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The Dance movements of Christian Flor in Lüneburg Mus. Ant. Pract. 1198

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University of Iowa

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THE DANCE MOVEMENTS OF CHRISTIAN FLOR IN LÜNEBURG MUSICA ANTICA PRACTICA

1198

by

Kimberly Jean Beck

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Music in the Graduate College of The University of Iowa

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INTRODUCTION

The focus of this study is the single dance movements from *Lüneburg Ratsbcherei Musica antica practica 1198* [heretofore abbreviated 1198] that are yet to be edited in a modern edition and thought to be composed by Christian Flor (1626-1697), an organist-composer active in Lüneburg, Germany, during the second half of the seventeenth century.\(^1\) Through examination of the manuscript as well as the extant archival documents pertaining to the life of Flor, I have made a modern edition of the individual dance movements, studying the manuscript and the music itself to discern the larger context for these pieces within the framework of French and German keyboard music in the seventeenth century.

While a comprehensive biography of Christian Flor and a catalog of his music are yet to be compiled,\(^2\) it seems clear that Flor was a well-regarded musician, perhaps even famous in Lüneburg and the surrounding areas, including the greater city of Hamburg. Nearby Hamburg was home to many famous organists in the seventeenth century because it served as a meeting place for organists and organ builders. If Flor were a mediocre organist, teacher, technician, and composer, his services as an organ examiner would not have been requested in Hamburg, and he most certainly would have not been offered two church jobs in Lüneburg. In fact, the city council had to take special measures to allow

\(^1\) Research for this project was made possible by a Stanley International Research Fellowship granted by the University of Iowa Graduate College. A special thanks to the Lüneburg Stadtarchiv and the gentlemen at RISM in Munich for their invaluable help.

\(^2\) A brief catalog of the documents pertaining to Christian Flor can be found in Friedrich Jekutsch, “Ausstellungskatalog Christian Flor,” in *Christian Flor (1626-1697) – Johann Abraham Peter Schulz (1747-1800). Texte und Dokumente zur Musikgeschichte Lüneburgs*, eds. Joachim Kremer, Friedrich Jekutsch, and Arndt Schnoor (Hamburg: von Bockel, 1997). Hilde Szwerinski has begun assembling a preliminary catalog of Flor’s works that is yet to be completed.
Flor to control both organ benches in Lüneburg simultaneously. Although these two jobs would have been necessary to improve his financial situation, the manner in which he was awarded the position at St. Johannis, which will be discussed in Chapter 1, proves that his talents won him the honor of both positions.

Given that Flor was such a respected musician during his time, his music deserves to be studied with greater attention. The individual dance movements of 1198, moreover, raise many questions regarding Flor’s activity in the region. It is indeed possible that this was a teaching book. It is also feasible that it was a manuscript book utilized by Flor for sketching out ideas for short dance movements that could be improvised upon. The most striking feature of the manuscript is the evidence of familiarity with French keyboard music it indisputably provides.

Although the manuscript is of North German provenance, aspects of French style permeate the collection, including the use of keyboard score notation, frequent use of the style brisé compositional style, the incorporation of not only German dances, but French dance types as well, and, finally, the inclusion of several dance movements by none other than Lully. A number of the dances under consideration, moreover, exhibit French stylistic traits, including a three-voice texture, ornamented melodic lines, dotted rhythms and the use of the style brisé. Therefore, studying the dance movements in 1198 will aid in understanding the influence of French genres and style on Flor’s compositional style and oeuvre, which will be discussed further in Chapter 2.

Relationships between the dance movements of Flor and those of other German composers of the period are likely, as Flor was a more widely known and respected musician in his time than present scholarship acknowledges. Yet as of 2006 only four
pieces were confirmed to have been composed by Flor, as shown in Friedrich Welter’s
catalog of the Lüneburg Ratsbucherei published in 1950. The works listed there include
a chorale fantasy for keyboard on Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott, two Praeludia for
keyboard, and a two-volume set of songs with texts by Johann Rist titled Neues
musikalisches Seelenparadies. Although the keyboard works listed by Welter are few,
these works are included in two volumes of the Lüneburg organ tablatures: Mus. ant.
pract. K.N. 207 and K.N. 209. These volumes of the Lüneburg tablatures contain music
by the North German masters of keyboard composition of Flor’s time, including Hans
Scheidemann, Matthias Weckmann, and Franz Tunder. If Flor’s music had been
considered insignificant at this time, then his works most certainly would not have been
included in any of these volumes.

Chapter 1 of this thesis includes a rather brief biography of Christian Flor that
outlines the atmosphere in which the dance movements were composed, as they are the
only works that survive from Flor’s later compositional style. In the second chapter, I
will examine the stylistic qualities of the individual dance movements and consider them
in relationship to works of the French masters of the genre, Nicolas Lebègue and Jacques
Champion Chambonnières, as well as to contemporary composers of the North German
region, such as Vincent Lübeck, Georg Böhm and Johann Sebastian Bach. The third

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3 Dr. Friedrich Welter, Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg (Lippstadt: Kistner & Siegel &
4 Ibid., 179-180.
6 For more information regarding these manuscripts, see Lydia Schierning, Die Überlieferung der
deutschen Orgel- und Klaviermusik aus der 1. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), 41-
48.
chapter describes the manuscript itself, detailing its provenance, its organization, its foliation, and the notation used with special attention to the individual dance movements. A critical apparatus for the individual dance movements edited here will comprise Chapter 4. It includes a section on editorial procedures and the problems that I encountered throughout the editing process, as well as indications of any editorial choices I have made and sections that needed to be reconstructed, as the writing is no longer legible in certain segments of the manuscript. The final section of the thesis is an edition of the individual dance movements from Lüneburg Ratsbucherei Mus. ant. pract. 1198.
CHAPTER 1

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHRISTIAN FLOR

Christian Flor (1626-1697) was a very active musician during his tenure in Lüneburg from 1654 until his death in 1697. He held several jobs and had many career opportunities, as he worked as an organist, organ consultant, and teacher during his time in the city. He also left behind a respectable repertory of vocal and keyboard music. This chapter will outline Flor’s biography and explore the musical atmosphere in Lüneburg during the second half of the seventeenth century. The influence of French keyboard dance styles on his keyboard works is undeniable and stems from the penchant for French music cultivated in Lüneburg during Flor’s career. The question of his proximity to French music throughout his life and career, therefore, will be addressed in the final segment of this chapter.


The aforementioned entries on Flor are found in two of the earliest musical lexicons: J.G. Walter’s *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalsiche Bibliothek*, published in
1732 and Johannes Mattheson’s *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, published in 1740. In his *Musikalisches Lexikon* Walther summarizes the positions Flor held at churches in Lüneburg and briefly describes Flor’s compositional technique, including his use of imitative counterpoint, especially that of inverted counterpoint. Walther also mentions Flor’s settings of poems from the *Neues musikalischen Seelenparadies* of Johann Rist.7 None of Flor’s keyboard works are discussed, despite the fact that some of these works survive in the Lüneburg tablatures, a valuable source for seventeenth-century keyboard music by the great German keyboard masters of the time, and many of his works are published in modern editions of organ/keyboard music.8 The original German text of Walther’s entry for Flor is included in Document 1 (See Appendix A). Johannes Mattheson referred to Flor in 1740---more than 40 years after Flor’s death---as the “famous Lüneburg Organist” in the entry for Flor in his *Grundlage*,9 which is included in Document 2 (See Appendix A). Mattheson’s citation confirms that Flor had a certain prestige outside the city of Lüneburg as well; the archivalevidence shows in fact, that he worked with many musicians and instruments from the surrounding area.

Christian Flor was born in 1626 in Neukirchen-Holstein, Germany.10 He hailed from a well-known family of clergymen and, therefore, was likely to have had access to a

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8 Modern editions of Flor’s music are listed in the bibliography.


musical education in either Hamburg or Lübeck.\(^\text{11}\) Although we know nothing about his life between his birth and the year of 1652 when he became the organist at St. Mary’s in Rendsburg, Germany,\(^\text{12}\) Lüneburg historian Horst Walther speculates that Flor could have been a student of Heinrich Scheidemann, the well-known North German organist who actively taught in Hamburg at that time.\(^\text{13}\) Scholars have also surmised that Flor might have studied with organist Franz Tunder in Lübeck.\(^\text{14}\)

Flor most likely worked for two years in Rendsburg before being offered a job as organist at St. Lamberti in Lüneburg; however, there is some discrepancy regarding the date of his appointment, as concrete evidence indicating when Flor received the appointment at St. Lamberti is lacking. While Horst Walther writes that Flor was employed as organist at St. Lamberti in 1652, and Schnoor states that Flor held the appointment from 1652-1697,\(^\text{15}\) the extant evidence shows that he most likely began work there in late 1653 or 1654. In Rendsburg he married Margarethe Kuhlman, the widow of his predecessor, Samuel Kuhlmann, on 14 April 1653, and their first daughter was baptized in Rendsburg on 24 October of that same year.\(^\text{16}\)

\(^{11}\) Ibid.

\(^{12}\) Ibid.


Further documentation about Flor’s career may also be found in the contracts and job applications regarding the organist position at St. Lamberti. Flor succeeded organist Dietrich Meyer, whose signature, according to Walther, is on the organ documents at St. Lamberti from Jan. 1652 through August of that same year, but then ceases to appear anywhere thereafter. Arndt Schnoor, however, states that Dietrich Meyer’s signature stops appearing in the documents in January of 1654, as opposed to August of 1652, as Walther had previously stated. The last letter written by Meyer that I was able to locate is dated 29 January 1652. The letter requests an increase in salary and is signed “Meyer, organist at Lambertikirche.” The first letter in the Stadtarchiv in Lüneburg signed by Flor as the organist at St. Lamberti, is dated 1657 and also petitions the city and church councils for a larger salary. The letter is counter-signed by the organist of St. Johannis, Franciscus Schaumkell, and Martin Hudemann, the organist at St. Michaels. However, it is unlikely that 1657 was Flor’s first year serving at St. Lamberti, as the evidence shows that he was already at St. Mary’s in Rendsburg no later than 1654. Therefore, Flor assumed the position in Lüneburg sometime after January 1654 at the very latest.

Although its salaries were apparently low, Lüneburg would have been an appealing city in which to live, as in the middle of the seventeenth century it was in the

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17 When I visited the Lüneburg Stadtarchiv in January 2009, the folder housing the documents pertaining to the organists at St. Lamberti did not contain any documents between the years of 1626 and 1720.

18 Walther, Musikgeschichte, 1967, 228.


20 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv AAE1eNr.56, Vol. I.

