

Searching fantasy: Froberger's fantasias and ricercars four centuries on¹

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'Obscure, profound it was, and nebulous'²

It is more than a little surprising, given Johann Jacob Froberger's significance in the written history of music, how little of his music is regularly played or known today. Traditionally he is viewed as the most important German seventeenth-century keyboard composer, pre-eminent alongside Frescobaldi and Sweelinck, the 'Father' of the Baroque keyboard suite. He was celebrated in his own day and his reputation and works were considered important enough to be researched and preserved by following generations. Today the physical notes of his music are readily available in facsimile and modern 'complete' editions (see Table 1) and the identification of several new sources of his music since the 1960s, one of which is an autograph with 13 otherwise unknown pieces, have generated renewed interest and discussion.³ Nonetheless, Froberger's music is still represented in concert and recording only by the same handful of more 'popular' pieces which have graced recital programmes and teaching curricula for at least the last 70 years. These few pieces, chosen for their exceptional rather than their representative qualities, leave the majority of his music in peripheral limbo. The exclusion of the less

Table 1
List of modern editions and facsimile publications of Froberger’s works.

Abbreviation	Description
<i>Adler</i>	<i>Johann Jakob Froberger, Orgel- und Klavierwerke</i> , [Parts I, II and III] ed. Guido Adler, <i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</i> IV/1:8, VI/2:13, X/2: 21 (Vienna: Artaria, 1897, 1899, 1903; reprint ed., Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1959).
<i>Dover</i>	<i>Organ Works: Johann Jakob Froberger</i> (New York: Dover, 1994). A reproduction of selections of <i>Adler</i> Part I (IV/1:8) and Part III.(X/2–21).
<i>Gustafson</i>	<i>The Bauyn Manuscript</i> , ed. Bruce Gustafson (New York: Broude Trust, 2015).
<i>Hill</i>	<i>Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Mus. Hss. 16560, 18706, and 18707(Froberger autographs)</i> and <i>Johann Jacob Froberger, Diverse... partite, 2 parts (Mainz, Bourgeat, 1693, 1696); 10 Suites de Clavessin (Amsterdam, Mortier, n.d.)</i> , ed. Robert Hill (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), vols. 3 and 4 in <i>17th-Century Keyboard Music: Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque</i> , general ed. Alexander Silbiger. Facsimile.
<i>Rampe</i>	<i>Johann Jacob Froberger, Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke: Clavier- und Orgelwerke</i> , ed. Siegbert Rampe (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1993–2016); vols. 1–7.
<i>Rasch</i>	<i>Vingt et une suites pour le clavecin de Johann Jacob Froberger et d'autres auteurs</i> , ed. Rudolf Rasch, <i>Convivium Musicum</i> 5 (Stuttgart: Carus, 2000).
<i>Roberday</i>	<i>François Roberday: Fugues et caprices pour orgue</i> , ed. Jean Ferrard, <i>Le Pupitre</i> 44 (Paris: Heugel, 1972).
<i>Schott</i>	<i>J.J. Froberger: Œuvres complètes pour clavecin</i> , ed. Howard Schott. <i>Le Pupitre</i> 57, 58 (Paris: Heugel, 1979, 1989, 1992).
<i>Silbiger</i>	<i>Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican MS Chigi Q.IV.25 (attributed to Frescobaldi)</i> , ed. Alexander Silbiger (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), vol. 1 in <i>17th-Century Keyboard Music: Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque</i> , general ed. Alexander Silbiger. Facsimile.
<i>Weckmann</i>	<i>Weckmann, Sämtlicher Freie Orgel- und Clavierwerke</i> , ed. Siegbert Rampe (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1991), pp. 72, 85.
<i>Wollny</i>	<i>Johann Jacob Froberger, Toccaten-Suiten-Lamenti. Die Handschrift SA 4450 der Sing-Akademie zu Berlin: Faksimile und Übertragung</i> , ed. Peter Wollny (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2004). Facsimile and transcription.

Table 2
Selective list of the sources of Froberger’s keyboard music.

Abbreviation	Short Title in text (and date)	Library Shelf mark
<i>A 1</i>	<i>Libro Secondo</i> (1649)	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung <i>A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18706</i> ¹
<i>A 2</i>	<i>Libro Quarto</i> (1656)	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung <i>A-Wn Mus. Hs. 18707</i> ²
<i>A 3</i>	<i>Libro di capricci, e ricercati</i> (c. 1658)	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung <i>A-Wn Mus. Hs. 16560</i> ³
<i>A Sotheby's</i>	<i>Liure Premiere. Des Fantasies, Caprices ...</i> (early 1660s)	Sold by Sotheby’s, London 2006. Location unknown.
<i>E 1650</i>	<i>Musurgia universalis</i> (1650)	London, British Library, Music Collections <i>GB-Lbl Hirsch I.266</i>
<i>E 1660</i>	Roberday, <i>Fugues et caprices</i> (1660) ⁴	Bibliothèque nationale de France, département de la Musique <i>F-Pn VM7-1812</i> See <i>Roberday</i> (Table 1)
<i>E 1693</i>	<i>Diverse ingegnossissime...</i> (1693) See <i>Hill</i>	London, British Library, Music Collections <i>GB-Lbl c.51</i> and <i>Hirsch III.209</i>
<i>E 1696</i>	<i>Divese curiose...</i> (1696) See <i>Hill</i>	London, British Library, Music Collections <i>GB-Lbl c.51.a</i>
<i>BAm.B</i>	<i>Berlin Am.B 340</i> (dated 1664)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B Am.B 340</i>
<i>Bar</i>	<i>Barcelona 387</i> (written by a pupil of Cabanilles, 1694–7)	Barcelona, Biblioteca da Catalunya, <i>E-Bbc Manuscrit M 387</i> ⁵
<i>Bauyn</i>	<i>Bauyn III</i> (c. 1680) See <i>Gustafson</i>	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique, <i>F-Pn Rés. Vm</i> ⁷ 674–675. See <i>Gustafson</i>
<i>Bulyowsky</i>	<i>Bulyowsky</i> (Written by Michael Bulyowsky de Dulic in Strasburg from 1675) See <i>Rasch</i>	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) <i>D-Dl 1-T-595</i> ⁶

¹ Facsimile at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3684669> (accessed 25 July 2015).

² Facsimile at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3685862> (accessed 25 July 2015).

³ Facsimile at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3581158> (accessed 25 July 2015).

⁴ Facsimile at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90100381> (accessed 25 July 2015).

⁵ Facsimile at <http://mdc.cbuc.cat/cdm/ref/collection/partiturBC/id/18868> (accessed 25 July 2015).

⁶ Facsimile at <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/en/workview/dlf/112521/1> (accessed 25 July 2015).

Abbreviation		Short Title in text (and date)	Library Shelf mark
<i>Blow</i>		<i>Blow</i> (“Elizabeth Edgeworth’s Keyboard Book”, written by John Blow, 1698–1708).	Bruxelles, Conservatoire royal de Bruxelles, Bibliothèque - Koninklijk Conservatorium Brussel, Bibliotheek <i>B-Bc</i> 15418
<i>B170</i>		<i>Berlin 170</i> (late 18 th or early 19 th century)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B</i> Mus. ms. 170
<i>B340</i>		<i>Berlin 340</i> (early 19 th century)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B</i> Mus. ms. 340
<i>B546</i>		<i>Berlin 546</i> (early 19 th century)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B</i> Mus. ms. 546
<i>Berlin SA 4450</i>		<i>Berlin SA 4450</i> (German, after 1660) See <i>Wollny</i>	Berlin, Sing-Akademie zu Berlin, Notenarchiv <i>D-Bsa</i> SA 4450
<i>C</i>		<i>Codex E. B. 1688</i> (1680–1691)	New Haven, CT, Yale University, Music Library <i>US-NHLM</i> 5056
<i>Ch</i>		<i>Chigi Q.IV.25</i> (mid-17 th century) See <i>Silbiger</i>	Rome, Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana <i>I-Rvat</i> Chigi Q.IV.25
<i>Düben</i>		<i>Uppsala 408</i> (1653)	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek <i>S-Uu</i> Instr. mus. hs 408
<i>Eckelt</i>		<i>Eckelt Tablature</i> (1692)	Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska – Olim Berlin. Königliche Bibliothek <i>PL-Kj</i> Mus. ms. 40035, olim Z35
<i>6 Fugen</i>	<i>Kirnberger</i>	“6 <i>Fugen und Capricci</i> ” manuscripts copied from a single source. <i>Kirnberger</i> (mid-18 th century, written by Johann Philipp Kirnberger)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B</i> Am.B 343
	<i>Forkel</i>	<i>Forkel</i> (second-half of 18 th century or early 19 th century, written by Johann Nicolaus Forkel)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B</i> Mus. ms. 6715
	<i>Berlin 30142</i>	<i>Berlin 30142</i> (probably after 1800)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B</i> Mus. ms. 30142
	<i>Berlin 6715/1</i>	<i>Berlin 6715/1</i> (probably after 1800)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B</i> Mus. ms. 6715/1
<i>H</i>		<i>Hamburg 3209</i> (dated 1738)	Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietzky, Musiksammlung (formerly in St Petersburg) <i>D-Hs</i> ND VI 3209
<i>Hintze</i>		<i>Hintze</i> (Written by Matthias Weckmann, after 1660) See <i>Weckmann</i>	New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library <i>US-NHUB</i> Ms. Ma.21.H.59

Abbreviation	Short Title in text (and date)	Library Shelf mark
<i>L</i>	<i>Leipzig II.2.51</i> (late 17 th century)	Leipzig, Leipziger Stadtbibliothek – Musikbibliothek <i>D-LEM Leipzig II.2.51</i>
<i>Innsbruck</i>	<i>Innsbruck</i> (written after 1702 and belonging to Elias de Silva)	Innsbruck, private collection
<i>Lü</i>	<i>Lüneburg KN 209</i> (probably second half of 17 th century)	Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei <i>D-Lr Ms. Mus. ant. pract. KN 209</i>
<i>Muffat</i>	<i>Muffat</i> (Written by Georg Muffat in later 17 th century)	Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Musikabteilung <i>D-B Mus. ms. 6712</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>Paris 819b</i> (mid- to late 17 th century)	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique F-Pn Rés. Vm ⁷ 819b
<i>T</i>	<i>Uppsala 410</i> (1704–1728, belonged to Mattias Ternstedt of Enköping)	Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek <i>S-Uu Instr. mus. hs 410</i>
<i>W</i>	<i>Wm 725</i> (probably second half of 17 th century)	Vienna, Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und Archiv (Musikarchiv Minoritenkonvent) <i>A-Wm MS XIV 725</i>
<i>Z</i>	<i>Zelenka</i> (Written by Philipp Troyer, MS dated 1717)	Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek - Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SLUB) <i>D-Dl Mus.1-B-98</i>

fashionable styles and compositions, however unwittingly, has inevitably narrowed the auditory horizon of Froberger's achievement hindering a fuller appreciation of his musical output as a whole. The 400th anniversary of his birth presents an ideal opportunity to reassess current trends and to enhance the diversity and presence of Froberger's music within our performance culture.

