At the Crossroads:

Topic Theory and Performance Practice Along the Borders of Eastern Europe

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Abstract

This thesis explores the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intersections between the composed music of Western Europe and the traditional music of South- and Central-Eastern Europe, and the implications of these intersections for present-day historical performance practice. Given the comparative dearth of research into early modern folk music from Eastern Europe, and the degree to which the extant research is aimed towards academic specialists, with very little in the way of guidance for applied musical studies, I endeavor to lay out an accessible road map through the relevant history of the regions in question: the circumstances under which music was made, general pictures of musical life, and the commentaries and attitudes that sprang up around the crossroads where Eastern European folk music and Western European composed music met. With the music thus contextualized, I present topic theory as a particularly useful lens through which to identify what seventeenth- and eighteenth-century audiences would have perceived as Eastern European musical characteristics, and apply that lens to a number of compositions where Eastern European influence is either overtly present or strongly implied. I conclude with the implications of this information and analysis for present-day historical performance practice, and the questions a performer must consider and answer for themselves when engaging with Eastern European musical subjects in baroque music.

Cette thèse explore les croisements, durant les XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, entre la musique dite « savante » d'Europe occidentale et la musique traditionnelle d'Europe du Sud et d'Europe centrale-orientale, ainsi que les implications de cette rencontre dans la pratique historique actuelle de l'interprétation. Étant donné le manque relatif de recherches sur la musique folklorique moderne d'Europe de l'Est et la proportion dans laquelle les recherches existantes sont plutôt l'apanage de spécialistes universitaires, avec très peu d'attention pour les études musicales appliquées, je m'efforce de tracer une voie d'accès possible à travers l'histoire pertinente des régions en question : les circonstances selon lesquelles la musique a été créée, les images générales de la vie musicale, ainsi que les commentaires et les attitudes qui ont surgi au carrefour où la musique folklorique d'Europe de l'Est et la musique savante d'Europe occidentale se sont rencontrées. La musique étant ainsi contextualisée, je présente la théorie de la thématique comme un point de vue particulièrement utile pour identifier ce que le public des XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles aurait perçu comme des caractéristiques musicales propres à l'Europe de l'Est, et j'applique ce point de vue à un certain nombre de compositions où l'influence de l'Europe de l'Est est sensible; soit ouvertement présente, soit fortement implicite. Je conclus en montrant les implications de ces informations et analyses dans la pratique historique actuelle de l'interprétation, ainsi que par les questions qu'un interprète doit à la fois se poser et y répondre par lui-même lorsqu'il aborde la présence d'éléments musicaux d'Europe de l'Est dans la musique baroque.

Contents

List of Figures

Introduction

Historically-informed performance has come a long way since the current wave's beginnings in the 1960s. Once a fringe movement largely dismissed or derided by the contemporary musical establishment, it has gained popularity, legitimacy, and momentum. Its ranks include scores of scholars, performers, and scholar-performers whose body of written and recorded work has challenged established practices and introduced new angles of musical creativity and academic depth to the field of performance. Where the movement began with a reliance on a narrow established canon, the current generation of scholars and performers has helped drive a surge of interest in music long forgotten or excluded from concert repertoire: not only works by lesser-known composers, but works by composers who have historically been marginalized.

In one respect, however, the criteria for the the repertoire in common performance rotation has changed more gradually. Particularly in the continental U.S., many programmes are built from music written for the upper echelons of eighteenth-century society, and remain centered on the national styles of the European nations that constituted the eighteenth century's dominant political powers. The composers and musical styles native to other regions have been slower to garner interest beyond their borders. And while they have received an increase in scholarly attention in the past few decades, the body of research dedicated to them - and the resources available for performers wishing to explore this music - are considerably fewer.

It is a comparatively recent phenomenon that the intersections of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century repertoire with folk music have begun to enjoy something of a vogue. This, it

seems to me, is all to the good: it renders the present's portrait of the past more inclusive and better-informed, and brings novelty to an increasingly standardized framework of performance practice. Nonetheless, many of the fruits of these explorations lay bare the holes in both knowledge and imagination when it comes to subjects outside the styles and social spheres from which HIP musicians are accustomed to draw their repertoire.

Performers do not always acknowledge that the boundaries between nations, and between "high" and "low" culture, were more porous than the classifications imposed upon them ex post facto. The modern performance landscape has also been slow to acknowledge that the sounds and inhabitants of less economically and culturally powerful regions were woven just as surely into the fabric of Europe's musical life as the composers of the canon. The engagement and exchange between these musical spheres, the conditions in which it took place, and the fruits it bore in the repertoire have been under-examined by those whose task it is to bring those fruits alive for an audience.

To that end, the purpose of this thesis is twofold. The first is to contribute a case study on the intersection of folk music and HIP repertoire focused in the regions my training, experience and interests qualify me to address, which are primarily South- and Central-Eastern Europe. The second purpose is to present that research in a manner that may help make the music in question more comprehensible and accessible to the present-day performer.

The first chapter provides the cultural, political, and musical contexts within which these late seventeenth and eighteenth-century composers were working, in an effort to describe how their contemporaries and audiences thought of and related to the musical traditions of Central-Eastern Europe. The second chapter addresses topic theory as a means of identifying musical

characteristics which were likely to have made certain pieces sound identifiably regional (e.g., Polish, Hanák, Hungarian) to eighteenth-century audiences. Some of these elements do not generally appear in European baroque compositions; others, when combined with particular musical and contextual elements, carried specific connotations. The third chapter provides a preliminary catalogue of pieces that display these topics, along with specific musical and contextual analyses where appropriate. The final chapter puts forward a series of considerations aimed at providing a basis for possible interpretive decisions for the present-day performer, especially with regard to pieces that fall outside the usual baroque idioms and are rarely programmed. Ideally, it will provide the grounds for modern performers to make more interesting and varied interpretive decisions, based on evidentiary support as well as personal taste, when performing these works.

I. Background and Context

The social, economic, and political landscape of early modern Europe was very different from its present-day equivalent, shaped primarily by aristocratic familial alliances and conflicts over succession. In order to understand some of the nuances of its relationship to its Central-South-Eastern European neighbors and to their music, some degree of historical background is necessary. The references to Hungarian, Romanian, and Slavonic music in compositions under the European baroque umbrella are highly contextual, and the ways in which those regions' folk music subjects were used, referenced, and received by audiences had to do both with both national and class conceptions, as well as individual composers' backgrounds and attitudes. The

cases of individual composers will be addressed at more length in a subsequent chapter; the goal of this one is to provide enough of an overview of late seventeenth and eighteenth-century circumstances to make situating composers and musical subjects possible within them.

European attitudes towards countries that are today swept together under the label of "Eastern European" varied significantly, often on a basis of proximity as well as political circumstances and cultural differences. In regards to musical attitudes specifically, some commonalities do emerge. It would, however, be a mistake to attribute these commonalities solely to a conflation of Eastern-Europeanness (or the modern construction of it) with "otherness." As the case of Poland will make particularly plain, the strongest "othering" factor was the association of these regions' national styles with lower-class status. This association was largely enforced by extreme wealth stratification, economic and political domination by external powers, and the adoption of predominantly Italian musical styles by both wealthy elites who benefited from these power structures and lower-class musicians and composers seeking upward mobility. In order to lay the groundwork for the musical analysis in subsequent chapters, this chapter will broadly address the historical circumstances and musical life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Bohemia-Moravia (present-day Czechia and Slovakia), the Kingdom of Hungary (present-day Hungary and Romania), and the Northern Balkans (a region which lacked a consistent catch-all term in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but consisted of the regions of Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia). In preparation for discussion of specific musical topics that appear in baroque repertoire, this chapter concludes with a general survey of European perceptions of these regions' music and musicians.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

Poland's borders have altered significantly between its Commonwealth days and the present. During the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, its northern borders encompassed most of present-day Latvia and Estonia, and its Western borders included territories that now belong to Ukraine (Lviv), Belarus (Minsk), and Lithuania (Vilnius), even extending as far as modern-day Russia (Kiev) prior to the 1686 Treaty of Perpetual Peace. Conversely, its western border was situated farther east, with the territories of Silesia and Pomerania under Habsburg and Brandenburg rule respectively.[1] Within those borders were a number of groups routinely othered by European writers of the period on account of religious or cultural differences, including statistically significant populations of Jews, Greek Orthodox Christians, Muslim Tartars, and Cossacks.[2] But the internal diversity of the Commonwealth did not appear, at least in the beginning of this period, to translate to a wholesale "othering" of Poland.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth occupies a unique position among the Slavic-language regions of Europe by virtue of the fact that, during the sixteenth and well into the seventeenth centuries, it was generally regarded as a European power, and a peer of Austria and its German neighbor states in terms of its political and cultural status. Unlike the substantially more complicated case of Hungary, Poland's status as a European power was reinforced by its alliance with the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the latter's conflict with the Ottoman Empire (Europe's ultimate Other at the time) during the Battle of Vienna in 1683, and its crucial role in

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[1] Paul Newton-Jackson, "Georg Philipp Telemann and the Invention of 'the Polish Style': Musical Polishness in the Early Modern German Imagination" (Apollo: University of Cambridge, 2022), 14.

[2] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 42.

the Austrian victory.[3] Bernard Connor, writing in, 1698, referred to Poland as "the invincible Bulwark of Europe against the Progress of the common Enemies of Christendom."[4]

Even so, visitors from other European nations often struggled with the Slavic languages most commonly spoken in the Commonwealth, which laid a certain degree of groundwork for perceptions of Poland as a place belonging to the category of the Other. The Dutch scholar Isaac Vossius, writing in 1673, remarked that "it would be needless labour to examine this or any other language of the northern nations in terms of the old rules of prosody."[5] A satirical idiom to this effect appears across several late seventeenth-century German sources: "nos Poloni non curamus quantitatem Syllabarum" ("we Poles care nothing for the lengths of syllables").[6]

The eighteenth century saw a dramatic downturn in Poland's fortunes: six decades of domination by Saxony (1697-1763), the economic devastation that followed the Great Northern War (1700-21), and the three partitions (1772, 1793, and 1795, the last of wiped Poland as a political entity off the map) culminated in the collapse of Poland's political and cultural power and status from its seventeenth-century zenith. And as Enlightenment philosophy began to reshape the ways in which the literati of Europe conceptualized their identities, the emphasis on Christendom as the primary determining factor of a nation's degree of civilization began to decline, leaving Poland's status as the "bulwark against the enemies of Christendom" less relevant. (Tellingly, Catholic France, which was allied with the Ottomans at the time of the Battle of Vienna, was rhetorically excluded from many German-language conceptions of Europe in the

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[3] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 20.

[4] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 39.

[5] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 48.

[6] Szymon Paczkowski, *Polish Style in the Music of Johann Sebastian Bach,* trans. Piotr Szymczak, in *Contextual Bach Studies* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 26-27.

seventeenth century, where Poland was included;[7] almost nowhere is the reverse to be found in sources beyond the turn of the eighteenth century.) As a result, over the course of the eighteenth century, Poland went through a simultaneous process of being figuratively cast out from "civilized" Western European while being politically (and literally) wiped off the map.

Correspondingly, many of the eighteenth-century European writings on Poland paint a less flattering portrait than those of the seventeenth century. Louis de Jacourt's *Encyclopédie* sketched a dismal portrait of Poland in 1765: it "has no school of painting, no theater; architecture is in its infancy; history is treated there without taste; mathematics little cultivated; sound philosophy almost unknown; no monument, no great city."[8] Voltaire, writing in 1761, penned a similar judgment: "I still give five hundred years to the Poles to make the fabrics of Lyon and the porcelain of Sèvres."[9] And Count Louis-Philippe de Ségur, upon arriving in Warsaw in 1784, described it thus: "The moment we enter Poland, we think we have gone altogether beyond the bounds of Europe, and our eyes are struck by new and strange prospects. An immense region, almost wholly covered with pines, always green, but always melancholy, intersected at great distances by some cultivated plains, similar to the islands scattered over the ocean; a poor population of serfs, filthy villages, and cottages little different from the hut of the savage Indian; everything conspires to make one believe that we have retrograded ten centuries, and that we are in the midst of those hordes of Huns, Scythians, Veneti, Slavi, and Sarmatians."[10] The English were not much kinder in their assessments (though by merit of distance their record

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[7] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 40.

[8] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 477.

[9] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 477.

[10] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 478.

on the subject is rather thinner). Edmund Burke, writing around the time of the second partition in 1793, declared that "with respect to us, Poland might be, in fact, considered as a country in the moon[…][they are] a people without arts, industry, commerce, or liberty."[11]

The picture painted by German-language sources create a more complicated and less single-faceted image of Poland, one that shifted materially alongside the rise and fall of Poland's fortunes. On one hand, some of their impressions still appear to have followed the wider European pattern of viewing Poland as comparatively under-civilized. An anonymous German poet, writing around 1680, painted Poland as "as a land of contradictions[…] of simultaneous plenty and poverty, beauty and baseness"[12]:

> Here there are many feathers, and yet the beds are poor.
> Many thieves and mischievous people, but hardly any justice of the gallows.
> Much fruit and little bread, much wood and poor bridges.
> Much war and little blood, and many mosquitoes in summer.
> Sabers are not rare, nor are arrows and quivers."[13]

This portrait of a land rich in raw materials but poor in skilled labor and processed goods also appears in the writing of Saxon historian Samuel von Pufendorf, who wrote in 1683 that "if only the Poles were more inclined to hard work, and applied themselves to handicrafts, then their exports could far surpass the imports,"[14] Similar sentiments appear in the travel writings of Johann Bardili, published in 1730: "almost nothing, or at least very little is manufactured in Poland," and such craftsmanship as was to be found in less rural and more cosmopolitan Kraków

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[11] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 477.

[12] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 477.

[13] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 477.

[14] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 21.

was “more due to the foreigners who settled there, namely the Germans and French, than to the Polish.”[15] Bardili also had remarks to offer on the subject of rural Poland’s poverty: he described some of his travel lodgings as “of such a quality as to hardly deserve to be called a house,” and made note of a “miserable Tartar village” he passed along the Dnieper as having buildings that were “closer to caves than houses.”[16] It is entirely possible, however, that these portrayals stem primarily from the distaste of bourgeois urban travelers for rural life (which made up a fair proportion of the Commonwealth, whose population was comparatively decentralized outside its major cities); German travelers had a tendency to write with equal distaste about rural France.[17]

But between the turn and the middle of the eighteenth century, German sources paint a more broadly positive portrait of Poland. This was almost certainly owing to the period of Saxon domination that began in 1697, when the Elector of Saxony, Augustus II, was crowned King of Poland. Newton-Jackson posits that “one crucial reason why, prior to the Partitions, Germans were disinclined to view Poland as a not-quite-European Other, was because to do so would risk impugning their own civilized status”[18]; and, indeed, a number of German sources from these decades are significantly more complementary in their assessments of Poland. An encyclopedia published in 1748 from Andreas Erdmann Maschenbauer contains the following description of the Polish temperament: “[the Poles] do not like to occupy themselves with manual labour,

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[15] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, “Musical Polishness,” 22.