21 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv AAE1eNr.56, Vol. I.

process of recovering from occupation by Swedish troops during the Thirty Years’ War. 23 In 1656, the Ritterakademie associated with St. Michael’s church was opened, and provided Lüneburg with important aristocratic affiliations. As it was a school for children of noble birth, it provided a close association with the local Duke of Celle-Lüneburg, Georg Wilhelm von Braunschweig (1624-1705). The academy was also connected with the city of Hamburg, as the cantor at the academy from 1655-1695 was Friedrich Emanuel Praetorius, 24 a student of Thomas Selle, 25 the well-known and highly educated cantor of Hamburg from 1641-1663. 26

Cantors were also employed at St. Johannis and St. Michaels after the war, and the choral libraries of both churches held works by the master composers Orlando di Lasso (1532-1594) and Jacobus Gallus, also known as Jacobus Handl (1550-1591). 27 Flor developed a warm relationship with Michael Jacobi, the cantor at the Johanniskirche from 1651-1663, as both men shared a vision to improve the musical scene in Lüneburg. Flor and Jacobi worked together at St. Johannis to institute a series of musical Passions, which were directed by Jacobi and accompanied by Flor playing continuo. 28 Additionally, Flor wrote music to accompany theatrical productions affiliated with the

23 Flor, Io Suiten, 2006, i.


25 The musician Thomas Selle from Hamburg, however, is a different person than Thomas de la Selle, who served as the dancing master at the Ritterakademie affiliated with the Michaelkirche from 1692-1724. (Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv AA Aa23 Nr. 2)


28 Flor, Io Suiten, 2006, i.
Latin school at St. Johannis, which would have been directed by Jacobi. Jacobi was a highly educated musician, as he had studied in Stockholm and Strassburg and had traveled through Italy and France. Therefore, he had important ties to musicians in surrounding areas. He was a good friend of the poet Johann Rist, and was responsible for introducing Rist and Flor, which resulted in Flor’s aforementioned settings of Rist’s *Neues musikalisches Seelenparadies* of 1660-1662.

Given all of his musical responsibilities and possible connections, Flor appears a prominent Lüneburg citizen, but he was not actually granted municipal citizenship until 1683. Yet Flor’s distinction in the musical community is exhibited in his tenure as organist at two churches in Lüneburg: St. Lamberti from 1654-1697 and St. Johannis from 1668-1697. The city council had to take special measures to allow Flor to control both organ benches simultaneously. At the time Flor was appointed, the organist at St. Johannis was Franciscus Schaumkell, a keyboard player who is best known today for copying many works by Hans Scheidemann into the Lüneburg tablatures. In 1650, more than twenty years before his death, Schaumkell recommended his son, also named Franciscus Schaumkell, to succeed him as organist. The board of directors at St. Johannis, however, instead desired to secure Christian Flor to fill the position. While

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29 Ibid., i.
31 Ibid., 12.
32 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv AA E1e Nr. 56, Vol. I.
34 Ibid., 230.
35 Ibid., 229.
Schaumkell was alive, it was impossible for them to officially grant the position to Flor. Therefore, they appointed him as substitute organist to fill in for the aging Schaumkell in 1668. It wasn’t until Schaumkell’s death in 1676 that Flor could officially be appointed to the position of organist at St. Johannis. According to the archival records, the board wished to hire Flor because he had already been in the position unofficially for eight years and was highly regarded for his “well-known quality of work, and the expertness with which he presided over famous and useful works.”

In addition to the rather abnormal process undertaken by the church directors to secure Flor as the organist of St. Johannis, the city council also agreed to allow Flor to keep his position at St. Lamberti, where he also worked until his death in 1697 and where he was eventually succeeded by his son, Johann Georg Flor (1679-1728). This was definitely a sacred privilege not granted to ordinary church musicians and one of which many of Flor’s colleagues were jealous. Joachim Dralle, an organist who grew up in Lüneburg and was educated at the St. Johannis school, actually communicated his frustrations with Flor’s monopoly of the organ benches at two of the larger churches in the city in letters to his superiors. Dralle argued that Flor incorrectly claimed a portion of his own salary for playing at St. Mary’s, a smaller institution in the city. Apparently, St. Mary’s had been condemned, and many of its services were moved to St. Lamberti,

36 Ibid., 229.
37 “Hatte er (Flor) doch schon fast acht Jahre lang seiner bekandten qualität und erfahrenheit nach dem Wercke mit ruhm und nutzen vorgestanden.” Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv AA E1b Nr. 56, Vol. I.
38 Walther, Musikgeschichte, 303.
39 Ibid., 230.
where Flor played for them.\footnote{Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv AA E1e, Nr. 15.} Therefore, Flor received the payments for those services instead of Dralle. Dralle also commented in his letters that Flor would not let anyone save himself and his students near the organ loft of St. Lamberti and St. Johannis.\footnote{Ibid.} After Flor’s death, the two positions at St. Lamberti and St. Johannis were separated once more.\footnote{Walther, *Musikgeschichte*, 230.}

Flor exerted a great deal of general influence in Lüneburg. He served as spiritual sponsor for many children, including the sons and daughters of fellow musicians,\footnote{Ibid., 232.} and was a voice for underpaid musicians in the town, frequently arguing with the church and city councils regarding musicians’ salaries via joint letters of complaint with fellow musicians.\footnote{Ibid.} Before he was granted citizenship, however, his own salary was limited.\footnote{Ibid., 230.} The documents show that in 1663 Flor appealed to the church council to succeed his recently deceased colleague Michael Jacobi as cantor at St. Johannis in an attempt to augment his salary as organist at St. Lamberti.\footnote{Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv, AA S3b Nr. 8.} Unfortunately for Flor, the council deemed his talents to be those of an organist and not a cantor, and the position was granted to a fellow musician, Friedrich Funcke.\footnote{Walther, *Musikgeschichte*, 229.} However, after Flor was granted
municipal citizenship in 1683 his financial situation improved because as a citizen he was able to receive a higher salary at St. Lamberti.49

It seems clear that Flor was a well-regarded musician, perhaps even famous in Lüneburg and the surrounding areas, including the greater city of Hamburg. In addition to his duties as organist, he traveled and worked as an organ consultant. Letters detailing his experiences provide evidence of examinations of an instrument in Dannenberg newly constructed by Bernardt Heinrich Feise, an organbuilder from the rather nearby city of Celle,50 and the Glockenspiel in Lüneburg.51 Other documentary evidence shows that he also examined an organ at St. Cosmae in Stade52 and an instrument at St. Jacobi in Hamburg.53 These documents serve as the only verification that Flor traveled outside of Lüneburg. Horst Walther, in fact, uses the evidence of Flor assisting Vincent Lübeck and Andreas Kneller with appraisal and maintenance work on the Arp Schnitger organ of St. Jacobi in Hamburg in 1693 to argue that Flor was more active outside of Lüneburg than the average Lüneburg musician.54

Flor also worked as a keyboard teacher, as he is mentioned in this capacity in a job application submitted by Christian Hinrich Giffhorn for the position as Flor’s successor as organist at both St. Lamberti and St. Johannis in 1698.55 Schnoor states that

49 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv, AA E1e Nr. 56, Vol. I.
50 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv, AA E1b Nr. 44, Vol. I.
51 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv, AA S8a Nr. 14.
53 Walther, Musikgeschichte, 235.
54 Ibid., 235.
55 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv, AA E1e Nr. 56, Vol. I.
Ludwig Busbetzky, an organist in Narva, Estonia from 1697-1699 and a confirmed student of Dietrich Buxtehude in Lübeck around 1680,\(^{56}\) is likewise mentioned as a student of Flor, although he does not provide an exact source.\(^{57}\) Walther also cites Flor as a possible teacher of Busbetzky.\(^{58}\) Schnoor argues, however, that the student-teacher relationship between Busbetzky and Flor, as well as the possible association between Flor and Buxtehude, remain to be further clarified.\(^{59}\) In addition, Walther names Flor as a possible teacher of Joachim Dralle, a young organist from Lüneburg educated at the St. Johannis Latin School, yet Curtis Lasell has shown that letters written by Dralle rather convincingly prove that Flor was most definitely not his teacher.\(^{60}\)

Flor’s extant keyboard works consist of a fugue, two preludes, one chorale prelude, ten dance suites and a collection of individual dance movements, several of which survive in well-respected sources of seventeenth-century keyboard works including the Lüneburg tablatures and the Möller Manuscript, the latter of which was collected and copied by Johann Christoph Bach, the elder brother of Johann Sebastian Bach.\(^{61}\) Flor’s earliest extant work is a choral fantasia on *Ein feste Burg* dated 1652, the same year he began work at St. Mary’s in Rendsburg.\(^{62}\) His vocal output is comprised of

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\(^{60}\) Lassel, “Vocal Polyphony in the Lüneburg Tablatures,” 275.

\(^{61}\) Robert Hill, “The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book: Two Keyboard Manuscripts from the Circle of the Young Johann Sebastian Bach” (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1987), 12.

\(^{62}\) Flor, *10 Suiten*, 2006, i.
the aforementioned settings of poems by Johann Rist, as well as polyphonic settings of sacred texts, several occasional motets, an incomplete St. Matthew Passion, and a large number of melodies to be sung in church services.\(^6^3\)

The focus of this thesis is the heretofore unedited dance movements of Christian Flor found in *Lüneburg Ratsbucherei Mus. ant. pract. 1198*. These dance movements convincingly demonstrate that Flor was influenced by French keyboard style, the musical evidence for which will be discussed in Chapter 2. They are copied in keyboard score format, the standard French keyboard notation of the time, which is itself significant, as German keyboard tablature was the common notation used for keyboard music in Germany in the seventeenth century. Flor must have been fluent in reading and writing tablature, as the remainder of Flor’s works survive in German keyboard tablature. In any case, 1198 also includes arrangements of works from *Atys* (1676), *Bellerophon* (1679), *Persee* (1682), *Phaeton* (1683), *Roland* (1685), and *Plusieurs Pieces de Symphonie* (1685) by the French composer, Jean-Baptiste Lully.\(^6^4\) How he became familiar with Lully’s scores and French keyboard style while living in the North German city of Lüneburg is unclear. Schnoor speculates that Flor’s connection to the Ritterakademie in Lüneburg, along with his connection with the court in Celle, may provide insight into the French influence shown in Flor’s work.\(^6^5\)

Flor’s aforementioned strong working relationship with Michael Jacobi, the cantor at St. Johannis, may have afforded him access to French keyboard music, as

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\(^6^5\) Ibid., 45.
Jacobi’s international travel must have allowed him to compile a music collection that included the latest music from France and Italy.66 Furthermore, Flor’s exposure to French music may have been made possible through the court of Georg Wilhelm von Braunschweig, Duke of Celle-Lüneburg from 1665-1705.67 Lüneburg and Celle were inextricably linked, as they were governed by the same duchy. Although the central court was located in Celle, Georg Wilhelm frequently traveled with his entourage of musicians to nearby Lüneburg where he held court at a secondary palace that was built in the second half of the seventeenth century.68 Lüneburg was so central to the court that when Georg Wilhelm’s mother, Anna Eleonora of Celle, died in 1659, music was banned throughout the city from May until October of that year.69 When Georg Wilhelm died in 1705, a special funeral was even held for him in Lüneburg.70 Following Georg Wilhelm’s death, moreover, Eleonore d’Olbreuse elected to remain at their smaller palace in Lüneburg from 1705 through 1717.71

Georg Wilhelm traveled widely, and spent much of his youth in France and Italy. Along with his younger brother, Ernst August, he even held subscriptions at the Venetian Opera house.72 Even before Duke Georg Wilhelm married the Huguenot Eléonore

68 Ibid.
69 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv, AA S 5, Nr. 6.
70 Walther, Musikgeschichte, 240.
72 Ibid., 35.
d’Olbreuse in 1676, he had already begun to cultivate French style in his household by employing French musicians. In 1666 there were at least eleven French musicians employed at the court in Celle. Renate du Vinage writes in her biography of Eleonore d’Olbreuse, the French wife of Georg Wilhelm, that

Already in 1667 the Duke of Celle had the archetype of a French court, consequently employing musicians from France. It was the sole French music court of its time in North Germany. When J.S. Bach was a student at the Michealis-Schule in Lüneburg, he may have traveled to Celle by foot in order to learn this type of Music.

