

# Wind Instruments in the Anglo-German Consort Repertoire, ca. 1630-40: A Survey of Music by Johann Schop and Nicolaus Bleyer

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## Tendencies in ensemble music in northern Germany ca. 1600— the “Anglo-German repertoire”

During the years around 1600, the use of instruments in German instrumental ensemble music changed notably. While wind instruments had been very popular in sixteenth-century music,<sup>1</sup> strings gained esteem during the first decades of the seventeenth century. This can be seen not only in the increasing number of professional string players employed in German court ensembles and town bands, but also in significant changes in the instrumental repertoire. During this period, quite a few German collections of ensemble music call for *Violen* (i.e., “strings”) as preferred instruments and employ an increasingly idiomatic string style,<sup>2</sup> while the neutral ensemble style of the late Renaissance, equally suitable for wind and string instruments, became increasingly outdated. Furthermore, only a few ensemble pieces published between the late 1610s and the early 1640s call expressly for winds. Northern Germany became an important center for the production and publication of ensemble music specifically intended for strings.

Much of this new string music had English associations. In 1604 Valentin Haussmann published his *Neue Intrade*, with an appendix of English pavans and galliards. This collection is among the very first in Germany to show a particular preference for strings (*auff Instrumenten / fürnemlich auff Fiolen lieblich zugebrauchen*—“to be played on instruments, particularly on strings”). During the following years, the string players and composers William Brade (1560–1630) and Thomas Simpson (1582–?1628) became the most influential among the many English musicians who worked on the continent at that time. Between 1609 and 1621 the two men published a total of seven ensemble collections, most of them in Hamburg. Much of their music shows a strong tendency toward an idiomatic string style. This tendency can also be observed in works of their German contemporaries. Peter Holman uses the term “Anglo-German consort repertoire” to designate this particular ensemble style, which had been developed by the English string players and some of their north German contemporaries. According to Holman, this repertoire “consisted of dance music ..., and was focused particularly on sets of violins or viols.”<sup>3</sup>

While the role of string instruments in the Anglo-German ensemble repertoire has captured most of the attention of scholars, the role of wind instruments has, to date, rarely been explored in detail, if it is mentioned at all. It is, in fact, often suggested that the fashion for strings led to the virtual disuse of winds in this field, at least for some time.<sup>4</sup>

It is my intention in this article to take a fresh look at this matter. In search of evidence of the use of wind instruments in the Anglo-German repertoire, I will examine various aspects of north German instrumental music of the seventeenth century, specifically the role of musical institutions, performance practice, and the musical repertoire itself. At first glance it may seem rather surprising to find evidence of the use of wind instruments, particularly in an area of German ensemble music strongly influenced by English string players. On the basis of the material presented here it is, however, possible to show that winds played a more important role in the performance of ensemble music written in the Anglo-German tradition than has hitherto been assumed.

This article focuses on two German composers who were perhaps the most prominent among the musicians connected to the Anglo-German repertoire: Johann Schop (ca. 1590-1667) and Nicolaus Bleyer (1591-1658). These two musicians were accomplished instrumentalists as well as composers who published collections of ensemble music.

### **English influences on Johann Schop's and Nicolaus Bleyer's ensemble music**

Schop was most likely born in Hamburg around 1590 and may have studied with Brade there when the English violist was a member—possibly even leader—of the civic instrumental ensemble, the *Ratsmusik*, from 1608-10 and again around 1613-14. Andreas Moser's claim that Brade was Schop's teacher remains a conjecture.<sup>5</sup> However, Schop's instrumental music shows ample evidence that he was influenced by English solo and ensemble idioms. Many of his solo pieces for violin and bass show the influence of the English variation technique; there are divisions on English pieces, such as John Dowland's *Lachrimae* pavan and *The Nobleman*, attributed to Robert Johnson.<sup>6</sup> In his principal collection of instrumental ensemble music, *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* (Hamburg, 1633/1640), he frequently either quotes from or alludes to English consort music, especially works by Dowland and Anthony Holborne.<sup>7</sup> There would have been ample opportunity for him to learn from English ensemble playing. For example, apart from his time in Hamburg, where he worked as instrumentalist and director of the *Ratsmusik* from 1621 to 1665, he was employed at the Wolfenbüttel court (1614-15), which was then renowned for its group of English actors and instrumentalists. Moreover, Schop spent four years in the employment of the Danish court of Christian IV (1615-19), at a time when English consort music was much in fashion there.

Nicolaus Bleyer (described by Werner Braun as a “prominent disciple” of the English expatriates<sup>8</sup>) was probably in contact with Brade during his time in Schleswig and Gottorf in the early 1610s,<sup>9</sup> and was afterwards a colleague of Simpson in Bückeburg from 1615 to 1621. According to Braun, the inclusion of six pieces by Bleyer in Simpson's collection *Taffel Consort* (1621) seems to indicate that the English violist treated Bleyer as his favorite disciple. Further biographical evidence suggests a close artistic relationship between them.<sup>10</sup>

On a musical level, Bleyer's only surviving piece for solo violin and bass, a set of variations on the tune *Englisch Mars*,<sup>11</sup> shows that he was thoroughly familiar with the English custom of improvising on a ground bass. Moreover, both Bleyer's ensemble pieces

in Simpson's collections of 1617 and 1621 and his own collection *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* (Leipzig, 1642) are closely modeled on Simpson's Anglo-German style.

Schop's and Bleyer's ensemble works deserve closer examination because they show not only how much the English consort idiom influenced German composers of the time, but also in what ways this English idiom was transformed into continental music practice. Instead of simply imitating English ensemble style and performance practice, these German musicians adapted them to the demands of the musical institutions in which they worked, namely the civic instrumental ensembles. Since wind instruments were still widely used by these ensembles in the years after 1600, it is less surprising to see that Schop and Bleyer did not score their works exclusively for strings, but preferred flexible scorings that included wind instruments. It is therefore important to examine the role that these institutions played in the shaping of particular ensemble repertoires.

### The versatility of German civic musicians

The English instrumentalists and their German colleagues had quite different degrees of specialization. It is significant that many of the English musicians were known exclusively as string players. The English actor-musicians who were employed at the Danish and Saxon courts in 1586 were players of *geygen*.<sup>12</sup> William Brade calls himself a *fiolist* (i.e., player of string instruments) on the title page of his 1609 collection. Thomas Simpson calls himself a *violist* in his 1610 collection. Both are among the first composers of instrumental ensemble music to associate themselves with string instruments in their publications.

Since their background of training in England is, to date, not known, it is difficult to place their skills and their remarkable degree of specialization in a social and institutional context. As composers they were also quite specialized, namely in instrumental music, especially dance music.<sup>13</sup> Looking at their professional careers, it becomes obvious that they were mainly employed by courts, and less so by cities. This seems to indicate that specialized musicians such as they were valued more highly in the sphere of court music. There was a string consort consisting mainly of English musicians at the Bückeburg court during the 1610s and the early 1620s.<sup>14</sup>

Schop and Bleyer were, on the other hand, much more versatile instrumentalists than their English mentors. They played a variety of wind and string instruments, and composed both secular and sacred, instrumental and vocal music. That they were well aware of their qualities is shown, for instance, by Johann Schop's portrait on the organ part of his sacred concertos (Hamburg, 1643/44). The two angel figures represent the genres of instrumental and vocal music. The angel on the left is playing a fretted string instrument;<sup>15</sup> at his feet are a cornett, a lute, and some sort of wind instrument (presumably a recorder). These are all instruments that Schop played, according to sources discussed further below (see Figure 1).