Froberger's music occupies a central position in the development of the keyboard fugue, toccata and suite or partita. These three genres form the overwhelming majority of his musical legacy. His surviving music, including uncertain or doubtful works but excluding those lost or presently unavailable, comprises: 18 toccatas, 8 fantasias, 7 canzonas, 16 ricercars, 19 capriccios, and 56 partitas, variations, individual dances and lamentations, making over 130 keyboard works in all, plus instrumental and vocal ensemble pieces. A complete catalogue, the *Froberger Werkverzeichnis*, has been devised by Siegbert Rampe which groups his works by genre and allocates an FbWV number to each: toccatas (101–130), fantasias (201–214), canzonas (301–308), ricercars (401–416), capriccios (501–525), partitas and suite movements (601–659), and ensemble works (701–707).⁴ This relatively large corpus has been preserved thanks to chance circumstance and the efforts of a small but devoted circle of pupils and connoisseurs. The most important extant sources are the three autograph scores, each a beautiful presentation copy: two were presented to Froberger's benefactor, the Habsburg Monarch and Holy Roman Emperor, Ferdinand III (1608–1657) and one to his second son and successor, Leopold I (1640–1705), and these can be viewed in full colour online (see A1, A2 and A3 in Table 2). A later fourth autograph (A Sotheby's in Table 2), also a holograph, may also have been a

presentation copy but it lacks a dedication page. The other sources range from copies of lost autographs (apographs) and families of manuscript copies to printed editions from the mid- to late seventeenth century. A list of the sources of his music relevant to this discussion is given in Table 2.

From the perspective of this article the disclosure of the existence and contents of *A Sotheby's* in 2006 and its subsequent return to obscurity is particularly frustrating. Dating from the 1660s, the first twelve pieces are entirely new and otherwise unknown contrapuntal works, six *fantasies* and six *caprices* (FbWV 209–214 and 520–525, respectively). The other new pieces, found in the third section of the manuscript, are the suite in F major, FbWV 657, the ‘Meditation ...faict à Madrid’ on the future death of Sibylla of Württemberg in G minor, FbWV 658, and the tombeau for her husband, Duke Leopold Friederich, in D minor, FbWV 659, who died in 1662.⁵ Bob van Asperen has noted a number of similarities between the *caprices* and fugue subjects by Louis Couperin and in Roberday’s *Fugues et caprices* (1660) suggesting a greater rapport with the French contrapuntal idiom than had previously been supposed. The absence of any toccatas (and hence the Italian improvised style) is conspicuous, and the quantity of contrapuntal music present in open score (in both serious and lighter guises) suggests that formal fugue had assumed an even greater significance in Froberger’s last years.⁶

Froberger’s compositions are undoubtedly of a very high order of creative merit and his ability to synthesise disparate national musical styles into a new language is not seen again until J.S. Bach. The musical notation he chooses to convey his music, while

perfectly consistent with the norms of written-down keyboard music at the time, reflects the anxiety of these cultural and linguistic influences. It is a simple, graphic form, somewhat abstracted, and a remembrance of aural sound at several steps removed from the powerful and well documented impact of his legendary performance abilities. His scores offer vital clues about how he may have played them but their information is inevitably insufficient to recreate it although it is the best we have to go on. Many questions remain unanswered, of course. Did he most frequently play extempore or did he play from memory? When was it necessary to play from scores? What liberties, if any, did Froberger and his pupils take with his own music? How did they deviate and embellish his scores? What did they understand by ‘expression’ and ‘feeling’? What do Froberger’s frequent performance indications, for example, ‘*joüe à la discretion*’ mean?⁷ To what extent are the surviving scores performance material or documents of compositional process? Taking Froberger’s *stile antico* contrapuntal keyboard music as its starting point, this article will consider the polyphonic tradition in which it stands and the subtle methods by which its composer achieved freshness and variety from time honoured methods. Such music was written to satisfy both ear and eye, to be enjoyed both for the brilliance of the mind which created it and the virtuosity of the (few) hands which could properly bring it into sound. This discussion concludes with some performance observations to encourage others to shed light on this *musica oscura* and make it their own.

His Life

Froberger's cosmopolitan yet enigmatic figure is a steady presence in the history of keyboard music. Although his biography is only partially documented, scholars have given considerable attention to how this information might dovetail with the chronology of his works. Froberger was born into a family of musicians in Stuttgart and baptised there on 19 May, 1616. His father, Basilius Froberger, was a member of the Stuttgart court chapel and probably taught his son. A child at the start of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and born into a protestant family, Froberger inexplicably went to Vienna in the 1630s, perhaps as a singer. He became organist to the Catholic court of Ferdinand III, a composer and generous patron of music, in 1637 and, under pressure, converted to the Catholic faith, though it is not known when or where. His life at court was punctuated by journeys abroad, often for quite extended periods. These travels took him to major musical, cultural and commercial centres and brought him into contact with a wider range of colleagues and music than the milieu of Stuttgart and imperial Vienna could provide. Shortly after his appointment in Vienna, he was sent to Rome to study with the organist of the Capella Giulia of San Pietro, the greatest keyboard player of the age, Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583–1643). He resumed his duties in Vienna in 1641 but was back in Rome a few years later, probably from 1645. He briefly returned to Vienna in the autumn of 1649 but his stay was cut short, perhaps by the mourning at court following the tragic death on the 7th of August of the 17-year-old empress in childbirth. He then began an extended leave, although presumably not before presenting Ferdinand III with the *Libro Secondo* autograph which is dated 'Vienna, 29 Sept 1649'. He travelled widely to

Dresden (1649?), Brussels (1650, 1652), Utrecht (1650), Paris (1652) and London (1652?). Back in Vienna in 1653, his final period of stability there was ended shortly after the death of Ferdinand III on 2 April 1657 by his dismissal from court, somewhat under a cloud, in 1658. His whereabouts are then unknown until he moved to the court of Sibylla of Württemberg at Héricourt, near Montbéliard, in north eastern France in 1664 where he died on the 6th or 7th May 1667.⁸

This biographic narrative has been recently supplemented by dedications and explanations in the recently rediscovered manuscripts. These provide a number of important new details: for example, that Froberger was in Frankfurt in July and August 1658 and possibly moved to Héricourt in 1662; by adding hitherto unknown information concerning the provenance and descriptive programmes of certain suites; and by revealing that his travels appears to have extended to Madrid.⁹ This intriguing new destination in Froberger's cosmopolitan sojourns sheds light on Viennese court music and musicians on the Iberian peninsula. Kerll's Battaglia is famously attributed to Juan Cabanilles in a large Spanish anthology of Cabanilles organ music notated in open score. The same manuscript, which includes pieces by other composers including Joseph Ximénez, also contains two pieces by Froberger, both recorded anonymously, an incomplete copy of his Hexachord Fantazia (FbWV 201), illustrated in Plates 1, 2 and 3, and a heavily corrupted version of Capriccio XIII (FbWV 513).¹⁰

Even before the first published attempts to record Froberger's life in the early eighteenth century, his compositions and his unique performance style were already held in very

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high esteem.¹¹ Formidably accomplished as a keyboard virtuoso, contemporary documents attest that his performances added an entirely new dimension to his compositions and that his playing style, and most importantly his sense of expression and pacing, could only be learnt by imitation and tuition and not from notated scores alone. Froberger seems to have actively discouraged the wider circulation of his music for these very reasons. According to Sibylla of Württemberg, his patroness in his later years, only those who had heard Froberger himself play could hope to perform his works correctly — a salutary reminder of the inadequacies of Baroque musical sources as precise performance indicators. These points are particularly pertinent to the performance of open scores which are both difficult to read and distribute between the hands, and lack ornamentation, embellishment and smaller note values in general.

The sources and reception history

Froberger was a fastidious compiler and organiser of his music which he carefully separated according to type and style in his autographs. He consistently applies three categories to order his keyboard pieces — the contrapuntal style, the toccata style, and the dance style (suites, lamentations and variations). In so doing, he is acknowledging two of the categories of Athanasius Kircher's taxonomy of style, the *stylus phantasticus* (in the toccatas and contrapuntal works) and the *stylus hyporchematicus* or *choriacus* (dance style),¹² and the influence of contemporary Italian keyboard collections, especially those of Frescobaldi.¹³ Froberger also used three distinct notational formats for each

List of Plates

Plates 1, 2 and 3

Facsimile at <http://mdc.cbuc.cat/cdm/ref/collection/partiturBC/id/18868> Images 203 and 204 (accessed 25 July 2015).

‘Fantasia sobre ut re mi fa sol la’ (FbWV 201), opening (*Rampe*, bars 1–12²), beginning on the third system of *E-Bbc* Manuscrit M 387, fol. 200r.
fol. 200v. ‘Fantasia sobre ut re mi fa sol la’ (FbWV 201), continuation (bars 12³–36).
fol. 201r. ‘Fantasia sobre ut re mi fa sol la’ (FbWV 201), conclusion (bars 78³–end).

Plate 4

Facsimile at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3581158> Image 91 (accessed 25 July 2015).

‘Ricercar +f+ ’ (FbWV 406), opening (ME *Rampe*, bars 1–8), *Libro di capricci, e ricercati* (c. 1658), *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 16560, fol. 44r. Note the precise use of the flat, sharp and double-sharp signs as accidentals. By permission of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library.