It is obvious from this quotation that French musicians were already active in Celle before the French duchess moved to Lüneburg in 1674 and eventually married the Duke in 1676. Although Lüneburg was not home to the official residence of the duke and duchess, they reigned over it as well and had connections to the Ritterakademie, which employed many French musicians, including the French dancing masters Jean Burón de Bruil from 1656-1692 and Thomas de la Selle from 1692-1724. The Ritterakademie, therefore, was responsible for much of the French musical influence in Lüneburg.

Evidence shows that musicians traveled frequently between Lüneburg and Celle, as Thomas de la Selle was also a member of the Duke’s orchestra, which reportedly was comprised of mainly Frenchmen and traveled with the Duke’s entourage to play in both Celle and Lüneburg during the second half of the seventeenth century.

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73 Walther, Musikgeschichte, 245.


75 Ibid., 93.

76 Lüneburg, Stadtarchiv, AA Aa23 No. 1, No. 2.

77 Wolff and Emery, “Johann Sebastian Bach.”
French influence in Celle only increased after Georg Wilhelm married Huguenot and Francophile Eleonore D’Olbreuse in 1676.\textsuperscript{78} Eleonore kept close connections to her family and to France and even wished for her only daughter to marry a Frenchman.\textsuperscript{79} As soon as she moved to Celle, she busied herself with making the court even more like the French home she left behind.\textsuperscript{80} After D’Olbreuse’s arrival, life at court was even more strongly affected by French culture; she frequently employed theater troupes and musicians from France and Italy to play at the well-established court Theater in Celle.\textsuperscript{81}

Although Flor was not employed by the court, he was a prominent musician in the small town of Lüneburg that he would undoubtedly have had contact with this French orchestra and French musicians associated with both the court and the Ritterakademie. While we only have documentation that he traveled to the cities of Dannenberg, Stade, and Hamburg, these trips suggest that Flor was a widely known musician and traveled farther than Walther suggests. Although there is no archival evidence that directly indicates that Flor visited the nearby town of Celle, one might well suppose that he made visits there.

The official residence of the Duke Georg Wilhelm of Celle-Lüneburg was a major center of music performance and undoubtedly provided the link between French music and North Germany that is evident in Flor’s compositions in French notation and style of Flor’s compositions. The musicians of the court would have had access to the latest in published music coming out of Paris and surely provided Flor with any printed musical

\textsuperscript{78} du Vinage, \textit{Ein vortreffliches Frauenzimmer}, 2000, 134.

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 150-1.

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 95.

\textsuperscript{81} Ibid., 158.
material he would have desired to see, such as the collections of harpsichord music published by Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1601/2-1672) and Nicolas Lebègue (c.1631-1701). The French dances of Chambonnières and Lebègue probably made their way to Lüneburg rather rapidly via musicians serving Georg Wilhelm and Eleonore d’Olbreuse, as evidence of Flor’s familiarity with their style is demonstrated in *Lüneburg Ratsbucherei Musica Antica Practica 1198*, which is dated 1687, just 10 years after the publication of Lebègue’s first collection.82

Christian Flor was an admired musician in Lüneburg during his residence there from 1654 until his death in 1697. While occupying the organ benches of both St.Lamberti and St. Johannis churches, he succeeded in writing a respectable amount of music, worked as an organ and instrument inspector, and taught several students. While all of these jobs were most likely necessary to provide for his burgeoning family, they prove that Flor could handle an immense workload and suggest that he was a musician and organist of impeccable quality.

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82 The musical relationship between Flor’s dance movements and those of Chambonnières and Lebègue will be discussed at length in Chapter two.
CHAPTER 2

LÜNEBURG RATSBUCHEREI MUSICA ANTICA PRACTICA 1198

*Lüneburg Ratsbucherei Musica. antica practica 1198* [hereafter 1198] is a manuscript of North German provenance containing dance suites, individual dance movements and chorale preludes thought to be by Christian Flor.\(^{83}\) It is dated 1687 on the title page and is available in a facsimile edition introduced and edited by Bruce Gustafson.\(^{84}\) The music contained can be played on either the harpsichord or cembalo, as the instrumentation is not specified. Currently the volume is in Munich at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, where it is being studied by the International Inventory of Musical Sources (RISM), which is in the process of creating a thorough catalog of all musical volumes held in Lüneburg’s Ratsbucherei. 1198 is in rather poor condition, having suffered water damage in addition to the usual tests of time. In this chapter, I will describe 1198, outline its contents, and discuss how it is situated within the body of sources of seventeenth-century French and German keyboard music.

The manuscript is a small book in oblong quarto format, measuring 15.3 x 19.2 cm.\(^{85}\) It appears to be in its original binding, and the paper is in decent condition, although the top and side edges of many pages are in tatters, and some of the pages are littered with small holes. The front cover has apparently suffered the majority of the water damage, and as a result it is warped and rather brittle, and the first several pages are blurred and in especially delicate condition. Several pages of the book are no longer

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\(^{85}\) Ibid., v. I was able to examine the manuscript and confirm this information in January 2009.
secured within the binding; however, all the pages remain carefully kept in the correct order. The ink has bled through the paper from one side of a single sheet to the other and has also been smudged between adjacent pages, probably because the book was closed before the ink was completely dry. The title page that contains the date of the manuscript has been torn and blurred from water damage, yet the date 07 Märty Anno 1687 is still visible.

The front and back covers of the volume are made of thick pieces of cardboard-like material and covered in paper containing musical notation accompanied by Latin text, which is most likely that of an old book of plainchant. The paper is rather thick and has withstood the ravages of time, whereas the ink has worn away along the edges and on the front cover. The writing is most visible in the center of the front cover and on the back cover. It is impossible to decipher the text and notation, as the water damage has made them illegible. Both the music and the text are relatively large, thus suggesting that the paper was from a large choirbook. Along with individual heads of neumes, several ligatures are also slightly visible. On the back cover of the book a short, illegible word or abbreviation is notated in red ink.

Two different hands are responsible for the works contained in the book itself. The first hand is responsible for pages 1-121 and 134-161, whereas the second hand is present in pages 122-133 and 162-201. It was only recently discovered in 2007 through thorough examination of the handwriting by Arndt Schnoor that the first hand is that of

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86 Ibid., v. I was also able to confirm this information when I examined the manuscript in January 2009.

Christian Flor. 88 Schnoor accomplished this by comparing the handwriting of Flor in existing documents, both letters and musical scores, to that of 1198. Schnoor therefore attributes a set of works from the 1198 manuscripts including dance suites, chorale preludes, and individual dance movements recorded in Flor’s hand to the composer himself. 89 A table outlining the contents of 1198 and describing which hand is responsible for specific pieces in the manuscript is included in Table 1 (See Table 1 at end of chapter).

Although Flor’s hand appears mostly in the beginning, and the second hand appears mostly in the end, the hand of the second scribe is also apparent in the manuscript between the end of the dance movements in the first hand and beginning of the chorale preludes, both in the first hand. (See Table 1 at end of Chapter.) Bruce Gustafson speculates that there may have been a teacher-student relationship between Flor and the second scribe, as both scribes composed in the same musical genres. However, he notes both the lack of editorial markings and the absence of musical awareness demonstrated by the pieces in the second hand, citing the “endless open and parallel sonorities, thick chords in the bass under high melodies, wrong notes, wrong rhythms, etc”, as only a few of the “barbarisms” in the second scribe’s music, and concludes that this relationship is only a possibility, although it appears the second scribe was in need of music lessons. 90 Gustafson further posits that Flor might have left pages blank, possibly to accommodate more dance movements before beginning to write the

89 Ibid., 75.
90 Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, ix.
chorale preludes. In this scenario, the second scribe later filled the blank pages in the book between the dance movements and the chorales as well as the blank pages at the end of the manuscript.\textsuperscript{91} The foliation of the manuscript substantiates Gustafson’s theory, as the first chorale prelude in Flor’s hand appears on the first page of paper in the fourth fascicle, suggesting that when Flor first bound the book together, he left blank pages of music staves between the dance movements and the chorale preludes.

The paper of 1198 is held in the original binding and is bound in five fascicles of paper held together with thick string. There are fifteen pages in the first fascicle, twenty in the second, thirty-two in the third, twenty-six in the fourth and ten in the final grouping. This irregular number of pages in each fascicle suggests that the book was bound after the paper was purchased. While it is possible that each fascicle was copied before they were bound together, the evidence suggests this is unlikely, as in most circumstances movements and suites appear continuously between fascicles. In only one place does the beginning of a work coincide with the first sheet of a fascicle. The first chorale setting in Flor’s hand, \textit{Aus meines Herzens Gründe}, appears at the beginning of the fourth fascicle. It is quite possible that Flor composed the dances first and then left the remaining paper of the third fascicle blank to accommodate more dance movements, as Gustafson posits. When Flor began his work with chorale melodies he simply began on the first page of the following fascicle of paper. Although the opening of the fascicle with the chorales suggests that Flor may have composed all the dances before adding this fourth fascicle to the book, this is unlikely, as the paper used in all five fascicles is identical and was probably purchased together. Therefore, it is probable that Flor composed both the dances and the chorale preludes simultaneously on separate fascicles.

\textsuperscript{91} Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, iv.
of paper and then later bound the fascicles together. After Flor was finished writing in this book, the second scribe, who somehow came by the book and remains anonymous, filled the remaining blank pages with his music. The music of the second scribe bridges the juncture of the fourth and fifth fascicles, a fact which establishes that all the fascicles were most likely bound into the book at the same time, and that the book was in its complete condition when the second scribe procured it.

The organization of this collection of dance suites, dance movements and chorales for keyboard is rather arbitrary. Single dance movements are interspersed among dance suites, which have been classified, albeit differently, by both Friedrich Welter and Bruce Gustafson. (See Table 1 at end of chapter.) The first catalog of the manuscript was completed by Friedrich Welter and published in his Katalog der Lüneburg Ratsbucherei. He groups most of the dance movements into suites, and these are listed in his Katalog under the genre of dance suite. The remaining individual dance movements are categorized in his Katalog according to specific dance types. Welter’s organization is also shown through numbers that remain slightly visible on the pages of the manuscript from his first inventory of the collection. Welter’s groupings are obviously incorrect for several reasons, including the fact that he grouped individual works that are now known to be concordant sources of dance movements composed by Jean-Baptiste Lully into what he claimed to be dance suites. Additionally, the arrangement of several of the suites makes little sense when it comes to the usual grouping of dances in the French and German traditions of the seventeenth century, such as Welter’s grouping of the

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92 Friedrich Welter, Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg (Lippstadt: Kistner & Siegel, 1950), 97-128.
“incomplete” Dance Suite 10, which is comprised of four minuets in the key of C major, and Welter’s Suite 12, which begins with a bourée and ends with two minuets.

A second, more accurate catalog of the manuscript was prepared by Bruce Gustafson in the introduction to the facsimile edition.93 Whereas Welter groups the pieces into sixteen suites and seventeen individual movements, Gustafson groups the pieces into ten suites and thirty-one individual pieces. Although they are not labeled in the manuscript, the ten suites categorized by Gustafson are identified through the order in which the pieces are listed, their common key signatures, and, most convincingly, the ending flourish that Flor regularly places after the final double bar line of each suite and the decorative fermata he places over the final chords of the suites.94 (See Figure 1.) There probably are, however, many more individual dance movements found in the manuscript in the hand of Flor than originally thought, as Flor uses both the ending flourish and the decorative fermata inconsistently, which leads to difficulty in determining any preconceived organization of the movements.