[16] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, “Musical Polishness,” 26-7.

[17] Newton-Jackson, “Musical Polishness,” 28.

[18] Newton-Jackson, “Musical Polishness,” 43.

handicrafts, or farming; [rather, they] write eloquently and decorate their words with flowers."[19] In 1764, only a year before Jacourt's description of Poland as an uncultured backwater lacking cities, arts, and sciences, an anonymous German writer painted a starkly opposing picture: "Almost all Poles, including the commoners, have their children learn Latin, and most nobles speak German, French, Italian and Spanish, in addition to the Slavic tongue, which comes naturally to them."[20] And another encyclopedist, Johann Jakob Schatz, described the Poles as "well-disposed towards their studies, especially oratory," and made note of its "three famous universities"[21] (Kraków, Poznań and Lviv) in 1753. Per Newton-Jackson, "the academic reputation of Poland's inhabitants thus formed a constant thread throughout early modern German-language writings on the Commonwealth, counterbalancing the equally consistent theme of Poles' disinclination towards handicrafts."[22]

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, many of the post-partition German sources are markedly more judgmental, and strike a tone not dissimilar to Jacourt, Voltaire, and Burke. In 1784, naturalist Georg Foster wrote of the "Polish economy, or the unspeakable filth, laziness, drunkenness and incompetence of all [Polish] servants"[23] - and thereby coined the term "Polish economy" as a phrase denoting confusion, incompetence, and general disarray. The philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, writing in 1791 while traveling through Poland, recorded that he was

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[19] 'Mit der Hand-Arbeit, Künsten und dem Acker-Bau gehen sie nicht gerne um, schreiben hoch, und schmücken ihre Schrifften mit vielen Blumen aus,' Johann Andreas Erdmann Maschenbauer, *Der curiose und in allen nöthigen Wissenschafften nützliche Dollmetscher, oder: Allgemeines Zeitungs-Handbuch* (Augsburg: In Verlegung des Autoris, 1748), 780.

[20] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 24.

[21] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 25.

[22] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 25.

[23] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 21.

received by the locals with great politeness, but found the peasants' manner of dress "wild and neglected," and both the people and environment "dirty."[24]

Part of the downturn in Germans' portrayals of Poland and Polish culture may have been the result of what amounted to a propaganda campaign by Frederick the Great, who obtained rulership over a significant portion of the Commonwealth during the First Partition in 1772. Newton-Jackson notes that "the Prussian king. […] understood the expediency of promulgating perceptions of Poland-Lithuania as an undeveloped country. This not only served the purpose of justifying Prussia's political and military domination of the Commonwealth, but also set the scene for the late Enlightenment's 'intellectual mastery' over Poland and its fortunes."[25] Indeed, shortly after the 1772 acquisition, Frederick wrote to his brother that "This is a very good and advantageous acquisition, both for the political situation of the state and for its finances; but to inspire less jealousy, I tell anyone who will listen that I have seen nothing but sand, pine, heather, and Jews."[26] Frederick certainly stood to benefit from this altered perception of Poland, but it seems likely that the decline of Poland's European status was also due to the 1772 annexations, which reclassified the parts of the Commonwealth that German-speakers historically viewed as "especially familiar and European"[27] as Prussian and Austrian territory. With the more "civilized" parts of Poland in German hands, and additional incentives to paint Poland as a land in need of the guidance of a more socially and culturally advanced power, plausible roots for the late-century increase in "othering" rhetoric begin to show in German-language sources.

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[24] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 478

[25] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 31.

[26] Cited in Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 31.

[27] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 42.

Musical life in Poland

The extreme contrasts between the urban and the rural, the upper class and the lower class, are apparent in eighteenth-century descriptions of Poland's musical life as well. Even as Poland's overall political and economic power declined, Warsaw in particular was singled out for praise by locals and foreigners alike. Composer-critic Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart describes a visit to the city in the following terms:

> "In no other realm besides England are there more orchestras, large and small, than in Poland. In the 1770s, a credible traveler remarked that Warsaw was home to more than 1500 professional musicians. This is easy to understand when one remembers that Warsaw is the meeting place for all Polish nobility who, out of pride and national inclination, zealously compete to outdo one another in displaying their love of music. [...] The operas here are as splendid as in any of Europe's princely cities. [...] Year on year, the whole of Warsaw resounds with concerts and Hausmusik. All festivities are crowned with music, and even the drunken revels of the lowly mob are animated by singing and playing. Even the overall state of misery which other nations have inflicted on this noble people has not been able to dampen the spirit of music."[28]

Even within this overall sympathetic and favorable portrait, it is difficult not to mark the contrast between the sparkling description of the musical venues intended for the nobility and the "drunken revels" of the peasants.

Accounts of the dances that accompanied both types of music-making highlight the same class divide. The French poet Jean-François Regnard, when passing through the Commonwealth in 1683, described Polish court dancing as "the *dance Polonoise,* which is rather singular […] all

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[28] Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1806), 248-249.

they do is walk."[29] Leipzig dancing-master Christoph Gottlieb Hänsel, writing over half a century later, characterized the *polonaise* as "gentle and agreeable"[30] when properly performed; a contemporary of Hänsel's, Charles Pauli, pronounced it "serious, grave, and masculine," with a particularly "grand and impressive" character when danced by the native Polish nobility.[31] A third eighteenth-century source, Johann Halle, writes of Polish dancing as "[eschewing] all leaps; they take place to songful, modest music, with sincerity and courtesy."[32] These dignified and decorous descriptions are quite at odds with the accounts of eighteenth-century lower-class dancing. A Danish writer from 1730 describes a "jumping dance [where participants] bump their heels in their rump," before making note of the fact that "distinguished people mostly let their children learn the English dances, but others, of low rank, are pleased if their children can learn the Polish dances."[33] The "Polish dance" label appears to have been used very imprecisely across eighteenth-century sources - or at least the same term was used to describe several very different kinds of dances. More than the mere fact of a "Polish" label, it is the contextual clues and the descriptions of the dances themselves that indicate which tier of society the dances and the music accompanying them originated in.

In this context, it seems likely that German descriptions of "barbarity" as it pertains to music also corresponds to the class divide. Johann Walther's 1732 *Musicalisches Lexicon*

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[29] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 92.

[30] Christoph Gottlieb Hänsel, *Allerneuste Anweisung zur Aeusserlichen Moral, Worinnen in Angange die so genannten Pfuscher entdecket, und überhaupt der Misbrauch der edlen Tanzkunst einen ieden vor Augen geleget wird* (Leipzig: In Verlegung des Autoris, 1755), 138-139

[31] Charles Pauli, *Elemens de la danse* (Leipzig: Ulrich Christian Saalbach, 1756), 64-65.

[32] 'Die polnischen Tänze entfernen alle Sprünge, sie geschehen bei einer singenden bescheidnen Musik, mit Ernst und Höflichkeit.' Johann Samuel Halle, *Werkstäte der heutigen Künste, oder die neue Kunsthistorie* (Brandenburg, Leipzig: Johann Wendelin Halle, 1765), 380.

[33] Quoted in Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 83.

invokes the term "barbarity" in this manner: "when someone of little repute [...] takes the liberty of sometimes adding incorrect passages [to their music]; or even relies too much on using such passages, which the most famous and astute musicians use only in moderation. Or, barbarism is a rule-breaking passage of music which the most astute musicians only occasionally employ with diligence, [yet which] uneducated composers often use out of ignorance."[34] By this definition, it is plausible that Telemann's infamous description of the "barbaric beauty" of Polish music was intended to invoke Polish folk music specifically. (The "barbaric beauty" of which he was so enraptured was occurring in a tavern in Upper Silesia, after all.) Newton-Jackson likewise observes, in reference to composer Conrad Friendrich Hurlebusch's claim to "know 'no Polish music other than [Telemann's] that sounds to me quite so barbaric and just as beautiful as that of the bear trainers,"[35] that "such wording implies that Hurlebusch would not ordinarily have used the adjective 'barbaric' to describe 'Polish music'. "[36] Not when it came to what a German might call "our" polonaises, at least.

Bohemia and Moravia

The state of Bohemia and Moravia in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was one of general impoverishment and repression. Following a catastrophic defeat during the Thirty Years' War, a series of imperial edicts issued by the victorious Habsburgs between 1623 and

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[34] 'Barbarismus heisset, wann einer, so noch nicht im Ruf ist [...] sich die Freyheit nehmen will, bisweilen etwas unrechtes mit anzubringen; oder solche Sätz gar zu viel brauchet, deren sich die berühmtesten und accuratesten Musici nur mäßig bedienet haben. Oder: Barbarismus ist solcher unartiger Musicalischer Satz, daß die accuratesten Musici nur bißweilen mit Fleiß: die ungelehrte Componisten aber offt, und aus Unwissenheit setzten.' Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexikon oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), 69.

[35] Quoted in Steven Zohn, 'Naïve Questions and Laughable Answers: An Eighteenth-Century Job Interview', in *Coll'astuzia, Col Giudizio: Essays in Honor of Neal Zaslaw*, ed. by Cliff Eisen (Ann Arbor: Steglein, 2009), 91.

[36] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 37.

1628 reshaped the social, linguistic, and economic landscape of the region. German was elevated to the status of a second official language, where German-speakers had once been required by law to learn Czech if they wished to relocate to Prague; the overwhelming Protestant majority was forced to convert to Catholicism, in accordance with the beliefs of the prevailing empire. More than fifty percent of the land and wealth previously owned by the Bohemian aristocracy was seized, sold, or given to their Catholic Bavarian and Saxon counterparts; the 1627-1628 land ordinances left the vast majority of the peasantry subject to the *robota* (forced labor) system, which forbade them from leaving their masters' estates and resulted in a life of functional enslavement.[37] The 1648 Peace of Westphalia merely brought a new wave of bloodshed in the form of "witch trials" (functionally a cover for rooting out Protestantism). Between the war, the consequent outbreaks of famine and disease, the postwar bloodshed, and the exodus of exiles who preferred to leave rather than endure forced conversion, the region's population had decreased by an estimated forty percent or more by 1645, with the towns and cities especially depopulated by the binding of the peasantry to the estates.[38]

These conditions sparked a peasant revolt in 1680. But though the *robota* laws were nominally eased in hopes of preventing a second rebellion, in practice the Habsburg nobility had little incentive to abide by them, and the forced labor system remained the law of the land through much of the eighteenth century.

Travelers from outside the region left behind substantial records of this state of affairs. The Irish travel writer Thomas Nugent wrote in his The *Grand Tour* memoir (1749) that the

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[37] Robert G. Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque: Czech Musical Culture and Style, 1600-1750* (Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 23-36.

[38] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 25.

Bohemian Habsburg lords lived as "absolute masters upon their estates, where the peasants are their slaves."[39] The British travel writer Joseph Marshall recorded in his *Travels* that

> "The peasants are treated in a wretched manner; they have hovels of the worst sort to live in, little better than those in Westphalia; being loose stones laid on one another for the walls, and the crevices filled with mud, and the covering some strong poles, with turf spread on them, and a hole at top in the middle is all the chimney that any of them have; adjoining is their barn, built of the same materials, in which they stow their little corn, and keep their cattle in winter; each cottage has a few acres of land around it, with a cow or two, and a miserable pair either of horses or oxen for ploughing their land. In general, Sunday is the only day in the week which they are allowed for cultivating this land, in order to raise provisions for subsisting on the whole week; but in feed-time and harvest their lords indulge them with another: When I speak therefore of the husbandry of the country, I do not mean of the peasants, nor of the farmers, for there is scarcely any such thing, but of the nobility, and other landlords, who all cultivate their own estates by means of their agents and stewards. The peasants in every respect resemble nearly those of Poland, than whom they are not favoured more."[40]

Even some Austrian subjects expressed outrage over the treatment of the Bohemian peasantry, like Viennese preacher Abraham a Sancta Clara (1644-1709):

> "Ask that poor worker in the field. *Robot* means that on Monday the peasant has to cultivate the land of his lord, on Tuesday to work in the vineyard of his, on Wednesday to cart wood to the castle, on Thursday to thresh or cut the straw, on Friday to fish in the pond or catch game for the table, on Saturday to do building work, on Sunday to serve as courier. Out of days make weeks, out of weeks months, out of months years, and you will understand the sort of Easter that the peasants have, and how it happens that they sometimes carry their bones and skin to market, for they really have nothing else. "[41]

The comparison with Polish peasants in Marshall's account suggests that it is poverty, rather than any other particular quality of language or culture, that fixed the perception of many

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[39] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 27.

[40] Quoted in Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 27.

[41] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 26.

Eastern European populations as not quite European. Indeed, Robert Rawson observes that by the end of the seventeenth century, "Bohemia" - especially "Bohemian" as a language - was beginning to be more firmly and directly equated with the Czech people and language.[42] And by the turn of the eighteenth century, the concept of Czechness had developed a situational association with peasantry due to the extreme class stratification under Habsburg rule.

Musical life in Bohemia

There was an extraordinarily strong culture of music education in Bohemia, fostered in rural church schools and Jesuit institutions. It appears to have been a standard requirement of rural education: a 1689 decree issued to residents of Bakov nad Jizerou reminded them that no one would be allowed to assume any trade apprenticeship unless they had first been trained in music.[43] Most baroque composers of Bohemian extraction came up through this system of musical education. Yet if they wished to make a living through their musical skills beyond teaching at a local parish school, they were often obliged to leave the country. Even if, like Biber and his contemporary Pavel Vejvanovský, they managed to obtain posts nearer home for part or all of their careers, the wealth and title concentration in the hands of the German-speaking upper class meant they had perforce to adopt whatever styles were in fashion among their potential employers. Consequently, the training most Bohemian musicians received during their education in the village schools included an emphasis on the Italian style popular among the region's nobility. As Rawson notes: "There was a close relationship between the two most important

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[42] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 28.

[43] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 89.

institutions of music-making—the church and the court. [But] villagers who were able to gain a position at court had to relinquish any obvious links with peasantry (be it Czech or German speaking) and […] recognise their position as ersatz Italians. […] Herein lies one of the reasons that so many composers from the Czech lands succeeded abroad: because they already had intimate knowledge of Italian musical style by the time they left their village or provincial court post."[44]

Charles Burney's famous tours of the musical institutions of Europe included an account of Bohemian musical life that renders a portrait both impressive and heartbreaking. Of the population in general, he wrote that "The half-starved people, just recovered from malignant fevers, occasioned by bad food or no food at all, offered to view the most melancholy spectacles I ever beheld."[45] But of the musicality of its people, he wrote: "being very assiduous in my enquiries [of] how the common people learned music, I found out at length, that, not only in every large town, but in all villages, where there is a reading and writing school, children of both sexes are taught music."[46] As impressive as Burney found the rural music schools of Bohemia, he also lamented their pupils' likely futures: "many of those who learn music at school go afterwards to the plow and their knowledge of music turns to no other account, than to enable them to sing in their parish-church."[47] He appears to have found one particular case - a rural organist who was almost certainly the father of future virtuoso pianist Jan Ladislav Dusík -

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[44] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 37.