**Figure 1**

Johann Schop, *Erster Theil geistlicher Concerten* (Hamburg, 1643/44),  
basso continuo part, bottom part of title page.  
Courtesy of Zentralbibliothek, Zurich, Musikabteilung.

Schop's and Bleyer's versatility can be attributed to their professional careers, which were shaped by the institutions of civic music. During the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth century, the institutions of civic music in Germany remained (probably as much as their English equivalents, the city waits) strongholds of wind instruments. String players appeared in court musical establishments north of the Alps as early as the 1530s (England), 1540s (Saxony), and 1550s (Bavaria), but only around 1600 did string instruments begin to be more frequently mentioned in the context of civic music.<sup>16</sup>

Johann Schop's biography<sup>17</sup> illustrates the importance of the Hamburg *Ratsmusik* for his versatile instrumental skills. The *Ratsmusik* was an instrumental ensemble (usually of seven or eight musicians) employed and regularly paid by the city. It was an organization with a very traditional structure, similar to that of a guild and dating back to the late Middle Ages.<sup>18</sup>

It is very likely that the instrumentalist Fabian Schowpe (Schop) who is mentioned in the Hamburg city account books from Johannis 1572<sup>19</sup> until Christmas 1595 as a member of the *Ratsmusik* was Johann Schop's father and also probably his first teacher. Johann Schop would then have received his first training in the context of this institution. This latter

conjecture is supported by his instrumental skills mentioned in a personnel list of the Wolfenbüttel court, drawn up by *Kapellmeister* Michael Praetorius in 1614. Schop could, according to Praetorius, play the cornett, trombone, and lute, and was an excellent player of the treble violin (*ein sehr guter Discantgeiger*).<sup>20</sup> The fact that Praetorius particularly emphasizes Schop's skills on the violin indicates a certain degree of specialization, very likely due to his exposure to English string playing. On the other hand, the fact that Schop could master various wind instruments as well shows that he was firmly rooted in the strong tradition of German civic music. After his employment at the Wolfenbüttel court, at the court of the Danish king Christian IV, and at the courts of Philipp Sigismund of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel in Rothenburg and Iburg (1619–21), he returned to his native Hamburg to become the first *Violist* and thus the leader of the *Ratsmusik*.<sup>21</sup>

Nicolaus Bleyer's professional biography shows a similar picture. According to Johann Hennings, he might have been trained as a musician in the city of Lübeck<sup>22</sup> before he worked at the courts in Gottorf (from ca. 1610 until 1615) and Bückeburg (from 1615<sup>23</sup> until 1621). In Bückeburg he was appointed cornettist, but he also played the violin there.<sup>24</sup> In 1621 Bleyer returned to Lübeck and was appointed cornettist in the *Ratsmusik*. His special abilities as cornett player are frequently mentioned in the various accounts of his skills as a virtuoso and composer, e.g., in Jakob von Dorn's poem written on the occasion of Bleyer's death in 1658. In his poem, Dorn emphasizes Bleyer's skill in composition, his abilities as a violinist, and especially his reputation as an outstanding cornett player.<sup>25</sup>

Accounts of other German civic musicians further help to illustrate the picture of the remarkable versatility of seventeenth-century German civic musicians. Schop's colleague Christian Hildebrand, who was a long-time member of the *Ratsmusik* (1598–1649) and the editor of two important sources of the Anglo-German repertoire,<sup>26</sup> played both violin and cornett. The Hamburg musician Johann David played, according to his application to the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin in 1650, viola da gamba, a plucked instrument (*Cithreuchen*), violin, bass violin, tenor (violin?), trombone, and recorder.<sup>27</sup> The Lübeck *Ratsmusiker* Peter Grecke claimed in his application to the Lübeck city council to be capable of playing keyboard instruments, viola da gamba, violone, trombone, cornett, and recorder.<sup>28</sup>

### Wind instruments in the Hamburg *Ratsmusik*

There is some documentary evidence as to how these various wind and string instruments were used within the ensemble of the Hamburg *Ratsmusik*. As was the custom in most of the court ensembles and town bands of the time, each of the musicians was assigned a certain function (i.e., player of treble, tenor, or *bassus* lines) that he could perform on various instruments suitable for his part.<sup>29</sup> Some of Schop's *Ratsmusik* colleagues of the 1630s were thus appointed as players of, for example, “tenor” or “bass” instruments, such as Joachim Hauemeister and Matthias Brodthagen (*Tenoristen*) and Claus Kröger (*Bassist*).

A document dating from 1642, the *Verzeichnüs derer Adjuwanten, welche zur Music der Cantor zu Hamburg alle gemeine Sontage höchst von nöthen hat* (i.e., the list of all the musicians demanded for church music performances every Sunday), written by Hamburg's

Kantor, Thomas Selle, illustrates this practice. Although this document refers to the performance of sacred music, it can be assumed that this practice was similar in the secular field.<sup>30</sup> Selle, who was at this time much concerned with the reorganization of the city's church music, demanded five members of the *Ratsmusik* to be present at Sunday services, with all the instruments they played, namely:

two cornett players who must also have two violins and two recorders which they have to use *pro variatione* [i.e., interchangeably, instead of the cornetts]; one alto trombone player who must also have a viola and a recorder, to use *pro variatione*; one tenor trombone player who could also play a bass (if needed) and must have a tenor violin and recorder, to use *pro variatione*; one player of a string bass who must also have a bass curtal and a bass trombone, to use *pro variatione*.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the *Ratsmusiker*, Selle demanded five other musicians. All of them (except the first) were members of a second, less privileged organization of city musicians in Hamburg, the *Rollbrüder*.<sup>32</sup> In their case, he even gives the names and the instruments they played:

1. Hinrich Crügern with the lute, 2. Jacob Holschemachern with the lute, cornett, recorder and violin, 3. Evert Gärntern with the lute and tenor violin, 4. Johan Spönmannen with the violin, cornett, and recorder, 4. Christian Lehman, with the lute and violin.<sup>33</sup>

In other words, the *Ratsmusik* and the *Rollbrüder* would be able to perform on at least three sets of instruments, depending on the occasion, on Selle's demands, and on the forces needed by the music. Alternatively they could perform as a wind consort with either cornetts and trombones or recorders and curtal, or as a string consort with various sizes of the violin family.<sup>34</sup> Selle's list suggests that wind and string instruments would normally not be mixed together. As Holman points out, it was "the normal practice of professional groups" of the late Renaissance and the early Baroque "to use them as alternatives in a musical menu rather than as ingredients in a single dish."<sup>35</sup> For continuo parts there would have been a number of lute players available. It is quite typical of church music performance practice of the time that cornetts and trombones are named first on Selle's list. The importance of wind instruments in *Ratsmusik* church performances is further stressed by Selle in a different context: He demands that sets of wind instruments be kept in the church where music was going to be performed:

Also, at least five or six good cornetts should be brought to St. Peter, as well as 5 or 6 recorders, a curtal or dulcian, and two trumpets that are in tune with the organ, because when one has to perform something large-scale on high feasts, these instruments are always lacking.<sup>36</sup>

Summing up these various documents, it can be said that in the 1640s the Hamburg *Ratsmusik* was by no means a pure string ensemble, but rather a versatile ensemble, still working within the tradition of the German *Ratskapellen* that had prevailed since the Middle Ages. It can be assumed that the situation in Lübeck was similar to that in Hamburg.<sup>37</sup> During the first decades of the seventeenth century, English string playing had undoubtedly influenced the performance practices of north German *Ratsmusik* ensembles, a development that would eventually lead to the growing significance of string instruments. However, this change was a long-term process.