Plate 5

Facsimile at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3581158> Image 93 (accessed 25 July 2015).

‘Ricercar +f+ ’ (FbWV 406), Third page (ME *Rampe*, bars 18–24). *Libro di capricci, e ricercati* (c. 1658), *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 16560, fol. 45r. By permission of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library.

Plate 6

Facsimile at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3684669> Image 48 (accessed 25 July 2015).

‘Toccata / da Sonarsi alla / Levatione’ (FbWV 106) from Libro Secondo (1649), first page (ME Rampe, bars 1–61), *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 18706, fol. 17v. By permission of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library.

Plate 7

Facsimile at <http://data.onb.ac.at/dtl/3685862> Image 220 (accessed 25 July 2015).

‘ALLEMANDE’ from Partita in D Major (FbWV 611), first page (ME Rampe, bars 1–7), showing the illuminated crown which refers to the election and coronation of Ferdinand IV as King of the Romans in June, 1653 from Libro Quarto (1656), *A-Wn* Mus. Hs. 18707, fol. 108v. By permission of the Music Collection of the Austrian National Library.

corresponding style in the autographs. For the contrapuntal music, which comprises four totally independent parts or voices, he uses open or full score notation, see Plates 4 and 5, while the toccatas are written in Italian keyboard tablature, the right hand notes placed on a six-line stave and the left hand on a stave of seven or eight lines, see Plate 6. In choosing both of these notations he is again following the practice of his teacher, Frescobaldi, amongst others. The tradition of presenting fugues in open score began in Naples with Rocco Rodio's *Libro di ricercate*, a 4 of 1575, the first keyboard works known in this format,¹⁴ and can be traced between Italy, France and Germany from the later sixteenth century until beyond the time of J.S. Bach (for example, *The Art of fugue* BWV 1080, written in the 1740s and published posthumously in 1751 and 1752 in open-score notation). The dance music uses two five-line staves for both hands, see Plate 7. This was the most up-to-date French practice, a practical innovation better suited to the freer, chordal writing of lute-inspired textures, which, unlike the Italian method, does not usually indicate the division between the hands.¹⁵

After deliberately restricting the availability of his pieces during his own lifetime, the audience for Froberger's music widened considerably after his death. Manuscript copying increased and the first printed editions, by Ludwig Bourgeat in Mainz, appeared during the last decade of the seventeenth century. Bourgeat's first book, *Diverse ingegnossissime...* (1693), contained nine toccatas (one of which is by Kerll and included in error) and five contrapuntal pieces: two fantasias (Fantasia IV *Sopra Il signo Sol la re*, FbWV 204 and Fantasia II FbWV 202, the latter titled, 'ricercar'), one ricercar (FbWV 407) and two capriccios (FbWV 509 and 510).¹⁶ Italian keyboard tablature is used

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throughout. The second book, *Diverse Curiose...* (1696), uses French notation on two five-line staves and contains two canzonas (FbWV 304 and 303) and three capriccios (FbWV 512, 509 and 510), though all five pieces are titled ‘capriccio’.¹⁷ It is curious that the same two capriccios were thus duplicated and re-engraved for the 1696 edition.¹⁸ These editions were soon followed by a complementary volume of dance suites from Estienne Roger working in Amsterdam, his *10 Suites de Clavessin* (no date but probably 1698).¹⁹ All three collections were reprinted several times between their appearance and the 1710s and this enabled a selection of Froberger’s pieces to become widely and rapidly known in the main musical centres of Europe.

Froberger’s contrapuntal music utilizes the four types of fugue he inherited from the Roman ‘school’ of Fresobaldi: the canzona, capriccio, fantasia and ricercar. Musically, he blurs the distinction between the fantasia and the ricercar pair (and the canzona and capriccio pair), a general trend in the seventeenth century which recognizes that the similarities of each pair outweigh their differences. Gustav Leonhardt explained the two fugal types thus:

The *stile antico*: the well-balanced strict polyphony, developing a sober theme of abstract continuity according to long-established counterpoint rules. The forms of this style are the *Fantasia* and the *Ricercar*.

The polyphonic style dressed more lively, and allowing some human humors, both in theme and its development. The forms of this style are *Canzona* and *Capriccio*.²⁰

Froberger's contrapuntal music synthesizes the nominal distinctiveness of the fantasia/ricercar and canzona/capriccio pairs so that the terms become synonymous and interchangeable. Contemporary scribes compound the confusion further by using all four names approximately, or by simplifying matters by using only one title from each pair, or just the generic 'fuga'.

The descriptive choices behind the Leonhardt quotation above give the essentials of twentieth-century perceptions of Froberger's fantasias and ricercars: namely, their contrapuntal strictness, sobriety, abstraction and obedience to rules (traditional qualities) and their lack of more overtly 'human' and lively qualities. This critique is only partially true. It must be remembered that seventeenth-century sensibilities were quite different to our own and placed a higher value on craft and wit of invention. The fantasias and ricercars are not at all lacking in thematic, structural and developmental sophistication compared to the canzonas and capriccios: in fact they distil and refine those principles even further.

A comparison of the entries for 'Froberger' in the 1980 edition of *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* with the newer, online version reveals the changing ground since the 1960s. George Buelow's 1985 dismissal of the fantasias and ricercars in a single, brief paragraph contrasts Howard Schott's longer and more considered entry currently available from *Grove Music Online*. Buelow begins with a definition:

Froberger's fantasias and ricercars are even more scholastic and strict in contrapuntal design [than the canzonas and capriccios]. They are works in *alla*

breve style, based on slow-moving subjects in semibreves and minims and worked out according to principles of the *prima prattica* derived from 16th-century Italian sacred polyphony ...²¹

and goes on to imply these pieces lack the “thematic invention” of the canzonas and capriccios, the very qualities that he considers the reason for J.S. Bach holding “Froberger in ‘high esteem’”.²² He is undoubtedly correct that the melodic and rhythmic variety in the lighter contrapuntal style becomes ubiquitous to the Baroque fugue. The fantasia and ricercars, however, have subtler and perhaps less immediately obvious characteristics, which also pervade later fugues. Schott scrutinises the contrapuntal pieces more closely and casts his field of view a little wider:

Froberger’s ricercars and fantasias, well-proportioned and offering much rhythmic and motive variety, stand out as masterly, especially in comparison to many formulaic contemporaneous examples. This composer wore his contrapuntal learning with remarkable grace and lightness.²³

Schott’s goes on to consider the implications for temperament choice implied by the unusual tonalities of the sixth ricercar in both the *Libro Secondo* of 1649 and *Libro Quarto* of 1656 and is more alert to Froberger’s referential *stile antico* and the scope this allows for “ingenious contrapuntal treatment”.²⁴

What position then does Froberger’s music hold in current performance? An informal “straw poll” of personal repertoire choices (both my own and those of a few colleagues) suggests that only a small portion of Froberger’s music is currently ‘in repertory’ amongst organists and harpsichordists. From this we may reasonably infer that today’s

performers follow the received wisdoms of the mid-twentieth-century ‘early music revival’ in their preferences. Organists tend to favour certain toccatas and the less severe canzonas and capriccios while performers of stringed keyboards think first of the highly personal programmatic lamentations and certain of the suites, then the toccatas, canzonas and capriccios, and lastly, if at all, the fantasias and ricercars. A similar picture emerges from historical and currently available audio recordings.²⁵ Interestingly, the reception patterns of the nineteenth and earlier centuries show that some pieces were more widely transmitted than others and while this may reflect availability rather than choice, about a third of the contrapuntal pieces survive in more than one source.²⁶ The sources of the fantasias and ricercars can be seen in Table 3 where it can immediately be appreciated that the fantasias were more frequently included in manuscripts and printed editions than the ricercars. The most popular pieces were the fantasias FbWV 201, 202, 204 and 207 and the ricercar FbWV 407. Remarkably, twelve pieces — the two fantasias (FbWV 205 and 206) and ten ricercars (FbWV 402–406 and 408–412) — are unique to their autograph source and therefore appear not to have circulated at all.

Table 3

**A list of Froberger’s fantasias and ricercars, their sources and location in the modern editions of his works.
See Tables 1 and 2 for abbreviations.**

Piece	Autograph sources		Non-autograph Concordances	Rampe	Adler	Schott	Dover
Title (Roman numerals from Adler), FbWV no.	source, number, folio	title		vol., page	vol., page	tome/vol., page	page
<u>Fantasias</u>							
Fantasia I, 201	A 1, 1, 22r–29r	‘Fantasia: / Sopra / · VT · RE · MI · FA · SOL · LA ·’	E 1650 P Bar (‘Fantasia sobre ut re mi fa sol la’) Muffat (‘Capriccio’) Berlin 6715/1 (‘Capriccio’)	I, 23 V/2, 73	I, 33	1/1, 24	71
Fantasia II, 202	A 1, 2, 29v–33r	‘Fantasia:’	E 1693 Bar (‘Ricercar’) Blow 6 Fugen	I, 30 V/2, 73	I, 38	1/1, 31	76
Fantasia III, 203	A 1, 3, 33v–39r	‘Fantasia:’	6 Fugen (‘Fuga’)	I, 32 V/2, 73	I, 40	1/1, 34	78
Fantasia IV, 204	A 1, 4, 39v–44r	‘Fantasia / Sopra / Sollare:’	E 1693 BAm.B (‘Capriccio’) L (‘Capriccio’) B170 (‘Capriccio’) B340 (‘Capriccio’) Blow 6 Fugen	I, 36 V/2, 74	I, 44	1/1, 40	82
Fantasia V, 205	A 1, 5, 44v–48r <i>unicum</i>	‘FANTASIA:’		I, 40	I, 47	1/1, 44	85
Fantasia VI, 206	A 1, 6, 48v–51r <i>unicum</i>	‘Fantasia:’		I, 42	I, 49	1/1, 47	87

