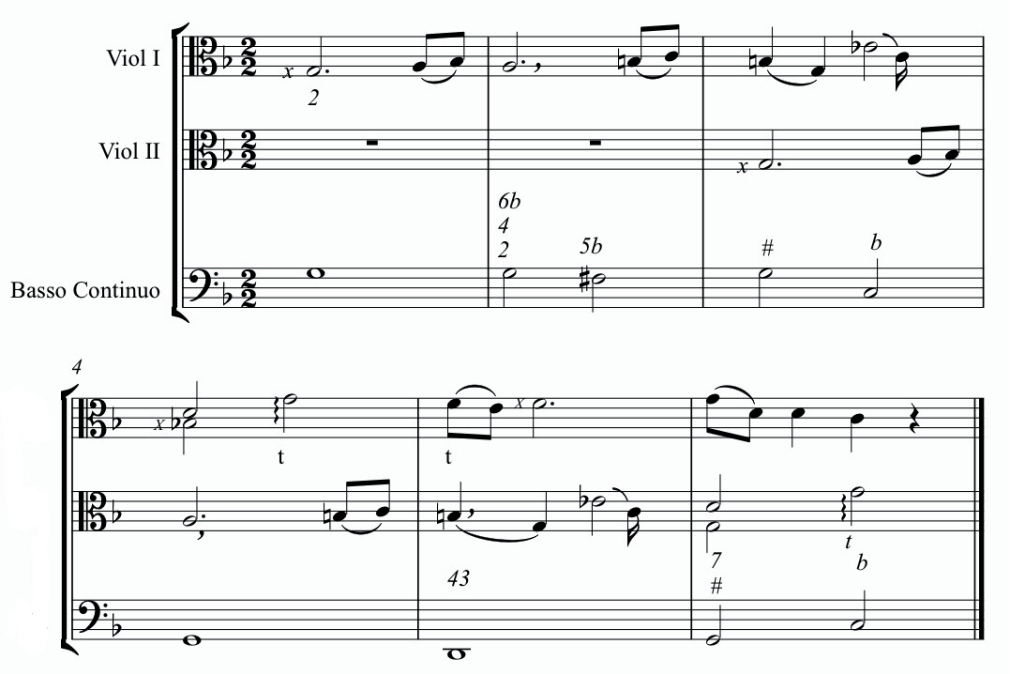
There is another parallel which exists between two works of Bach and Marais that is so uncanny, mere coincidence could not possibly explain it: the pathos-ridden motivic theme of Marais' *Tombeau de Mr. Meliton* (from his first volume of *pièces de viole,* 1686, and the opening chorus (*Kommt, ihr Töchter*) of Bach's *Matthäus-Passion*, BWV 244. In BWV 244, Bach alters Marais' meter from 2/2 to a lilting 12/8, and elevates his haunting work to E minor, a key which suggests the Phrygian mode, often associated with lamentation (also note the single sharp, which presents a visual representation of the cross), as opposed to Marais' choice of D minor, the key most usually associated with death.[392] In these two works, the shared melodic content and overlapping treatment of the theme is simply too great to ignore.

---

[392] Chafe, Eric. "J. S. Bach's 'St Matthew Passion': Aspects of Planning, Structure, and Chronology." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1982, p. 63.



Example 4.74. J. S. Bach, St. Matthew Passion, BWV 244, mm. 1-4.



Example 4.75. Marais, Marin, *Tombeau de M. Meliton, pièces de viole,* book 1, mm. 1-6.

It is fitting that Marais' work is a *Tombeau*, which *Grove* describes as "an instrumental piece, or group of pieces, in the character of a lament, commemorating the death of some person, usually real, but occasionally imaginary."[393] There is an obvious parallel here in BWV 244, which deals with the horrific events leading up to the execution of Jesus Christ, as told in the gospel of Saint Matthew.