Since it can be supposed that Schop's and Bleyer's pieces for instrumental ensemble music were, at least in part, originally written for the particular *Ratsmusik* ensembles of Hamburg and Lübeck respectively, it needs to be asked how the music itself reflects the civic performance practice outlined above, with its alternative use of wind and string forces.

### **Johann Schop's ensemble music: *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* (Hamburg, 1633/40)**

As a musician in the service of the city, Schop was expected to provide vocal and instrumental ensemble works for a variety of functions. A number of his vocal concertos, for instance, were written as occasional music for weddings of Hamburg citizens. It is also likely that his two substantial instrumental ensemble collections, his *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* (Hamburg, 1633; 2nd edn., 1640) and his *Ander Theil newer Paduanen* (Hamburg, 1635/6)<sup>38</sup> were originally composed (or, at least, assembled) for the use of the *Ratsmusik*. It can be assumed that this repertoire was performed at various public and private occasions in the city.<sup>39</sup>

Johann Schop's *Erster Theil* has, to date, been largely overlooked by musicologists and performers alike. This is unfortunate, in view of its historical and artistic significance. It contains repertoire of a civic music ensemble associated with one of Germany's largest cities, which was spared the damages of the Thirty Years' War and was a thriving cultural center during most of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, of all the collections of instrumental ensemble music published in Germany during the first half of the seventeenth century, it is one of the most substantial and comprises a variety of genres, scorings, and styles. Finally, it documents an important stage in the development of the seventeenth-century instrumental ensemble idiom and helps to illustrate its stylistic diversity.

Some formal and stylistic features of Johann Schop's *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* appear quite old-fashioned compared to similar collections published in Germany during the 1630s and 1640s. Like the majority of German collections of this type, it contains a variety of genres, among them stylized dance forms such as pavans and galliards and other rather functional dances such as allemandes and courantes. It is apparent, however, that Schop's collection does not contain thematically related pavan-galliard pairs. There are only a few instances of key-related pieces that form sequences. Moreover, the fact that Schop's collection contains a very large number of single pavans (32 of 62 pieces) was quite unusual at a time when smaller and lighter dances such as ballets and courantes had become increasingly popular in Germany. There are two further aspects, however, that make the *Erster Teil* stand out among the collections of its time, particularly those in the Anglo-

German tradition: the virtual absence of an idiomatic string style and the variety of cleffings. (For an overview of the collection, see the table of contents in Table 1.)

**Table 1**  
 Contents of Johann Schop's *Erster Theil Newer Paduanen* (1633/1640) /  
 Use of Cleffings  
 x: low clefs (*chiavi naturali*); o: high clefs (*chiavette*); &: mixed

1. Padoana G à 3 x	23. Padoana g à 5 &	45. Courandt g à 5 &
2. Padoana G à 3 o	24. Padoana g à 5 x	46. Ballett d à 5 &
3. Galliard G à 3 x	25. Padoana F à 5 &	47. Allmand d à 5 &
4. Padoana g à 3 x	26. Padoana d à 5 &	48. Courandt d à 5 &
5. Padoana g à 3 x	27. Padoana a à 5 x	49. Ballett D à 4/5 o
6. Padoana d à 3 &	28. Padoana d/D à 5 x	50. Allmand D à 5 &
7. Galliard d à 3 &	29. Padoana D à 5 &	51. Allmand a à 5 &
8. Canzon C à 3 o	30. Padoana a à 5 &	52. Allmand a à 5 &
9. Padoana F à 4 x	31. Padoana A à 5 x	53. Allmand A à 5 &
10. Padoana F à 4 x	32. Galliard A à 5 o	54. Allmand A à 5 &
11. Padoana G à 4 x	33. Padoana C à 5 &	55. Courand A à 5 &
12. Allmand G à 4 &	34. Padoana c à 5 &	56. Padoana F à 6 x
13. Padoana g à 4 x	35. Padoana c à 5 &	57. Padoana g à 6 o
14. Padoana g à 4 &	[35a] Galliard c à 5 &	58. Padoana G à 6 o
15. Galliard g à 4 &	36. Intrada a à 5 o	59. Padoana a à 6 x
16. Padoana d à 4 &	37. Intrada a à 5 o	60. Padoana d à 6 o
17. Padoana d à 4 x	38. Allmand a à 5 o	cleffings:
18. Allmand d à 4 &	39. Courandt A à 5 o	low: 16,
[18a] Galliard d à 4 x	40. Intrada G à 5 o	high: 14
19. Canzon a à 4 o	41. Allmand g à 5 &	mixed: 32
20. Padoana G à 5 o	42. Allmand g à 5 &	
21. Padoana g à 5 &	43. Allmand g à 5 &	
22. Padoana g à 5 &	44. Allmand g à 5 &	

During the 1610s Thomas Simpson had begun to write ensemble music particularly suitable for violin consorts. His collection *Opus newer Paduanen* (Hamburg, 1617; see table of contents in Table 2)<sup>40</sup> shows many aspects of this violin style that was then rather modern in Germany: Simpson uses two equal and high-pitched treble parts that regularly cross and answer each other. They are also occasionally given “bursts of florid semiquavers,”<sup>41</sup> while the inner parts often move in angular lines, very well suitable to instruments of the violin family. All parts are rather high-lying and therefore notated in *chiavette*, a set of high clefs (mostly G2, G2, C2, C3, F3) that had been employed since the late sixteenth century to

indicate the use of high-pitched instruments (*stromenti acuti*), especially violins and cornetts.<sup>42</sup> Some pieces of the collection are in sharp keys (nos. 13–15, 18–22), which are particularly suitable for strings. This string style seems to reflect the performance practice of a string consort at the Bückeburg court, where Simpson was employed from 1613 to 1622. It was further explored in Simpson's collection *Taffel Consort* (Hamburg, 1621).<sup>43</sup> Collections by contemporary German composers such as Heinrich Utrecht (1624) and Andreas Hammerschmidt (1636, 1639, 1650) show similar tendencies toward a violinistic style and, significantly, they use *chiavette* almost exclusively.

**Table 2**  
Contents of Thomas Simpson's *Opus newer Paduanen* (1617) /  
Use of Cleffings

all pieces in high clefs

1. Paduana C à 5	8. Courante C à 5	16. Volta d à 5
2. Intrada C à 5	9. Allmande C à 5	17. Courante d à 5
3. Ricercar C à 5	10. Paduan d à 5	18. Ballett D à 5
4. Canzon C à 5	11. Galliard d à 5	19. Almanda A à 4/5
5. Courante C à 5	12. Intrada d à 5	20. Mascarada G à 5
6. Courante C à 5	13. Ballet D à 5	21. Mascarada G à 5
7. Volta C à 5	14. Volta D à 5	22. Pasameza G à 5
	15. Courante D à 5	

However, in his *Erster Theil*, the violinist Schop does not follow this trend; instead he employs in many pieces a diatonic, vocal style with equal treatment of all the parts, typical of older ensemble music. On the other hand, only a few pieces in the *Erster Theil* show signs of a particularly idiomatic style of violin writing. This feature agrees with the lack of any instrumentation in the *Erster Theil*; it is remarkable insofar as Schop was an accomplished violin player himself, as his highly virtuosic pieces for violin and bass amply show.