Piece	Autograph sources		Non-autograph Concordances	Rampe	Adler	Schott	Dover
Title (Roman numerals from Adler), FbWV no.	source, number, folio	title		vol., page	vol., page	tome/vol., page	page
Fantasia VII, 207		'Fantasia'	<i>Eckelt</i> <i>6 Fugen</i> <i>D ('Ricercare')</i> <i>6 Fugen</i>	V/2, 1	III, 102	2/1, 65	89
6 'Fantasies'	<i>A Sotheby's</i> , 'Premiere Partie', pp. 1–83.	'Fantasie'					
Uncertain authorship							
Fantasia VIII, 208			<i>Bauyn</i> ('Fantasie. Duo')	V/2, 86	III, 105		92
Ricercars							
Ricercar I, 401	<i>A 3, 1</i> , fol. 26r–29v	' <i>Ricercar + f +</i> '	<i>Z Bauyn</i> ('fugue de M ^r . froberger fait a Paris')	II, 88 V/2, 83	I, 99	1/2, 128	184
Ricercar II, 402	<i>A 3, 2</i> , 30r–32v <i>unicum</i>	' <i>Ricercar + f +</i> '		II, 91	I, 102	1/2, 131	187
Ricercar III, 403	<i>A 3, 3</i> , 33r–37r <i>unicum</i>	' <i>Ricercar + f +</i> '		II, 93	I, 104	1/2, 136	189
Ricercar IV, 404	<i>A 3, 4</i> , 37v–40r <i>unicum</i>	' <i>Ricercar + f +</i> '		II, 96	I, 107	1/2, 142	192
Ricercar V, 405	<i>A 3, 5</i> , 40v–43v <i>unicum</i>	' <i>Ricercar + f +</i> '		II, 98	I, 109	1/2, 146	194
Ricercar VI, 406	<i>A 3, 6</i> , 44r–47r <i>unicum</i>	' <i>Ricercar + f +</i> '		II, 102	I, 112	1/2, 148	197
Ricercar VII, 407	<i>A 2, 1</i> , 27r–30v	' <i>RICERCAR:</i> '	<i>E 1693</i> <i>BAm.B</i> (incomplete) <i>Eckelt</i> <i>Lü</i> <i>Muffat</i> <i>Blow</i>	II, 18 V/2, 83	III, 82	1/2, 226	199

Piece	Autograph sources		Non-autograph Concordances	Rampe	Adler	Schott	Dover
Title (Roman numerals from Adler), FbWV no.	source, number, folio	title		vol., page	vol., page	tome/vol., page	page
Fugue, 407a			<i>E1660</i> ('FVGVE 5me.')	II, 106			
Ricercar VIII, 408	<i>A 2, 2, 31r–37v unicum</i>	' <i>RICERCAR</i> .'		II, 20	III, 84	1/2, 230	201
Ricercar IX, 409	<i>A 2, 3, 38r–45r unicum</i>	' <i>RICERCAR</i> .'		II, 23	III, 87	1/2, 233	204
Ricercar X, 410	<i>A 2, 4, 45v–49v unicum</i>	' <i>RICERCAR</i> .'		II, 26	III, 90	1/2, 238	207
Ricercar XI, 411	<i>A 2, 5, 50r–53r unicum</i>	' <i>RICERCAR</i> .'		II, 28	III, 92	1/2, 242	209
Ricercar XII, 412	<i>A 2, 6, 53v–56v unicum</i>	' <i>RICERCAR</i> .'		II, 30	III, 94	1/2, 246	211
Ricercar XIII, 413			<i>6 Fugen</i>	V/2, 6	III, 96	2/1, 70	213
Ricercar, 413a			<i>C</i>	V/2, 9			
Ricercar XIV, 414			<i>6 Fugen</i> <i>T</i> (incomplete)	V/2, 12	III, 99	2/1, 74	216
Fuga [in F], 415			<i>B546</i>	V/2, 15			
Fuga [in d], 416			<i>B340</i> <i>B170</i> (2 versions)				V/2, 18

Table 4
The construction of the fantasias (FbWV 201–207)

Piece, FbWV no.	Key	Tone	Final chord	Sections	Comments
Fantasia I, 201	C	5	C	8	single subject with variations (see description in text)
Fantasia II, 202	e	3	E	2	single subject (similar to FbWV 404) with rhythmic variations and <i>stretti</i>
Fantasia III, 203	F	6	F	3	single subject with fugal inversion, <i>stretti</i> , black note notation and <i>cantus firmus</i>
Fantasia IV, 204	G	8	G	2	double fugue (see description in text)
Fantasia V, 205	a	3	A	3	single subject which evolves
Fantasia VI, 206	a	3	A	2	single subject with new, regular countersubject in final section
Fantasia VII, 207	G	8	G	3	inversion fugue with single subject, <i>stretti</i> , and a new, regular countersubject in final section

The Heaxachord Fantasia

Froberger's best known piece in the seventeenth century was probably his Hexachord Fantasia (Fantasia I, FbWV 201), the only piece published in his lifetime. It was included in the sixth book of the monumental *Musurgia universalis* of Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) first published in Latin in 1650.²⁷ Froberger certainly knew Kircher from his visits to Rome. After an initial period of study there with Frescobaldi between 1637 and 1641, Froberger made a second visit after Frescobaldi's death during which he probably studied with Kircher, rather than with Carissimi, as previously thought.²⁸ He was trusted with a composing machine of Kircher's invention, the *arca musurgica*, which Froberger demonstrated to various Italian courts and to his own employer in Vienna, Ferdinand III. The autograph version FbWV 201 assumes particular significance in the *Libro Secondo* of 1649 where it is positioned first in the set of six fantasias forming the *Parte Seconda*. The version of FbWV 201 which Kircher published is different to Froberger's autograph of 1649 and must therefore be a copy of a different, lost source. It is a model of variation fugue, a technique which Froberger had studied with Frescobaldi, but which found more obvious application in the canzonas and capriccios.²⁹ FbWV 201 is therefore atypical of Frescobaldi's other *style antico* fantasias and ricercars which have fewer and less clearly differentiated sections, and are more understated in their thematic transformations. See Plates 1–3 for the partial version copied from *Musurgia universalis* (1650) in *Barcelona* 387.

FbWV 201 is considerably larger than its neighbours and similar to a set of variations. Thomas Morley's dicta of the fantasia as an essay to demonstrate the potential of a single musical idea and 'to shew the diversitie of sundrie mens vaines upon one subject' fits FbWV 201's variation technique well.³⁰ Table 4 shows the sectional construction of Froberger's fantasias. In FbWV 201, the number of contrapuntal sections (eight) and the variety of fugal and thematic operations between each section is greater and more marked than with the other fantasias (or the ricercars), a backwards looking feature, perhaps, but brilliantly realized by Froberger. Each section employs a different contrapuntal device (for the purposes of location, *Rampe* is used throughout: the superscripts immediately following bar numbers indicate the beat within the bar,)

Plates 1 and 2

1. (bars 2–22) Exposition of the hexachord theme.
- 2a. (bars 23–28³) Hexachord theme in diminution (crotchets) and close *stretto*, complemented by downward tetrachord motive (tenor, bar 25).
- 2b. (bars 28³–35) Hexachord theme, still in crotchets, and following the voice order of the exposition in section 1.³¹

[folios missing in *Barcelona 387*:

3. (bars 36–49) adds a semiquaver counter motive.³²
4. (bars 50–63) Triple-metre section.
5. (bars 64–72) Gigue-like 6/4 metre.]

Plate 3

- 6a. (bars 73–87) Hexachord theme subdivided with chromatic crotchet steps.

6b. (bars 88–99) Retrograde version in minims of 6a form (with chromatic steps between notes two and seven) and a new countersubject using upward quaver scales.

Compositional methods

The variation techniques manifest in FbWV 201 are applied within the smaller scale details of the other, equally remarkable and well-crafted fantasias and ricercars. A close scrutiny of their compositional principles and procedures reveals the fine balance Froberger maintains between thematic ingenuity, contrapuntal pacing and structure. The principles of construction discussed here concern two elements: the construction of themes (or subjects) and their transformation between and within individual works, and the use of contrapuntal artifice. The examples are drawn largely, though not exclusively, from the fantasias.

Themes and types of melodic shape

All Froberger's contrapuntal pieces (including the fugal sections of his toccatas) appear to use thematic material drawn from a restricted vocabulary of melodic shapes. These basic shapes include three types of motion — stepwise movement, leaps of various size of interval, and triads — and can be related through tonality and mode to the reciting patterns of the church tones.³³

(a) Some opening themes contain (or appear to contain) both subject and countersubject(s). I call this the ‘x-y’ structure and it is used in FbWV 204, 205, 206 and 401.³⁴ Example 1(a).

The image shows two musical examples illustrating the 'x-y' structure. The top example is a single bass clef staff in C major, showing a sequence of notes: C4 (whole), D4-E4 (quarter), F4-G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (quarter), E5 (quarter), F5 (quarter), G5 (quarter), A5 (quarter), B5 (quarter), C6 (quarter). Brackets labeled 'x' and 'y' are placed under the first six and last six notes respectively. The bottom example shows two staves (treble and bass clefs) in C major. The treble staff has lyrics: 'sol la re,' (x) and 'sol la re, la re,' (y). The bass staff has lyrics: 'sol la re, lascia fa re mi,' (x) and 'lascia fa re mi,' (y). Brackets labeled 'x' and 'y' are placed under the corresponding note groups in both staves.

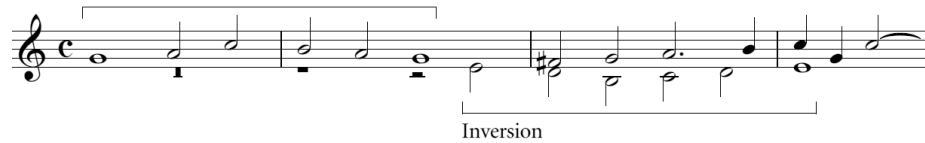
Ex. 1a: FbWV 401, bars 1–3, and FbWV 204, bars 1–3.

(b) Inverted and retrograde forms of the subject occur in counterpoint with the theme in FbWV 406 (bars 6³–7³, 16³–7⁴ and 35–36²). Example 1(b).