The history of the *Tombeau* has its origins in sixteenth and seventeenth-century French poetry. The first musical *Tombeaux* belong to the French lute tradition, where it was a popular genre among composers such as Jacques Gallot (1625-1696), Denis Gaultier (1603-1672), Charles Mouton (1626-1710), Robert de Visée (c.1655-c.1732), and Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1687-1750).[394] The *Tombeau* spread, in France, to the neighboring viol and harpsichord schools.[395] Two *Tombeaux* of Sainte-Colombe survive, the *Tombeau Les regrets*, and the *Tombeau pour Monsieur de Sainte-Colombe le père.* Marais wrote four *Tombeaux*: the *Tombeau de M. Lully, Tombeau pour Marais le cadet* (for his deceased son), *Tombeau de M. Meliton*, and *Tombeau de M. Ste-Colombe. Tombeaux* faded toward the end of the eighteenth century but experienced a revival in the twentieth century among French composers, instigated by Ravel's *Tombeau de Couperin* (1914). Tilmouth's article in *Grove* compares the exclusively French genre with another

---

[393] Tilmouth, Michael. "Tombeau." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 37-38.

[394] Weiss actually belonged to the German lute tradition which, like the German viol school, was an extension of the analogous French school.

[395] See d'Anglebert's *Tombeau de M. de Chambonnières,* Lois Couperin's *Tombeau de Monsieur Blancrocher* and Froberger's *Tombeau fait à Paris sur la mort de Monsieur Blancrocher.*

idiosyncratic one of the same period, with which Bach was likely familiar: "the richly decorated style and strange, poignant modulations of many *tombeaux* demand a freedom in performance akin to that of the *Prélude Non Mesuré*."

Wading into the murky waters of speculation, the suites of Marin Marais for two viols included in his first volume of *pièces de viole(s)* would have provided excellent recreational and educational fodder for Christian Ferdinand Abel and Prince Leopold to enjoy together in Köthen; the content bears musical weight without being overly virtuosic, and is divided equitably between the two solo parts. The *Tombeau de M. Meliton,* found in the second of three suites *a deux violes* from book one, is a somber and deeply profound piece of music, and being nearly twelve minutes long, it represents one of the longest *pièce de viole* in Marais' entire catalogue. That the elegiac work is substantial, but with little in the way of technical demands, would have made it an excellent choice for Abel to perform with his employer, and, being reprinted by Estienne Roger in 1701, Marais' first volume of *pièces* was well represented in Germany, and was easily accessible. Perhaps Bach was exposed to the piece in Köthen, where playing chamber music with members of his *Kapelle* was the Prince's favorite pastime. Perhaps Bach even accompanied his friends on the harpsichord . . . if so, the fugal nature of Marais' piece could not have escaped Bach's attention. Also noteworthy is that this French viol melody of Marais appears in a work of Bach's which features so prominently the seven-stringed bass viol, in the bass recitative *Ja, freilich will in uns,* and aria, *Komm, süsses Kreuz*. These viol obbligato pieces are written in accordance with the French viol styles typical of Marais and Forqueray. The gentle, sweeping arpeggios of *Ja,*

freilich will in uns, and the dotted rhythms, expressive flourishes, wide leaps and full chords of *Komm, süsses Kreuz* indicate that Bach was well acquainted with the music of this tradition.

Nikolaus Harnoncourt mentions Bach's quotation of Marais in the album liner notes (titled *The Origin of the St. Matthew Passion)* which accompany his 1970 recording of BWV 244. Harnoncourt writes: "We know that he [Bach] had a high opinion of the French composers and kept himself up to date regarding their publications. It is thus very probable that he procured Marais' printed gamba compositions for himself."[396] Though Bach's St. Matthew Passion has no direct corollary with his cello suites, his explicit quotation of a melody from Marais' *pièce de viol* in his magnum opus indicates the significance and relevance of the French viol tradition in Bach's sphere.[397]

---

[396] Harnoncourt, Nikolaus. Liner notes. *MATTHÄUS PASSION*. Music by Johann Sebastian Bach. Perf. Wiener Sängerknaben, Regensburger Domchores, King's College Chores Cambridge, Concentus Music Wein. Con. Nikolaus Harnoncourt. Wein, 1970. Record.