Moreover, Schop employs a variety of clef systems, namely low clefs (*chiavi naturali*, mostly C1, C1, C3, C4, F4), *chiavette*, and various combinations of the two. The use of low clefs appears particularly old-fashioned for music published in the 1630s, since they represent the “standard notation of [sixteenth-century] vocal ... polyphony”<sup>44</sup> and also imply the use of instruments with a low, vocal range (*stromenti choristi*), especially recorders and viols. In this respect the *Erster Theil* is similar to much older collections of ensemble music, such as Anthony Holborne's *Pavans, Galliards and Almains* (London, 1599).<sup>45</sup>

It seems possible to conclude that the use of various clef systems in the *Erster Theil* not only reflects the variety of styles and genres,<sup>46</sup> but also implies the use of different sets of low- and high-pitched instruments. It is very likely that Schop's ensemble music was designed for the variable combinations in which the *Ratsmusik* could perform, and that the various

cleffings reflect the wind and string ensembles for which the music was intended. Since a few pieces in the *Erster Theil* show distinct characteristics of a string style, it can be argued that the remaining majority were intended for either winds or strings. The following conclusions can be drawn with respect to the use of instruments, combining both the evidence of style and of cleffing:

1) Only a few pieces in the collection show distinctive idiomatic string writing, one example being *Allmand 49 à 4*; the key (D), the cleffing (*chiavette*) and the high range of the two upper parts (in unison) suggest that this piece was specifically written for a violin band. With respect to layout, key, and melody, it resembles *Almanda 19* in Simpson's highly violinistic *Opus*. Schop's *Paduana 20* is one of the few five-part pieces written in *chiavette*. In the beginning of the piece, Schop quotes the third strain of Dowland's *John Langton's Pavan* (a very popular piece from the Anglo-German string repertoire) in its first strain, and concludes, in a rather violinistic vein, with rising scales in sixteenth notes.

2) Many of Schop's pieces in low and mixed clefs, especially the three-, four- and five-part pavans, exhibit a neutral, vocal style of part-writing and a dense contrapuntal texture not unlike a motet or a madrigal, a style that agrees well with their vocal cleffing (see Example 1b.) The low tessitura of many four- and five-part paduanas and their stylistic similarity to English consort music such as Holborne's *Pavans, Galliards, Almains* and Dowland's *Lachrimae* (1604) suggests a similar "English" instrumentation. Holborne's collection is scored for "Viols, Violins, and other Muscall Winde Instruments," and a number of Schop's four- and five-part pieces in *chiavi naturali* and mixed clefs seem very well-suited to the sonorities of *instrumenti choristi*, such as recorders and viols.<sup>47</sup> Schop's *Paduana 33* shows how closely he follows English models: he quotes the first two measures of Holborne's *Paradizo* in the outer voices (see Example 1a).

The musical score consists of five staves, each representing a different voice: Cantus (soprano), Quintus ( alto), Altus (tenor), Tenor (bass), and Bassus (double bass). The music is in common time (indicated by 'C') and key signature of C major (indicated by a single sharp sign). The notation uses standard musical symbols like quarter notes, eighth notes, and sixteenth notes. Measure 1: Cantus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Quintus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Altus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Tenor: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Bassus: rest. Measure 2: Cantus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Quintus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Altus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Tenor: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Bassus: rest. Measure 3: Cantus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Quintus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Altus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Tenor: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Bassus: rest. Measure 4: Cantus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Quintus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Altus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Tenor: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Bassus: rest. Measure 5: Cantus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Quintus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Altus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Tenor: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Bassus: rest. Measure 6: Cantus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Quintus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Altus: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Tenor: B, A, G, F, E, D, C; Bassus: rest.

### Example 1a

Anthony Holborne, 17. [Pavan] *Paradizo* (1599), mm. 1-6.

The musical score for Johann Schop's Paduana 33 (1633/40) shows five staves of music. The staves are labeled from top to bottom: Cantus, Quinta Vox, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in common time. The Cantus staff uses a G-clef, the Quinta Vox staff uses an F-clef, the Altus staff uses a C-clef, the Tenor staff uses a C-clef, and the Bassus staff uses a bass F-clef. The key signature varies across the staves, with some showing one sharp and others showing no sharps or flats. The notation includes eighth and sixteenth notes, slurs, and rests.

**Example 1b**  
Johann Schop, Paduana 33 (1633/40), mm. 1-8.

Generally, these pieces are well suited for recorders on the top parts and a curtal on the lowest part, following *Ratsmusik* performance practice. The upper parts are so low they can easily be played on G (alto) recorders. They could also be performed on cornets and trombones, in which case they are perhaps more effective when transposed a third or a fourth higher.

3) Some other pieces, mostly in mixed and high clefs, show a more homophonic style of part-writing, among them some five- and six-part pavans and some other five-part dances, especially intradas. Schop's intradas are in the tradition of the genre cultivated by German composers such as Valentin Haussmann, Christoph Demantius, and the Italian Alessandro Orologio, with his influential collection *Intradae ... Quinque & sex vocibus* (Helmstedt, 1597). Bernard Thomas comments on Orologio's intradas: "With their frequent use of repeated notes and narrow ranges they are especially suitable for wind instruments.... [They] are admirably suited to an ensemble of three cornets and two trombones, and indeed it is hard to imagine them being as effective on any other instruments."<sup>48</sup> The same can be said of Schop's intradas (see Example 2), except that the low tessitura of the altus and tenor parts suggests an ensemble of two cornets and three trombones.

The musical score displays two systems of five staves each, representing a six-part ensemble. The voices are: Cantus, Quinta Vox, Altus, Tenor, and Bassus. The music is in common time. The first system begins with a forte dynamic, featuring eighth-note patterns. The second system begins with a piano dynamic, featuring eighth-note patterns. The notation includes note heads, stems, and bar lines.

**Example 2**  
Johann Schop, Intrada 40 (1633/40), mm. 1-9.

Further candidates for an ensemble of cornets and trombones are Schop's six-part pavans. They move in a different stylistic world from the pavans in three, four, and five parts, since their texture is much less polyphonic and shows more emphasis on contrast and variety than on motivic homogeneity. Schop often juxtaposes contrasting sections, such as a slow, intrada-like opening (see Example 3a) followed by a section with energetic canzona-like rhythms (see Example 3b), as in Venetian ensemble music of the time.

The top parts sometimes display florid passage work or move in smooth parallel thirds and sixths. Moreover, Schop frequently creates antiphonal effects by treating the three upper and the three lower voices as two different choirs, resembling the Venetian polychoral style.

This variety of styles and cleffings, as well as the possibility of using various wind and string instruments, reflects the diversity of public and private occasions at which the *Ratsmusik* performed in the city. The musicians played during the reception of important foreign—occasionally even royal—visitors. As is documented for other cities of the

A musical score for six voices: Cantus, Quinta Vox, Altus, Tenor, Sexta Vox, and Bassus. The music is in common time and C major. The voices are arranged vertically from top to bottom: Cantus, Quinta Vox, Altus, Tenor, Sexta Vox, and Bassus. The score consists of five measures of music.