The image shows three musical examples illustrating retrograde and inversion. The top example shows two staves (treble and bass clefs) in C major. The treble staff has a sequence of notes: C4 (whole), D4-E4 (quarter), F4-G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (quarter), E5 (quarter), F5 (quarter), G5 (quarter), A5 (quarter), B5 (quarter), C6 (quarter). The bass staff has a sequence of notes: C4 (whole), D4-E4 (quarter), F4-G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (quarter), E5 (quarter), F5 (quarter), G5 (quarter), A5 (quarter), B5 (quarter), C6 (quarter). Brackets labeled 'Retrograde' and 'Inversion' are placed under the corresponding note groups in both staves. The middle example shows a single treble clef staff in C major, showing a sequence of notes: C4 (whole), D4-E4 (quarter), F4-G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (quarter), E5 (quarter), F5 (quarter), G5 (quarter), A5 (quarter), B5 (quarter), C6 (quarter). A bracket labeled 'Retrograde' is placed under the first six notes. The bottom example shows a single treble clef staff in C major, showing a sequence of notes: C4 (whole), D4-E4 (quarter), F4-G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), C5 (quarter), D5 (quarter), E5 (quarter), F5 (quarter), G5 (quarter), A5 (quarter), B5 (quarter), C6 (quarter). A bracket labeled 'Inversion' is placed under the first six notes.

Ex. 1b: FbWV 401, bars 1–2, 6–7, 16–18, and 35–6.

(c) Hexachordal inversion – inverting a melody within its hexachord so that the precise intervals of a subject are retained, as opposed to inversion over the octave which causes minor intervals to become major and vice versa.³⁵ This distinction is akin to real and tonal answers. See FbWV 404.³⁶ Example 1(c).



Ex. 1c: FbWV 404, bars 1–4.

Thematic transformations within a single piece

(a) FbWV 205 transforms its opening subject in three stages: 1) the subject's descending tetrachord ('y') is inverted (bar 21³ onwards); 2) the descending tetrachord combines with its inverted form (bar 35 onwards); 3) the octave leap of opening subject reduces into a sixth. Example 2(a).

21

X = new countersubject

35

6th

6th

Ex. 2a: FbWV 205, 1–2, 21–3, and 35–6.

(b) In FbWV 206 the countersubject of the second section (cantus, bars 32–33) is derived from the opening subject (cantus, bars 1–3). Example 2(b). See also FbWV 402.

x

y

A

B

32

A

y

B

y

Ex. 2b: FbWV 206, 1–3 and 32–3.

(c) An extremely subtle transformation is shown from FbWV 202 (bars 15⁴–18) where an ornamented version of the subject emerges by stages, the first two notes of the subject

being concealed by the conceit of *inganno*. By this trick of solmization moving from the hard to the soft hexachord for the first note of the subject, the first interval, an upward semitone, *B-C*, becomes a downward third, *E-C*. Example 2(c).³⁷

The image displays four staves of musical notation. The first staff is a single treble clef line with a common time signature. The second staff is a single treble clef line with a common time signature, starting at bar 16. The third staff consists of two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a common time signature, starting at bar 24. The fourth staff is a single bass clef line with a common time signature, starting at bar 33. The music features various rhythmic patterns and intervals, with some notes marked with 'X' and solmization syllables 'mi' and 'fa' above them.

Ex. 2c: FbWV 202, bars 1–5, 15–19, 23–6, and 33–4.

(d) In the manner of extempore playing penned onto the page, glimpses of new melodic ideas are allowed to emerge in FbWV 203 before they are formally introduced. The free countersubject of the final section (bar 72) is suggested two sections earlier in the cantus part (bars 27⁴–29¹). The gradual and continuous evolution of motives which cause these ‘pre-echos’ are natural by-products of improvisation, at which Froberger excelled.

Example 2(d). See also FbWV 404 (bars 33 and 48) and FbWV 409 (bar 33⁴⁻⁶ and 58¹⁻³).

The image displays three systems of musical notation. The first system is in bass clef and shows a subject with six 'X' marks under the notes, with a bracket labeled 'A' spanning the last four notes. The second system is in treble clef, starting at bar 27, and features brackets labeled 'B' and 'C' above the staff, and 'B' and 'A' below. The third system is in treble and bass clefs, starting at bar 72, with a bracket labeled 'C' above the treble staff and 'X' marks below the bass staff.

Ex. 2d: FbWV 203, bars 1–5 and 27–8, and 72–5.

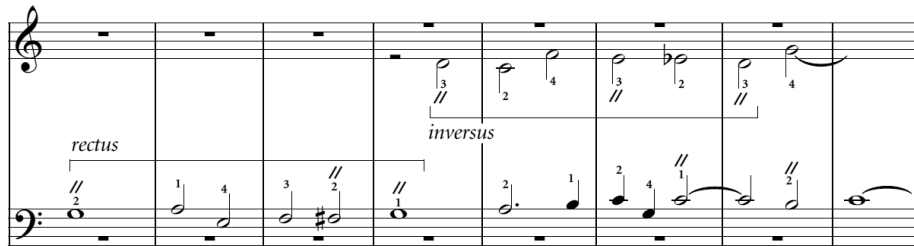
Thematic connections between pieces within the same set

The subjects of the six canzonas evolve from one piece to the next by a pattern of pairing, such that the melodic profile of each odd numbered canzona is inverted in the next canzona. Similarly, the five non-elevation toccatas in *Libro Quarto* (1656) develop triadic patterns as the set progresses. In the six fantasias Froberger maximises similarities and differences and each subject adds to the melodic discourse of its predecessor: hexachord (I), tetrachord plus a leap of a third (II) with the addition of leaps of a fourth and fifth (III), leaps of fourth and fifth separated from the tetrachord (IV), leaps of octave and sixth with the leaps of thirds given to countersubjects (V), wider leaps and stepwise motion contained in both theme and its countersubjects (VI). The theme of FbWV 203 is developed further, in diminished form, by the Canzona FbWV 303 from the following part of the same autograph.

Contrapuntal devices

Double-invertible counterpoint – a standard device and used very effectively by Froberger. Inversion at the octave is ubiquitous and inversion at the 12th occasional, see FbWV 403 (from bars 5⁴ and 17³), FbWV 408 (from bars 24⁴ and 32²) and FbWV 414 (final section, bars 49–end). Inversion at the 10th is rare, for example, FbWV 410 (last section, bars 42–56) which has inversion at both 10th and 12th.

Counter fugue (*fuga contraria*) – a fugue in which the answer is an inversion (*inversus*) of the subject (*rectus*). Also called *per arsi et thesin* (Zarlino and Morley).³⁸ See opening exposition of FbWV 207, Example 3.



Ex. 3: FbWV 207 (source Eckelt 1692), bars 1–8.

Fugal inversion or inversion of fugal answer – the reversal of the exposition order of subject (*dux*) and answer (*comes*) entries, thus *dux–comes–dux–comes* becomes *comes–dux–comes–dux*.³⁹ With Froberger, exceptions and anomalies seem to prove the rule. In FbWV 203, the exposition order (bars 1–27) *dux–comes–dux–comes* is irregularly inverted to *comes–dux–comes* for the next three voices. Another inversion occurs in the final section (bar 72 onwards) with the voice and pitch location of the cantus firmus, where the initial *comes–dux–comes–dux* becomes *dux–comes–comes/dux* (the last pair in *stretto*).

Double fugue – in the sense of a fugue that gives the impression of being based on two subjects simultaneously. In Froberger, imitation is loosely applied (*imitatione sciolta*, as Zarlino called it) and he rarely uses a consistently regular countersubject. Rather he prefers a network of closely related but readily adaptable motives. In FbWV 204, the two contrasting ideas, *sol-la-re* and *la-scia-fa-re-mi*, which appear successively in the opening ‘x-y’ subject are combined simultaneously in two voices throughout, and with simultaneous durational contrasts, Example 1(a). Compare Fresobaldi’s *Capriccio Quarto* on the same theme and the first and final sections of FbWV 201 discussed above.⁴⁰

Stretto – a commonly used technique in which successive entries overlap with each other. FbWV 202 (e.g. bars 23⁴–26), Example 2(c).

Augmentation and Diminution – again a widely exploited technique in which the durational value of the notes of a theme are respectively increased or reduced.

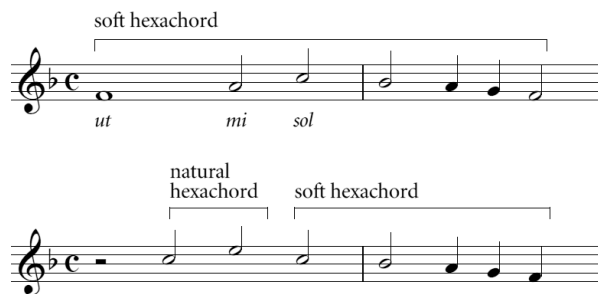
Diminution is commonly applied towards the end of sections/pieces to increase tension and excitement (e.g. as in the Fantasias of Orlando Gibbons and in FbWV 412, see Example 6(b)), and is often combined with syncopations or another *obligo* (see below), as in the second section of FbWV 202 (bars 33–50). Example 2 (c). Note the evolution of the countersubject in final section of FbWV 203 (bar 72 onwards), Example 2(d), where the first six notes of the subject are augmented in semibreves while the same notes generate the countersubject but with its note values diminished to crotchets. Additionally, the alignment of the countersubject with the subject is varied by a distance of one bar so it can begin on any of the first, second, third or fourth notes of the subject. Also FbWV 408 (second section, from bar 39).

Obligò – restrictions placed upon contrapuntal invention by requiring or proscribing the use of specific techniques. In this sense, augmentation and diminution, solmization and *inganni* are also techniques of *obligò*. As elsewhere, Froberger is somewhat freer in his application of this concept than his teacher, Frescobaldi.⁴¹

The simplest and most common device is *cantus firmus*, in which a melody is set in a long note value. Froberger used this in a number of places, for example, in the last section of FbWV 203, Example 2(d).

Other *obligi* that might be said to be applied freely and occasionally by Froberger are dance rhythms (*obligò in saltarello*) particularly in triple-metre sections and giges, and cross-rhythms with the subject (*in tempo ternario*), see FbWV 202 (second section, bar 33 onwards), Example 2(c). Also FbWV 203 (section three, bars 52–70 – in black notes).