[397] We know that Bach copied Couperin's music, and also that Marais and Couperin used the same engraver, François du Plessy. Therefore, is it possible that Bach gained entrée to Marais' music from the same source as he did Couperin's.

Conclusion

Of the character of Bach's cello suites, Philipp Spitta writes:

> In the six compositions for violoncello alone, a general character may also be perceived, which is distinct from that of the works for the violin in proportion to the difference of the instruments in readiness of expression. The passionate and penetrating energy, the inner fire and warmth which often grew to be painful in its intensity, is here softened down to a quieter beauty and a generally serene grandeur, as was to be expected from the deeper pitch and the fuller tone of the instrument . . .[398]

It would seem that in his estimation of the suites Spitta is right, but in the wrong way, accurately observing the differences in affect and quality of Bach's two adjacent volumes, but misidentifying the reason. It is my belief that the "quiet beauty" and "serene grandeur" of the cello suites are borrowed from the sensual tradition of solo bass viol music in France, and not, as in the case of Bach's violin sonatas and partitas, from the fiery, impassioned repertoire of the Italian violin school. The Italian text used on the cover page and in subsequent markings of the violin sonatas and partitas may be an indicator of such an influence. Spitta continues with his analysis, "in comparison with the solo violin works, of which

---

[398] Spitta, Philipp. *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*. Translated by Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller Maitland, vol. II, London, Novello and Company, 1899. p. 99.

only half are suites, the cello suites of J.S. Bach are markedly more uniform in style and form."[399] Spitta offers no reason for the uniformity of the cello suites, though it is likely that in them, Bach was drawing from the forms typical of the enduring French tradition of *Pièces de viole*.

Bach was a master of adaptation and assimilation; he strove to develop and evolve the traditions which preceded him. In his cello suites, Bach synthesizes the German polyphonic style and inchoate Italian sonata forms with French instrumental *goût*.[400] To best interpret the works of J.S. Bach, it is important to consider all possible sources of influence, especially when approaching the cello suites, of which so little is known regarding their conception and purpose. In the words of Stephen Crist, "not until we gain a more comprehensive view of the rich tapestry of seventeenth-century music itself, will it be possible to determine the specific ways in which Bach made use of conventional techniques."[401] Christ's comments are congruent (for the examination of the impetus of Bach's cello suites) with the scholarship of Julie Anne Sadie, where, in her essay *Marais and his Contemporaries*, she states:

> To see Marin Marais in a true perspective one must recall that his achievements really belong to the 17th century, Lully's era, rather

---

[399] Ibid.

[400] See Ledbetter's discussion of the German "mixed" style, pp. 62-64.

[401] Crist, Stephen A. *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*. Edited by John Butt, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 81.

> than the 18th. As early as 1680 he was praised by Gallois as one of the finest players of his time. That his viol pieces were mostly published in the 18th century reflects more on the economics of his own circumstances, than on the epoch of their actual composition.[402]

As articulated by Charles Cudworth in his dealings with French influence in Handel's music, "There are quite distinctive elements of the French style in many of Handel's works, and I believe that in performing such "frenchifyed" pieces, we should pay at least some attention to the peculiar conventions of that style."[403] I believe the same approach should be applied to Bach, particularly in his suites for solo cello BWV 1007-1012, which so convincingly associate themselves with the French bass viol tradition. Viewing Bach's cello suites through this lens places them in a music-historical context which informs one's aesthetic, stylistic and idiomatic interpretive approaches, benefitting the performance of a contemporary cellist. Even David Ledbetter, who is so frugal in his allowances for the application of the French style *notes inégales* in Bach's cello suites, agrees that "the intellectual tradition [of these pieces] lay with the French viol. Some aspects of viol technique . . . were common currency on both instruments. The French viol repertory was certainly part of Bach's environment, and it would be well worth cellists' effort now to familiarize themselves with Marais' performance instructions and at least

---

[402] Vertrees Sadie, Julie Anne. "Marin Marais and His Contemporaries." *The Musical Times*, vol. 119, no. 1626, 1978, p. 674.