**Example 3a**

Johann Schop, Paduana 58 (1633/40), mm. 1-5.

A musical score for six voices: Cantus, Quinta Vox, Altus, Tenor, Sexta Vox, and Bassus. The music is in common time and C major. The voices are arranged vertically from top to bottom: Cantus, Quinta Vox, Altus, Tenor, Sexta Vox, and Bassus. The score consists of ten measures of music.

**Example 3b**

Johann Schop, Paduana 58 (1633/40), mm. 12-15.

Hanseatic League, they were most likely involved in public ceremonies and occasions such as public announcements of new laws or the visitation of the city's boundaries.<sup>49</sup> These occasions suggest open-air performances and therefore the use of loud wind instruments such as cornets and trombones. The city musicians also played at private weddings, an important source of additional income for them. Schop's collection would have provided a welcome repertoire for civic wedding festivities, especially for *Tafelmusik* on softer instruments such as recorders and viols, and dance music, where violins would have been used.<sup>50</sup>

It seems obvious that Schop's collection was intended to supply the Hamburg musicians with a highly flexible repertoire that could suit a variety of occasions in the city's musical life and could be performed on both winds and strings, depending on the occasion and on the forces available. There is also ample evidence that Schop's collection enjoyed a wide circulation outside Hamburg and was particularly popular with civic wind ensembles.<sup>51</sup> Generally speaking, the *Erster Theil* represents an important document for the performance practices of civic music ensembles in Germany, typical of the first half of the seventeenth century.

### Nicolaus Bleyer's *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* (1642)

The same can be said of Nicolaus Bleyer's collection *Erster Theil Newer Pavanen, Galliarden, Canzonien, Syfonien, Balletten, Volten, Couranten und Sarabanden, mit 5. Stimmen / nebenst einem Basso continuo* (Leipzig, 1642) ("First part of new pavans ... in five parts, with an additional Basso continuo.") As in Schop's *Erster Theil*, there is no specific instrumentation given on the title page or elsewhere in the music. And yet Bleyer's collection is in many respects very different from Schop's.

Since Bleyer's collection has, to my knowledge, never been surveyed in detail, I shall begin with an account of its source situation and its contents. Unlike Schop's *Erster Theil*, Bleyer's collection survives incomplete;<sup>52</sup> of the (presumably) six parts, only the cantus secundus, tenor, and basso continuo parts survive, while the cantus primus, altus, and bassus parts are missing. There is, however, a single cantus (primus) partbook<sup>53</sup> of another Bleyer print, the *Erster Theil Newer Paduanen, Galliarden, Balletten, Mascaraden und Couranten, mit 5. Stimmen* (Hamburg, 1628). According to Werner Braun, this print is the remainder of a project that never materialized. This was probably because Bleyer's printer Lorenz Pfeiffer went out of business in 1628 and Bleyer had to wait another fourteen years to publish his first collection of ensemble music (doubtless due to economic struggle during the Thirty Years' War).<sup>54</sup> The 1628 cantus partbook contains only six pieces: two pavans, one galliard, two courants, and one ballet. I would like to bring to the attention of fellow scholars the fact that four of these dances reappeared in the 1642 collection, namely a pavan (1628: no. 2; 1642: no. 12), a galliard (1628: no. 3, 1642: no. 13), a courante (1628: no. 4, 1642: no. 14) (all in C major) and a ballet (1628: no. 6, 1642: no. 38) (D major). These four pieces (missing only the altus and the bassus parts<sup>55</sup>) give some insight into Bleyer's composition techniques, allowing us to surmise how the other pieces from the 1642 collection might be reconstructed.

This collection contains 43 pieces: eight pavans, six galliards, two canzonas, three syfonias, nine ballets, two voltas, ten courants, and three sarabands. Unlike the pieces in Schop's collection, they are organized by key, thus forming sequences of key-related and, in some cases (as far as can be judged from the surviving material), thematically related pieces. The pavans are usually followed by a galliard that has very similar thematic material in triple meter. Sometimes the variation technique is extended to the pieces that follow them, usually ballets and courants. In addition, some groups seem to have no thematic

relations at all and consist of dances of the same genre. Bleyer's collection contains the following sequences or suites (underlined pieces are thematically related<sup>56</sup>):

- Pavan – Galliard – Ballett – Courant (d minor)
- Pavan – Galliard – Ballett (G major)
- Pavan / Pavan – Galliard – Courant (G major)
- Pavan – Galliard – Courant (C major)
- Caxxon – Ballett – Courant – Volta (F major)
- Pavan – Caxxon – Synfonia – Ballett – Courant – Ballett – Courant (g minor)
- Synfonia – Synfonia – Courant / Pavan – Galliard – Ballett – Courant (d minor)
- Pavan – Galliard – Ballett – Volta – Courant (a minor)
- Ballett – Ballett – Courant (D major)
- Saraband – Saraband – Saraband (d minor)

Although Bleyer's collection, like Schop's, lacks specific instrumentation, the two differ considerably in style. Judging from the surviving parts, Bleyer does not aim for the dense contrapuntal texture and neutral part-writing that Schop employs in many of his pieces, but rather focuses on a display of virtuosity in the upper parts. On the other hand, the tenor and basso continuo parts are remarkably simple. They seem to serve harmonic purposes primarily and only rarely interact thematically with the upper voices.

In many respects, Bleyer's style seems closely modeled on Simpson's. In Simpson's collections of 1617 and 1621, the treatment of the two upper voices is significant: they often overlap, forming an intricate dialogue with sometimes florid passage work of sixteenth notes. A good example of this style is *Paduan* no. 5 in C (1621), a piece that is attributed to Dowland but more likely is an arrangement—or even original composition—by a Bückeburg musician (Example 4a).<sup>57</sup> It begins in the typical manner of an English pavan with a slow imitative section (using a motif related to Dowland's famous tear motif), but gives way to a highly virtuosic dialogue between the two top parts in the second and third strains.

Bleyer's pavan no. 12 (1642) resembles this model (Example 4b). It starts with a similar motif (rising and falling scale) and soon leads to a C-major cadence, though the part-writing here is less complex than in the older piece.

Cantus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

**Example 4a**

John Dowland (attr.), Paduan 5 (1621), mm. 1-4.

Cantus [primus] (1628)

Cantus secundus (1642)

[Altus]

Tenor (1642)

[Bassus]

Basso continuo (1642)

5

Treble

Alto

Bass

Bassoon

Double Bass

**Example 4b**

Nicolaus Bleyer, Pavane 12 (1642), mm. 1-8.

In terms of virtuosity, Bleyer goes a step further than Simpson. He extends the florid passage-work and the lively dialogues between the two top parts to all three strains of the pavan, and reduces the element of contrapuntal complexity even more, giving the lower parts only a supportive harmonic function. Some of the florid passages in Bleyer 1642 (see Example 5b) are strikingly similar to those in Simpson 1617 and 1621 (see Example 5a).

Cantus

Quintus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

### Example 5a

Thomas Simpson, Canzon 4 (1617), mm. 36-39.

Cantus

Quintus

Altus

Tenor

Bassus

### Example 5b

Nicolaus Bleyer, Pavan 12 (1642), mm. 41-45.