Inganni – ‘deceptions’. “The *inganno* occurs whenever one voice part, beginning a subject, is succeeded by another that does not use the same melodic intervals, but nevertheless retains the same names of hexachord syllables ...” (Artusi, 1603).⁴² See occurrences in FbWV 202 and 204 already noted above and FbWV 403 (‘*ut mi sol*’ in *cantus* in bar 10), Example 4. Also FbWV 406 (bar 39³–40).



Ex. 4: FbWV 203, bars 1–2 and 10–11.

Observations on performance

Keyboard music in the seventeenth century was played on any of the readily available types of keyboard instrument. In addition to the organ these include harpsichord, virginals, clavichord and claviorgan. Although professionally an organist, Froberger was an equally accomplished performer in the Italian and newer French styles of harpsichord playing, the latter attested by Louis Couperin himself who made his own unmeasured *clavecin* version of one his toccatas.⁴³ For his contemporaries, Froberger's toccatas and contrapuntal pieces were potentially, but not exclusively, 'organ music' and as generic keyboard music their performance on plucked and struck stringed keyboards would be equally appropriate.⁴⁴ Only four of his surviving pieces are specifically for the organ: the three elevation toccatas (FbWV 105 and 106, subtitled '*da Sonarsi alla Leuatione*', and the stylistically related FbWV 111) intended for use during the Catholic mass, and probably the late (and possibly spurious) *Toccata 2 di toni* in G minor (FbWV 130) because of its long, sustained pedal notes. Contemporary organ registration instructions from just after Froberger's time are given by Poglietti (1676) who also worked in Vienna, and many organs of the period survive in various states of restoration and can be heard today.⁴⁵ The open-score notation of the contrapuntal music also permits ensemble performance with instruments and vocal solmization (as was suggested by the titles of many such Italian collections) although keyboard realization by a single player was the established and intended medium.⁴⁶

The contrapuntal music is largely devoid of performance instructions and gives only the pitches and rhythms to be played with indications of changes of metre as required. The complete absence of ornamentation symbols and written-out embellishment, however, does not necessarily proscribe ornaments in performance but rather reflects the mode of visual presentation.⁴⁷ Indeed, the weight of evidence of seventeenth-century keyboard performance practice suggests that players ornamented freely and the better the player, the more profusely and tastefully they did so. Froberger's own partitas and toccatas provide useful models of ornamentation. The Vienna autographs use only one ornament symbol, 't' or 't.', but only very infrequently and never in the fantasias or ricercars. There are 31 trill symbols in *Libro Secondo* (1649), the majority in the FbWV 602 and 605, three in *Libro Quarto* (1656) and none in *Libro di capricci, e ricercati* (c. 1658). In the toccatas he often writes out his embellishment in full using short note values: trills (beginning on the main note or on the upper auxiliary, often with a lengthened initial appoggiatura), double trills (e.g. FbWV 109 and 304) and short slides and runs of 3 or 4 notes. His embellishments are never obtrusive. They compliment the texture of the composition and, like the grotesques and acanthus leaves in contemporary decorative art, flow naturally from the entire structure. The greater frequency of ornament symbols in the post-1662 autograph, *A Sotheby's*, and the incorporation of the French *tremblement* (♯) and *pincé* (♯) symbols is further strong evidence that the paucity in the earlier sources is misleading in this respect.⁴⁸ Later copyists, often renowned performers themselves, began adding ornaments to their exemplars. Amongst the German sources, ornamented versions survive by Gottlieb Muffat and in the *Düben* (FbWV 207, see Example 3) and *Berlin SA 4450* manuscripts, and in the organ book of Elias de Silva

(Innsbruck, private collection, written after 1702). Example 5(a) gives the opening of FbWV 204 in the highly embellished version written by John Blow in England between 1698 and 1708.⁴⁹ In France, while Roberday printed his variant of the popular first ricercar from *Libro Quarto* (1656), FbWV 407a, in open score and unornamented, later French publications, for example, the organ music included in d’Anglebert’s *Pieces de Clavecin* of 1689, embellish on a large scale, with a density of ornaments approaching one symbol on every minim beat, see Example 5(b).⁵⁰



Ex. 5a: FbWV 204 (source *Blow*), bars 1–7.



Ex. 5b: D’Anglebert, ‘Fugue grave pour l’orgue’, *Pieces de Clavecin* (Paris, 1689), p. 111, bars 1–3.

Accounts of Froberger’s harpsichord playing stress the spontaneous and expressive qualities of his music-making, underlining the distance between text and interpretation. The most extreme manifestation of his personal style can be found in the harpsichord lamentations where poignant emotional meaning deliberately subverts the normal tonal, harmonic and rhythmic expectation. The addition of descriptive titles, written rubrics and programmatic details explain these contraventions and allow the player to locate the

affective emotion (usually but not always melancholia and mourning, or physical actions and natural events) to specific musical gestures in the piece.⁵¹ Lacking practical instructions about how Froberger's music should be performed one must look elsewhere for guidance. His teacher, Frescobaldi, for example, published useful guidelines for the performance of the earlier Italian repertoire but his prefaces are only tangentially relevant to Froberger's later musical idiom.⁵² Two topics which preoccupied Frescobaldi, and which were clearly as problematic for his contemporaries as they are to modern players, tempo and expression (*affetti*), are especially informative to the recreation of Froberger's contrapuntal style.

The early Baroque understanding of the beat (*tactus* or *battuta*) differed considerably from the modern concept of metronomic pulse and was built upon late Renaissance theory. In general terms:

- Time could not be measured absolutely but only through motion and change. The beat was therefore understood to be a motion, as in the downward (*thesis*) and upward (*arsis*) movements of the hand, or the *dystole* or *diastole* of the beating heart. Some writers link the frequency of the beat to the rate of the beating heart.⁵³
- There were two types of metre: the first was denoted 'even' with two beats, and the other 'uneven' with three beats. Duple metre equated to two equal motions of the hand, down and up, but triple metre also had only two motions but, most importantly, with the down longer than the up (long-short). In triple time the up could be longer than the down, and this created a syncopation (short-long).⁵⁴

- Metrical changes between sections were expressed by strict mensural proportions. Frescobaldi advocated a range of increasing speeds of beat for each triple proportion: a practical, performing musician's response to the breaking down of the mensural system and a logical extension of Praetorius's two beat speeds for duple time — *tactus celerior* and *tardior*.⁵⁵
- Zarlino linked the respective equal or unequal beats of duple and triple with the metrical feet of poetry. Thus a normal triple bar corresponds to the *trochee* (long-short) and a syncopated bar to the *iamb* (short-long).⁵⁶

Following these principles when performing the Hexachord Fantasia (FbWV 201), for example, one might maintain a single *tactus* throughout of one minim equals approximately 52 beats per minute. In the fourth section (from bar 50), marked '3', the minim beat becomes one dotted semibreve (and can be played a little quicker) while in the fifth section (from bar 64) in 6/4 gigue metre, the beat becomes one dotted minim (a little slower, if necessary). The iambic minim syncopations of the fourth section are best conveyed with two dotted semibreves as the main, compound duple pulse, rather than minims.

The question of expression or character is no less important. Frescobaldi, and possibly Froberger, began his musical career as a singer and he considered his toccatas to be the instrumental equivalent of the new vocal style of Monteverdi's *seconda prattica* especially the madrigals but also the solo song (of which Frescobaldi wrote many), where all is subservient to the changing *affetti* of the text. The purer, polyphonic vocal style of Froberger's fantasias and ricercars is similarly analogous to a *prima prattica* motet or madrigal awaiting a text, provided silently in the performers' imagination. Their idiom is

more vocal than instrumental and the manner of performance akin to instruments imitating voices and vocal expression. Clearly this has profound implications for touch (requiring a voice-like, *cantabile* playing), for the range of ornamentation (extending to include vocal embellishments from, for example, the ‘song’ style) and the rhetorical projection of affect (particularly wit and humour).

Conclusion

The fantasias and ricercars complement the overtly ‘fantastical’ elements of the toccatas and lamentations and furnish a different facet of the *stylus phantasticus*, that of the ‘fantasy’ or imagination of the composer. For Kircher, the *stylus phantasticus* defined a style of solo instrumental music, usually improvised, that exploits free treatment of ordinary compositional rules in an imaginative and often virtuosic performance, but it also meant a manner of composing.⁵⁷ To illustrate this equivocal and self-possessed virtuosity, I conclude with a final dazzling example of contrapuntal *sprezzatura*, the sixth Ricercar of the *Libro Quarto* (FbWV 412), a short essay in precisely controlled yet understated fantasy. Example 6 outlines the extraordinarily beautiful and easily overlooked network of carefully developed thematic relationships which lie hidden within its modest tripartite structure. They have been deliberately concealed by surface distractions: the unusual choice of tonality, for example, itself obscured by the absence of key signature (compare Example 1(b), FbWV406) and the enharmonic notes (b-sharp expressed as c-natural in bar 40) and chromatic chords (the flattened supertonic creating Neapolitan chord effects) which strain the modal system to its limits. Here indeed is

improvisational ‘freedom’ achieved through brilliance of form, fluidity of counterpoint, and subtle, micro-evolution of melody or to quote Kircher, “the most free and unfettered method of composition, bound to nothing, neither to words, nor to a harmonious subject. It is organised with regard to manifest invention, the hidden reason of harmony, and an ingenious, skilled connection of harmonic phrases and fugues”.⁵⁸

Section 1 (bars 1 – 21)

Section 1 (bars 1 – 21)

dux bars 7 + 32

4th tone semitone

comes semitone

Section 2 (bars 22 – 31)

Section 2 (bars 22 – 31)

dux 6th semitone

comes semitone

Ex. 6a: FbWV 412, bars 1–21 and bars 22–31.

Section 1

Section 2

Section 3 (bars 32 – end)

Ex. 6b: FbWV 412, bars 1–2, 22–23, and 32–34.

¹ My thanks to John Collins and Dr Margaret Glendining for reading this essay in draft and for making invaluable suggestions, and to John Collins and Dr. Miguel Bernal Ripoll for their generous advice regarding Barcelona, Biblioteca da Catalunya, Manuscrit M 387 and other Spanish sources.

² Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's translation of line 10 of Dante, *Inferno*, Canto IV: '*Oscura e profonda era e nebulosa*'.