[403] Cudworth, p. 122.

some of his viol works in good performances."[404] Several other writers share this sentiment, though in equally unspecific terms. David writes that "Stylistically Bach was rather indebted to music for the fretted and mostly six-stringed *viola da gamba,* tuned like the lute, in fourths with an intermediate third."[405] In Eric Siblin's book *The Cello Suites*, the same inspiration is afoot, though Siblin provides a fresh take on Bach's design: "the same logic [that the solo viol parts in the sixth Brandenburg Concerto are of relative ease to suit the skill of Prince Leopold] applies to the Cello Suites. Composing extremely demanding music for the gamba at Leopold's court would not have been tactful, because it was the prince's instrument. With the cello, Bach could be as musically ambitious as he wanted."[406] Siblin's theory likely rules out Geck's, that Bach's viola da gamba sonatas were written for Prince Leopold, as these works present a challenge for even the most accomplished violist, (especially the G minor gamba sonata BWV 1029 and the pyrotechnics which conclude the finale of BWV 1028). Without knowledge of Bach's reasoning, there is sufficient evidence to suggest that Bach's cello suites were composed with the great French viol tradition in mind; to ignore this fact would be a mistake, for a great many musical ideas, connections and gestures would be overlooked. May this work be a stepping-stone for the continued exploration of Bach's cello suites as an extrapolation of the French viol idiom.

---

[404] Ledbetter, p. 43.

[405] David (1982), program notes.

[406] Siblin, Eric. *The Cello Suites*. Allen & Unwin, 2009, p. 64.

Bibliography

Albertyn, Erik. "The Hanover Orchestral Repertory, 1672-1714: Significant Source Discoveries." *Early Music*, vol. 33, no. 3, 2005, pp. 449–471.

Anthony, James R. *French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau*. Amadeus Press, 1997.

--- "Lully, (1) Jean-Baptiste (i), 6: Influence." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 326.

--- "Lully, (1) Jean-Baptiste (i), 1: Life." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 314-318.

--- "Paris, III, 3: 1600-1723, Theatres." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 14, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 195–197.

Baines, Anthony C. and Meredith Ellis Little. "Musette." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 12, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 796-797.

Barringer, Sarah. "Louis XIV's Use of Fashion to Control the Nobility and Express Power." *Primary Source*, vol. IV, no. II, 2012, pp. 21–25.

Barthélémy, Maurice. “Gatti, Theobaldo.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 7, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 186.

Berrocal, Joseba. *Marin Marais: Violoniste à l’opera*. Edited by Benoît Dratwicki, Édition du centre de Musique baroque de Versailles, 2006.

Bouffard, Mickaël. “Standing and the Five Positions of French Noble Dance in Portraiture.” *Artibus et Historiae*, vol. 33, no. 65, 2012, pp. 167–202.

Breig, Werner. “The Instrumental Music.” *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, edited by John Butt, Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 128.

Brown, Frederick. “Reflection on Versailles.” *The Hudson Review*, vol. 30, no. 3, 1977, pp. 335–349.

Bulow, George J. “Opera in Hamburg 300 Years Ago.” *The Musical Times*, vol. 119, no. 1619, 1978, pp. 26–28.

Burney, Charles. *A General History of Music, From the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*. Vol. IV, London, 1789.

Byrt, John. “Alteration in Handel: A Fresh Approach.” *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 85, no. 1, 2001, pp. 194–219.

Campbell, Thomas. *Frederick the Great and His Times*. Philadelphia, Lea & Blanchard, 1842.

Cavendish, Richard. “The Kingdom of Prussia Is Founded.” *History Today*, vol. 51, no. 1, Jan. 2001, p. 27.