Figure 1. Ending Fermata and Flourish in 1198.95

93 The numbers given to each movement by Gustafson are used throughout this study to identify the movements in 1198.

94 Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, vi-vii.

95 Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, 103.
According to Gustafson, the manuscript opens with four suites in the hand of Flor, each composed of three to five movements. There are eight individual dance movements separating the fourth and fifth dance suites. These movements are in the keys of D major, G minor, and G major. While Welter defines this grouping as a suite, the label is doubtful, as the usual dance movement arrangement is not present and the variety of keys used does not correspond to a single parallel major/minor pair. Moreover, Flor puts flourishes in the manuscript after the first and second movements of this group. Therefore, the pieces in this so-called suite are probably individual movements. Similar circumstances are exhibited in the two movements between suites five and six. The group of individual movements between suites six and seven is much larger in size, and Welter even admitted that these movements were separate. The final individual movement between suites nine and ten is unique. While the other movements are usually six to eight measures in length, Courant Lavion, No. 74, which is a setting of a popular folk tune La Vignon, is eighteen measures long and is followed by a variation.

The content and organization of 1198 are similar to those of German manuscript sources of the seventeenth century. “Household manuscripts” containing music composed and copied by amateur musicians were common in Germany in the period. These “haphazard” collections of pieces include repertoire similar to that of 1198: dance movements, chorales, and harmonizations of popular tunes that were used for teaching or learning to play a keyboard instrument.96 The volumes often belonged to a single family and contained the family’s favorite tunes, and these were used to learn the “rudiments of

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96 Bruce Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century, 6.
Pieces were frequently added to the manuscript year after year and many hands of varying abilities are usually present. Therefore, the manuscripts provide us with good examples of the musical affinities of North German Protestant families. Moreover, these household sources traditionally contain amateur pieces and music demonstrating the “fully developed” French keyboard style of the late seventeenth century. In fact, the earliest extant French dance movement for keyboard was discovered in another manuscript from Lüneburg. The Witzendorff household manuscript, which was copied between 1655 and 1659 in Lüneburg, contains “Curant Gombonier” by Chambonnières, which was published in Paris roughly twenty years after the manuscript was copied. The music of 1198 similarly demonstrates a strong French influence as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

Although the quality of the music in 1198 is somewhat higher and demonstrates greater French influence than that of most of these household manuscripts, the content of 1198 suggests it was probably a household manuscript for private use. Like other household manuscripts, 1198 includes several popular tunes in addition to several transcriptions of works by Jean-Baptiste Lully. Additionally, the portion of 1198 copied in Flor’s hand contains several known dance tunes including La Vignon, a melody set in

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97 Ibid.
98 Ibid.
99 Ibid.
100 Ibid., 27.
101 Ibid., 21.
numerous German household manuscripts of the seventeenth century and arranged as the final individual movement and variation in the manuscript.  

Gustafson has observed that many of the tunes used in 1198, including La Vignon, appear in other sources of keyboard dance music, several of which are currently held in collections in Madrid, Spain (E-Mn). Menuet No. 37, for example, is a setting of an anonymous popular dance tune that was also set in E-Mn M 1360, no. 24/4, and was also arranged by Johann Lorenz in his Klavierwerke. Gustafson argues that the melody of Menuet No. 54 is related to a tune in another source in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, E-Mn M 1357. Both E-Mn M1360 and E-Mn 1357 contain pieces similar to those of 1198, and were copied between 1706 and 1709 for Marin y Coll. Although they contain mostly Spanish music, they are also known to contain copies of the “most popular” French harpsichord music of the seventeenth century, including works by Lully and Louis Couperin. The melody of 1198’s Menuet No. 48 also appears several times within the Parville manuscript, a valuable French source of seventeenth-century French harpsichord music that will be discussed in further detail below. Therefore, we can conclude that Flor was knowledgeable about popular dance tunes as well as works by Lully and enjoyed the rather common practice of setting the tunes in his own arrangements for keyboard.

102 Ibid., 6.
103 Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, xvi.
104 Ibid.
105 Bruce Gustafson, French Harpsichord Music of the 17th Century, 89.
106 Ibid., xvi.
Most German household manuscripts are notated in German keyboard tablature, whereas 1198 is notated in keyboard score format, thus suggesting a closer association between the manuscript and French keyboard music. In addition to the score format, the variable organization of the dance movements in 1198 is similar to that of French manuscript and print sources from the seventeenth century. The three main manuscripts that contain dance movements are the Oldham manuscript, which primarily features works by Jean Champion de Chambonnières, the Bauyn manuscript, copied around 1660, and the Parville manuscript. As opposed to the ordering of movements by type, as was common practice in the German dance suites that took precedence later in the century, the dances of these French manuscript collections are not arranged into specific groups or suites. Rather, no order is given for the dances, thus allowing them to be performed in a sequence that may be determined by the performer, as was probably intended for many of the dances of 1198. Groups of pieces in similar and related keys may be identifiable, but the order in which the pieces are played is not directly indicated. The Bauyn manuscript is arranged primarily by key and most often dance types are grouped together primarily by type and secondarily by key. The works in the Parville manuscript are classified mainly by key, but no specific order of dance types is discernible. There is no identifiable organization in the Oldham manuscript.

107 Ibid., 6.


110 Ibid.
While 1198 is a manuscript source, other French keyboard music probably reached Lüneburg via the collections of Jean Champion de Chambonnières (1670) and Nicolas Lebègue (1677 and 1687), which were the first anthologies of dances to be printed in Paris. It is possible that Flor encountered music from these collections via earlier sources, as individual pieces included in these volumes had already appeared in German manuscripts copied around 1650.\textsuperscript{111} Popular movements from this collection were routinely copied individually and not as part of complete suites.\textsuperscript{112} The copying of a dance suite in its entirety was, in fact, uncommon, which demonstrates the independence of each movement. In fact, the word suite is first used to describe a grouping of dance movement in Lebègue’s second book, \textit{Second Livre de Clavessin}, published in Paris in 1687, the same year 1198 was supposedly copied. In the \textit{Second Livre} the pieces are loosely grouped, perhaps by the composer or by the editor of the collection.

French printed sources are slightly more standardized than the French manuscripts in their organization; however, much of the organization found in modern editions of them is imposed upon these collections by scholars, just as the perceived organization of 1198 mentioned above was articulated by both Welter and Gustafson. According to Mildred Parker, it can be shown that dance movements, even if presented in manuscripts in organized groups, were only sometimes intended to be played in a specific succession. Parker further observes that some composers were more concerned with a particular

\textsuperscript{111} Ibid., 205.
\textsuperscript{112} Ibid., 204.
performance order than others. Yet editors and scholars often arrange the movements into perceived suites and label them thus in modern editions. This is characteristic of the scholarship on 1198 as well as that on the works by Chambonnières and Lebègue.

Although no organization is specified throughout the collection of Chambonnières’ first and second volumes, for example, Willi Apel argues that the pieces are ordered into six small groups unified musically as well as by key and “form genuine suites,” and, as a result, the pieces are often grouped together under the title of ordre in modern editions. However, no organization is articulated in the original sources of these works. Another example of modern scholars imposing particular organization is found in scholarship on Lebègue’s first book of dance movements, Les Pieces de Clavessin [Premier Livre], which was published in 1677. According to Apel, Les Pieces contains five groups of pieces sorted by key if one groups parallel major and minor keys together. Yet no groupings are labeled in the original print and there is no indication of the pieces being grouped together. Although one of these five key groupings does utilize the classic organization (allemande, courante, sarabande, gigue), this standard of organization does not permeate the rest of the collection. In Lebègue’s book, the standard four-dance sequence is usually accompanied by many additional dances. Each group contains ten to eleven dance movements, suggesting the possibility that performers were to pick and choose which of the movements they wanted to play.

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114 Apel, The History of Keyboard Music to 1700, 705.
115 Ibid., 713.
The individual dance movements by Flor in 1198 bring many questions to the forefront. It is indeed possible that 1198 was a teaching book, and the two hands are those of teacher and student, as both Flor and the second scribe write in the same three genres, and it appears, at least to Gustafson, that the second scribe had a lot to learn. The simple homophonic texture of the music of the second scribe consisting of mainly block chords articulates the amateur quality of his music, especially when compared to the contrapuntal music of Flor in 1198. It is also plausible that Flor used this manuscript to write out initial versions of pieces that might have been organized into collections at a later date, especially in the cases in which he composed several movements of the same type in the same key, as is shown by the four minuets that correspond to Gustafson’s numbers 34-37. In a similar vein, the volume might have served as a practice book for Flor when he was first becoming acquainted with the French style of keyboard dances and was trying his hand at composing using that manner. Although the manuscript is of North German provenance, aspects of French compositional practice permeate the collection including the use of keyboard score notation, the incorporation of not only German dances, but French dance types as well, and finally the inclusion of several dance movements by none other than Lully. The content and organization of the manuscript, in fact, demonstrate a strong connection between 1198 and French sources of keyboard music, and as will be seen below, promises to provide insight into the dissemination of French keyboard music in northern Germany in the seventeenth century.

117 These movements can be seen in Example 10 in Chapter 3.
Table 1. The Contents of *Lüneburg Ratsbucherei Musica Antica Practica 1198*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number Given by Gustafson</th>
<th>Movement Type</th>
<th>Key</th>
<th>Numbers/Suites Shown by Welter</th>
<th>Suites Shown by Gustafson</th>
<th>Hand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aria, Variatio</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td>Suite No. 1</td>
<td>Suite No. 1 in D Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Corrente, Variatio</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Sarabande, Variatio</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td>Suite No. 2</td>
<td>Suite No. 2 in F Major</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Corrente</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Saraband, Double</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>F Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td>Suite No. 3</td>
<td>Suite No. 3 in D Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Corrente</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sarabande, Double</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>D Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Praeludium</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td>Suite No. 4</td>
<td>Suite No. 4 in C Major</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Corrente</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Sarabanda</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>La Bouree</td>
<td>D Major</td>
<td>Suite No. 5</td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>D Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>La Galliarde</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Canarie</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Gavotte</td>
<td>D Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Canarie</td>
<td>D Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Ballet</td>
<td>G Major</td>
<td>Suite No. 6 (unfinished)</td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>G Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td>Suite No. 7</td>
<td>Suite No. 5 in E Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Corrente</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Gigue</td>
<td>E minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Gavotte</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td>Suite No. 8 (unfinished)</td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ballet</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
<td>Suite No. 9</td>
<td>Suite No. 6 in G Minor</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Courant</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Saraband</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td>Suite No. 10 (unfinished)</td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td></td>
<td>Individual Movement</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>C Major</td>
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<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>Courante</td>
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<td>157</td>
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<td>158</td>
<td>Minuete</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>Bouree</td>
<td>B-flat Major</td>
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<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Englische Dantze</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
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<td>161</td>
<td>Minuete</td>
<td>A Minor</td>
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<tr>
<td>162</td>
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<td>C Major</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Minuete</td>
<td>C Major</td>
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<td>168</td>
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<tr>
<td>170</td>
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<td>Gavotte</td>
<td>F Major</td>
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<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>G Minor</td>
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<td>173</td>
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<td>A Minor</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>Aria</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td>Lully, LWV 53/75</td>
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<td>Minuete</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td>Lully, LWV 53/76</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>Minuete</td>
<td>C Major</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Minuete</td>
<td>C Major</td>
<td>Lully, LWV 51/15</td>
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CHAPTER 3
INFLUENCE AND THE DANCE MOVEMENTS OF 1198

French Influence on Flor

In his chapter on French keyboard music composed prior to 1700, Bruce Gustafson states that if one set aside contrapuntal works, the suite and its dances are the only true genres of French classic harpsichord music. Such an observation is supported by the collections published by Jacques Champion de Chambonnières (1601/2-1672), and Nicolas Lebègue (c.1631-1701), which include solely dance movements. Moreover, manuscripts from seventeenth-century France, including the Oldham, Bauyn, and Parville manuscripts, feature a plethora of dance movements and suites as well, and over 100 collections of dance pieces were printed in France, England and Germany in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The wide dissemination of French dances is further demonstrated by composers of foreign lands writing dances in the French style for the harpsichord.