It is interesting to see that many of Bleyer's lighter dances, such as the ballet and the courante, strongly resemble the style of the *Taffel-Consort*. The courantes are in black notation; they make less use of hemiolas than of short-long rhythms typical of the English jig repertoire.<sup>58</sup> Some of Bleyer's ballets have melodies that resemble those of English masque tunes. *Taffel-Consort* contains some pieces by German musicians called *Mascharada* or *Ballet* that do not make use of existing English tunes, but rather are "newly composed pieces written in the style of English masque music."<sup>59</sup> In 1621 Bleyer had contributed a

*Mascharada* to Simpson's collection and in 1642 he continued writing in this style, using similar melodic phrases.

Considering these stylistic similarities of Bleyer's music and Simpson's music, can it be assumed that Bleyer's 1642 collection was also primarily intended for a violin band? In fact, there are some musical aspects, as well as other circumstantial evidence, suggesting that, besides strings, it was also, possibly even primarily, intended for an ensemble of cornetts and trombones.

As for the aforementioned circumstantial evidence, Bleyer calls himself in his preface a "cornett player and musician [i.e., composer] employed by the noble, honorable, and most wise council of Lübeck."<sup>60</sup> It can be assumed that the cornett was his primary instrument during his long appointment (1621-58) in Lübeck. Both of the dedicatory poems mention wind instruments as a particular part of Bleyer's musicianship. The first poem (in Latin) speaks of singing, wind instruments (*tibiis & buccinis*), and string instruments as fields of his artistic talent. The second poem (in German) mentions Bleyer's playing of the cornett and the violin several times; significantly, it is by a wind player, the "field-trumpeter and musician Gabriel Voigtlander."<sup>61</sup>

Moreover, there are some musical features of this collection that indicate that Bleyer intended, or even preferred, the use of wind instruments. In fact, Bleyer's collection is not written in *chiavette* as is most of Simpson 1617, but rather in a mixture of high and low clefs: the two upper parts are in G2, the tenor is in C4, and the basso continuo is in F4 clef. In this respect, Bleyer's pieces resemble the cleffing of a five-part sonata (specifically scored for two cornetts and three trombones) by Bleyer's and Schop's contemporary and friend, the Stralsund organist Johann Vierdanck (ca.1605-46).<sup>62</sup> Particularly notable is the low range of both the tenor and the continuo parts in Bleyer 1642. I assume that the lost altus part was also much below the high cantus secundus. With respect to this particular layout as well as the very simple lines of the tenor and bassus parts, Bleyer's pieces differ considerably from Simpson's string style. Moreover, only a few pieces are in the typical 'string key,' D major. All these features point to the performance of Bleyer's music by an ensemble of cornetts and trombones.

Bleyer's ensemble music invites comparison to the works of his younger contemporary Vierdanck. Vierdanck's three-part *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* (Rostock, 1641) shows the common practice of using wind and string ensembles as alternative options, also typical of Bleyer's and Schop's music: Vierdanck's *Erster Theil* is scored for two violins and basso continuo, but the composer states in its preface that two cornetts (*Cornettini, oder QuartZincken*) can be used instead of violins and a bassoon (*Fagott*) may be substituted for the string bass.

It is Vierdanck's second collection of ensemble music, the *Ander Theil / Darinnen begriffen etliche Capricci, Canzoni und Sonaten* (Rostock, 1641), that exhibits the most modern and forward-looking tendencies in his work, by means of a virtuoso, concerted style, Italian genres that had been newly introduced to Germany (such as sonatas, canzonas, and capriccios), and idiomatic writing for specific instruments. This is one of the earliest and most significant instances in north German ensemble music where the flexible alternative

wind/string scoring, typical of the older repertoire, gives way to more specific scorings that show a stronger awareness of individual instrumental colors. Many pieces in the collection are scored particularly for winds, such as no. 26, a *Capriccio mit 3. Cornetten und grossen Fagott*; nos. 27 and 28, Sonatas with 3 *Tromboni und einem Cornet*; and no. 30, a Canzon for two recorders (*Flautini*) and two bassoons. Vierdanck's work also illustrates the gradual replacement of the Anglo-German repertoire (with its preference for pavans and galliards) with Italian genres and styles, particularly the sonata, in northern Germany during the 1630s and 1640s.

Vierdanck dedicated his *Ander Theil* to his fellow musicians and “dear friends” (*werthe Freunde*) Georg Friedrich Hoyoul (a cornett player employed at the Danish court), Nicolaus Bleyer, and Johann Schop. This dedication not only sheds an interesting light on the eminent positions that Schop and Bleyer had as composers and performers during their lifetimes, but also indicates the close personal and artistic collaboration that must have existed between these two men during much of their professional careers.

Both Schop and Bleyer shared a common artistic background. As I have shown, both were shaped by institutions of civic music in northern Germany during the first decades of the seventeenth century, and both were influenced by English instrumental ensemble music, though they chose different points of departure. In his *Erster Theil*, Schop adhered largely to the older type of polyphonic ensemble music, typical of Holborne and Dowland. In contrast, Bleyer was influenced primarily by Simpson's violinistic ensemble style. It is, however, revealing to see the way in which both composers adopted their Anglicized styles to the performance conditions in Hamburg and Lübeck, particularly to the performance practices of the local instrumental ensembles with which they worked. As revealed in their music as well as ample archival evidence, wind instruments had continued to be important in this civic context, despite the growing importance of strings during the beginning of the seventeenth century. In more general terms, the examination of Schop's and Bleyer's music offers important insights into the fascinating variety of repertoires, styles, and performance practices of seventeenth-century civic music ensembles in northern Germany.

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, Armin Brinzing, *Studien zur instrumentalen Ensemblemusik im deutschsprachigen Raum des 16. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); and Keith Polk, *German Instrumental Music of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> As Peter Holman points out, *Violen* is a generic term that should be translated as “strings” and means instruments from either the violin or the viola da gamba families, at least at the beginning of the seventeenth century. See Peter Holman, *Dowland: Lachrimae (1604)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> For instance, Bernhard Engelke recounts, in his study of music at the Gottorf court, the gradual disappearance of wind players as well as the growing importance of strings in the court music. He attributes both of these developments to the influence (he calls it, quite dramatically, “invasion”) of English string players. He claims that when Brade was *Kapellmeister* at Gottorf, from 1622-25, the Gottorf court instrumentalists played string instruments exclusively. See Bernhard Engelke, *Musik und Musiker am Gottorfer Hofe* (Breslau: Hirt, 1930), 11-12, 47.

<sup>5</sup> See Andreas Moser, “Johann Schop als Violinkomponist,” *Festschrift Hermann Kretzschmar* (Leipzig, 1918): 92-95.

<sup>6</sup> For a modern edition of these pieces, see Rudi A. Rasch, ed., ‘*t Uitnement Kabinet*, vol. 8, *Werken voor viool en bas* (Amsterdam: Groen, 1978).

<sup>7</sup> Schop’s collection is available in a modern critical edition: Johann Schop, *Erster Theil newer Paduanen*, ed. Arne Spohr (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2003).

<sup>8</sup> Werner Braun, *Britannia abundans* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1977), 400-01.