³ Simon Maguire, *Johann Jacob Froberger: A Hitherto Unrecorded Autograph Manuscript*, supplementary catalogue to the Music Catalogue detailing Lot 50 in the Sale of Music and Continental Manuscripts, L06409 held on Thursday 30 November 2006 Sotheby's, London (London: Sotheby's, 2006). The manuscript was purchased by a private collector, whereabouts unknown.

⁴ The *Froberger Werkverzeichnis* can be found in volume 7 of *Rampe* and in 'Froberger, Johann Jacob,' in Siegbert Rampe, *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2002), *Personenteil*, VII, cols. 177–86. Rampe has excluded FbWV 117 from his catalogue on style grounds, and also FbWV 122 which is a variant of FbWV 116. The catalogue entry for FbWV 308 (*Rampe* VII, p. 44) refers to the lost 'modulating' canzona mentioned in Andreas Werckmeister, *Hypomnemata musica ...* (Quedlinburg, 1697), p. 37. Rampe's methodology has been keenly debated, see David Schulenberg, 'Recent Editions and Recordings of Froberger and Other Seventeenth-Century Composers', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 13, no. 1 (2008) <http://sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/schulenberg.html>.

⁵ Maguire (2006), *op. cit.*, and Schulenberg (2008), *op. cit.* The full title of FbWV 658 'Meditation, la quelle se joue lentement avec discretion, fait à Madrid sur la Mort future de son Altess Serenis^{me} Madame Sibylle, Duchess de Wirtemberg, Princesse de Montbeliard'.

⁶ See Bob van Asperen, 'A New Froberger Manuscript', *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 13, no. 1 (2008): para. 9.1; <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/vanasperen.html>

⁷ Partita, FbWV 614, first movement, *Lamentation sur ce que j'ay été volé et se joüe à la discretion et encore mieux que les soldats m'ont traité*: 'Lamentation over what has been stolen from me and it is to be played with the discretion and much better than the soldiers treated me' (translation by author).

⁸ Howard Schott, Introduction to *Schott*, 57, iii–ix and 58, iii–xx; Rudolf Rasch, 'Johann Jacob Froberger's travels 1649–1653', in Christopher Hogwood (ed.), *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 19–35; Howard Schott, 'Froberger, Johann Jacob.' Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10298> (accessed 15 Jun. 2016).

⁹ Wollny, XVII–XXIII; Bruce Gustafson, Review of *Vingt et une suites pour le clavecin de Johann Jacob Froberger et d'autres auteurs*; Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 1-T-595 (Strasbourg, 1675). Edited by Rudolf Rasch. *Convivium Musicum* 5. Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 2000. *Journal of Seventeenth-Century Music* 7, no. 1 (2001); David Schulenberg, 'Crossing the Rhine with Froberger: Suites, Symbols, and Seventeenth-Century Musical Autobiography' in Claire Fontijn with Susan Parisi (eds.), *Fiori Musicali: Liber amincorum Alexander Silbiger* (Sterling Heights, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2010), 271–302; Schulenberg (2008) *op. cit.*

¹⁰ 'Fantasia sobre ut re mi fa sol la', Barcelona, Biblioteca da Catalunya, Manuscrit M 387, fols. 200r–201r. The Battaglia in on fol. 134r. See *Musici organici Iohannis Cabanilles: Opera omnia [vol. III]*, ed. Higinio Anglés, xiii (1936), Publicaciones del departamento de música de la Biblioteca de Catalunya (Barcelona), XLV. See also, José María Lloréns 'Literatura Organística de siglo XVII. Fuentes, Concordancias, autores, transcripciones musicales, estudios, comentarios y síntesis por José María Llorens', *I Congreso Nacional de Musicología (Sociedad Española de Musicología)* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando el Católico" (C.S.I.C) de la Excm. Diputación Provincial de Zaragoza, 1981), 111; and John O'Donell, *Johann Kaspar Kerll, Sämtliche Werke*

für Tasteninstrumente, vol. 2 (Vienna: Doblinger, 1994), VII. The version of FbWV 513 is on fols. 211r–212v. A concatenation of FbWV 513 and 509 occurs in *E-Felanitx Fundació Cosme Bauzà* Ms. 173, fols. 148r–151v. See Miguel Bernal Ripoll, ‘Procedimientos constructivos en la música para órgano de Joan Cabanilles’, Doctoral thesis, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (2003), 77–88 and 508–511. *E 1650* is mentioned in the treatise by Pablo Nassarre, *Escuela Música según la práctica moderna, segunda parte* (foreword, p. 3, with numeration) published in Zaragoza by Herederos de Manuel Román in 1723 which according to the prologue of Nassarre’s 1683 *Fragmentos Musicos* was written in the seventeenth century (Dr. Miguel Bernal Ripoll, private correspondence).

¹¹ J.G. Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), 264; J. Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), ed. Max Schneider (Berlin: Kommissionsverlag von L. Liepmannssohn Antiquariat, 1910), 87–89.

¹² Alexander Silbiger, ‘Fantasy and craft: the solo instrumentalist’, *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed. Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 454.

¹³ Frescobaldi published seven keyboard books (many of which were reprinted several times) and instrumental music, motets and secular songs between 1608 and 1637. His four single-genre volumes of contrapuntal keyboard music — *Fantasia* (1608), *Ricercari* (1615 onwards) which also includes 5 canzonas, *Canzoni* (1645) and *Capricci* (1624 onwards) — and the two multi-genre books of toccatas (which include both the *stylus phantasticus* toccatas and dances music and variations) would have been an obvious model for Froberger and his generation.

¹⁴ According to preface of that edition. The Neapolitans used this method of recording a score extensively in their prints, including Toccatas, whereas the Venetians seemed to ignore it while Frescobaldi used it only for contrapuntal pieces and laments that playing from score was falling out of practice. John Collins, private correspondence, August 2016. See also Anthony ‘Newcomb’, ‘Notions of Notation around 1600’, *Il Saggiatore Musicale* 22.1 (2015), 5–31.

¹⁵ See Alexander Silbiger, ‘Tracing the Contents of Froberger’s Lost Autographs’, *Current Musicology* 54 (1993), 6.

¹⁶ *Diverse Ingegnosissime, Rarissime & non maj piu viste Curiose Partite di Toccate, Canzone, Ricercate, Alemande, Correnti, Sarabande e Gigue* (Mainz: Ludwig Bourgeat, 1693). Facsimile in *Johann Jacob Froberger, Diverse... partite, 2 parts* (Mainz, Bourgeat, 1693, 1696); 10 *Suittes de Clavessin* (Amsterdam, Mortier, n.d.), ed. Robert Hill (New York: Garland Publishing, 1988), vol. 4 in *17th-Century Keyboard Music: Sources Central to the Keyboard Art of the Baroque*, general ed. Alexander Silbiger.

¹⁷ *Dive[r]se Curiose è Rare Partite Musicali del Excellentissimo è Famosissimo Organista, Giovanni Giacomo Froberger Prima Continuatione* (Mainz: Ludwig Bourgeat, 1696). See: Hill (1998), op. cit.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p viii. Hill notes that the use of two five-line staves may indicate that the engraver prepared these pieces from a source in open score.

¹⁹ *10 Suittes de Clavessin* (Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, [1698]). See: Hill (1998), op. cit. Bourgeat had implied on the title page of his 1693 edition that his volume would include some of Froberger’s dances, or perhaps in a later publication, but this does not appear to have happened. The popularity of the suites is clear, however. In 1710 Pierre Mortier, another Amsterdam publisher, pirated Roger’s earlier engraving of the suites to produce his own which he then sold more cheaply.

²⁰ Transcription and translation of his 1964 lecture at the University of California, Berkeley. Gustav Leonhardt, ‘Johann Jacob Froberger and His Music’, *L’Organo*, VI (1968), 21.

²¹ George J. Buelow, ‘Froberger, Johann Jacob’ in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 6 (London: Macmillan, 1980), 861.

²² *Ibid.*, 860; Jakob Adlung, *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit* (Erfurt, 1758), 711.

²³ Howard Schott, 'Froberger, Johann Jacob.' Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online. Oxford University Press. Web. <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10298> (accessed 15 Jul. 2016).

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ Selective recordings of the keyboard music include, on organ, Pierre Cochereau, Kenneth Gilbert, Páll Ísólsson, Geraint Jones, Walter Kraft, Ton Koopman, Gustav Leonhardt, Christopher Stenbridge, Herbert Tachezi, and on harpsichord, Elżbieta Chojnacka, Siegbert Rampe, Ludger Rémy, Christophe Rousset, Glen Wilson. Several artists including Egarr, Gilbert, Koopman and Leonhardt have recorded on both organ and harpsichord. Only one recording of Froberger's complete keyboard music has been finished to date, Richard Egarr, but this does not take account of sources discovered after 1994. Two further complete recordings have been started or projected but are awaiting completion: Bob van Asperen (begun in 2000) and Simone Stella (Brilliant Classics, 2016–). See Bradley Lehman, *Johann Jakob Froberger (1616-1667) - Keyboard Music Discography*, updated: 7-Feb-2002 <http://www-personal.umich.edu/~bpl/froberger.htm> and British Library Sound and Moving Image Catalogue <http://cadensa.bl.uk>. Recordings on clavichord include Thurston Dart, Siebe Henstra, Igor Kipnis, Layton Ring, Michael Thomas, Colin Tilney. See 'Froberger Clavichord Discography' in Francis Knights, 'The Music of Johann Jakob Froberger', *Clavichord International* 12/2 (2008), 67–70.

²⁶ Akira Ishii, 'Johann Sebastian Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, and Johann Jacob Froberger: The Dissemination of Froberger's Contrapuntal Works in Late Eighteenth-Century Berlin', *Bach - The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 44.1 (2013), 46–133.

²⁷ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis, sive Ars magna consoni et dissoni* (Rome, 1650), 466–475.

²⁸ Claudio Annibaldi, 'Froberger in Rome: From Frescobaldi's Craftsmanship to Kircher's Compositional Secrets', *Current Musicology* 58 (1995), 5–27.

²⁹ The possible connections between Froberger's early studies and the Vatican manuscript, *Chigi Q.IV.25*, are explored in Alexander Silbiger, 'Tracing the Contents of Froberger's Lost Autographs', *Current Musicology* 54 (1993), 20–23.