[45] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany, the Netherlands and United Provinces*, Vol. 2 (London, 1775), 2.

[46] Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany*, 4.

[47] Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany,* 11.

particularly upsetting: "[The organist] had too many learners to instruct, in the first rudiments, to be allowed leisure for study, and that his house was not only full of other people's children, but his own. [His] mind and talents are superior to such drudgery! Yet, thus circumstanced, there is no alternative but a jail."[48]

There are mentions of a "Bohemian style" of composition in the 18th-century record - apparently a concept distinct from "works composed by a Bohemian," as Italian-style compositions by Bohemian composers are never referred to this way in the historical record.[49] A number of eighteenth-century compositions bearing the *stylo Bohemica* label have survived, but Rawson posits that this refers primarily to the use Czech as the sung language of the works in question. No definitive descriptors of what the *stylo Bohemica* might have referred to have survived the centuries since; only references to its existence. The most likely proposal for what it might have constituted includes the "presence or admixture of the rustic style,"[50] which is a frequent element of eighteenth-century compositions written in Czech. But if the "Bohemian style" is not so clearly definable as the Polish or Hungarian styles referenced in contemporaneous sources, it is potentially possible to examine it through "a set of recurring musical and cultural patterns and conventions which, taken together, mark out certain practices as distinctly Czech but still within a wider European context"[51] - which will be the work of the subsequent chapter.

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[48] Burney, *The Present State of Music in Germany,* 6.

[49] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 38.

[50] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 42.

[51] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 42

The Kingdom of Hungary

At the turn of the eighteenth century, the Hungarian-Transylvanian region (now divided between modern-day Hungary and Romania) was in a state of substantial turmoil. Torn by the claims of both the Habsburg and Ottoman Empires, and with regions drastically depopulated by the Great Turkish War, the Turkish-occupied portion of Hungary was "liberated" by the Habsburg Empire in 1686 only to have the House of Habsburg declared its overlords. The Habsburgs' postwar reconstruction policies might be neatly summarized by a dubiously-attested but oft-repeated saying attributed to the Croat-born Habsburg Cardinal Kollonics: "First I am going to pauperize the Hungarians, then Catholicize them, and finally Germanize them."[52] Enormous estates were allocated to non-Hungarian military and royalist magnates; a military frontier was established along the border of historical Hungary and populated with German and Serbian peasants. "Reimbursement liberation costs" were exacted on the inhabitants of formerly Turkish-occupied central Hungary: enormous sums of money were demanded from the old Hungarian landowners, few of whom could afford to pay them, and the Hungarians were ordered to cover the majority of the expenses of the Habsburg troops. Approximately 40,000-50,000 were billeted with the peasants, townspeople, and even the nobility, many of whom abused the local population without compunction.[53] Prince Paul Esterházy wrote of Hungary's postwar conditions: "In 150 years, Hungary had not paid so much to the Turks as it had to pay now in two years to the Imperial armies."[54]

Hungary was granted nominal autonomy by the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, but remained

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[52] Paul Lendvai, *The Hungarians: A Thousand Years of Victory in Defeat* (Princeton University Press, 2004), 146.

[53] Lendvai, *The Hungarians,* 147.

[54] Lendvai, *The Hungarians,* 147.

under direct Austrian rule. The Habsburgs continued to treat their subjects in Hungary and Transylvania so poorly that a series of peasant revolts ensued, and the relationship between the Austrian Empire and the Hungarian nobility rapidly deteriorated further in response. 1703 saw Hungary's first independent attempt to throw off the yoke of Habsburg rule, led by Prince Ferenc Rákóczi (whose stepfather, Imre Thököly, had led an anti-Habsburg uprising in 1678, and materially assisted the invading Turks when they besieged Vienna in 1683). Rákóczi's paltry initial force of roughly 300 Hungarian, Slovak, and Ruthenian peasants expanded within days to roughly 3,000; by the culmination of the war, he had created a national army estimated at roughly 75,000.[55] The war of independence that dragged on until 1711, when it concluded (mostly unsuccessfully for the Hungarians) with the Treaty of Szatmár.[56]

The eighteenth century saw yet another reassertion of Habsburg authority over Hungary, but the frequency and tenacity of the late seventeenth-century uprisings finally produced a more material change in policy through the treaty terms. Hungary was reintegrated into the empire as a nominally independent kingdom, governed by its own laws and customs; the Austrians also allowed the Hungarian nobility to keep their privileges, and the rebel troops were granted amnesty if they would swear allegiance to the Habsburgs.[57] The result was an internal cultural split, largely along class and religious lines. On one side were the Habsburg-loyalist Labancs, mostly comprised of Catholic nobility and higher-level military officers; on the other side were the Kurucs, who still wanted full legal independence, and who mostly belonged to the peasantry, the rank-and-file soldiery, and some of the Calvinist lower nobility.

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[55] Lendvai, *The Hungarians,* 151-2.

[56] Lendvai, *The Hungarians,* 154.

[57] Lendvai, *The Hungarians,* 160.

The lot of the Labancs might have improved after the Treaty of Szatmár, but the peasantry largely went from being abused by the Habsburg nobility to being abused by the Hungarian nobility. The nobility were granted "unlimited power"[58] over them, and they were both routinely conscripted into and forced to pay (through war taxes) an Imperial-royal standing army. But with privilege and a fair degree of independence granted to the wealthier and more powerful upper classes, the spate of Hungarian rebellions ceased for a time, and Hungary served as a military arm of the Habsburg empire for the remainder of the century.

Musical life in Hungary

A century's worth of political turbulence had a two-fold impact on Hungarian musical culture. During the turn-of-the-century period of strife, many members of the Hungarian nobility made an active effort to preserve local musical culture as an act of resistance: in addition to encouraging the organized practice of traditional music among the general populace, they engaged ensembles and poets at their own residences to perform in the current national style.[59] There are a handful of surviving musical codices from this period, some anonymous, some written by lower-class church officials, and some written for members of the Hungarian nobility, which provide a surprising wealth of snapshots into the state of Hungarian folk music - and that of some of the neighboring regions, as one of the codexes contains dances labeled as Polish and Slovak as well.

Some of the best-preserved sources for early modern Eastern European folk music are the

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[58] Lendvai, *The Hungarians,* 161.

[59] Bence Szabolcsi, *A Concice History of Hungarian Music,* 2nd ed. trans. Sára Karig and Fred Macnicol (Corvina Press, 1955), 38.

Kájoni and Vietórisz Codices of Transylvania and upper Hungary. The Kájoni Codex is the work of Transylvanian friar-cum-folklorist János Kájoni (1629-1687). His musical training appears to have been fairly thorough; his surviving works comprise not only the codex bearing his name, but also an organ book of his own composition and several collections of sacred songs. The codex itself is a curious hybrid object, with part of it devoted to transcriptions of contemporary Italian-style works, and the other part given over to a series of folk melodies and dances Kájoni appears to have collected from around his general home region.[60] Compiled sometime between 1634 and 1671, this codex derives its importance primarily from the latter half: it is potentially the earliest written record of "popular" folk music in southeastern Europe, comprising mostly dance music. The anonymously-written Vietórisz Codex, dated circa 1680, is comprised of similar material: it includes some 17 "flower songs" (traditional Hungarian love songs), several trumpet pieces presumably commissioned or copied at the behest of the codex's owner in a similar style, and a range of folk dances labeled as Hungarian, Czech, Slovakian, and Polish.[61] Both codices are written in tablature, and contain some of the earliest notated examples of distinctive musical elements identifiable with Southeastern and Eastern Europe (for instance, the double minor or "Hungarian minor" scale, a harmonic minor with a raised fourth, and the *mazurka* rhythm, a repeated pattern of two eighth notes followed by two quarter notes in 3/4[62]).

In addition to the codices themselves, the payroll records of several Hungarian and

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[60] János Kajoni, ed. Saviana Diamandi, *Codex Caioni* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor şi Muzicologilor din România, 1993)

[61] Szabolcsi, *Concise History*, 39.

[62] Gy. Martin, "The Relationship between Melodies and Dance Types in the Volume VI of Corpus Musicae Popularis Hungaricae," *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14, no. 1/4 (1972), 93-145, 119.

Transylvanian courts paint a picture of the instrumentation in use during the period where this strain of musical nationalism was popular among the nobility. Bence Szabolcsi notes that there were

> "11 Hungarian chief trumpeters at the residence of Ferenc Nádasdy (1648), 9 at the residence of Esterházy (1682), 15 trumpeters served in the household of Imre Thököly (1683), 3 violin players, 1 assistant violinist, 7 trumpeters, 1 lutenist, cimbalom player, whistler, bagpipe player and drummer at the residence of Ádám Batthyány (1658), and 3 trumpeters, 4 trumpeter assistants, 1 Turkish whistler, 1 Polish whistler, 4 whistler assistants, 2 violin players, 1 bagpipe player, virginal player and organist at the court of Ferencz Rákóczi I (1668). The harp player, trombone player and viol player also figure at the residence of the Esterházys in the course of the seventeenth century, while bagpipe, lute, harp, virginal, trumpet and violin were played in the princely court of Transylvania. […] These groups of musicians do not necessarily indicate the actual make-up of the orchestras, but only the musicians available from time to time. However, poems of the period indicate that big and varied ensembles were not rare and that from time to time one or more instruments capable of playing in harmony were added to violins and to the trumpets (zither, cimbalom, harp, lute, organ and virginal)."[63]

After the reconciliation with Austria, the Hungarian nobility turned from the local musical culture in favor of embracing the styles favored by the Austrian upper classes. When music with a distinctively Hungarian character made an appearance in post-reconciliation public life, it was most often used in conjunction with military recruitment for the Austrian army. Both Szabolcsi and Jonathan Bellman identify *verbunkos,* a particular style of Hungarian dance music that evolved from the seventeenth-century Heyduck dance,[64] as the music specifically co-opted for this purpose: "Following the organization of a permanent Hungarian army in 1715, the music was used as a recruiting tactic for the hussars. They would pay (or force) Gypsy musicians to play and dance verbunkos as part of entertainments dealing with the supposed joys of army life.

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[63] Szabolcsi, *Concise History,* 37.

[64] Szabolcsi, *Concise History*, 54.

The purpose was to con village boys into joining up."[65]

Verbunkos developed a cyclical relationship with the broader Hungarian musical style. Though drawn from earlier Hungarian folk traditions, verbunkos were often composed by Austrians affiliated with the military recruitment endeavors, and sometimes incorporated elements of Viennese or Italian style.[66] But perhaps owing to its roots in older local styles, as well as the distinctive sounds produced from the commingling of the Heyduck and Roma musical lexicons, verbunkos were ultimately embraced by Hungarians in both high and low social spheres, and became its own style of popular music in turn. Per Bellman, "after their composition they became subject to the circumstances of real folk music: adaptation to popular recomposotion and introduction of variants."[67] Szabolcsi goes so far as to claim that

> "Everything known abroad since 1780 by the name of Hungarian music consisted without exception of the music of the "verbunkos". It was very easy to recognize because it very soon developed a complete set of characteristic elements, the cadence-pattern called "bokázó" ("clicking of heels", a type of the medieval "cambiata"), the "Gipsy" or "Hungarian scale" using the interval of the augmented second, garlands of triplets, alternate "slow" and "fresh" tempi, widely arched, free melodies without words ("hallgató") and fiery ("cifra") rhythm […] All these were the signs of an early matured style. This style – instrumental flexibility, a Western ability of form-building, sharply divided but widely arched melodic pattern, a striking and extensive set of rhythms – raised the new Hungarian music above other Hungarian stylistic tendencies."[68]

The Northern Balkans

By the turn of the eighteenth century, the region todays generally referred to as Istria, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia (now contained within modern-day Croatia and Slovenia) were

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[65] Jonathan Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois," *The Journal of Musicology* 9, no. 2 (1991), 214-37, 216-17.

[66] Szabolcsi, *Concise History*, 54.

[67] Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois," 217.

[68] Szabolcsi, *Concise History*, 56.

firmly dominated by the two major neighboring powers. The Habsburg Empire held the majority of the region inland; the Venetian Republic held parts of Istria and Dalmatia along the northern coastline. To the south, the Ottomans, who held the remainder of the Balkans through the eighteenth century and were perpetually in conflict with the Habsburgs, were a constant threat. The frequent conscription of both the Venetian-ruled Dalmatians and the Austrian-ruled Croats into those respective armies resulted in a narrative not dissimilar to the one surrounding the Hungarians: a population suited to soldiery on account of the "violent, strife-riven, and benighted places"[69] from which they originated. The stereotype was not always, or at least not only, purely negative: the 25,000 Croats recruited to fight on behalf of the Habsburgs during the War of Austrian succession acquitted themselves such that the English author Tom Fielding coined the term "a perfect Croat" as a synonym for martial valour.[70] Similarly, Italian playwright Carlo Goldoni's *La Dalmatina* has a Dalmatian naval officer by the name of Radovich for its leading man.[71] But as in the case of Poland and Prussia, the Italians and Austrians had a vested interest in painting the Istrians, Dalmatians, and Croats, especially the valuable port towns, as culturally and developmentally backward places in need of the guidance of a more enlightened hand.

The first-hand accounts of the northern Balkans dated from the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are very sparse. The travel writer Alberto Fortis, who made expeditions to the islands of Cres and Lošinj in 1771, and to the Dalmatian mainland in 1772-1773, made the most comprehensive attempt at documenting what he encountered of the peoples local to those

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[69] David McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria: Eighteenth-Century Istria and Dalmatia in Fortis, Cassas, and Lavallée," *Central Europe* Vol. 9 No. 2 (November 2011), 125-41, 126.

[70] McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria," 126.

[71] McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria," 126.

regions - and Fortis, a Venetian citizen, embodied the "rhetorical strategies of empire-building"[72] that characterized Italian and Austrian attitudes towards their South Slav neighbors. He described the inhabitants of the coastal regions as having "degenerated into mere superstition, backwardness, and sloth" from their ancestors' "formidable barbaric energies," and his descriptions of "huts more like the holes of wild beasts than cottages"[73] mirror descriptions of the peasantry in Poland and Bohemia. Even his more complimentary descriptions of the inhabitants of the Dalmatian mainland the subsequent year have a strong flavor of exoticism. He describes the mainlanders as having lost none of their ancestors' "barbaric vitality and vigor,"[74] and paints them as the heirs of the warrior tribes who harried and tormented the Romans - a tradition now made acceptable to the Italians by their propensity to rob and occasionally murder the neighboring Turks, whose empire still held sway over the southern Balkans. (Ironically, Fortis' descriptions of barbarism lurking in a Venetian province made his writings somewhat embarrassing back at home, because they suggested a certain degree of administrative neglect.) Other European accounts were even more disparaging: the French marquis and travel writer Louis-Joseph Lavallée, writing in roughly the same period, builds on the image created through Fortis' accounts by describing the northern Balkans in terms of "ineradicable barbarism."[75]

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[72] McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria," 135.