<sup>9</sup> Johann Hennings, Wilhelm Stahl, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks*, vol. 1: *Weltliche Musik* (Kassel, Basel: Bärenreiter, 1951), 81. Hennings claims that Brade was Bleyer’s teacher at Gottorf, but does not give any evidence for this. There was, however, a very close relationship between the Brade and Bleyer families, as a hitherto unknown document in the Lübeck Stadtarchiv suggests. According to an entry in the *Marien-Wochenbuch*, dated 26 February 1626, Bleyer arranged and paid for the burial of William Brade’s wife in St. Katharinen, Lübeck.

<sup>10</sup> Braun, *Britannia abundans*, 62-64. Both musicians traveled to Dresden in 1616 to perform during the reception of the Emperor at the Saxon court. In addition, the two jointly received a house as a present from their employer, Count Ernst III of Holstein-Schaumburg. See Agatha Kobuch, “Neue Sagittariana im Staatsarchiv Dresden: Ermittlung unbekannter Quellen über den kursächsischen Hofkapellmeister Heinrich Schütz,” *Jahrbuch Regionalgeschichte* 13 (Weimar, 1986): 87; and Astrid Laakmann, “...Nur allein aus Liebe zur Musica...”: *Die Bückerburger Hofmusik zur Zeit des Grafen Ernst III. zu Holstein-Schaumburg als Beispiel höfischer Musikpflege im Gebiet der ‘Weserrenaissance’* (Münster: LIT, 2000), 184-86, 332-34.

<sup>11</sup> Surviving in a manuscript (Mus. Ms. 114), formerly in Breslau, Stadtbibliothek, now in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek. See Brian Brooks, “Étienne Nau, Breslau 114 and the early 17th-century solo violin fantasia,” *Early Music* 32 (2004): 52, 68.

<sup>12</sup> See Albert Cohn, *Shakespeare in Germany* (London, 1865), xxv.

<sup>13</sup> There is, however, some evidence that Simpson also composed vocal music. A set of untitled four-part ‘songs’ (of which only an instrumental bass part survives) is preserved in the Kent County Archives Office, MS U951/Z.23. Simpson apparently wrote these pieces before he left England in the early 1600s. See Peter Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 256. Moreover, the 1638 music inventory of the Kassel Hofkapelle

lists, among other vocal music, an entry for a “Sicut Christus excitatus est à 10 voc. Thomas Simson,” which most likely refers to a ten-part motet by Simpson, now lost. See Ernst Zulauf, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Landgräflich-Hessischen Hofkapelle zu Cassel bis auf die Zeit Moritz des Gelehrten* (Kassel: Döll, 1902), 129.

<sup>14</sup> See Holman, *Four and Twenty Fiddlers*, 253.

<sup>15</sup> Presumably a representation of a string instrument in a deliberately archaic style.

<sup>16</sup> For the situation in Hamburg, see Liselotte Krüger, *Die Hamburgische Musikorganisation im 17. Jahrhundert*, 2nd edn. (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1981), 122. The performance on string instruments (*gigen*) by a consort of four players is recorded in Hamburg as early as 1538; however, these string players seem only have been temporarily (*ein tydtlang*) employed. See Staatsarchiv Hamburg, Familie Gaedechens, O.C. Gaedechens C 41, Manuscript zum ungedruckten Lexikon der Tonkünstler in Hamburg, “Ratsmusikanten,” p. 9.

<sup>17</sup> His and Bleyer's biographies follow this pattern, typical of civic musicians of their time: 1) Training within the organization of one's native city, 2) years abroad, for the purpose of gathering experience, 3) return to one's native city, having a post for the rest of one's life. See *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd edn., ed. Stanley Sadie and John Tyrrell (London: Macmillan, 2001), s.v. “*Stadtpfeifer*,” by Heinrich W. Schwab. For an overview of Schop's biography, see Arne Spohr, “Introduction” to Johann Schop, *Erster Theil newer Paduanen*, ix.

<sup>18</sup> See Krüger, *Musikorganisation*, 184–224.

<sup>19</sup> The city musicians in Hamburg received their regular salary four times a year: on Easter, the feast of St. John the Baptist ('Johannis'), St. Michael's day ('Michaelis') and Christmas.

<sup>20</sup> Friedrich Chrysander, “Geschichte der Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttelschen Capelle und Oper vom 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert,” in *Jahrbuch für musikalische Wissenschaft* 1 (Leipzig, 1863; reprint, Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1966): 155.

<sup>21</sup> During his 44 years of service, he was much in demand as a performer (he was known as one of northern Europe's leading violin players), teacher, and composer. Together with other notable Hamburg musicians such as Hieronymus Praetorius, Thomas Selle, Heinrich Scheidemann, and Jacob Praetorius the younger, he helped to establish Hamburg's fame as one of the musical centers of seventeenth-century Europe.

<sup>22</sup> See Hennings, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks*, 82.

<sup>23</sup> Not 1617, as is often claimed. See a Bückeburg document of appointment printed in Laakmann, “...Nur allein aus Liebe zur Musica ...,” 304.

<sup>24</sup> The manuscript of his only surviving piece for violin and bass, *Englisch Mars*, has the heading *Nicolai Bleyers bey dem H. V. von Schaumburg violista* (“violinist of the Count of Schaumburg” [Ernst III]); see Brooks, “Étienne Nau,” 52.

<sup>25</sup> Hennings, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks*, 83.

<sup>26</sup> See Krüger, *Musikorganisation*, 209–10.

<sup>27</sup> Clemens Meyer, *Geschichte der Mecklenburg-Schweriner Hofkapelle* (Schwerin: David, 1913), 26–27.

<sup>28</sup> Hennings, *Musikgeschichte*, 91. According to his application, Grecke had traveled to England (among other places) to study the viola da gamba there (see Braun, *Britannia abundans*, 241), so it is not surprising that there are manuscript viola da gamba duets by him preserved in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

<sup>29</sup> The same situation was the case in Lübeck; see Hennings, *Musikgeschichte Lübecks*, 90.

<sup>30</sup> Unfortunately, many documents relating to the Hamburg *Ratmusik* have been lost, mostly during the great fire that devastated Hamburg in 1842.

<sup>31</sup> The original source reads, “2 Cornettisten, die zugleich 2 Violinen, vnd 2 Floiten bey sich haben

vnd pro variatione gebrauchen müssen. 1 Alt=Posauner, der auch zugleich eine Viole, vnd Floite bey sich haben vnd pro variatjone gebrauchen muß. 1 Tenor=Posauner, der auch zur noht einen Basz blasen, eine Tenor=Geige vnd Floite bey sich haben vnd pro variatione gebrauchen mus. 1 Basz=Geiger, der auch zugleich eine Chorist=Fagott/Dulcian vnd Quart=Posaun bey sich haben vnd pro variatione gebrauchen muß.” Quoted after Jürgen Neubacher, “Thomas Selle als Organisator der Kirchenmusik in Hamburg,” *Auskunft* 19 (1999): 293.

<sup>32</sup> The *Rollbrüder* had the license to play at public or private occasions in the city and replaced the *Ratmusiker* whenever necessary. Unlike the *Ratmusiker*, however, they did not receive a regular salary from the city. See Krüger, *Musikorganisation*, 186-87.