The harpsichord dances of Christian Flor in the manuscript Lüneburg Ratsbucherei Mus. ant. pract. 1198 are primary examples of such implementation of French style. The current chapter examines the influence of the French dance movements


120 Karen A Demol, “Tonal Practices in Early Seventeenth Century German dances” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1990), 11.

121 Scheibert, Jean-Henry D’Anglebert and the Seventeenth-Century Clavecin School, 23.
on the dance movements of Flor in 1198 and the resulting influence of Flor’s dance movements on those composed by his German contemporaries. The common use of predominant textures, motives, variation techniques, and the style brisé demonstrates the relationship between the works of Chambonnières, Lebègue and Flor as well as between Flor and his German colleagues.

The connection between the works of Chambonnières, Lebègue, and Flor is not limited to the fact that they all wrote solely for the keyboard and composed dance movements comparable in variety and style. Both Flor and Lebègue were also well-known organists. All three composers recorded their music using similar notation. As noted above, the music contained in 1198 is written in keyboard score, which is the same format that is found in the printed collections of Lebègue and Chambonnières and differs from the usual German organ tablature notation used by Lüneburg composers during this period. Additionally, like the dance volumes published by Chambonnières in Paris, and Lebègue’s first book of dances, 1198 lacks concrete evidence of the organization of the dance movements into suites or other groupings.

The particular mode in which dance movements are organized into suites is important when considering the individual dance movement as a genre. Mildred Parker argues in her article “Some Speculations on the French Keyboard Suites of the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries” that the French dance suite has been studied from a mostly Germanic perspective, and, therefore, has been forced to adapt to the

122 Stuart Cheney, “Variation techniques in French solo instrumental music, 1594-1689” (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 2002), 81.

123 There are labeled suites in Lebègue’s second book of dances; however, as the first book was published the same year 1198 is dated, it was more likely to be seen by Flor, and are therefore more important for this study.
schemes and fixed series of core and optional dances preferred by composers of the 
German dance suite popular in the later seventeenth century. Parker argues that the 
French suites are therefore “devalued” because they were published as “mere” 
anthologies of dance movements, as opposed to the more developed German dance 
sequences. As was discussed in Chapter 2, the French dance movements are 
sometimes organized and grouped into perceived suites by later scholars, whereas 
historically they would have been considered as single movements. This phenomenon is 
demonstrated by the reorganization of the pieces of Lebègue’s first book of dances into 
groups according to key by editors, although no labels articulating such designations 
exist in the original print. It is also shown in the organization of the dances into suites by 
key and sequence assumed by Bruce Gustafson and Friedrich Welter in their 
respective catalogs of 1198 as outlined in Table 1 of Chapter 2.

Although Lebègue’s print is organized by key to some extent, this does not 
necessarily mean that the pieces were performed or composed in any sort of order. In 
fact, there is little evidence demonstrating that French composers of this genre conceived 
of the dance suite as a performance unit in the seventeenth century. French composers 
did not use the title “suite” or any other term to precede tonal groupings of dance

125 Ibid.
126 Margot Martin, “Essential agréments: Art, dance, and civility in seventeenth-century French 
127 Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, ix.
128 Friedrich Welter, Katalog der Musikalien der Ratsbücherei Lüneburg, 179-180.
movements. Additionally, French dance sequences were not copied in their entirety from one source to another. Rather, dance movements appear individually in concordant sources. There are also manuscripts that exist from the period that are solely anthologies of individual dance movements, an example of which is 1198. In this regard, therefore, it is not a problem for us to consider the style both of individual dance movements and of those found in the organized dance “suites,” in a stylistic evaluation of the work of these three composers.

Flor, Lebègue and Chambonnières composed similar dance types, most of which were French dances. Lebègue composed preludes, allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, gigues, canaries, ballets, menuets, chaconnes, passacaillias, and gavottes. (See Table 2.)

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130 Ibid.
131 Ibid.
Table 2. Nicholas Lebègue, *Premier Livre de Clavecin*, 1677

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suite I, D major/minor</th>
<th>Suite II, G major/minor</th>
<th>Suite III, A minor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Prélude en D la ré sol</td>
<td>Prélude en G ré sol ut b [G minor]</td>
<td>Prélude en A mi la ré</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>Allemande gaye</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante grave</td>
<td>Courante grave</td>
<td>Courante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante gay &amp; double</td>
<td>2e Courante</td>
<td>2e Courante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>Sarabande grave</td>
<td>Sarabande grave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavotte</td>
<td>Gavotte</td>
<td>Gavotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
<td>Menuet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canaris</td>
<td></td>
<td>2e Menuet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Courante en D-sharp [major]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Menuet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarabande grave [D major]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Courante in G [major]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gigue [D major]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Gigue d'angleterre [G major]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaconne grave [D major]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bourée &amp; double [G major]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballet [D major]</td>
<td></td>
<td>2e Menuet [G major]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gavotte [D major]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Menuet [G major]</td>
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<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 --- continued

[Suite IV. C major]

Prélude en C sol ut fa
Allemande
Courante
2e Courante & double
Chaconne
Bourée & Double
Gigue
Gavotte & Double
Menuet

[Suite V, F major]
Prélude en F ut fa
Allemande
Courante
[2e] Courante
Gigue
Sarabande grave
Gavotte

_________________________
Chambonnières wrote a wide variety of dance types, including all those used by Lebègue all those composed by Lebègue as well as gaillards and pavanes. The contents of his two books of music for clavecin are shown in Table 3. Likewise, the dances by Flor contained in 1198 include the allemande, corrente (courante), sarabande, gigue, bourée, galliarde, canarie, gavotte, menuet, and prelude. (See Table 1 at the end of Chapter 2.) While each dance movement itself is stylistically unique, similarities between the dance types of Flor, Lebègue and Chambonnières do exist.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Suite II, C Major</td>
<td>Allemande la Dunquerque</td>
<td>Courante Iris</td>
<td>[2e] Courante</td>
<td>Sarabande de la Reyne (double)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suite III, D minor</td>
<td>Allemande la Loureuse</td>
<td>Courante la toute belle</td>
<td>Courante de Madame</td>
<td>Courante</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 3---continued


[Suite I, C major]
Allemande
Courante
[2e] Courante
Gaillarde
Gigue La Verdinguette

[Suite II, D minor]
Allemande
Courante
[2e] Courante
[3e] Courante
Sarabande

[Suite III, D Major]
Allemande
Courante
[2e] Courante
[3e] Courante
Sarabande

[Suite IV, F major]
Allemande
Courante
[2e] Courante
Sarabande

[Suite V, G Major]
Pavanne
Gigue
Courante
Gigue où il y a un canon

[Suite VI, G major]
Allemande
Gigue
Courante
[2e] Courante
[3e] Courante
Regardless of the variety of the dance types, the overall style of the movements composed by all three men sets their compositional style apart from that of other composers of seventeenth-century keyboard music. Jean Le Gallois famously stated that the French clavecin composers were of two separate factions: *le jeu coulant* of Chambonnières, which is characterized by “natural, tender and well-tuned melodies,” and *le jeu brilliant* of Louis Couperin, which is characterized by a brilliance and virtuosic quality of style. Where the movements of Louis Couperin are intense, virtuosic, and complex, the movements of Lebègue, Chambonnières, and Flor are characterized by a beautiful simplicity.

The keyboard style utilized by Lebègue and Flor is, in fact, the *le jeu coulant* style of Chambonnières, and features the standard three-part keyboard texture popular in the seventeenth century. The treatment of the middle voices is often inconsistent throughout each dance, as they come and go as they are needed, allowing for moments of dense four-voice polyphonic structure within a generally flexible keyboard texture. Usually either an alto or tenor line is maintained throughout the dance, while a fourth voice is added mainly to expand the texture and fill out harmonies at cadences. The “extra” fourth voice usually plays an inconsequential contrapuntal role. This can be seen in the canarie by Flor shown in Example 1. The alto voice appears in m. 4 in order to emphasize the cadence, and then does not reappear until the final measures, filling in an octave doubling in the final cadence.

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133 Ibid., 58.
Similar treatment of the middle voices is found in Chambonnières’s Courante, No. 22 of his first book of dances, shown in Example 2. In this piece, the middle two voices are used alternately, but in m. 6 both the alto and tenor voices enter to emphasize the cadence.

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134 Lüneburg, Ratbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, 14.
Example 2. Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, Courante No. 22, *Les deux livres de clavén*, vol. II\textsuperscript{135}

Another example of this feature is found in a Boureé by Lebègue from his first book of music for the clavén, which is shown in Example 3. In this example, both the tenor and alto voices appear and disappear throughout the course of the dance. They seldom sound simultaneously except at cadences.


Providing doubles in which a variation on the original dance follows the dance itself was a relatively frequent practice in French dance suites.\(^{137}\) All three composers utilized this type of variation in their dance movements. These doubles grew out of lutenist’s practice in which performers occasionally played a piece twice, adding additional embellishments the second time.\(^{138}\) The variation techniques associated with lute practice began as embellishment of the soprano line in diminutions above a static bass line. As seventeenth-century keyboard composers explored different variation

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\(^{137}\) Cheney, “Variation techniques in French solo instrumental music, 1594-1689,” 82.

techniques, however, they eschewed treble-dominated embellishment and began to elaborate on both the soprano and bass voices.\textsuperscript{139} Either the top or bottom voice decorates the melody and is supported by chords in the other voice.\textsuperscript{140} Although the existing repertoire of Chambonnières and Lebègue uses doubles and variations for different types of dances,\textsuperscript{141} the courante is the dance most commonly followed with a double or variation. Chambonnières was the first composer to experiment with a courante double in his first book of dance movements.\textsuperscript{142} Chambonnières’ courante and the double are included in Example 4. Here the composer alters the bass line by changing the octavation of certain sections, but maintaining the same cadential figures. As the double progresses, the original courante melody becomes more difficult to detect. At the beginning of the second strain, the original rhythm is nowhere to be found, but the contour of the original melody is maintained throughout the remaining section of the dance.

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid., 39.

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid., 88.

\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 82-83.

\textsuperscript{142} Cheney, “Variation techniques in French solo instrumental music,” 91.
Example 4. Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, Courante and Double, *Les deux livres de clavecin*, vol. I\textsuperscript{143}

\textsuperscript{143} Chambonnières, *Les deux livres de clavecin*, 2-3.
Example 4---continued

The technique of embellishing a movement in a double is also shown in the first double composed by Lebègue in his first book of clavecin music. The first measures of the courante and the following double, which is obviously an elaboration of the courante, are shown in Example 5. In the case of Lebègue, the bass line for both his Courante and its double are exactly the same, whereas the melodic line is significantly embellished. These examples demonstrate the decoration of the melodic line with additional eighth notes and with slight variations to the bass line that do not change the harmonic implications.