[73] Alberto Fortis, *Travels into Dalmatia; containing general descriptions on the natural history of that country and the neighbouring islands; the natural productions, arts, manners and customs of the inhabitants: in a series of letters from abbé Alberto Fortis, to the Earl of Bute, the Bishop of Londonderry, John Strange, Esq. &c., &c. to which are added by the same author, Observations on the island of Cherso and Osero. Translated from the Italian under the author's inspection* (London, 1778), 468.

[74] McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria," 131.

[75] Quoted in McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria," 131.

Lavallée's descriptions subsequently devolve into a racialized discourse on the "irredeemable degeneracy" of the local Slavonic populations.[76]

Musical life in the Northern Balkans

Musical life in the northern Balkans during this period was fairly modest, especially when compared with the grander cities places like Poland and even Bohemia could boast. The local bourgeoisie lacked the financial security to fund choral or instrumental ensembles with any consistency; professional musicians were sometimes hired to play for public celebrations, but by and large there were no standing choirs or ensembles.[77] Few churches were large enough to have full organs.[78] Only a handful of larger and more populous towns and cities like Capodistria (Koper), Piran, Ljubljana, and the independent cities of Trieste and Dubrovnik had sufficient concentrations of both musicians and funding to support church ensembles large enough to require a *maestro di capella.*[79] Any composers or musicians with professional aspirations largely had to do as the Bohemians did, and seek positions elsewhere in Italian- or German-speaking states.[80]

Local music-making was comprised largely of folk music and sacred songs performed in the home or at church. Both Austrian and Italian Jesuit orders were active in the region; they conducted nothing on the scale of the Bohemian musical education system, but they did

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[76] McCallam, "(Ac)claiming Illyria," 135.

[77] Ennio Stipčević, "Music in Croatia," in *A History of Baroque Music.* Ed. George J Buelow (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 414-428: 417.

[78] Stipčević, "Music in Croatia," 418.

[79] Kokole, Metoda, ed. Zdravko Blazekovic, "Music in Slovenia," in *A History of Baroque Music.* Ed. George J Buelow (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 2004), 414-428: 433.

[80] Kokole, "Music in Slovenia," 429.

contribute to the preservation of the largest collections of local folk music in the historical record of the region. As part of their efforts to convert the local (largely Protestant at that point) population in Dalmatia, the Jesuits in that region set themselves to "cleansing" local folk tunes of their "dirty" and "lascivious" texts in order to set them to words suitable for church. The Jesuit writer Jury Habdelić wrote in 1674 that he did not think folk songs should be banned from social gatherings, and it was well that both master and peasant should "sing merry songs" - but "only such as existed among honest and God-fearing folk in old times."[81] But however far the Jesuits' intentions may have been from the likes of the Transylvanian folklorist Kájoni, the one clear picture of the local folk music that was preserved in the seventeenth century was the *Pavlinski zbornik* (Pauline collection), dated 1644. The collection some fifty songs, set with sacred texts but written in the northern Croatian Kajkavian dialect, with the majority of the melodies derived from regional folk tunes. Many of the tunes reoccur in a later collection titled *Cithara octochorda seu Cantus Sacri Latino-Sclavonici.* This second collection was printed in Vienna in 1701 and 1723, and in Zagreb in 1757, suggesting that they were still in use at the time of the later editions.[82]

For one of the few surviving descriptions of Balkan music in action, we turn back to Fortis' travel journals. True to character, Fortis' account contains descriptions of "barbarously modulated" howls and "violent dances" of which inflammatory fevers were, according to him, a direct consequence.[83] But among these colorful descriptions of the local music, Fortis manages

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[81] Quoted in Stipčević, "Music in Croatia," 417.

[82] Stipčević, "Music in Croatia," 417.

[83] Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford University Press, 1994), 328.

to produce something like a folklorist's portrait of one of the dance types common across the Balkans: the *kolo*.

> "They dance to the sound of the bag-pipe, and the voices of their singers, a favourite dance, which they call *kolo,* or circle, which soon turns into *skocci-gosi,* that is, high dancing. All the dancers, men and women, taking hold of each other's hands, form a circle, and turn slowly round, to the harsh notes of the instrument. Then the circle changes its form, sometimes into an ellipsis, and sometimes a square, according as the dance becomes more animated; and, at last, transforms itself into the most violent springs and leaps, in which the women also join, and the whole becomes wild confusion."[84]

There is more than a tinge of judgment lurking in Fortis' choice of adjectives, but the form and tempo progression he describes are recognizable in the *kolo* varieties that survive through to the present.[85]

Musical Intersections

As might be expected due to proximity, references to both Eastern Europeans and their music appear most often in the German-language historical record. Certainly the German-language accounts tend to cover the broadest spectrum of nuance through all the accounts aggregated above. But if the Germans evince more variable understandings of their neighbors, it is German musicians who were possibly the most severe on the music most strongly associated with those neighbors' lower classes. German criticisms are leveled at both musicians and instruments strongly associated with Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and the Balkan Slavs. One

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[84] Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe,* 328.

[85] Some of the earliest written and described examples can be found in the Janković sisters' *Narodne Igre* publications, including the šestorka mentioned in connection with the Tartini sonatas in a subsequent section (having learned the latter tune and steps from a family member during my childhood). A fairly comprehensive breakdown of living kolo dance traditions, including video recordings, are available from the Folkdance Footnotes organization: https://folkdancefootnotes.org/

memorable document even reaches as far as Russia to lodge its complaints about characteristics perceived as generally common to Slavonic music. Some of this tendency, of course, may be simply a result of more frequent exposure due to geographic closeness. But the disdain being directed towards *folk* music and instruments specifically points to a factor that has now come up repeatedly in circumstantial association with Eastern Europe: the lower socioeconomic bracket of the performers. Before delving into German complaints about Eastern European folk music and musicians, it is worth recalling that most of these writers were, if not upper-class, then at least in common association with the upper classes who patronized them. With that in mind, the degree to which many of them subtly or overtly conflate foreignness and lower-class status in their complaints is most revealing.

Dieter Krickenberg wryly observes that "one finds detailed mention of folk musicians in records and ordinances only when they provoke offense"[86] - which, if not quite universally true, is still a fairly accurate generalization. An older colleague of Telemann's, Wolfgang Caspar Printz, recalling a stay in Siberia in 1696, described "two beer fiddlers who played such harmony as made my ears ache for four weeks, since the bass player struck up in the ensemble simply as he wished, so that he played hardly anything except loud dissonances, and generally sustained notes a degree above or below the note which would have made an octave with the violin. All the same, this music pleased the peasants there so extremely well, and they became so jolly hearing it, that I thought they were going to break up the room."[87] His encounter with the drone

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[86] Dieter Krickenberg, "On the Social Status of the Spielmann ("Folk Musician") in 17th and 18th Century Germany, particularly in the Northwest," in *The Social Status of the Professional Musician From the Middle Ages to the 19th Century,* Eds. Walter Salmen, Herbert Kaufman and Barbara Reisner (New York: Pendragon Press, 1983), 95-122: 97.

[87] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 478-9.

dissonances common in many Slavic-language regions apparently disturbed him so much that he developed "a half-serious taxonomy of musical ears possessed by various types of listeners: (1) the "Siberian" ear that cannot judge music at all and accepts any sound; (2) the "rustic" or "peasant" ear that tolerates anything but dissonance; (3) the "cultivated" (höfflich) or "urban" ear with a taste for the "delicate" but lacking musical knowledge; and (4) the "musical" or "noble" ear that makes judgments on the basis of theoretical knowledge and reason."[88]

Another German musician, the Berlin Kantor Martin Fuhrmann, wrote in 1706: "Vitium conjunctionis [the vice of joining] is when musicians patch together old-fashioned passages that sound like the sort of ornaments that country and tavern fiddlers play, or the kind of music that bunglers, field fiddlers, Bock pipers, hurdy-gurdy players, and bagpipers like to turn out. But these are not the only ones who play this way. Artists with more grandiose pretensions can do it too, so that anyone would swear that they learned their trade from the beer fiddlers."[89] The mentions of bocks and hurdy-gurdies, both strongly associated with Slavic folk music, point in the direction of these lower-class "bunglers" and "field-fiddlers" being Polish or Bohemian folk musicians.

Johann Beer, a writer and violinist, paints an absurd portrait of a Polish violinist he had seen in Leipzig in his *Musicalische Discurse* (c. 1690): "[He] moved around so much with his violin, to and fro, up and down, top to toe, freely and with restraint, hopping and jumping, that I kept thinking the fellow and his fiddle would fall out of the window. The German violinist playing with him was having none of it, and, treating the Pole like a musical moth, smacked him

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[88] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 479.

[89] Quoted in John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw. "Improvised Ornamentation in Eighteenth-Century Orchestras," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39, no. 3 (1986), 524–77, 545.

on the behind with a small, half-pound racquet."[90] And both Printz (in 1696) and Johann Kuhnau (in 1700) invoked the "nos poloni" maxim as an insult to musicians whose training they deemed insufficient, effectively accusing them of setting Latin texts "as badly as a Pole would"[91].

The condescension of these composers and performers towards the musical underclass may have had something to do with direct economic competition, as well as any cultural or class-based contempt they may have felt. Court and town musicians often found themselves vying with the "beer-fiddlers" Fuhrmann so roundly derides for weddings and similar social engagements - something they "naturally resented, given their superior social position and more extensive musical training."[92] In fact, this competition appears to have rankled musicians at the top of the hierarchy so much that several German-speaking towns and administrative provinces enacted legislation to protect the guild musicians' professional interests. Some of the guilds that regulated urban musicians banned their members from performing on traditional or folk instruments as a way of enforcing professional standards. The language used in some of the prohibitions bears strong resemblance to that of Fuhrmann and his sympathizers: a ban declared in Württemberg in 1721 decreed that "none of this profession, be he master, journeyman, or apprentice, should dare to make use at performances of Sackpfeifen, Pohlnischer Bock, hurdy-gurdy, triangle, or other unmusical instruments of this kind,"[93] while a mid-century statute applying to Upper and Lower Saxony forbade guild musicians from playing "dishonest instruments such as Sackpfeifen, Schafsböcke [shepherd's Bock], hurdy-gurdy, and triangle,

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[90] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 482.

[91] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 49.

[92] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 482.

[93] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 482.

which the beggars often play when collecting alms[…][and thereby] treat art with contempt and diminish it."[94] And in 1750, the town musicians of Stade complained to their city council about innkeepers hiring "foreign beer fiddlers" specifically.[95] Small wonder that none of the Bohemians who sought work abroad brought any open examples of the *stylus Bohemicus* into the historical record with them.

Insofar as these musicians' upper-class patrons were interested in Eastern European folk music, their tastes tended towards a surface-level curiosity about the "foreign or lower-class Other" whose role these populations had been cast in. Zohn paints a rather telling portrait of what the performance of "Eastern European music" might have looked like among the elites: "Real lower-class musicians—or at least their instruments as played by Stadtmusikanten or Music-Verständige—often provided exotic entertainment at courts and urban centers. During the 1730s the Württemberg court employed an ensemble called the "Collected Heyducks and Bock Music," three violinists and two Bock players who probably doubled as lackeys and may also have been outfitted in elaborate costumes imitating those of the Heyducks, Hungarian foot soldiers."[96]

The subsequent century would see a more intense awakening of European interest in the general concept of "peasant" music, animated by a similar sort of reductive fascination with cultural primitivism. But during the eighteenth century, when musical references to the traditions of any of the populations here addressed appear in the Western European canon, they are made mostly in jest (good-natured or condescending), or else appear in forms so watered-down that

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[94] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 482.

[95] Krickenberg, "On the Social Status of the Spielmann," 101.

[96] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 483.

they little resemble the original sounds from which they were derived. Some composers took a more concentrated interest in the subject, but more often than not, the music they borrowed from remained part of a dialect separate from their own compositional language, and their use of some of its characteristics required that the latter be adapted to the aesthetics of the contexts they were writing for.

A few composers took more organic approaches, though they, too, were composing in the styles of their time. The degree to which the sounds associated with Eastern Europe appear in their music varies with each composer's individual compositional language, as well as their national origin. In all cases, the nuances may be better understood by the modern performer who is able to "read" or "speak" those musical languages..

In order to identify some of these references from a contemporary context - to recognize what eighteenth-century composers would have understood as constituting musical Polishness, Hungarian-ness, and so on, and to parse where these threads of influence appear - topic theory may be a useful tool with which to undertake further analysis.

II. Topic Theory

"Topic theory," developed by Leonard Ratner, describes the way musical styles or idioms take on commonly-understood cultural associations, which allow them to be transplanted into different pieces and genres with the expectation that the audience, steeped in those norms, will understand the reference. Ratner devised the theory as a response to the frequent and overt use of a "thesaurus of characteristic figures" found within late 18th century repertoire. Topics may be

drawn from music associated with all levels of society, relying on the presumption that eighteenth-century consumers would have been exposed to the full range of idioms available in a given context.[97] Topic theory has since found broader interest and application. Current scholarship does not always agree on what defines or constitutes a topic,[98] but for the purpose of this chapter I would argue that the most important qualifier is one proposed by W. Dean Sutcliffe: "topical mixture challenges the listener[…] virtually enforcing an attempt to pin down an identity for each of the distinct materials that we are hearing, so that we can make more focussed sense of our listening experience."[99]) In the mid-17th and 18th centuries, idioms like the "Hungarian minor" scale and the "mazurka" rhythm would have been familiar to Western Europeans who came into contact with tradesmen or musicians from Eastern Europe, even if they did not travel themselves. And composers who worked in proximity to Eastern European folk music would almost certainly have been familiar enough with these "topics" to incorporate them into their own music.

Research on Eastern European topics is relatively sparse; the vast majority of publications concerned with or adjacent to topic theory focus on Western European music of the later eighteenth century. There has, however, been a small subset of research that provides insight into eighteenth-century Eastern European topics, with emphasis on Hungary and Poland (whose musical cultures are represented most ubiquitously in Western European traditions). While some topics assigned to Hungarian and Polish music are recognizable as being regionally

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[97] Danuta Mirka, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (2014), 1-2.

[98] For a short summary of current scholars' views on what does or does not constitute a topic, see Danuta Mirka, 'Introduction', in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 2.

[99] W. Dean Sutcliffe, *Instrumental Music in an Age of Sociability* (Cambridge University Press, 2019), 234-5.

specific, others (particularly those concerned with modalities and dance rhythms) frequently occur in the folk music of neighboring Slavic regions as well. Spare as the literature is, an overview of these proposed topics is enough to identify Eastern European references in eighteenth-century repertoire which audiences of the day would likely have understood.