<sup>33</sup> The orginal source reads, “1. Hinrich Crügern, mit der laute. 2. Jacob Holschenmachern, mit der laute, Zincken, Floit, vnd Violin. 3. Evert Gärtnern, mit der laute, vnd TenorGeige. 4. Johan Spönmannen, mit der Violin, Cornett, vnd Floite. 5. Christian Lehman, mit der laute vnd Violin” (quoted after Neubacher, “Selle,” 293).

<sup>34</sup> It is likely that the *Ratmusiker* played viols as well, since some of Selle’s church works are scored for five violas da gamba.

<sup>35</sup> Holman, *Lachrimae*, 15.

<sup>36</sup> The original source reads, “Auch müssen zu S. Peter zum wenigsten noch 5 oder 6 gute Cornett; 5 oder 6 gute Floiten; eine ChoristFagott oder Dulcian vnd 2 Trommeten, die just in die Orgel gerichtet sein, bey die Kirche geschafft werden, denn wenn man in hohen Festen ... etwas redliches musiciren soll, so mangelts allzeit an diesen berührten jnstrumenten....” (quoted after Neubacher, “Selle,” 294).

<sup>37</sup> See, for instance, Carl Stiehl, *Zur Geschichte der Instrumentalmusik in Lübeck* (Lübeck, 1885), 22.

<sup>38</sup> This collection survives incomplete.

<sup>39</sup> This is further suggested by Schop’s dedications. Both collections are dedicated to the main political institutions of the city; the *Erster Theil* is dedicated to the mayors and the city council, and the *Ander Theil* to the *Bürgerschaft*, the assembly of the free citizens of Hamburg. Moreover, in 1633, the year of the first publication of the *Erster Theil*, Schop’s faithful service was rewarded by a significant increase in salary from his employers, a reward that was apparently intended to prevent Christian IV from enticing Schop to his court. In the same year, Schop received from the city an additional payment as reward for his dedication.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Simpson, *Opus newer Paduanen*, ed. Bernard Thomas (London: London Pro Musica Edition, 1997).

<sup>41</sup> Peter Holman, booklet text for CD, “An Englishman Abroad: Consort Music composed, arranged, and collected by Thomas Simpson (1582-?1628),” Hyperion (CDA66435).

<sup>42</sup> See Peter van Heyghen, “The Recorder in Italian Music, 1600-1670,” in *The Recorder in the Seventeenth Century: Proceedings of the International Recorder Symposium, Utrecht 1993*, ed. David Lasocki (Utrecht: STIMU, 1995), 24-25.

<sup>43</sup> Thomas Simpson, *Taffel-Consort*, ed. Bernard Thomas (London: London Pro Musica Edition, 1988).

<sup>44</sup> van Heyghen, “Recorder,” 19.

<sup>45</sup> Anthony Holborne, *Pavans, Galliards, Almains*, ed. Bernard Thomas (London: London Pro Musica Edition, 1980).

<sup>46</sup> Among Schop’s pieces in low and mixed clefs are many pavans, written in a contrapuntal style strongly resembling pieces by the English composers Holborne and Dowland. Other pieces in mixed clefs, especially his five-part allemandes and ballets, resemble English masque dances, a genre that had become known in Germany particularly through William Brade’s collection *Newe Auferlesene Liebliche Branden* (Hamburg, 1617). To complete the picture, the few intradas and canzonas in the

collection exhibit a more Italianate style, with a tendency toward a trio-sonata texture, and (especially in some of the six-part pavans) polychoral effects. Significantly, they are in high clefs, quite suitable for *stromenti acuti*.

<sup>47</sup> See van Heyghen, “Recorder,” 20-22.

<sup>48</sup> Alexander Orologio, *Six Intradas / Sechs Intraden* (1597), ed. Bernard Thomas (London: London Pro Musica Edition, 1978).

<sup>49</sup> See Heinrich W. Schwab, “Zur Repräsentanz der Städte durch ihre Musiker,” in Julia-K. Büthe and Thomas Riis, eds., *Studien zur Geschichte des Ostseeraumes II: Die Städte als Vermittler von Kultur 1240-1720* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1997), 104-05.

<sup>50</sup> See Holman, *Lachrimae*, 15ff.

<sup>51</sup> According to an inventory of 1653, the Braunschweig *Stadtpfeifer* Johann Niebuhr owned Johann Schop’s collection, in addition to collections by Bleyer, Hammerschmidt, Johann Vierdanck, and Gregor Zuber. See Werner Greve, *Braunschweiger Stadtmusikanten: Geschichte eines Berufsstandes. 1227-1828* (Hildesheim: Olms, 1991), 205-06. One of the Zürich *collegia musica*, possibly the *Gesellschaft zum Musiksaal*, owned the 1640 partbooks of Schop’s *Erster Theil*. This collegium had purchased a set of pipes or recorders in 1642. Schop’s music was even played in rural places. The surviving cantus, tenor, and bassus partbooks of the first (1633) edition of Schop’s music once belonged to the repertoire of a church parish in Udestedt near Erfurt, where it was played by the *Adjuvantenchor* (amateur musicians from the village who performed music at church services), and they possibly played this kind of instrumental music at their social gatherings for their own practice and enjoyment. It is quite likely that they used wind and string instruments for the performance of Schop’s music, since much other instrumental music from their surviving repertoire features the use of cornets and trombones (many pieces from Andreas Hammerschmidt’s *Dritter Theil newer Paduanen* [1650] are scored this way) and recorders (there is a sonata for four *flautini* by the Lübeck town musician Gregor Zuber in his *Erster Theil newer Paduanen* of 1649). For this Udestedt repertoire see the forthcoming study by Steffen Voss, *Die Musiksammlung des Pfarrarchivs Udestedt bei Erfurt. Quellenuntersuchungen zur Musikkultur Thüringens im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*.

<sup>52</sup> The tenor and basso continuo part are in Kassel, Murhardsche Bibliothek (Sign. 4° Mus. 145a) and the cantus secundus part is in Brandenburg, Kirchenbibliothek St. Katharinen (Sign. K:M 2005.)

<sup>53</sup> Staatsarchiv Oldenburg, Best. 20-6 D, Nr. 17.

<sup>54</sup> See Werner Braun, “Musik am Hofe des Grafen Anton Günther von Oldenburg (1603-1667),” *Oldenburger Balkenschild* 18-21 (1963): 10-12.

<sup>55</sup> It is most probable that the ‘bassus’ part is virtually identical with the ‘basso continuo’ part, so that in the case of these four pieces only the altus part needs to be reconstructed. The author is at present preparing an edition of these four pieces.

<sup>56</sup> Without having the missing partbooks, it is of course difficult to reach definite conclusions here.

<sup>57</sup> See Bernard Thomas, “Introduction” to *Thomas Simpson, Taffel-Consort* (1621) (London: London Pro Musica Edition, 1988), viii.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., vi.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., v.

<sup>60</sup> “Nicolaus Bleyer / Eines Edlen / Ehrenvesten / Hochweisen Raths der Stadt Lübeck bestallter Cornetist und Musicus.”

<sup>61</sup> “Gabriel Voigländer / Feld-Trompeter und Musicus.”

<sup>62</sup> The XXXI. Sonata à 5. worin die Melodie des Liedes: *Als ich einmahl Lust bekam / etc. enthalten / mit drey Tromboni vnd zwey Cornetten*, from his collection *Ander Theil/Darinnen begriffen etliche Capricci, Canzoni und Sonaten* (Rostock, 1641).