Cheney, Stuart. "Early autograph manuscripts of Marin Marais." *Early Music*, vol. 38, no. 1, Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 59-72.

Chafe, Eric. “J. S. Bach’s ‘St Matthew Passion’: Aspects of Planning, Structure, and Chronology.” *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 35, no. 1, 1982, pp. 49–114.

Christout, Marie-Françoise. “How to Compose a Successful Ballet.” *Dance Perspectives*, no. 20, 1964, pp. 26–37.

Cohen, Albert. “A Study of Instrumental Ensemble Practice in Seventeenth-Century France.” *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 15, 1962, pp. 3–17.

--- “The ‘Fantasie’ for Instrumental Ensemble in 17th-Century France--Its Origin and Significance.” *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 48, no. 2, 1962, pp. 234–243.

Cooper, Martin. “France, I, 4: Art Music, “The ‘Grand Siècle’ and Its Aftermath.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 747-749.

Correttè, Michel. *Methode, Théorique et Pratique Pour Apprendre en peu de tems le Violoncelle dans sa Perfection*. Paris, 1741.

Crist, Stephen A. *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*. Edited by John Butt, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Cudworth, Charles. “Handel and the French Style.” *Music & Letters*, vol. 40, no. 2, 1959, pp. 122–131.

Cyr, Mary. “Carl Friedrich Abel’s Solos: A Musical Offering to Gainsborough?” *The Musical Times*, vol. 128, no. 1732, 1987, pp. 317–321.

--- “Marin Marais, the ‘Basse Continue’ and a ‘Different Manner’ of Composing for the Viol.” *The Musical Times*, vol. 157, no. 1936, 2016, pp. 49–61.

Daley, Jason. ‘The Versailles of Dresden Has Been Rebuilt. 74 Years After World War II.” *Smithsonian Magazine*, 26 Sept. 2019, www.smithsonianmag.com/smart-news/versaille-dresden-has-been-rebuilt-74-years-after-world-war-ii-180973225.

Dannreuther, Edward. *Musical Ornamentation: From Diruta to J.S. Bach*. Vol. 1, London, 1893.

David, Hans Theodore, et al. *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*. W. W. Norton & Company, 1999.

Delpech, Louis. “French Musicians in Northern Germany (1660-1730): Questions of Method.” *Nomadic Music: Objects, Networks, Routes*, vol. 26, 2015, pp. 57–73. Open Edition, doi:10.4000/diasporas.406.

Dirst, Matthew. “Bach’s French Overtures and the Politics of Overdotting.” *Early Music*, vol. 25, no. 1, 1997, pp. 35–44.

Dolmetsch, Arnold. *The Interpretation of the Music of the XVII & XVIII Centuries*. London, Novello and Company Ltd, 1916.

Donington, Robert. “James Talbot’s Manuscript. (Christ Church Library Music MS 1187). II. Bowed Strings.” *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 3, 1950, pp. 27–45.

Dürr, Alfred. The Cantatas of J.S. Bach, trans. Richard Jones, Oxford University Press, 2006.

--- “The Historical Background of the Composition of Johann Sebastian Bach's ‘Clavier’ Suite, Part I.” *Bach*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1985, pp. 53–68.

Fauchier-Magnan, Adrien. *The Small German Courts in the Eighteenth Century.* Methuen, 1958.

Fostbroke, Thomas Dudley. "And Elements of Archaeology, Classical and Mediæval." *Encyclopedia of Antiquities*, vol. 2, J. Nichols and Son, 1825, pp. 632–633.

Fuller, David. "Notes inégales." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 13, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 420.

Franko, Mark. *Dance as Text: Ideologies of the Baroque Body*. Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Geck, Martin. Johann Sebastian Bach: Life and Work. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2006.

Geiringer, Karl. *The Bach Family: Seven Generations of Creative Genius.* Oxford University Press, 1954.