One chapter of the *Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory* investigates the influence of "Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy styles" beginning in the eighteenth century. Catherine Mays groups the two stylistic influences together for two reasons; one is the proposal that there are in fact identifiable stylistic links between Turkish and some Central and Eastern European traditional music. (This is currently somewhat under-researched territory, but Bence Szabolcsi traces the "rebounding thirds typical of much [Western] music *alla turca"* to the Hungarian törökös, a dance originating in central Hungary during the period of Ottoman occupation.[100]) The second and better supported reason is that representations of both cultures in Western music were, fundamentally, Western constructions. Rather than representing faithful incorporations of actual Hungarian or Turkish traditions, these Western constructions tended to lump the two together as representations of the uncivilized (or under-civilized) Other:

> "Larry Wolff (1994) has argued that Eastern Europe was first conceived as a geographically and culturally cohesive entity during the Enlightenment, at which time Hungary joined the company of the Turks, long since established as Western Europe's foremost barbaric Other. The stylistic conflation of a wide variety of foreign musics in Western representations may be under stood in part as a manifestation of this broader outlook. Indeed, Mary Hunter (1998: 48) has convincingly argued that the alla turca style is better understood not as an imitation of Turkish music, but as a translation of the Western European perception of its "deficiency and incoherence or irrationality." Moreover, as Hunter suggests, repetitive rhythms and melodic figures, and simplified or

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[100] Catherine Mays, "Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy Styles," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (Oxford University Press, 2014), 214-238: 216-17.

> unison harmonies, for instance, hint not only at the Western European perception of the primitive stage of development of Turkish music, but also at the perceived rudimentary state of Turkish culture and society more generally. Certainly, Hungary—and, as Wolff has argued, Eastern Europe as a whole—was considered to be similarly underdeveloped."101

In short, representations of both Hungarian and Turkish music in the eighteenth-century Western musical literature will often say more about the Western composer's experience of the Other than about the folk music actually performed by either culture.

Over the course of the chapter, Mays identifies stylistic features of Hungarian music representations that made it through the translation from folk music to the works of Western composers: "duple meter; regular four-measure phrases; major mode, in this case with a brief excursion to the relative minor; exclusive or nearly exclusive use of tonic and dominant harmony; a simple and repetitive accompaniment pattern; and a melody composed of short motives or cells, themselves often constructed of chordal leaps or circling figures, which favor repetition over development."[102] These features are borne out by scattered but similar observations in the eighteenth-century record; for instance, C.F.D. Schubart, writing in the 1780s, defined "Hungarian-Gypsy" dance music as being routinely in duple meter, and containing "bizarre" modulations.[103] (The latter likely refers to some of the brief modal shifts common in many Eastern European folk traditions, which do not obey the conventions of Western tonality and may subsequently strike the unfamiliar ear as unprepared modulations.)

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[101] Mays, "Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy Styles," 217.

[102] Mays, "Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy Styles," 224.

[103] Mays, "Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy Styles," 221.

Bellman has some similar observations to offer in regards to Hungarian music:

> "Certainly, as it first emerged, the stylized Hungarian-Gypsy musical speech was very different from the mature dialect it would later become. Certain Haydn works, for example, mix Gypsy and Hungarian gestures with stock figures from the Turkish style. Bence Szabolcsi […] felt that for Haydn, Slavic, Gypsy, Romanian, and Turkish music formed a single "mixed but scarcely divisible" complex. Turkish music was already commonly understood to suggest exoticism; Gypsy music was gaining this connotation, and a mixture of the two different styles to signify exoticism would have been understood by Haydn's audience, who wouldn't have been troubled by the mixture of musical elements."[104]

But though the line was frequently blurred in Western representations, Turkish and Hungarian music may not have been viewed as being interchangeable to the point of indistinguishability. Mays suggests:

> "Although their musics were largely represented through very similar stylistic means by Western European composers[…] Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy topics nonetheless carried rather different associations and meanings for [eighteenth-century] composers, performers, and audiences. […] Although these topics share, in the broadest sense, the same "subject for musical discourse"—the Other—a closer examination of contemporary evidence reveals that Hungarian-Gypsy music was primarily associated with dancing, while Turkish music was closely tied to the military tradition of the Janissaries, and these associations, in turn, carried generic and syntactical implications."[105]

Stephen Zohn, in examining the relationship of Telemann and his contemporaries to Polish traditional music, comes to similar conclusions. Telemann was a rarity among eighteenth-century composers in that he had both documented direct contact with and genuine appreciation for Polish music; Zohn suggests he was "perhaps alone among his Western European

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[104] Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois," 219.

[105] Mays, "Turkish and Hungarian-Gypsy Styles," 218.

contemporaries [in regarding] Polish music as something more than another exotic topic."[106] Yet even Telemann was prone to describing it in terms of "barbaric beauty;"[107] and when strains of it appear elsewhere in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germanic repertoire, they often do so as pastiche elements embodying the "perceived incoherence and irrationality of Eastern European traditional music."[108] The *style polonais* - or at least the subsection of it associated with lower-class music - is thus placed alongside the *stilo all turca* and *style hongrois* as another Western European representation of an "other," and whose folk elements survive the transition mostly as topical references. (Some links survive more clearly than others; Zohn cites the research of Klaus-Peter Koch in identifying melodic and rhythmic similarities between Telemann's Polish-flavored works and Eastern European melodies from manuscript sources.[109])

Zohn includes a "lexicon of musical exoticism" - essentially a table of topical figurae, which constitute a topical style when taken together - covering the eighteenth-century *stile all turca,* the *style hongrois,* and the general category of "orientalism" (which in this case refers to anything geographically or culturally "east" of Western Europe, spanning roughly from the Balkans to Russia).[110] These topics include drone pitches, "crude, unprepared, or nonfunctional" harmonies, "jangling" ornamentation, repetitive rhythms and melodies, motoric passagework and lengthy improvisatory passages, use of triplets in duple time, and specific modal inflections (the raised Lydian fourth and augmented second; the "Gypsy scale," a major scale with lowered

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[106] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 502.

[107] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste*, 470.

[108] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 496.

[109] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 494.

[110] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 492-3.

second and sixth degrees; and the "Gypsy minor scale," also called the "Hungarian minor" or "double harmonic minor" scale, with raised fourth and seventh degrees[111]). Absent from the Hungarian category but attributed generally to Eastern European music are added parallel fourths, fifths, and octaves, extensive chromaticism, irregular rhythms, and generally repetitive rhythms and melodies.[112] In the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century body of work Zohn examines, representations of Polish music are revealed to share most of these characteristics with other Eastern European folk idioms: "Aside from distinctive rhythmic and metrical characteristics discussed [in the table], Polish markers include modal inflections, crude harmony, noisy ornamentation, pronounced rhythmic and melodic repetition, restricted melodic range, unison and octave doublings, drones, and *alla zoppa* and Lombard rhythms."[113]

When it comes to the music of Bohemia and Moravia, Rawson notes that the scarcity of surviving 18th-century compositions "in the Czech style" makes it difficult to ascertain what this style might have sounded like. He does, however, make note of a number of features that generally correspond to Bohemian folk music, and which may sometimes be found in clusters in the composed music from that region, :

> "[These] musical characteristics most frequently found in Czech music c.1600–1750 […] are not intended to be presented as unique in themselves, but rather to be understood in the broader context of music making in the Czech lands. The most frequently encountered musical traits include short and repeated melodic cells; the prevalence of triadic motifs; instrumental character in vocal music; the use or evocation of *alternatim praxis*; melodic writing in parallel thirds,

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[111] Bálint Sárosi, "Gypsy Musicians and Hungarian Peasant Music," *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council 2* (1970), 8-27: 23. Zohn does not mention the "Gypsy minor" scale, but it is likely the most identifiable to the Western ear as sounding Hungarian in character, and is attested in multiple sources by Hungarian musicologists, so it has been included alongside his table.

[112] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 492-3.

[113] Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 493.

> sixths, tenths, unisons and octaves; paucity of counterpoint; extreme contrasts of style (usually from mixture of high and low styles within a single work); emphasis of the first beat; and parallel minor– major keys."[114]

Bellman makes a similar observation that parallel thirds and especially sixths are "descended from varieties of parallel-interval folk singing in Eastern Europe. These also have a harmonic function, but their use seems to be more referential and less structural than in traditional eighteenth-century music."[115] And while these features are not topics in and of themselves, a preponderance of them alongside the more general Eastern European topics outlined above may serve an indicator of specifically Czech or Hanák stylistic influence (as in some of the *hanaquoises* of Telemann).

There is currently little scholarship on topics from Balkan folk traditions, but in the interest of proposing some topical references in one particular composer's oeuvre, it is worth identifying some characteristics of Istrian (coastal Croatian/Slovenian) music as well. Petra Peršolja, after aggregating the available research on Istrian folk music from present-day ethnomusicologists back through the earliest known transcribers in the nineteenth century, presents the following list of qualities particular to Istrian music: **"**typical narrow range span (five or six tones) and melodic phrases' tendency to be short in length (compact phrase structure)." She notes that "the Istrian tonality functions independently of the principles of Western voice-leading; dominant and leading-tone cadential formulas play no role in the music of this genre. Instead, Istrian melodies tend to conclude at the unison. Given that the melodies are set in two parts, the cadential formula is horizontally guided (compared to four-voice vertical harmony in art music)."[116] Some of these characteristics have already been topically associated with Eastern European folk music in general - but for the purposes of investigating the work of Telemann and Tartini in the next chapter, the addition of close, two-part melodic fragments concluding in a unison is a worthwhile addition to the "universe of topics."

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[114] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 49.

[115] Bellman, "Toward a Lexicon for the Style Hongrois," 227.

[116] Petra Peršolja, "Unearthing the Elusive Istrian Scale: From Folk Idioms to Music Composition" (Doctoral thesis. University of California at Santa Barbara, 2020), 6.

With these topics in hand, it is possible to trace both overt and covert references to Eastern European folk music in the compositions of eighteenth-century Western European composers.

III. Musical Examples

Given the context discussed in the previous chapter, it is perhaps unsurprising that many instances of Eastern European folk topics in eighteenth-century music are parodic, exoticising, or transformative in a manner that reflects more on Western ideas about East European music than on those places' genuine musical practices. As the Polish folk idiom was arguablythe best known in Western Europe at the time, it offers the largest array of repertoire. But even with a larger pool to draw from, much of what emerges, when not utilising Polish topics for musical jokes, indicates its intended "Polishness" only through those topical references that are least jarring in the context of the baroque style. On one end of the spectrum, works like Johann Valentin Meder's *Der polnische Pracher* (1689) borrow pointedly from the folk idiom for comedic effect. On the other, Johann Fischer's sets of "Polnischer Täntze" (1702 and 1705) appear to fall much nearer to the German court-polonaise end of the spectrum; the topical references are limited to a scattering of slightly unusual rhythmic emphases loosely linked to Polish dance forms through a German lens. (Paul Newton-Jackson coined the term "Musical Polishness" - as opposed to, and distinct from, "Polish music" - in reference to these sorts of interpretations of Polish elements, stereotypes, or constructions in other musical languages.)[117] A number of *polonaises* of similar character are scattered throughout the repertoire; for instance, the one included in Handel's

[117] Newton-Jackson, "Musical Polishness," 10.

Concerto Grosso op. 6 no. 3, which does include the drone note topic and the second-and-fourth beat emphasis of the *polonaise* topic in the opening statement of its "polonaise" movement, but abandons both in favor of more conventional rhythms and harmonic structures every time a *soli* section begins.

The examples that appear to engage sincerely with Eastern European topics are arguably more interesting. A handful, like the dance fragments in Telemann's Rostock manuscript, are quite obvious about their origins. More often, it is a matter of searching for particularly unique, non-idiomatic, or clustered folk-affiliated topics in the works of composers whose backgrounds make their knowledge of those topics highly likely. (A background in the folk music idioms in question is certainly helpful; if nothing else, it renders the process of picking out recognizable tunes or patterns by ear or on sight faster.)

A survey of every work for which a topical argument might be made is an undertaking beyond the scope of this dissertation alone. Nevertheless, in order to demonstrate the use of these topics in context, I have selected some of the most interesting, substantial, and best-supported examples available in my own instrument's repertoire for more in-depth analysis below.

Johann Heinrich Schmelzer (c. 1620-1680) and Andreas Anton Schmelzer (1653-1701)

Relatively little is known of Johann Schmelzer's origins, beyond his birthplace of Austria. He rose to prominence as a violinist at the court of Emperor Leopold I, began to publish his music after receiving his court appointment, and appears to have enjoyed the Emperor's

favor. He is known to have died in Prague, only four or five months after being promoted to the position of Leopold's *Kapellmeister;* the Viennese court had removed to Prague in an attempt to evade a plague epidemic, but the move came too late for Schmelzer. His eldest son, Andreas Anton, was also a violinist and composer; even less is known of him than of his father, but he appears to have followed in the latter's footsteps as a violinist and ballet composer at court. Whether either had any direct interaction with Eastern European music or composers is unknown - but given the proximity to Bohemia, the possibility that the elder Schmelzer may have been one of Biber's teachers, and the compositions discussed in the next paragraph, it seems relatively safe to posit that they had a fair understanding of Eastern European topics.

Johann Schmelzer's *Die Polnische Sackpfeiffe* for two violins and continuo is essentially a pastiche of Eastern European folk music. The work begins in perfectly polite seventeenth-century trio sonata form in G major, but is interrupted in the eleventh bar by the continuo and second violin parts dropping to a static drone in imitation of a bagpipe, and the first violin taking up a soloist's position with a small and rather repetitive melodic fragment. Lest the listener mistake this for an application of generic rustic charm, m. 15 has the first violin land on an aggressively jarring F-natural (a non-functional harmony if ever there was one). Rather than get off the offending pitch as quickly as possible, the first violin insistently repeats it for two bars, and in increasingly fast rhythmic fragments. Measures 15-24 are positively infected with topics that give the whole a distinctly Slavic cast: the bass-and-second violin bagpipe drone holds steady throughout; the first violin dissolves into fragmentary, repetitive, and sometimes irregular ostinati that move at double- or quadruple-speed compared with the piece's opening bars; half the phrases start on obviously non-functional harmonies. Schmelzer hurriedly shepherds the trio

back into a more “civilized” form of musical discourse in m. 25, but it does not last. Over the course of the sonata, these attempts at a return to form are perpetually and abruptly thwarted by fits of folk idiom: a pair of simple and rather ungainly tunes played in unison across all parts; a return to the Polish bagpipe-and-fiddler who first intruded in the eleventh bar; several unprepared switches to triple-time dance fragments, also in unison or in octaves. The piece is plainly intended to be a comic one, rather than an attempt to treat with or integrate these topics into a compositional language; the stylistic clashes are the point. But though Schmelzer is poking fun at his conjured Polish piper, he also appears to be having a laugh at the expense of the “cultured” trio who are being constantly cut in on by these outbursts of rustic exuberance.