³⁰ In praise of Orazio Vecchi's 'Fantasia senza parole', *Selva di varia ricreatione* (1590). Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke*, (London: Peter Short, 1597), 162. See Paul Schleuse, *Singing Games in Early Modern Italy: The Music Books of Orazio Vecchi*, (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2015), 118.

³¹ Note the similarity of this section to the themes and textures of J.S. Bach, *Well-tempered Clavier*, Book I, fugue no. 1, BWV 846. See Peter Williams, 'Witting and Unwitting Allusion in Certain Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach', *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 84, No. 4 (Winter, 2000), 767.

³² These transition passages are typical of the end of triple-metre sections in the canzonas, capriccios and toccatas but occur less frequently in the fantasias and ricercars.

³³ See for example, William Porter, 'Psalm-tone formulas in Buxtehude's organ works?', *Charles Brenton Fisk, Organ Builder, Vol. 1: Essays in His Honor*. ed. Fenner Douglass, Owen Jander, and Barbara Owen. (Easthampton: The Westfield Center for Early Keyboard Studies, 1986), 161–74; Geoffrey Webber, 'Modes and Tones in Buxtehude's Organ Works', *Early Music*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (Aug., 2007), 355–369; and David Ledbetter, *Bach's Well-tempered Clavier: The 48 Preludes and Fugues* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 107–109.

³⁴ For a computer assisted approach to thematic modification see, Gene S. Trantham, 'An Analytical Approach to Seventeenth-Century Music: Exploring Inganni in Fantasia Seconda (1608) by Girolamo Frescobaldi', *College Music Symposium*, Vol. 33/34 (1993/1994), 70–92.

³⁵ This modern term was coined by James Ladewig in 'Luzzaschi as Frescobaldi's Teacher: A Little-known Ricercare,' *Studi Musicali* X (1981), 141–64. See also Robert Judd, 'Italy' in Alexander Silbiger (ed.), *Keyboard Music before 1700* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1995), 283–

284; Review by Milton A. Swenson of *The Ricercars of the Bourdeney Codex: Giaches Brumel[?], Fabrizio Dentice, Anonymous*, ed. by Anthony Newcomb. 'Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance', lxxxix. (A-R Editions, Madison, 1991) in *Music & Letters*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (Feb., 1994), 131–133; Peter Schubert, 'Authentic Analysis', *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter, 1994), 3–18; James Ladewig, 'Bach and the Prima prattica: The Influence of Frescobaldi on a Fugue from the Well-Tempered Clavier', *The Journal of Musicology* Vol. 9, No. 3 (Summer, 1991), 358–375.

³⁶ See also Frescobaldi, *Fantasia* (1608), no. 5 and *Ricercari* (1615), no. 2.

³⁷ If the first note is given the solmization syllable, *mi*, it can be read as either 'B' from the hard hexachord or 'E' from natural hexachord (or 'A' from the soft hexachord).

³⁸ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), and Morley (1597), *op. cit.* This technique is also used by Andrea Gabrieli and Merulo. Apel calls it 'inversion fugue'. See Willi Apel, *The History of keyboard Music to 1700*, Translated by Hans Tischler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), 122, 181 and 183–4.

³⁹ Confusingly, Martini calls this *fuga contraria*. See Alfred Mann, *The Study of Fugue*, (New York: Dover, 1986), 271 and 273; David Ledbetter, *Bach's Well-tempered Clavier: The 48 Preludes and Fugues* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 98 and 100.

⁴⁰ This subject is found in the keyboard collections of Rocco Rodio, 1575 (*Quinto Ricercare*), Giovanni Cavaccio, 1626 (*Toccata Terza*) and Frescobaldi, 1624 (*Capriccio Quarto*) and ultimately derives from the *Missae 'La sol fa re mi'* by Josquin des Prez and Jacquet di Mantova.

⁴¹ e.g. Frescobaldi, *Ricercar Ottavo (Recercari, 1615)* 'without stepwise motion'.

⁴² Giovanni Maria Artusi, *Seconda parte Dell'Artusi . . .* (Venice, 1603), page 45, cited from Roland Jackson, 'The Inganni and the Keyboard Music of Trabaci', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xxi (1968), 204.

⁴³ The 'Prelude de Mr Couprin a limitation de Mr Froberger en a mi la' is almost certainly derived from the first toccata in the *Libro Secondo* (1649), FbWV 101. Edition, *Louis Couperin: Pièces de clavecin*, ed. Paul Brunold (1936), rev. Davitt Moroney (Monaco: Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1985), no. 6. See Davitt Moroney, 'The Performance of Unmeasured Harpsichord Preludes', *Early Music* 4/2 (1976), 145–147.

⁴⁴ See Howard Schott's eloquent plea for performance on the clavichord in Howard Schott, 'Froberger and the Clavichord', in Bernard Brauchli, Susan Brauchli, and Alberto Galazzo, editors. *De Clavichordio III: Proceedings of the International Clavichord Symposium. Magnano: Musica Antica a Magnano, 1998*, 27–33. For recent reconstructions of Mersenne's 1636 clavichord and its importance in Froberger's milieu see Terence Charlston, CD booklet to *Mersenne's Clavichord: Two hundred years of keyboard music in France. Early French Keyboard Music for Clavichord* (performed on a reconstruction, by Peter Bavington, of the clavichord in Mersenne, 1636), Divine Art Recordings, DDA 25131 (2015). On the claviorgan see Eleanor Smith, 'History and use of the claviorgan', Ph.D Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2013; Terence Charlston, 'An instrument in search of its repertoire? The Theewes claviorgan and its use in the performance of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century keyboard music', *RCO Journal*, 3 (2009), 24–41.

⁴⁵ Barbara Owen, *The Registration of Baroque Organ Music* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 85–86; vols 14 and 15 in James Dalton (ed.), *Faber Early Organ Series* (London: Faber, 1989), Susan Wollenberg (ed.), *S. Germany & Austria c.1600–c.1660*, iv–vi, and *S. Germany & Austria c.1660–c.1700*, iv–vii. Bob van Asperen, CD recordings, *Complete Froberger Edition*, Aeolus Recordings (2000–).

⁴⁶ Gustav M. Leonhardt, *The Art of Fugue Bach's Last Harpsichord Work: An Argument* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952); R. Killam, 'Solmization with the Guidonian Hand: a Historical Introduction to Modal Counterpoint', *Journal of Music Theory Pedagogy*, ii (1988), 251–73; and f.n. 32.

⁴⁷ For a later example, see J.S. Bach's Fugue in E major, BWV 878, which is totally devoid of ornaments apart from a single tenor trill added to the Anna Magdalena manuscript of the second book of the *Well-tempered Clavier* (bar 15), probably by the composer. The same theme is used in FbWV 202 and 404. See Susan Wollenberg, 'The Jupiter Theme: New Light on Its Creation', *The Musical Times* Vol. 116, No. 1591 (Sep., 1975), 781–783.

⁴⁸ Bob van Asperen (2008), *op. cit.*, para. 8.1 and f.n. 38. <http://www.sscm-jscm.org/v13/no1/vanasperen.html>

⁴⁹ B-Bc 15418, p. 68. Facsimile in *Elisabeth (sic) Edgeworth: Livre de Clavecin: VXIIe siècle. Thesaurus Musicus: Nova Series. Série A : Manuscrits* (Brussels: Edition Cultures et Civilisation, 1980); modern edition in *John Blow's Anthology: Froberger, Strungk, Fischer, Blow*, Early Keyboard Music, vol. 37, ed. Thurston Dart, rev. Davitt Moroney (London: Stainer & Bell, 1978), 22.

⁵⁰ Jean-Henri d'Anglebert, *Pièces de clavecin... avec la manière de les jouer. Diverses chaconnes, ouvertures et autre airs de M. de Lully, mis sur cet instrument. Quelques fugues pour l'orgue et les principes de l'accompagnement. Livre premier* (Paris, 1689), RISM B/I,1 1689 (8), 111–124.

⁵¹ Schulenberg (2010), *op. cit.*, 271–302.

⁵² *Il primo libro di toccate* (1615), *Il primo libro di capricci* (1624) and *Fiori Musicali* (1635). On the context of Frescobaldi's Roman School and the influence of the Michaelangelo Rossi's Toaccata style on Froberger see John Butt, 'Germany and the Netherlands' in Alexander Silbiger (ed.), *Keyboard Music before 1700* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1995), 184–86; Alexander Silbiger, 'The Roman Frescobaldi Tradition, C. 1640-1670', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33.1 (1980), 66–71.

⁵³ Roger Matthew Grant, *Beating Time & Measuring Music in the Early Modern Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 52–54.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 34.

⁵⁵ Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum* (Wittenberg and Wolfenbüttel, 1614–19), III, cap. vii, p. 49. See George Houle, *Meter in Music, 1600–1800: Performance, Perception, and Notation* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 15 and 25–26.

⁵⁶ Zarlino (1558), *op. cit.* See Grant (2014), *op. cit.*, 34.

⁵⁷ See Paul Mark Walker, *Theories of Fugue from the Age of Josquin to the Age of Bach* (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 445–6. Mattheson's *Vollkommene Capellmeister* published in 1739 quotes an organ piece by Buxtehude (the Praeludium in A minor, BuxWV 152) to exemplify the stylus phantasticus, but attributed incorrectly to Froberger, see Markus Rathey, 'Buxtehude and the Dance of Death: The Chorale Partita *Auf meinen lieben Gott* (BuxWV 179) and the *Ars moriendi* in the Seventeenth Century' *Early Music History*, Vol. 29 (2010), 187. For the broader issues of instrumental performance and seventeenth-century attitudes to fantasy, see Alexander Silbiger, 'Fantasy and craft: the solo instrumentalist', *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*, ed Tim Carter and John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 426–478; Yoon Kyung Park, 'Seventeenth-Century Musical Fantasy: Origins of Freedom and Irrationality', Doctor of Philosophy Thesis, University of Glasgow, 2008, 272–276.

⁵⁸ Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (1650), Book VII, 585, translation from Charles E. Brewer, *The Instrumental Music of Schmelzter, Biber, Muffat and their Contemporaries* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), 25.