Glozier, Matthew, and David Onnekink. War, Religion and Service: Huguenot Soldiering, 1685-1713. *Routledge*, 2017.

Gollwitzer, Gerda. "Great Garden at Hanover Returns to Original Design." *Landscape Architecture Magazine*, vol. 66, no. 3, 1976, pp. 231–238.

Graafland, Ad, and Arie Graafland. *Versailles and the Mechanics of Power: The Subjugation of a Circle*. Edited by John Kirkpatrick, 010 Publishers, 2003.

Harnoncourt, Nikolaus. *The Musical Dialogue: Thoughts on Monteverdi, Bach and Mozart*. Translated by Mary O'Neill, Amadeus Press, 1997.

Harris-Warrick, Rebecca. “Ballroom Dancing at the Court of Louis XIV.” *Early Music*, vol. 14, no. 1, 1986, pp. 40–49.

Härtwick, Dieter. “Hebenstreit, Pantaleon.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, pp. 426-427.

--- “Hertel. (3) Johann Christian Hertel.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 523.

--- “Volumier, Jean Baptiste.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 20, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 75-76.

Haynes, Bruce, and Geoffrey Burgess. *“The Pathetick Musician” Audience in the Age of Eloquence*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Heartz, Daniel. *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720-1780*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2003.

Hellwig, Friedmann. “Hamburg and Paris: Joachim Tielke’s Pochettes.” *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 62, 2009, pp. 183–201.

Hellwig, Günther. “Joachim Tielke.” *The Galpin Society Journal*, vol. 17, 1964, pp. 28–38.

Henning, Uta. “The Most Beautiful among the Claviers: Rudolf Richter’s Reconstruction of a Baroque Lute-Harpsichord.” *Early Music*, vol. 10, no. 4, 1982, pp. 477–486.

Herzog, Myrna. “Looking Through the Mist of Tous Les Matin du Monde: Sainte-Colombe Revisited.” *Journal of the Viola da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 49, 2015, pp. 29-51.

Higginbottom, Edward. “Marchand, Louis.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 656-657.

Hintermaier, Ersnt. “Schenck, Johannes.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 16, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 623.

Hirschmann, Wolfgang. “‘He Liked to Hear the Music of Others’: Individuality and Variety in the Works of Bach and His German Contemporaries.” *Bach Perspectives: JS Bach and His Contemporaries in Germany*, edited by Andrew Talle, vol. 9, University of Illinois Press, 2013, pp. 1-23.

Holman, Peter. “Preliminary Checklist of Music for One or More Bass Viols Printed Without Continuo Printed Before 1800.” *Chelys*, vol. 5, 1973, pp. 62–67.

---. “The English Royal Violin Consort in the Sixteenth Century.” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 109, 1982, pp. 39–59.

Hüsch-Pfleger, Lini. “Höffler, Konrad.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 616-617.

Isherwood, Robert M. “Centralization of Music in the Reign of Louis XIV.” *French Historical Studies*, vol. 6, no. 2, 1969, pp. 156–171.

---. *Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century*. Cornell University Press, 1973.

Kam Fook Ng, Shaun. *Ornamentation in Marin Marais' Pièces de Viole*. University of Sydney, 2013.

Knape, Walter, and Murray Charters. "Abel. (4) Carl Friedrich Abel." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 11–14.

--- "Christian Ferdinand Abel." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 10.

--- "Clamor Heinrich Abel." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 10.

Kramer, Ursula. "The Court of Hesse-Darmstadt." *Music at German Courts, 1715-1760: Changing Artistic Priorities*, edited by Samantha Owens et al., Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, 2011, pp. 333–64.

Egon F. Kenton's "A note on the Classification of 16th Century Music." *The Musical Quarterly*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1952, pp. 202-214.

Landmann, Ortrun. "The Dresden Hofkapelle during the Lifetime of Johann Sebastian Bach." *Early Music*, vol. 17, no. 1, 1989, pp. 17–30.