An object of curiosity is also to be found under the name of his eldest son. Andreas Schmelzer’s *The Turkish Siege of Vienna 1683* is a nominal adaptation of Biber’s Mystery Sonata No. 10, “The Crucifixion.” By and large, the main body of the composition is not appreciably different than the original, except that Schmelzer has adjusted the scordatura up one degree and retitled the segments to fit an imagined narrative of a clash between “Turks” and “Christians” (here meaning the Viennese). It is worth noting that the segments he assigns to the Turks are the ones containing the “unprepared modulations” and “jangling” figures that Western European composers used to reference the combined Turkish-Hungarian soundscape described by Mays. The “Der Türken Stürmen” section, beginning in bar 29, has a few sudden dips into minor retained from Biber’s original; in the “Durchgang Der Türken” section (which is comprised entirely of percussive 32nd notes veering between sharp, swift string changes and bariolage), Schmelzer changes the original (notated) D to a (notated) D-flat. It is the only major harmonic change he makes to Biber’s original material - which says something about what Schmelzer

perceived as being a sufficient marker of "otherness." The other notable addition he makes to the original is the addition of a sedate eight-bar closing statement entitled "Victori Der Christen," which he appears to have deemed necessary in order to finish the piece on a sufficiently civilized portrayal of Christian society. Apparently Schmelzer deemed rapid, noisy segment that ends the original unsuitable for association with the Viennese.

Georg Daniel Speer (1636-1707)

Despite his relative obscurity today, Speer appears to have led an active and at times dramatic life both musically and personally. Born in Breslau (Wrocław) and orphaned at the age of eight, most of Speer's early life remains unknown, beyond the fact that he became an itinerant musician bouncing between town and church posts. He published his first musical works in 1671, followed by more than a dozen works in the 1680s - not only compositions, but novels and political commentaries.[118] In addition to his compositions and a textbook on practical music, Speer left behind a series of semi-autobiographical travelogue novels that echo elements of his own life. The first may or may not be a relatively faithful account of Speer's wanderings in south-eastern Europe - and whether or not it is a faithful accounting of the details of Speer's life, it demonstrates first-hand experience with the people and music of those regions. (The subsequent installments are rather more fantastical, and involve the protagonist being sent to regions Speer is not known to have visited personally.)

One particular composition of Speer's bears out his familiarity with South-Eastern

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[118] Rosemary Roberts, "Speer, Daniel," in *Grove Music Online,* Ed. John Butt (2001), accessed February 12, 2024 https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.26380

European folk music: his *Musicalisch Türckischer Eulen-Spiegel*, published in 1688. It is an odd little ballet featuring trickster-protagonist Lompyn, whose musical adventures contain some less-than-subtle political commentary (a lord who lets Lompyn out of a justly-administered prison sentence because Lompyn bribes and flatters him, a knight who proclaims himself a paragon of Christian meekness while beating his horse). The incidental ballet movements do not appear particularly tied to the narrative or characters; Lompyn takes service with a Turkish mufti for much of the composition, but the ballets are nearly all of Eastern European extraction. Unusually, this does not appear to be an instance of a composer conflating Turks and Slavs into a singular musical Other. Speer's movement titles are specific references to distinct ethnic groups: in addition to Polish, Hungarian, Wallachian, Cossack, even Muscovite ballets, he includes a "Rußnakisch ballet," almost certainly referring to the Rusyns of Carpathia, as well as a Greek ballet (which suggests that his wanderings may have taken him all over the Balkan Peninsula). All feature identifiable topics drawn from those regions' folk music conventions. The Polish ballets written in 3 feature the distinctive quarter-half phrase ending rhythm (in 3, with strong, stomping emphases on beats one and two and an empty third beat). (Those written in 4 have a much tamer and more sedate affect; they are likely modeled on the more courtly polonaises popular in the German milieu.) The Hungarian ballets generally utilize limping or stumbling rhythmic figures associated specifically with Hungarian dances, and the melodic shapes of several include the "crude" or "unprepared" harmonies and intervals mentioned by Zohn. The no. 23 Cossack ballet reads as though Speer has tried to notate a performance of Roma fiddlers on the eastern borders of Poland: the violin I part is written in a much higher register than any other part of the piece, and features the two violin parts exchanging relentless, repetitive runs at what

the 3/2 time signature implies should be high speed. Many of the Eastern European ballets also include uneven phrase lengths that appear in many folk dances from those regions. While the dances are dressed up in eighteenth-century musical conventions for the use of an ensemble supporting a ballet, the musical characteristics expressed in the dances of each region are distinct and consistent in their rhythmic and melodic characters.

Heinrich Ignaz Franz Biber (1644-1704)

Although Biber is often classified simply as an Austrian composer, he was born in Bohemia, and was most likely a product of the Jesuit school at Opava (Troppau).[119] He held posts as a court violinist in Graz and Kroměříž before entering the employ of the Archbishop of Salzburg in 1670. He remained in Salzburg for the rest of his life, eventually rising to the post of Kapellmeister.

Although the bulk of his career was spent in Salzburg, a number of his pieces evince a familiarity and facility with the rustic topics associated with Bohemia and Moravia. Several of the most striking examples are to be found in his *Battalia,* specifically in the second movement. The movement in question is a musical depiction of drunken soldiers all singing their national songs over one another. At least two of the songs are identifiably Bohemian in provenance. The violin II line, which opens the movement, appears in the Vietorisz Codex as a Slovak melody titled "Ne takes my mluvel" ("you never said that"); Biber even keeps the melody in its traditional key of D Major.[120] The viola I line, the next to enter, is the same melody that appears

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[119] Charles E. Brewer, *The Instrumental Music of Schmeltzer, Biber, Muffat and Their Contemporaries (*Oxford: Taylor & Francis Group, 2011), 250.

[120] Brewer, *Instrumental Music,* 250.

in Schmelzer's *Polnische Sackpfeiffen*; its identity is less perfectly traceable, but it bears a strong resemblance to the Czech song "Radujte se sedláci" ("peasants rejoice"). Robert Rawson points out that, while the earliest written version of "Radujte" dates from a 1776 song about the 1775 Bohemian Peasant Uprising, the 1776 version includes a common-tune indication for a melody by the name of "Vojanský figator" ("warrior hero"), indicating that the melody was well-known by the time the 1776 version was written down.[121] Biber's inscription near the end, "hic dissonant ubique, nam ebrii sic diversis cantilenis clamare solent" ("here it is dissonant everywhere, because the drunks shout out so many different old songs"), injects a degree of unmistakable humor into the movement. But it is the behavior of the soldiers in general that Biber is poking fun at, not simply the presence of the folk tunes. The remaining three tunes appear to be the ubiquitous *bergamasca,* a version of the Hungarian *törökös*, and a song by Johann Jacob Prinner - and the soldiers singing the German and Italianate tunes are contributing just as much to the chaos as the Bohemians and Hungarian.

Georg Philipp Telemann (1681-1767)

Of those eighteenth-century composers whose interactions with Eastern European music are documented in the historical record, Telemann is almost certainly the best-known. Telemann was not alone in writing polonaises of the kind associated with the German courtly style; his singularity lies largely in his fascination and delight with music associated what Printz might have called the "beer fiddler" contingent. In his own autobiography, he wrote: "When the court spent half a year in Pless, an upper-Silesian territory ruled by the Promnitz family, I became

[121] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 149.

acquainted, as in Kraków, with Polish and Hanakian music in its true barbaric beauty[…] One can hardly believe what wonderful ideas such Bock players or fiddlers have when they improvise while the dancers rest. In eight days an observant person could snap up enough ideas from them to last a lifetime."[122] His descriptions of both the music and the performers may show somewhat of an inclination towards exoticisation, but they are at least more humanizing and compassionate than the writings of some of his contemporaries: "One could look at societal outcasts performing this music and hear an almost too-desperate celebration, a bottomless grief, and a wild, kaleidoscopic shifting between moods with no attempt at (or desire for) transition between them. This music came to suggest the condition of those who played it and thus was a constant reminder of society's mixed feelings about the Gypsies, of the fear and revulsion, envy and attraction."[123]

Telemann's Polish- and Hanák-inspired works fall generally into one of two categories: the fundamentally German court-polonaises, and the compositions drawing on the "wonderful ideas" of the Bock and fiddle players of his Silesian reminiscences. For the purposes of this chapter, it is the latter that are of particular significance. The most obvious - and most curious - examples of this style are to be found in the Rostock manuscript, which contains a series of 31 Polish and Hanák dances.

Rawson notes that Telemann acknowledged a need to "[clothe the Polish and Hanák tunes] in an Italian dress"[124] to suit the tastes of his audiences. The first two dances of the Rostock manuscript, the *Hanaquoise* also found in the *Ouverture-Suite in D minor (*TWV 55:D3)

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[122] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 471-2.

[123] Quoted in Zohn, *Music for a Mixed Taste,* 486.

[124] Rawson, *Bohemian Baroque,* 160.

and the *Polonoise* from the Overture TWV 55:B12, show signs of this style of courtly transformation. When compared with its fellows, these two movements have more rhythmically standard bass lines, the transitions between key areas are smoother, and the beat patterns are overall less irregular, though the emphasis on beat 2 out of 3 on phrase endings, common to many Polish folk dance tunes, is evident in both. (By contrast, many of the less polished movements either stick with the weak-strong-weak emphasis for the majority of their bars, or else are led by the contrasting shapes of the bass and melody lines into melodic-cell-length hemiolas - see figures below.) Telemann appears to have put fairly minimal effort into "taming" the rest of the tunes out of their barbarity to fit the style and taste of his period. Most are extraordinarily spare in their notation, with a handful even lacking bass lines and appearing as single-line melodies. Telemann seems to have done his best to notate some atypically baroque rhythms many of the bass lines, as well as some instances of chromaticism, modulation, or ornamentation that are also fairly out of keeping with the 18th-century musical idioms.

Fig. 1: *Hanaquoise* from TWV 55:D3, first 15 bars

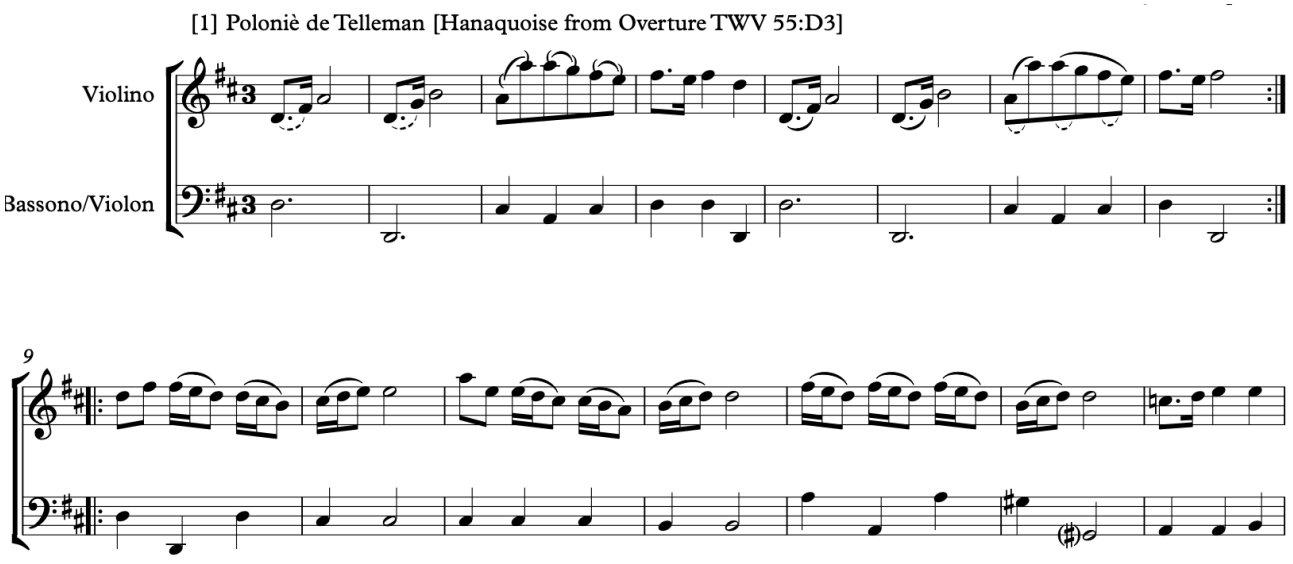


Fig. 2: *Polonesie* no. 11, with four out of every six bars featuring the weak-strong beat pattern in the bass line

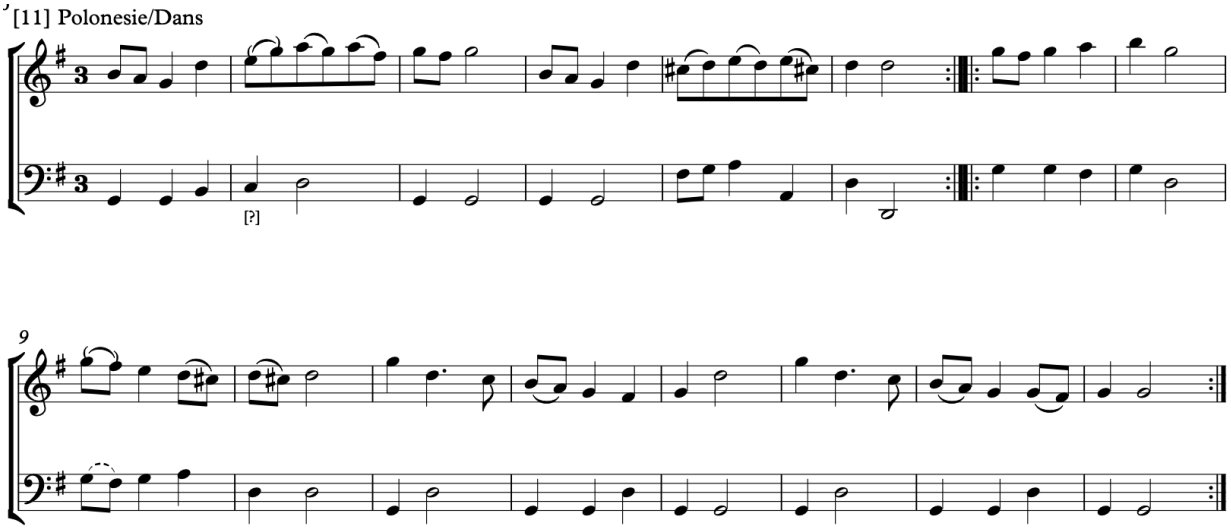


Fig. 3: *Polon* no. 30, featuring a dragging drone bass ornamented with triplets in the melody line in bars 13-16