The use of variation became more popular as time passed; all of the French keyboard publications between 1671 and 1689 contain variations.\(^{145}\) Therefore, it is no surprise that Flor wrote doubles for two sarabandes in 1198. These are included in the


\(^{145}\) Cheney, “Variation techniques in French solo instrumental music,” 133.
suites that Gustafson labels as Suite II and Suite VIII in 1198. As in the works of Lebègue and Chambonnières, the doubles are variations and elaborations of the sarabandes that precede them. As in the doubles of Lebègue and Chambonnières, moreover, Flor maintains the harmonic structure, but he also uses the style brisé by setting the harmonies of the original piece in a much more detached fashion, as in the sarabande and following double from Suite II. (See Example 6.) The bass lines in both pieces are nearly identical; however, the voicing of the harmony is different in m. 7. Furthermore, while the contour of the melodic line remains the same, the melody of the double is set in a style brisé manner with many rests separating melodic notes and the harmonies set out in an arpeggiated fashion.
Additionally, Flor wrote a variatio, similar to a double, for each movement of the dance suite identified by Gustafson as the first suite in 1198, which includes an aria, a courante, and a sarabande. These variations are clearly elaborations of the preceding

146 Flor, 10 Suiten, 5-6.
movements. In each case, Flor closely imitates the style of embellishment demonstrated by Lebège and Chambonnières by using eighth and sixteenth notes to decorate the melodic line. In his variatio following the aria, Flor not only embellishes the melodic line, but also augments the bass line with sixteenth-note passages, a technique which adds a dramatic, virtuosic aspect to the piece and demonstrates the aforementioned style of elaborating both soprano and bass voices. Similar techniques are used in the variatio for the courante. Flor uses running eighth notes throughout the piece, and the alternate hand that is not playing the faster-moving notes provides a harmonic framework by playing chords. The variation following the sarabande is the one most unlike its antecedent in that in the first strain Flor modifies the bass line to be in the style brisé by using arpeggiations of harmonies. The second strain begins with closer repetition of the original sarabande, but is also accompanied by arpeggiated harmonies.

All three composers make use of recurring motivic gestures and rhythms within individual dance movements. In some instances, the rhythms and motives used are characteristic of a certain type of dance, such as the canarie. The canarie is a fast dance that opens with a distinctive dotted rhythmic pattern, as is seen in the opening measures of Lebège’s Canaris from his first book of dances shown in Example 7. While Flor modifies this rhythm in his only canarie, he maintains the characteristic rhythm throughout, as shown in Example 1 on p. 51. The dotted-quarter---eighth---quarter rhythm pervades Flor’s movement to a greater extent than that of Lebège, but Flor does not include the typical pickup measure that is so characteristic of the canarie.

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148 Scheibert, Jean-Henry D'Anglebert and the seventeenth-century clavichord school, 158.
The dance movements discussed in this study are in binary form which provides many opportunities to develop recurring opening motives as well as to use motivic development in the first and second strains of music within a given movement. Such use of recurring motivic material is especially characteristic of the courantes of Lebègue and Chambonnières. In his first book of dances, Lebègue uses motivic repetition in the Reprise of the Courante in D major. The courante and following reprise are shown in Example 8. Here Lebègue uses an eighth-note pattern as the anacrusis to the dance and also to open the reprise in transposition. While the pitches are different, the repetition of the rhythmic motive is clear.

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149 Lebègue, Les Pieces de Clavessin [Premier Livre], 15.
Example 8. Nicolas Lebègue, Courante and Reprise, Les Pieces de Clavessin [Premier Livre]\textsuperscript{150}

This parallel motivic structure is also common in Chambonnières’s courantes, such as his Courante, No. 9, from his first volume of dances, which is shown in Example 9. In the second strain, the rhythmic pattern remains the same, but the melodic contour

\textsuperscript{150} Lebègue, Les Pieces de Clavessin [Premier Livre], 17.
changes, and the melody is set in a more brisé fashion, similar to that of Flor’s doubles mentioned above.

Example 9. Jacques Champion de Chambonnières, Courante No. 9, *Les deux livres de clavécin*, vol. II\textsuperscript{151}

Flor uses motivic repetition within a single movement as well, such as in his menuets, nos. 34-37, shown in Example 10. In each menuet, the same rhythmic motive appears twice in the first strain and at the beginning of the second strain. The opening motive therefore returns in the second half of the first strain in exact repetition and opens

\footnote{Chambonnières, *Les deux livres de clavécin*, 11.}
the second strain in transposition, as seen in No. 34, 36, and 37, thus articulating the phrase structure of the pieces with extreme clarity.


No. 34

No. 35
While there is little to no use of thematic gestures to unify movements within a group of movements such as this one,\textsuperscript{152} there is evidence of thematic repetition of like key and dance type in Flor’s movements in 1198. This is shown in the aforementioned group of four menuets all in C major, No. 34-37,\textsuperscript{153} in Example 10, although the


\textsuperscript{153} The numbers that I am using to identify the dance movements are all from Gustafson’s catalog of the
movements that share similar motives do not necessarily come in direct succession. In fact, the movements that share motivic similarities are nos. 35 and 37 and nos. 34 and 36. The relationship between these dances is not as clear as that of the doubles or variations and the dances that precede them, but the recurring opening motives are unmistakable. The opening motive in no. 37 is the same as that of no. 35 transposed down a third, however, the harmonic structure of both menuets differs significantly. No. 35 cadences in the home key of C major at the end of the first strain, and no. 37 cadences in the dominant before reaching the final cadence in C major at the end of the second strain.

Another common trait in the works of Flor, Lebègue and Chambonnières is the use of style brisé. The style brisé was brought to the keyboard through composers of keyboard music mimicking the style of lute music when it was very popular. It was also common to transmit lute music via keyboard transcriptions, which eventually led to the appearance of idiomatic lute figures in keyboard music. The style represents the texture of lute music by imitating the strumming of the lutenist. Manfred Bukofzer’s description of the lutenists’ style brisé, also identified as the style luthé, remains relevant, as it illustrates that the technique takes advantage of the rapid decay of tone produced by the lute and the harpsichord, which would explain why the style became so popular with composers for the harpsichord.

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154 Ledbetter, Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France, 50.
155 Ibid.
156 Scheibert, Jean-Henry D'Anglebert and the seventeenth-century clavecin school, 28.
The “broken style” of lute music...may be called the glorification of the simplest lute figure: the arpeggio. The broken style is characterized by rapidly alternating notes in different registers that supply in turn, melody and harmony. Seemingly distributed in arbitrary fashion over the various registers, the notes produced in their composite rhythm form a continuous strand of sound.¹⁵⁷

In addition to its use in the variations as mentioned above, the style brisé is most commonly found in the works of Flor, Chambonnières and Lebègue when employed to sustain a certain harmony as though it were being strummed. All three composers also occasionally utilize the brisé style in the middle and upper voices to create a variety of textures within a dance movement. In the works of all three men, however, the style brisé maintains its original purpose, namely to embellish harmonies through the arpeggiation of chords. A demonstration of brisé compositional technique is seen in Lebègue’s Boureé in Example 3 on p. 53. In this example, Lebègue uses rests followed by harmonic notes in the opening measures, arpeggiating harmonies such as the chord that begins on the first beat of measure 6. Chambonnières’ use of the style brisé can be found in his Courante, No. 9. In this piece, Chambonnières uses the technique in the alto voice to outline the harmony under the melody of the soprano, as demonstrated in mm. 7-8. (See Example 9 on page 59.)

Another pervasive technique in the works of Flor, Lebègue and Chambonnières is the use of a common style brisé cadential figure, as shown in m. 16 of Example 3 on page 53. In this case, the left hand articulates the final tonic in different octaves on the first three beats of the measure, and in doing so both sustains the pitch and gives the impression of the final chord being strummed. This figure is found in every movement in 1198. A similar form of arpeggiating a harmony is shown in the last measure of a menuet

by Lebègue from his first book. In this case, the bass note is placed first and then the harmony is arpeggiated above the bass voice. (See Example 11.)


Flor most commonly uses the style brisé in cadential figures as well as in his variations, and it pervades his dance movements in a subtle manner, as nearly every cadence features harmonies presented in an arpeggiated form. Non-cadential harmonies are also broken throughout the dances, as is exhibited in mm. 1-4 of his menuet, no. 36. (See Example 10 on page 60.) In this piece, Flor arpeggiates harmonies in the alto, tenor

and bass voices throughout using brisé techniques. Additionally, the aforementioned cadential figure in the brisé style appears at every single cadence in all four of the menuets in Example 10.

As Mildred Parker has observed, while the French dance has been studied mainly from a mainly German perspective, the dances composed by Christian Flor provide a unique angle on the matter, as they are composed in the French style, but by a German composer who lived in a German town and did not, as far as we know, travel outside northern Germany. Yet Flor’s dances clearly show that he already was familiar with the style of French dance movements published in Paris before he copied the suites into his manuscript and, thus, demonstrate the rather quick dissemination of the French dances at least as far as North Germany. In fact, the relationship between the works of the French masters Lebègue and Chambonnières and those of Flor establishes an important connection between the larger worlds of French and German dance music in the seventeenth century.

Flor’s Influence on German Contemporaries

The relationship between the dances of Chambonnières and Lebègue and the dances of Flor has far-reaching implications, as Flor assisted in spreading French keyboard style throughout North Germany. The works of Flor that are not found within 1198 are included in well-known manuscripts of the seventeenth century, including the collections assembled by Johann Christoph Bach, the elder brother of Johann Sebastian Bach and an organist and composer in Ohrdruf. In fact, the only concordant source of a dance suite in 1198 is found in the Möller manuscript, which was collected and copied by J.C. Bach. Therefore, the works of Flor must have been valued in Germany at the time
despite their French characteristics. Their dissemination was instrumental in shaping the style of fellow German keyboard composers of his time including, to name a few, Vincent Lübeck (1654-1740), Georg Böhm (1661-1733), and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750). All three of these composers must have learned the art of composing in the French style via Lüneburg, as it was a part of the Duchy of Celle-Lüneburg, the only major center of French music-making in North Germany at that time. Musical evidence shows that Lübeck, Böhm, and Bach followed in the footsteps of Flor and his French predecessors discussed above, as dance movements and dance suites in the French style are included in the repertoire of all three composers. Lübeck composed a book of pieces titled *Klavier Übungen* that includes a prelude, fugue, allemande, courante, sarabande and gigue. There are also several extant individual dance movements by Lübeck. Böhm composed eleven extant keyboard suites, all demonstrating the popular form of the late seventeenth to early eighteenth-century German dance suite and including an allemande, courante, sarabande, and gigue.\footnote{159 Hugh G. McClean “Georg Böhm,” In *Grove Music Online*, ed. Laura Macy, *Oxford Music Online*, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com (accessed January 19, 2009).} We also have a single menuet movement composed by Böhm, which may lead us to surmise that he composed more single dance movements that did not survive. Bach composed three cycles of six suites for the keyboard in addition to French suites that are included in two parts of the *Klavier Übung*.\footnote{160 Edith Picht-Axenfeld, “Die Tänze in den Klaviersuiten von Johann Sebastian Bach,” in *Tanz und Musik im ausgehenden 17. und im 18. Jahrhundert* (Blankenburg: Institut für Aufführungspraxis, 1993), 105.} While these collections all exhibit a more rigid organization of the dances into the traditional four-movement form, the dances nonetheless exhibit many of the stylistic characteristics from earlier French dances.
Of the three composers, Vincent Lübeck was the composer closest in proximity to Flor in both time and location. The two men were definitely acquainted with one another, as they collaborated on several organ projects in the Hamburg-Lüneburg area. We have evidence that Flor traveled to Hamburg to work with Lübeck to complete an assessment of the organ at St. Nicolai in 1687,\(^{161}\) and documents indicate that Flor assisted Lübeck with an appraisal of the famous Arp Schnitger organ at St. Jacobi in 1693 in Hamburg.\(^{162}\) Flor also completed an examination of the organ at St. Cosmae in Stade,\(^{163}\) probably during Lübeck’s tenure there from 1674-1702,\(^{164}\) which further supports the relationship between the two organists. Therefore, Lübeck most likely had access to Flor’s music, including the dances of 1198, which date from around 1687.