Le Blanc, Hubert. *Defense de La Basse de Viole Contre Les Entreprises Du Violon et Les Pretentions Du Violoncelle*. Amsterdam, 1740.

Ledbetter, David. *Unaccompanied Bach: Performing the Solo Works*. Yale University Press, 2010.

Lesure, François. "Marin Marais. Sa Carrière. Sa Famille." *Revue Belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift Voor Muziekwetenschap,* vol. 7, no. 2/4, 1953, pp. 129–36.

Little, Meredith Ellis. "Dance under Louis XIV and XV: Some Implications for the Musician." *Early Music*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1975, pp. 331–40.

Little, Meredith, and Natalie Jenne. *Dance and the Music of J.S. Bach,* Expanded Edition. Indiana University Press, 2001.

Little, Meredith Ellis and Suzanne G. Cusick, "Courante." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 4, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 875-878.

Lockspeiser, E. "French Influences on Bach." *Music & Letters*, vol. 16, no. 4, 1935, pp. 312–20.

Louis XIV. *Memoires for the Instruction of the Dauphin*. Edited and Translated by Paul Sonnino, New York: Free Press, 1970.

Loulié, Etienne. *Éléments Ou Principes de Musique*. Paris, Christophe Ballard, 1696.

Marshall, Robert L., and Traute M. Marshall. *Exploring the World of J. S. Bach: A Traveler's Guide*. University of Illinois Press, 2016.

Marx, Klaus. "Violoncello." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 856-860.

McCorquodale, Charles. *The History of Interior Design*. Phaidon, 1988.

McGowan, Margaret M. and Frank Dobbins. "Louis XIV." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol.11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 254.

Menzel, Philip. *King of the World: The Life of Louis XIV*. University of Chicago Press, 2020.

Moroney, Davitt. "A Germanic Art de Toucher le Clavecin, or a French Wahre Art?" *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, edited by Christopher Hogwood, Cambridge University Press, 2003, pp. 111-130.

--- "The Performance of Unmeasured Harpsichord Preludes." Early Music, vol. 4, no. 2, 1976, pp. 143–151.

Mousnier, Roland. *LES XVI ET XVII SIECLES*. Presses Universitaires de France, 1967.

Neumann, Frederick. "The French 'Inégales,' Quantz and Bach." *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, vol. 18, no. 3, 1965, pp. 313–358.

Neumann, Karl. "The Slur Marks in Bach's Cello Suites." *The Journal of the Viola Da Gamba Society of America*, vol. 3, 1966, pp. 34–51.

Noak, Elisabeth. "Hesse, Ernst Christian." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 536.

--- "Kühnel, August." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 10, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 302.

North, Roger. *The Musical Grammarian* [1728]. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Odermatt, Ariana Jane. *Historical Performance Practice of the Prélude Non Mesuré and Its Relationship to Recording and Performance*. Australian National University, 2018.

Payne, E. J. "The Viola Da Gamba." *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, vol. 15, 1888, pp. 91–107.

Payne, Ian. "Telemann and the French Style Revisited: Transformative Imitation in the Ensemble Suites (TWV 55)." *Bach*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2006, pp. 45–80.

Pirro, André. *L'estétique de Jean-Sébastian* Bach. Paris, 1907.

Pirro, André, and Armstrong. *The Aesthetic of Johann Sebastian Bach*. Macmillan Publishers, 2014.

Pogue, Samuel. "Roger, Estienne." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 16, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 99-100.

Quantz, Johann Joachim. *On Playing the Flute* (1752). Translated by Edward Reilly, Faber and Faber, 1966.

Robinson, Lucy. "Antoine Forqueray." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 6, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 714.

--- "Viol, 5: France from c.1600." *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 801-804.

Rutledge, John B. “Late 19th Century Viol Revivals.” *Early Music*, vol. 19, no. 3, 1991, pp. 409–18.