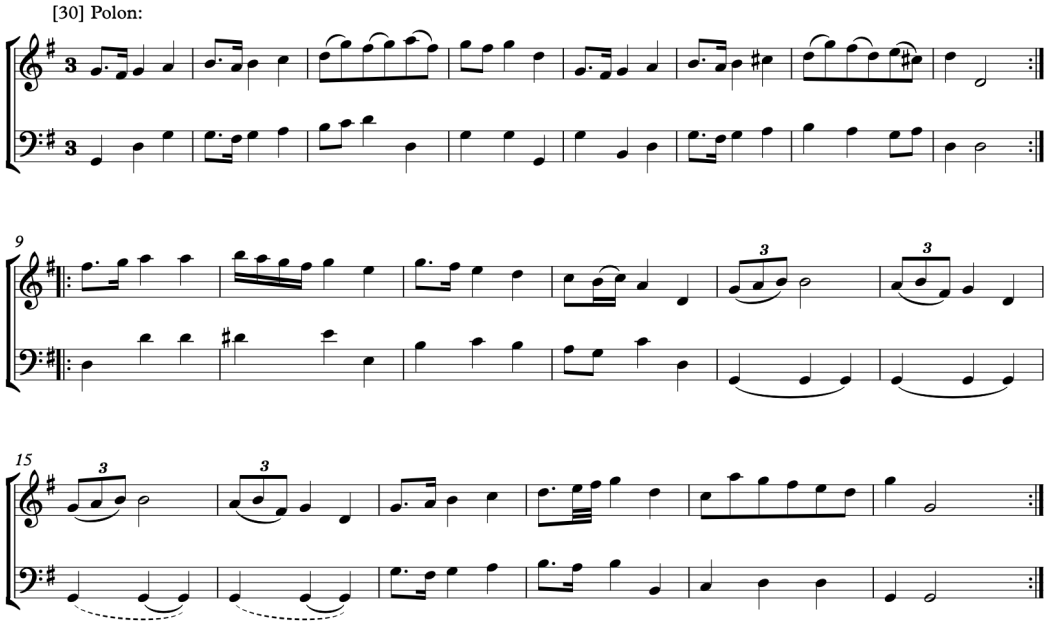
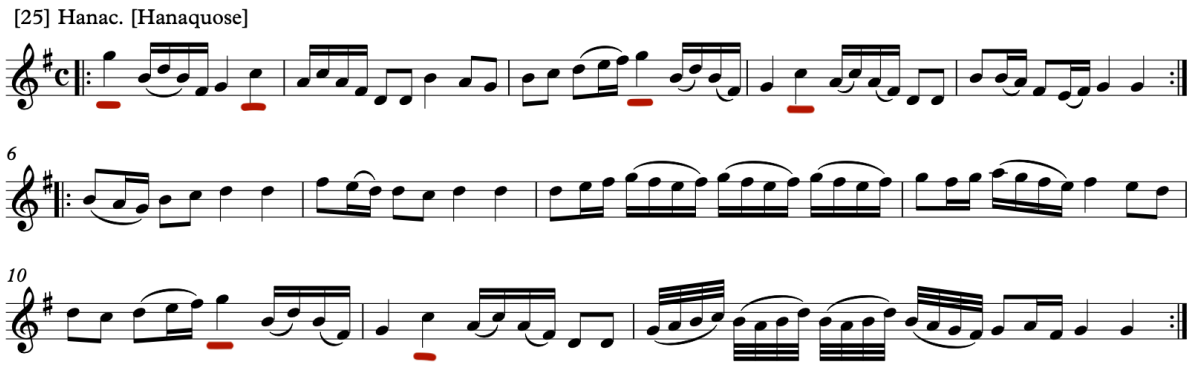


Fig. 4: *Hanak* no. 25, in contrast to the Polish movements, has a heavy emphasis on the downbeat at the beginning or reiteration of the first main melodic cell (which does not always correspond to the bar line), and motoric sixteenth-note flourishes introduced at the end



Telemann's twelfth *fantasia* in A minor may also be one of his tokens of admiration for the "barbaric beauty" of Polish traditional music. Unlike the works of some of his predecessors and contemporaries, there are no real parodic elements present; his appreciation for the unique features of Eastern European folk music he borrows from appears sincere, and he integrates them into his own style in a manner that allows them to catch the listener's ear without grotesquely overemphasizing their otherness (though the emphasis is markedly there). The first movement is perhaps the most typically German of the three, but even so, some of the modal and rhythmic inflections with Eastern European associations appear: the emphasis on beat 2 in the main melodic figure rather than beat 1 (which Zohn notes as a particularity of the *style polonaise*[125]); the lowered second in bar 24 (written as an A#); and the use of the double minor scale over bars 27-30. The second movement opens by calling for a melodic fragment accompanied by drone strings, with the figure ending on an open fifth and punctuated by what Zohn might describe as

[125] Zohn, "Music for a Mixed Taste," 496.

"jangling" trills; this figuration is repeated several times over the course of the movement. The movement also includes multiple instances of motoric sixteenth-note passages, as well as frequent and unusual clusters of chromatic flavouring (including some implied chromatic slides in bars 25-6, another feature mentioned in connection with Polish dances[126]). He also quotes Giuseppe Tartini's *Didone Abbandonata* sonata, published in 1734, just one year before in Telemann's collection of solo fantasias. Whether Telemann was poking fun at Tartini's unorthodox Istrian dissonances or simply experimenting with them in his own right, it is impossible to say - but the mere fact of the quote suggests that Telemann saw some connection between the uncommon elements in Tartini's musical language and the Polish musical idioms of which he was so fond. The final presto is not out of keeping with a branle or gavotte, but many of its elements sound as though Telemann has been borrowing at least as heavily from Polish tavern fiddlers, with triple-stops stomping emphases into the "wrong" beats and a noisy, slightly ungainly interjection of bariolage that all but invites an accidental open-string drone in the middle. Telemann has notated the beginning of the tune as a pickup bar, which causes the impulse to fall on what artificially becomes beat 1. The effect on the listener's ear is very much a 2/4 dance tune whose emphasis lands, in the Polish style, on beat 2. The melodic cells are few in number and repetitive in character. And even in such a short and simplistic dance, the lowered second (again written as an A#) sneaks in at bar 17.

[126] Zohn, "Music for a Mixed Taste," 496.

Fig. 5: bars 25-26 of Telemann's *Fantasia in A Minor,* second movement

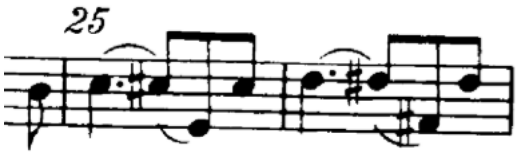


Fig. 6: bars 5-6 (with pickup) of the third movement of Tartini's *Didone abbandonata,* utilizing the same atypical slurred chromaticism

Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770)

Tartini stands out as exceptional among his contemporaries: as a composer whose interest in folk music traditions was integrative rather than exoticising, and one whose body of work contains a number of striking examples of his fluency in the idioms of the regions where he spent significant periods of his life.

Tartini, a native of the multi-ethnic Istrian region, was a curious character. Though famous as a violinist and pedagogue, he was also an enthusiast of Enlightenment thinking (he wrote of his discovery of the "third sound" overtone as a scientific finding),[127] a vehement anti-conversionist (despite being a devout Catholic),[128] an avid multiculturalist (he taught students from such a wide array of backgrounds at his School of Violin-Playing in Padua that it was later

[127] Pierpaolo Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," *Journal of the American Musicological* Society Vol. 67, no. 2 (2014), 429-486, 441-2.

[128] Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 444.

known as the "School of Nations"), and, later in life, a musical folklorist. He collected folk songs, made a point of listening to street musicians, and wrote eloquently about the music of oral tradition as a universal wellspring from which trained musicians could learn compositional and ornamentational principles.[129]

Tartini was born in 1692 in Piran, a town in the region of Istria. While Istria had strong economic and cultural ties with Venice during the eighteenth century, it was also home to the linguistically and culturally Slavic peoples of present-day Slovenia and Croatia. Given that Tartini grew up in this region (and frequently returned to visit relatives), and first began studying violin in Capodistria (present-day Koper, another mixed-population city in the territory of present-day Slovenia), he could not have escaped familiarity with local Slavic musical traditions. Furthermore, it is almost certain that he studied composition with the Czech composer Bohuslav Černohorský in his early twenties; there is no official record of lessons, but Tartini spent four years in the monastery of St. Francis in Assisi, where Černohorský was the organist in residence.[130] He also spent two years in Prague as the kapellmeister of Count Kinsky, between 1723 and 1725. It was as a consequence of these early points of contact, suggests Lev Ginsburg, that as his compositional style matured, Tartini "no longer confined himself to direct emotional perception of the ingenuous Slavonic songs or folk dancing with their characteristic rhythms; he analyzed their peculiarities and used them in his own interpretation. […] Very likely it is the folk music of the southwestern Slavs that Tartini draws upon in his use of improvised melodic phrases

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[129] Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 444.

[130] Lev Ginsburg, *Tartini: His Life and Times*, ed. Dr. Herbert Axelrod, Eng. trans. I. Levin (Neptune City, N.J.: Paganiniana Publications, Inc., 1981), 44.

with an augmented second, which according to him creates an 'excellent impression'."[131]

Tartini left further records of his regard for folk music as a genre as worthy of appreciation and study as any European school of composition. His letters, treatises, and transcriptions reveal a deep and genuine curiosity. He "observed and studied the music of farmers, boatmen, and fishermen"; the integration of elements of folk music into his own compositional and performance style was "meant to flatten cultural boundaries and make his music universally appealing."[132] In one of his surviving correspondences, he expressed respect and fellowship toward street musicians thus:

> "Everybody, and I mean everybody, must listen to everybody, and [that's why] in Venice I used to hand over my coin to those blind violin players, because I have learned even from them."[133]

In his *Trattato di musica,* he took note of the differences between dance movements and musical idioms across different cultures, and wrote with affection of Dalmatian folk songs that "have no definite intervals, but flow in a prolonged, improvised tune, now rising, now falling."[134] In his *Regole per ben suonar il Violino,* he laments that "only a few people, in fact no one, has made the effort to collect and transcribe [orally transmitted] musical traditions … Therefore I have started to collect and transcribe the few I have heard, but others who have diligence and pay attention will be able to collect and transcribe others that have not been heard yet, and perfect the

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[131] Ginsburg, *Tartini: His Life and Times,* 9.

[132] Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 444.

[133] Letter of Tartini to Angelo Gabrieli, dated February 6, 1760, quoted in Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 446.

[134] Giuseppe Tartini, Trattato di Musica secondo la vera scienza dell-armonia (Padua: Manfre, 1754), quoted in Ginsberg, *Tartini: His Life and Times,* 158.

undertaking."[135] (Unfortunately few remnants of these collections survive, but a handful of his transcription efforts can be found embedded in his collection of 30 *Piccole sonate.*) He was interested in the dialogue between the universality of "music" as a means of human expression and the cultural specificity with which individual musical styles and traditions are produced. But rather than feeling a need to declare either the traditions of aurally-transmitted music or the practices of composed "art" music superior or more valid, he wished to "address and solve this duality by integrating, rather than rejecting, differences."[136]

This kind of integration is precisely what appears in the famous *Devil's Trill* sonata. Though the piece exemplifies a peak in the tradition of Italian violinistic virtuosity, it also borrows from a number of recognizable Eastern European topics in the creation of its unusual (and at times unsettling) character. These topics lend the piece an element of ambient otherness, but without explicitly remarking on or exoticising the musical cultures they derive from. The Eastern European elements are handled much the same as the elements drawn from the *galant* idiom and the Italian virtuosic tradition: as musical objects worthy of employing where they will strengthen or augment a desired effect. The double stops in the opening bars are mostly open fifths and octaves (or else quickly resolve to them), sonorities that are rarely left so bare with such frequency in solo violin repertoire; a significant number of the final cadences also close on octave Gs. In m. 6, a non-functional harmony (a ninth) is inserted for a slightly destabilizing effect. The listener is left, by the end of the movement, with a sense that whatever comes next is not likely to be usual or comfortable. (And indeed it is not: a cascade of increasingly frenzied

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[135] Tartini, *Regole,* 20-21, quoted in Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 444.

[136] Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 444.

trills so dominate the subsequent movement that they practically become the main event.) The opening figure of the subsequent *allegro* concludes in a triplet in duple time; the rest of the movement is relentlessly motoric, and veers through small fits of faintly jarring chromaticism that often feature the raised fourth and seventh of the "Gypsy minor" scale. (Each half of the *allegro* concludes on a chord comprised of an octave plus the raised seventh of the key area.) The *andante* of the final *andante-allegro-adagio* is comprised entirely of melismatic passages that seem to defy exact notation, with the raised seventh appearing again to lend it an overall "Hungarian-Gypsy" effect. And while the fiendishly difficult fingered drone trills are clearly born of Tartini's own imagination, he foreshadows them with a string of other drone bars with a somewhat Slavic flavor. The sonata employs all these topics for effect, certainly - but the effect is not parodic, condescending, or even particularly geared towards imitating a nationally specific folk tradition. Rather, it is a blending of several contemporaneous musical styles, in which the musical language of the Eastern European folk fiddler is considered as worthy of learning and borrowing from as any Western European compositional tradition.

Also worth examining are the lesser-known *Piccole sonate*, mentioned previously as the site of the surviving transcription efforts. Three movements contain overt and identifiable references to Venetian folk music: the "forlana" dance of Sonata No. 17 in D Major (B.D2[137]), and the "canzone veneziana" and the gondoliers' "aria del Tasso" song of the Sonata No. 12 in G Major (B.G4), which also appear in an autograph notebook of Tartini's dated from the 1740s.[138] It follows that the rest of the collection might contain other references to Tartini's explorations of

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[137] Brainard (B) catalogue numbers are included, since the numbering of the pieces appears to differ across some editions. The numbers listed here are copied from Edouardo Farina's comprehensive 1979 edition.

[138] Polzonetti, "Tartini and the Tongue of Saint Anthony," 447.

folk music - and indeed, a number of the movements display colourful examples of Eastern European and Istrian topics.

The full collection of *Piccole sonate* comprises twenty-six numbered sonatas, as well as several additional isolated movements. A general trend towards Eastern European folk idioms abounds throughout, featuring in at least twenty of the twenty-six: the unusual augmented seconds, and the ubiquitous appearances of the Hungarian minor scale; the incredible density of close-packed trills associated with the "Hungarian-Gypsy" style, and the frequent use of static drone pitches spanning full bars; the wandering, improvisatory melodies akin to Tartini's description of Dalmatian folk music; the handful of unprepared shifts in modality, appearing from nowhere and retreating without any acknowledgement that something odd might have transpired. To highlight a handful of the more prominent examples: The opening s*iciliana* of the Sonata No. 2 in D minor (B.d1) relies heavily on the Hungarian minor scale passages over a drone string and double-stopped minor seconds on the strong beat of its cadential formula for the effect of its opening section. The *andante cantabile* of the Sonata No. 6 in E minor (B.e1) shares a similar plaintive character and predilection for open fifths; it also ends its first half on a triple-stop comprised of two Bs and an A# (mirrored in the *giga* of the same sonata, which reintroduces the Hungarian minor element). The Sonata No. 4 (B.C1) and features two slow movements with unaccompanied melody subjects, and which echo the contours of the aria del Tasso enough to make one wonder if they, too, might have roots in song. And the fourth movement of the Sonata No. 9 (B.a1) displays some rather wild tripletized flourishes over a drone string, which evokes the improvisations of folk fiddlers.

Sonata No. 7 (B.a1) is one of the most extreme examples. The first movement makes

frequent use of diminished thirds and augmented sixths, as well as an uncommonly extended drone held over the final four bars. The second movement features an unusual hopping rhythm, multiple bars of rapid melismas, and several instances where every beat of a bar is trilled (including several bars with repeated melisma figures, heavily evoking the style of the itinerant Hungarian folk fiddler). The third movement utilises all these elements and more: the trilled melismas, the Lombard inverse of the second movement's rhythm, and rapid or trilled figurations over aggressive open-string drones that generally conclude their pattern on an open fifth or octave. The final movement invokes the Hungarian minor in the first two bars of its theme, and spends many of its subsequent variations playing with all the idiomatic characteristics mentioned in relation to this collection as a whole.