Although Lübeck’s extant repertoire is rather modest, evidence indicates that he was an acclaimed organist in North Germany between 1674 and his death in 1740. He was most famous for his final position at St. Nicolai in Hamburg from 1702 onwards, where he performed on an organ built by the famous builder Arp Schnitger.\(^ {165}\) Johann Mattheson wrote of Lübeck in his postscript to F.E. Niedt’s *Musicalische Handleitung* in Hamburg in 1721, “This extraordinary organ…also has an extraordinary organist. But


\(^{162}\) Walther, *Musikgeschichte*, 236.

\(^{163}\) Jekutsch, “Ausstellungskatalog Christian Flor,” 133.


\(^{165}\) Ibid.
how to extol someone who is already greatly renowned? I need only give his name, Vincent Lübeck, to complete the whole panegyric.”

The majority of Lübeck’s dances were published in Hamburg in his *Klavier Übungen* of 1728 “upon the request of good friends.” While the collection begins with a Preludium and Fuga in A minor, it also includes a keyboard suite comprised of an allemande, courante, and sarabande. Lübeck’s use of style brisé is clearly shown in the Sarabande. (See Example 12). In this movement, Lübeck not only uses the style brisé to arpeggiate harmonies in the alto voice, but also employs it at cadences, as was common in the dances of Flor.


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166 Ibid.


168 Ibid., 49.
It was recently discovered that Lübeck is the author of two dance movements in the S.M.G. 1691 manuscript held in the Hamburg Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek. While the composers of most of the individual dance movements included in the manuscript are considered to be anonymous, the initials “V.L., le Pere” are copied into the manuscript on two individual dance movements, a march and a menuet, indicating that Lübeck is their author. The menuet included in S.M.G. 1691 bears a striking resemblance to those of Flor in 1198. It features a short, simple melody accompanied by a bass line in a rather simple contrapuntal style. Middle voices are employed to fill out harmonies at cadences. Additionally, Lübeck uses an ornament consisting of two parallel lines slanted forward in this movement to signify a very short mordent or trill, as is specifically common to North German keyboard practice. (See Example 13). Scholars have surmised that Flor uses a symbol of two dots to signify this same ornament in 1198.

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169 Le Pere indicated Lübeck, the elder.


While Flor and Lübeck were definitely acquainted as professional colleagues, it is possible that Georg Böhm and Flor never met. After Flor’s death in 1697, his son Johann Georg Flor succeeded him in the position at St. Lamberti, and Georg Böhm followed him as the organist at St. Johannis in Lüneburg. After Flor’s death in 1697, Böhm petitioned the city council to audition for the post at St. Johannis and was unanimously chosen to be the organist there. As Flor’s successor, Böhm must have had access to Flor’s music, as it may have remained in the archives at St. Johannis to be used by future church musicians. Even if Flor’s music did not stay at St. Johannis, Böhm could very well have had access to it through either of Flor’s sons, as both were still active musicians in Lüneburg.

Böhm composed 13 keyboard suites and 14 chorale preludes, and these survive in different manuscripts found in North Germany, including the Andreas Bach Book and the aforementioned Möller manuscript. While Böhm’s dance movements are more complex than those of Flor, and they include imitative compositional devices, the pieces also

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feature several of the characteristics found in Flor’s movements in 1198, including three-
voice keyboard texture, the use of recurring motives, and the style brisé, which is
especially prominent at cadences. The menuet from Böhm’s fifth keyboard suite
demonstrates both his simple keyboard texture and his use of recurring opening motives
in binary form. The motive that opens the first part appears both in m. 5 in its original
state and in the second part in transposition. Moreover, the same style-brisé cadence that
pervades the dance movements of Flor appears at the close of Böhm’s menuet (See
Example 14). In addition, the three-voice texture and recurring opening motives are
featured in the only extant individual dance movement by Böhm, a menuet (See Example
15).


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As stated above, the Möller manuscript, which contains two keyboard suites by Christian Flor in addition to numerous works by Georg Böhm, was compiled and copied by Johann Christoph Bach, the elder brother of Johann Sebastian Bach. J.S. Bach arrived in Lüneburg after staying with Johann Christoph in 1700, only three years after Flor’s death and while Christian Flor’s son, Johann Georg Flor held the organist’s post at St. Lamberti that he had assumed upon his father’s death. Additionally, Flor’s second son, Gottfried Phillip Flor (1682-1723), was working at St. Michael’s church in Lüneburg

174 Ibid., 68.
during Bach’s tenure at the school from 1700-1702.\textsuperscript{175} The young Bach sang in the boys’ choir there, and therefore, was in direct contact with Gottfried Phillip.\textsuperscript{176} As Flor’s manuscripts probably remained in Lüneburg, they could have been shown to J.S. Bach via a variety of outlets, and must have then been further transmitted to Johann Christoph Bach, who copied music from them into his collections. This is especially likely since evidence in the Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book demonstrates that both of the Bach brothers were in the process of creating collections of keyboard music for study and performance, and J.S. Bach is the most logical connection between Lüneburg and Johann Christoph Bach.\textsuperscript{177}

It is quite possible that Flor’s works could have been seen and studied in Lüneburg by the young J.S. Bach not long after Flor’s death.\textsuperscript{178} J.S. Bach composed his French dance suites (BWV812-817) between 1722 and 1725 when he was living first in Cöthen and then in Leipzig.\textsuperscript{179} Included are dance types similar to those of Flor: preludes, menuets, gigues, allemandes, courantes, sarabandes, gavottes, bourées.\textsuperscript{180} Although scholars have consistently grouped the dances into suites, David Schulenberg argues that the movements of Bach’s dance suites were probably composed separately to be grouped together at a later date.\textsuperscript{181} He writes,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{175} Walther, \textit{Musikgeschichte}, 232.
  \item \textsuperscript{176} Wolff and Emery, “Johann Sebastian Bach.”
  \item \textsuperscript{177} Hill, “The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book,” 12.
  \item \textsuperscript{178} Schnoor, “Neue Cembalowerke von Christian Flor,” 76.
  \item \textsuperscript{179} Hill, “The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book,” 12.
  \item \textsuperscript{180} Picht-Axenfeld, “Die Tänze in den Klaviersuiten von Johann Sebastian Bach,” 106-108.
  \item \textsuperscript{181} Originally cited in: David W. Beach, \textit{Aspects of Unity in J.S. Bach’s Partitas and Suites: An Analytical}
\end{itemize}
We know from successive versions of Bach’s later suites that movements could be added or subtracted from such works. Thus, his suites are not closed cycles, but open sets of pieces in the same key… Especially in his early years, Bach, in composing harpsichord pieces, may have set out not to write suites but individual movements that could be grouped together at a later date.  

On the other hand, David Beach notes that there are many aspects of unity in the keyboard suites of Bach. Beach cites the use of motives and similar voice-leading and harmonic patterns to describe the way Bach creates unity within his dance suites and individual dance movements. Beach also writes that some of Bach’s dance movements are merely unified by common key, whereas others clearly must have been written at one time as integrated works because of their consistent use of voice-leading and harmonic patterns.

While many of Bach’s dance movements are more compositionally complex than those of Flor, Lübeck, and Böhm, in that they are through-composed and utilize more developed contrapuntal principles such as that of fugue, several of them maintain the simpler compositional structure and texture of the earlier French style. An example of this is found in Bach’s Minuetto from the first French suite, shown in Example 16. In this piece, the simple binary form and fluid treatment of polyphonic voices in the dances of Flor and the French composers is maintained and the same opening motive is used at the beginning of both the prima and seconda pars. A characteristic style brisé cadence also graces the final measure.

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Study (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2005), xi.


183 Beach, Aspects of Unity in J.S. Bach’s Partitas and Suites, xii.

184 Ibid., 82.
What do all of these stylistic similarities contribute to the history of the French and German dance suite? We may conclude that the individual dance movement was a more dominant genre of keyboard music in the seventeenth century than current scholarship acknowledges. As Parker states in her article, “Some Speculations on the

\[ ^{185}\text{Johann Sebastian Bach, } \textit{Suites Francesi} (BWV 612-817), \text{ed. G.E. Moroni (Milan: Carisch, 1990), 12.} \]
French Dance Suite of the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth Centuries,” many French dances have been assembled into German-style suites by scholars, whereas the contextual evidence shows that the movements were most likely not concretely organized in such a fashion.186 The grouping of the individual pieces into suites, especially when no organization is labeled in the original sources, is a historical construction placed on the works by scholars and may prevent us from truly understanding the original value and context of such pieces. Furthermore, the common stylistic qualities including the use of the simple keyboard texture, binary form, the style brisé, and recurring opening motives in dances composed in North Germany attest to the strong influence of the French dance movement there. Since Flor’s dance movements demonstrate his familiarity with the French stylistic qualities, these same qualities in the music of Lübeck, Böhm and Bach suggest that Flor’s music aided in the dissemination of French dance music for the keyboard throughout northern Germany.

CHAPTER 4

THE EDITION

The movements of 1198 provide important information regarding the relationship between French and German musical styles in dance music of the seventeenth century. A modern edition is significant because it increases the accessibility of these works for both students and performers. In this chapter I will outline my editorial procedure as well as introduce the challenges involved in the transcription and editing process as well as include a critical report detailing oddities in each movement and where changes, if necessary, were made.

My goal throughout the editing and transcription process has been to present the musical details of 1198 as they were in the original source, but with increased intelligibility to make them comprehensible to a modern audience. In order to do this, certain aspects of the original notation have been altered slightly so that it is easily decipherable by the contemporary performer. All of the general modifications I have made to the score are articulated below. Specific problematic areas within the individual movements are noted in the critical notes following the movements.

Clefs

The individual dance movements are notated in keyboard score format, which makes the transcription of them relatively simple. The notation is in two five-line staves, one for each hand. Three systems are notated on each page of paper. F₂ and G₄ clefs that are similar in appearance to clefs used in modern notation are employed throughout the dance movements. F₄ and C₁ clefs are occasionally used in the dance suites and
transcriptions of songs by Lully. While I maintain the original clefs in my edition, I use the modern clef symbols.