Rutt, Audrey S. “A Blend of Traditions: The Lute’s Influence on Seventeenth-Century Harpsichord Repertoire.” *Musical Offerings*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2017, pp. 23–40.

Sadie, Julie Anne. “Bowed Continuo Instruments in French Baroque Chamber Music.” *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, vol. 105, 1978, pp. 37–49.

Sadie, Julie Anne, and Stanley Sadie. *Calling on the Composer*. Yale University Press, 2005.

Samama, Leo. *The Meaning of Music*. Translated by Dominy Clements, Amsterdam University Press, 2014.

Schmid, Rebecca. “Restoring a Corner of Dresden’s Royal Past.” *New York Times* [New York, NY], 14 Mar. 2019, www.nytimes.com/2019/03/14/arts/dresden-royal-palace-tefaf.html.

Schulenberg, David. *The Keyboard Music of J.S. Bach*. 2nd ed., Routledge, 2006.

Schulze, Hanz-Joachim. “French Influences on Bach’s Instrumental Music.” *Early Music*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1985, pp. 180–84.

Siblin, Eric. *The Cello Suites*. Allen & Unwin, 2009.

Smith, Mark. “The Cello Bow Held Viol-Way: Once Common, But Now Almost Forgotten.” *Chelys*, vol. 24, 1995, pp. 47–61.

Spitta, Philipp. *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*. Translated by Clara Bell and J.A. Fuller Maitland, vol. II, London, Novello and Company, 1899.

Spitzer, John. "Grammar of Improvised Ornamentation: Jean Rousseau's Viol Treatise of 1687." *Journal of Music Theory*, vol. 33, no. 2, 1989, pp. 299–332.

Stevens, Dennis. "Purcell's Art of Fantasia." *Music and Letters*, vol. 33, no. 4, 1952, pp. 341–45.

Talbot, Michael. "Vivaldi, Antonio (Lucio)." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 20, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 31-46.

Tallentyre, Stephen G. *The Life of Voltaire*. Vol. 1, G. P. Putnams's Sons, 1910.

"The Fountains." *Palace of Versailles*, 8 Aug. 2019, en.chateauversailles.fr/discover/estate/gardens/fountains.

Thompson, Clyde H. "Caix d'Hervelois, Louis De." *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 3, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 610.

--- "Hotman, Nicolas." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 8, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 730.

--- "Marais, Marin." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 640-641.

--- "Sainte-Colombe." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 16, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, p. 386.

Tilmouth, Michael. “Tombeau.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 37-38.

Tilney, Colin. *The Art of the Unmeasured Prelude for Harpsichord: France 1660-1720*. Vol. 3, Schott, 1991.

Traficante, Frank. “Lyra Viol.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 11, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 395-397.

Travenol, Louis, and Jacques-Bernard Durey de Noinville. *Histoire Du Théatre de l’académie Royale de Musique En France: Depuis Son Établissement Jusqu’à Présent*. Vol. 1, Duchesne, 1757.

Troeger, James. “Meter in Unmeasured Preludes.” *Early Music*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1983, pp. 340–45.

Vertrees Sadie, Julie Anne. “Marin Marais and His Contemporaries.” *The Musical Times*, vol. 119, no. 1626, 1978, pp. 672–674.

Wolff, Christoph. *Bach’s Musical Universe: The Composer and His Work*. W. W. Norton & Company, 2020.

--- Johann Sebastian Bach: *The Learned Musician.* Oxford University Press, 2002.

--- “Bach, III: (7) Johann Sebastian, 2: Lüneburg.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 1, pp. 786-788.

Wollenberg, Susan. “Georg Muffat.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 12, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 760-762.

Woodfield, Ian. “Viol, 4: England.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 798-801.

Woodfield, Ian. “Viol, 3: Continental Europe, c.1500 to c.1600.” *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by Stanley Sadie, vol. 19, Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980, pp. 794-798.

ProQuest Number: 28093940

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent on the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

ProQuest 28093940

Published by ProQuest LLC (2021). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All Rights Reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346