**Meter**

All of the dance movements are in simple duple or triple meter. Flor notated the number three at the beginning of each piece in triple meter, which I have maintained in my edition. Although all of the movements are labeled with a number three, the majority of the movements are in compound meter, except for No. 47, which is in 3/2 time. I have maintained the usage of the number three to best represent the contents of the original manuscript. He used the modern symbol for cut time to indicate movements in duple meter, which I have also preserved. Although these pieces are notated using the modern symbol for cut time, they are still to be felt in quadruple meter as opposed to the traditional 2/2 meter, as the c-slash symbol is used in 1198 to demonstrate a proportional relationship and not the modern idea of cut time. Bar lines are used throughout the manuscript. However, in two Gavottes, nos. 21 and 29, a meter is provided in the original source, but no bar lines appear in either movement. As a time signature is given at the beginning of both nos. 21 and 29, I have added the bar lines to articulate each specific meter in each movement. In No. 22, a Canarie, the opposite problem holds true. Bar lines were included, but Flor neglected to include a time signature. As the bar lines indicate a duple meter, I have transcribed the piece in cut time.

**Accidentals**

Flor’s method of notating accidentals differs slightly from modern practice. He uses a diamond shape in lieu of our modern sharp sign. Furthermore, when notating pieces in D major, Flor included an F sharp twice on the staff of each clef, one in each
octave. This was most probably to avoid any confusion and demonstrates with certainty that the book was directed at an amateur audience. Further, Flor used sharps and flats to cancel previously flatted and sharped pitches rather than using naturals. For example, if he wanted a B natural when a B flat was in the key signature, he placed a sharp next to the B to indicate a natural. Similarly, if he wanted a sharped note to be natural, he placed a flat in front of it. I have translated this to modern notation by utilizing modern natural signs. As for maintaining accidentals throughout measures, occasionally Flor will notate a sharp or flat twice in a measure, indicating that the sharp or flat should be maintained. In my edition I have included all of the accidentals as they appear in the manuscript and have put the additional accidentals added by Flor in brackets. In the few places where a note occurs multiple times within a measure and Flor did not mark multiple accidentals, it is suggested that the performer maintain the accidental throughout the measure, as in common practice. I have suggested additional accidentals, placed above the staff in parentheses.

**Texture**

Flor notated the dance movements polyphonically in 1198, and I have preserved this texture in my edition. This is shown by the independent stems given to each note in Flor’s manuscript, save for at cadences when each hand plays chords. However, many times Flor placed the independent stems going in awkward directions. He frequently positions notes in the alto voice with upward-facing stems, which offers a more cluttered presentation in a polyphonic texture. The stemming in my edition reflects modern stemming practice to clarify the voicing within a polyphonic texture.
The alto and tenor voices are used mainly to fill out the musical texture, especially at cadences. While these voices are rather sparsely notated, Flor is inconsistent in his use of rests to fill in the gaps in the alto and tenor voices. I did not maintain the alto and tenor voices by filling the parts with rests when they were not articulating anything because the extra rests simply clutter the score. I have maintained all of the rests from the original manuscript. There are, however, a few movements when either the alto voice or tenor voice is present for most of the entire movement. In these instances I did add rests to demonstrate the continuity of the middle musical lines, and I state these changes in the critical commentary below.

Ornamentation

It is important to carefully articulate any ornaments that is desired by the composer in the primary source, and Flor includes several in 1198. The traditional tr symbol that designates a trill is most frequently employed by Flor, and I have maintained the usage of it in my edition. Two dots accompany several notes or chords in the manuscript, however scholars are unsure about the meaning of these two dots. Since they appear mostly at cadences, they could signify an embellishment of the cadence in a variety of ways. The dots do not appear in any of the ornament guides published by Chambonnières or Lebègue and most likely do not stem from French influence. However, dots similar to those found in 1198 have been seen in lute tablatures of the seventeenth century. Moreover, these dots are discussed in a treatise on ornamentation written by Giovanni Girolamo Kapsberger in his Libro Primo d’ Intavolatura di Chitarone, published in Venice in 1604.\(^{187}\) This treatise cites the usage of “two points”

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above a number in the tablature to indicate a trill. Janet Dodge surmises that this symbol
did not indicate mere vibrato, but rather an upper-note trill.\footnote{Ibid., 321.} Additionally, she states
that this ornament is frequently used on lower strings in addition to higher strings in
Kapsberger’s treatise, in a manner which would apply to Flor’s compositions, as he often
uses this symbol above or next to notes in the bass and tenor voices at cadences. In his
edition of Flor’s ten keyboard suites of 1198, Jörg Jacobi interpreted the dots as two
parallel lines, which have also been used in keyboard tablature by composers such as
Matyhias Weckmann, and most likely indicating a short trill or mordent. I have also
articulated the dot ornament as two parallel lines. The performer is advised to add a trill
on each note accompanied by the ornament.

\textbf{Organization}

There are many questions that remain unanswered about possible organization of
the individual movements into suites or groupings by key, including inquiries into the
meaning of symbols Flor made use of throughout the manuscript. Flor notated a flourish
after the final barline of the final movement in each of his ten suites in 1198, as is
discussed in Chapter 3, but also used this flourish after several of his individual dance
movements as well, thus its meaning is uncertain.\footnote{\textit{Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, Mus. ant. pract. 1198, vi.}} In the critical notes following the
movements, I have indicated a flourish when it is present at the end of a movement.

Additionally, Flor used an ornamented fermata, shown in Figure 1 on p. 27, above
the final chord at the end of selected movements. This fermata usually appears above the
right-hand chord, but it also often appears over both the right-hand and left-hand chords.
This symbol may indicate that the movements in which the fermata is found were
designated to be performed as the final movements of a particular set of movements chosen by the performer. Additionally, it might suggest that the performer should ornament the final cadence with a turn followed by a trill to accompany the final melodic note, as the fermata somewhat resembles the symbol used by the French masters to signify a turn followed by a trill. I have notated a modern fermata where Flor notated this ornamented fermata, and the performer is encouraged to ornament the cadence.

The original organization of the dance movements of 1198 is arbitrary, and one must be careful to avoid implying an organization that was not originally inherent in the primary source. Therefore, I avoid the temptation to organize the movements by common key. Rather, I maintain the order they appear in the manuscript, which is probably the order in which they were composed. This will allow performers to choose which movements they may wish to perform and arrange the movements as they see fit, which is how the movements would have been performed in the seventeenth century. In my edition, each movement is identified by the number given it by Bruce Gustafson in his introduction to the facsimile edition; this number directly identifies the placement of the piece within the manuscript.

Repeat Signs

Flor did not use double bar lines at the ends of his pieces. Rather, the same repeat signs that are used to separate the prima and secunda pars of each piece are also employed at the end of each movement. I have maintained this use of repeat signs at the end of pieces, as it suggests an openness at the end of each piece. In performance, repeats may be treated freely. One may repeat the prima and seconda pars the first time through
and then return to the first strain and repeat the entire work a second time.\textsuperscript{190} The performer may also feel free to add additional ornaments the second time he presents musical material, as this was common practice in lute music of the period.\textsuperscript{191} The lack of double bars at the ends of movements may also suggest that it is possible for a performer to go straight on from one dance movement to the next with only a brief pause and that there may be no limits to how many dance movements he could play in a single key or in related keys.

While the original purpose of these pieces can only be surmised, the movements included in this edition may be combined into large or small groups in one key or in similar keys for performance at small social gatherings, as preludes to hymns in church services and for teaching purposes. They can be performed on harpsichord, organ or even piano, although they were probably never performed on a piano. The highlight of the collection is definitely the \textit{Courant Lavion} followed by the variation, as it contains a more sophisticated contrapuntal texture than the earlier pieces in the manuscript and is followed by a rather ornate variation. Throughout the editing process, I have striven to represent the music as closely as possible to the original primary source material. It is my hope that the modern representation of these pieces may draw a greater audience for the music of Christian Flor and further the research pertaining to him and to music in the immediate area of Lüneburg.


\textsuperscript{191} Ledbetter, \textit{Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France}, 139.
Critical Notes

No. 17 (Bourée): Pick up beat, bass voice: rest added
M. 3, beat 4, tenor voice: no sharp notated on final G in measure in manuscript
M. 4, beat 1-3, soprano voice: natural notated only on first C in measure in manuscript
M. 5, beat 3, soprano voice: G natural notated in ms.
M. 6, beat 1-2, soprano voice: This part is blanked out in the facsimile edition, but is clearly visible in the manuscript.
Flourish at end of piece

No. 18 (Menuet): Two slightly different flourishes/ornaments over final chord in LH and RH
Flourish after final repeat sign

No. 19 (Galliarde): Rests in bass voice in pick up measures added
Key signature: B flat added to L.H. staff
M. 3, beat 4, soprano voice: quarter note rest added
M. 6, beat 4, soprano voice: rest added

No. 20 (Canarie): Key signature: B flat added to L.H. staff
M. 3, beats 3-4, bass and tenor voices: rhythms and notes approximated, page torn away in ms.

No. 21 (Gavotte): Bar lines added throughout: meter indicates cut time (C-slash)
Alto Voice: Rests added throughout
M. 2, beat 2, alto voice: half-note rest added; dots shown
M. 4, beat 2.5-3, alto voice: rests added

No. 22 (Canarie): Time signature (6/4) added, bar lines maintained from ms.

No. 24: (Menuet) Flourish/ornament above final chord in R.H.
Flourish after final fermata

No. 29: (Gavotte) Bar lines added
M. 1, beat 3-4, alto voice: rest added
M. 1, beat 4, tenor voice: half-note rest in ms. changed to quarter note rest
M. 2, beat 1-2, alto voice: rests added
M. 3, beat 1, 3-4, alto voice: rests added
M. 4, beat 1-3, alto voice: rests added

No. 30 (Menuet): Fermata/ornament above both L.H. and R.H.
Flourish following final repeat sign
No. 34 (Menuet): Fermata on final chord in L.H. and R.H. 
Flourish following final repeat sign

No. 37 (Menuet): Fermata/ornament over R.H. final chord

No. 39 (Menuet): M. 3, beat 4---M. 4, beat 2, alto voice: rests added 
M. 5-8, alto voice: rests added 
Fermata over final chord in R.H.

No. 40 (Bouree): Pick up measure: rest added 
M. 6, beat 4, soprano voice: rest added

No. 41 (Menuet): M. 6, beat 1, bass voice: dotted half note rest added 
Fermata/ornament over dotted half note in R.H. and L.H. at end of 
prima pars

No. 42 (Menuet): M. 5, beat 1, tenor voice: dots after G 
Flourish following final repeat

No. 44 (Menuet): B flat added to bass clef

No. 45 (Menuet): B flat added to bass clef 
Final measure: dotted half note maintained from ms.

No. 47 (Courant): M. 1 and M. 6: Pick up beats: rests added in bass voice

No. 55 (Menuet): Ms. 3, beat three, alto voice: rest added

No. 74
(Courante Lavion): Pick up measure and M. 8, bass voice: rests added 
M. 4, beat 3-6, bass voice: rests added

(Variatio): Pick up beat and M. 9, bass voice: rests added 
Embellishment after final repeat sign
Document 1. “Christian Flor” in J.G. Walther’s *Musikalisches Lexicon*, 1732\textsuperscript{192}


Document 2. “Christian Flor” in Johann Mattheson’s *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte*, 1740\textsuperscript{193}


Damals war es der Gebrauch, dass die Komponisten, den dergleichen Gelegenheit, alle zu dem Stüde gehörige Stimmen, mit untergelegtem Terte, in Noten druden liessen. Heutiges Tages werden hergegen nur die Worte, oder Verse allein, unter die Presse gegeben.

\textsuperscript{192} J.G. Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon oder musikalsiche Bibliothek* (Kassel und Bassel: Bärenreiter, 1732, reprint, Bärenreiter-Verlag, Kassel), 249.

\textsuperscript{193} Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740; reprint, Kassel: Bärenreiter), 66.
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