Tartini's work is traditionally tonal, of course, but he makes strikingly regular use of one particular Istrian-adjacent sound. At least seven sonatas (and an additional isolated movement) make use of the characteristic linear harmonies concluding in a unison (the final note of the bar or phrase always preceded by a double-stopped second or diminished third on a strong beat). Within the context of the galant style, this pattern is highly unusual, and suggests a recollection of the two-part Istrian folk-singing style:

Fig. 7: Sonata No. 7 (B.a1), fourth movement, variation 6, bars 230-245

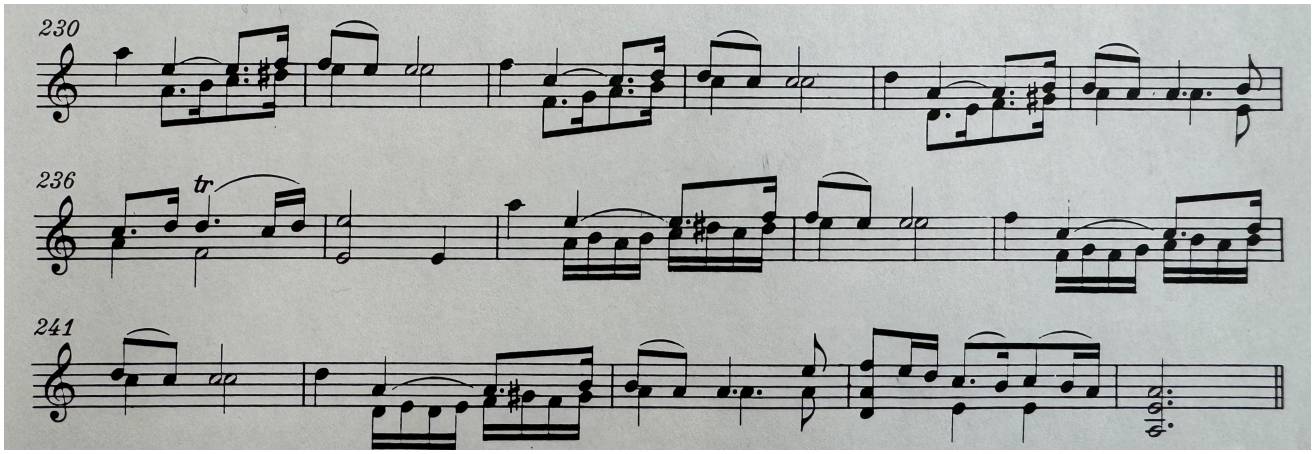


Fig. 8: Sonata No. 19 (B.D3), movement 1, bars 1-2; occurs again at bars 10-12

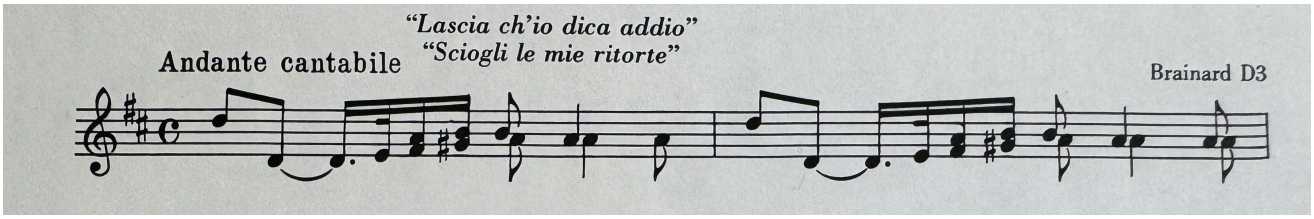


Fig. 9: Sonata No. 20 (B.e2), second movement, bars 10-12; occurs again at bar 52

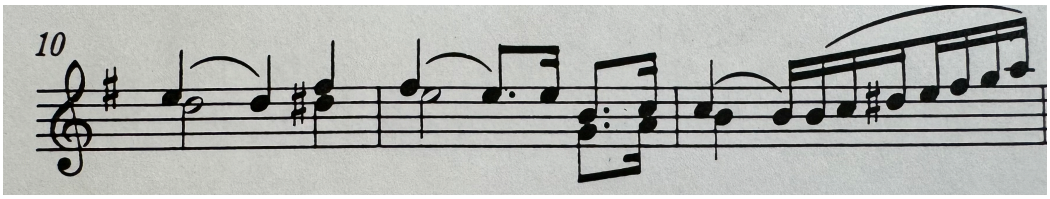
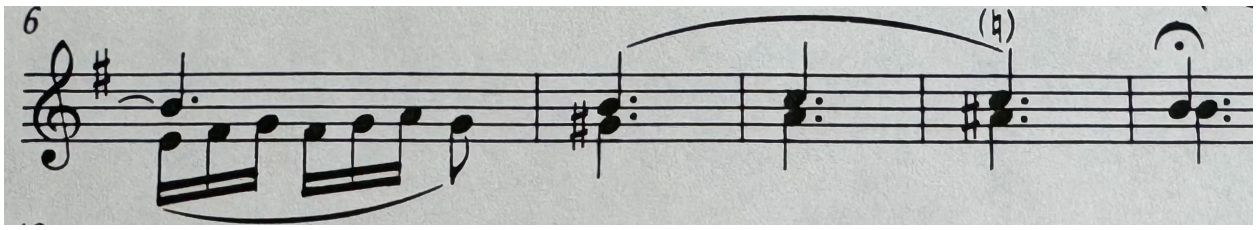


Fig. 10: Sonata No. 20 (B.e2), third movement, bars 6-10



This atypical figuration also appear in Sonata No. 2 (B.d1), movement 1, bars 3-4 and 8; the *movimento isolatio* following Sonata No. 9, bars 1, 13, and 15; a truncated variant in Sonatas No. 11 (B.E1) movement 2, bars 5 and 7, and No. 15 (B.G3), movement 6, bars 4-5; Sonata No. 26 (G5), movement 3, bars 7-8, 27-8, 31-2, 39-40, and 51-2; and an unnumbered Sonata (d3), movement 1, bars 9-10. Some instances read as more incidental than integral to the movement's character, but the majority of them read like small fantasias on the sounds of Tartini's homeland.

A final point of potential interest is the combination of the second movement of the Sonata No. 3 and the final movement of Sonata No. 20 (the latter of which also appears as the final movement of Sonata No. 6 in the facsimile, albeit a less complete version). Three hundred years and a tenuous written record of music transmitted by oral tradition make it impossible to offer definitive proof, but two of the four bars of No. 20 *allegro assai*'s multiply-repeated opening statement (which appears in both unaltered and dotted form throughout the movement) match two of the four bars comprising the opening statement of the *šestorka kolo* dance tune. The same passage (with the dotted alteration) occurs in the Sonata No. 3's *allegro,* this time a full four-bar phrase that tracks almost note-for-note with the *kolo*. No written records of the tune appear before the early 20th-century *Narodne igre,* published by folk dance collectors and researchers Ljubica and Danica Janković; its most recent traceable origins (around Stara Planina in Serbia)[139] are somewhat beyond Tartini's region of origin. But the Balkans are not so large a region that the tune might not have traveled a thousand-odd kilometers. And between the appearance across multiple sonatas, the associations of the dance tune with shepherds (the dance

[139] Vesna Maljković, "The Reason We Dance: Holistic Learning Through Traditional Cultural Practices" (Doctoral thesis, Simon Fraser University, 2012), 180.

is traditionally preceded by the song "Oj lele stara planino," whose lyrics translate to "Oh, my old mountain, I walked on you often, I walked on you often, herding the sheep with my girl"[140]) and the pastorally-themed Metastasio quotes Tartini penned at the top of the first and fourth movements of this sonata (one from *Siroe's* Act II, in which Emira wishes for the simple life of a shepherdess, the other from Act I comparing the tumults of the natural world to the tumults of the heart), the possibility of a connection may be worth entertaining.

Fig. 11: opening four bars of the šestorka kolo

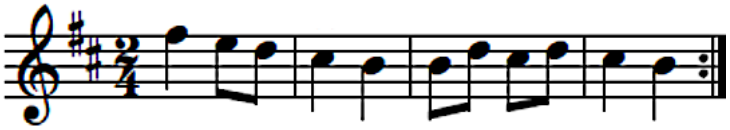
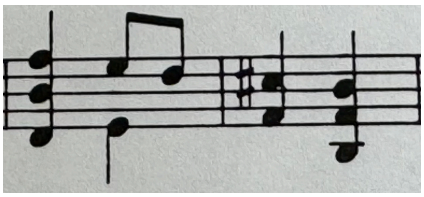
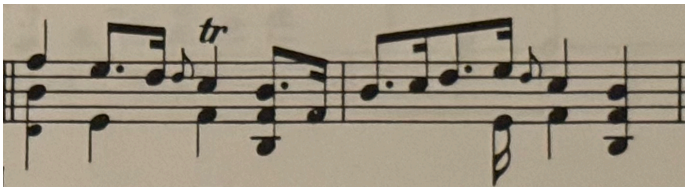


Fig. 12: Sonata No. 20, movement 4, bars 67-68 (same or similar figure with the first eighth note dotted repeated in bars 3-4, 7-8, 43-44, 45-46, and 71-72) and Fig 13: Sonata No. 3, movement 2, bars 32-33 (pattern repeated in 34-35)





Whether or not this last connection is a genuine one, it remains that Tartini's approach was philosophically and musically unique at a time when most of Western Europe regarded the music of the peasantry with anything from arm's-length curiosity to outright disdain - and doubly so if

[140] Maljković, "The Reason We Dance," 180.

it came from a region whose inhabitants were considered less civilized Others. Both his writings and his music evince a genuine interest in the diverse musical traditions he encountered during his life, an enthusiasm for traits of Eastern European folk music in particular, and a universalist attitude in his respect, appreciation, and integration of musical forms and subjects from across class and national boundaries.

IV. The Present Performer

Having provided background, context, analytical tools, and several specific works to which these apply, the question remains: of what practical use is all this to a practicing historically-informed performance (HIP) musician?

In part, this thesis is intended to add a few planks to the bridge between scholarship and praxis. The comparative dearth of scholarship on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Eastern European folk topics already disadvantages performers wishing to engage with them. There is a secondary barrier in the disparity between the aims of musicologists and performers when it comes to the exploration of under-researched subjects. In the words of Bruce Haynes: "[Musicology] deals only in verifiable history - that is, evidence that is "meant to be true" (as far as can be established). What is considered verifiable history almost never offers a complete picture; in the case of music, not even recordings (if they existed) could do that. Performers have to fill in that picture and transform it into coherent music. Music historians may not, by the code of their profession, do it for them. […] Because musicians perform concerts, they can't skip over

the bits they are not sure about. The musician is forced to assume "too much": that is, more than can be proven."[141] The very nature of historical performance practice means the musicians who undertake it cannot avoid some overlap with the research-oriented quarters of the discipline. But when confronted with a particular subject or approach that has no established community concerned with its study and performance, and most of the literature available is concerned chiefly with documentation, provability, and the standards any given theory or evidence must meet in order to be admitted to the record and considered part of the conversation, the performer does not have the luxury of simply abdicating all decision-making until sufficient evidence is produced to justify each choice beyond impeachment. (Not if they wish to continue being a performer, in any case.) The context and analysis comprising the bulk of this thesis are intended to widen the line on which performers are obliged to walk at this particular intersection. They are intended to make some of what is knowable accessible within a framework that will benefit a musician's decision-making apparatus - and to present some of what will never be provable, but which is plausible, supportable, and compelling.

Dorian Bandy summarizes the role of topics in the act of interpretation succinctly and eloquently: "To identify [a] topic is to set, rather than settle, an interpretive challenge."[142] But when topics go unidentified, as is frequently the case when they are drawn from spheres of music outside the current HIP canon, the question not only goes unanswered but un-asked. Many of the extant recordings and performances that explore the "folk-baroque" intersection are not yet asking the questions. They are therefore in danger of doing to historical folk music, and the

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[141] Bruce Haynes, *The End of Early Music: A Period Performer's History of Music* (Oxford University Press Inc., 2007), 128.

[142] Dorian Bandy, *Mozart the Performer: Variations on the Showman's Art* (University of Chicago Press, 2023), 202.

compositions derived from or reliant upon it, what the historical performance movement has tended to condemn "modern" players for doing. Granted, it is not so blunt or all-encompassing a phenomenon as Haynes' description of the modernist performance practice, which "insists on using a single performing style for the music of all periods and blithely ignores differences of style and instruments."[143] All the same, there is a tendency among HIP musicians dipping into folk music or folk topics to paint across styles with the same beat hierarchies and ornamentation they use on explicitly Italian, French, or German-style works, whether or not it is appropriate to the character of the music or the conventions it was composed within. In most of those cases, I suspect it is less a deliberate performance choice than the absence of another clear conception of how else the music in question might be performed. To that end, the second aim of this thesis is to put the tools and lenses elaborated on in earlier chapters to work in service of alternate, viable interpretations.

A *polonaise* embedded in a Telemann overture suite is almost certainly of the "tamed" variety, rather than one of his compositions of "barbaric beauty" - and the fewer Polish topics are present, the more likely it is to be one of the German court-polonaises whose style and syntax differed little from other contemporaneous German works. But what of the Rostock dances, which appear barely editorialized and in some cases lack even a bass line? For what ends were they written down? Were they performed, or even intended for performance? And if they were: where, by whom, and in what style? How much of the A Minor *Fantasia* might be parody, and how much an exploration of musical elements Telemann might have found interesting or

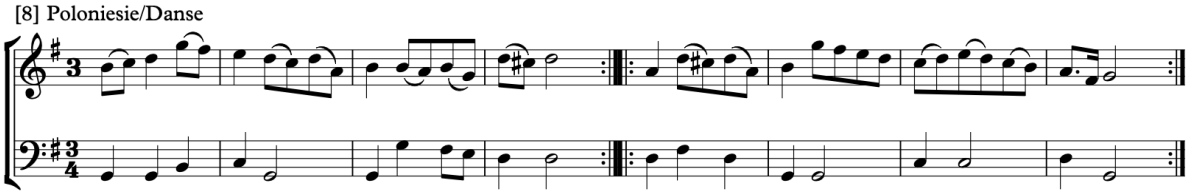
[143] Haynes, *The End of Early Music,* 11.

appealing on their own merits? (And if we accept it as a parody of Tartini's Istrian topics specifically: how graceful, obvious, humorous, or grotesque ought that parody to be?)

We cannot know to a certainty. Nor can we abdicate the choice entirely.

To demonstrate some measure of what a performer might gain through the context and tools laid out in this thesis (or lose in their absence), let us take, for example, the eighth *polonièse* from the Rostock manuscript.

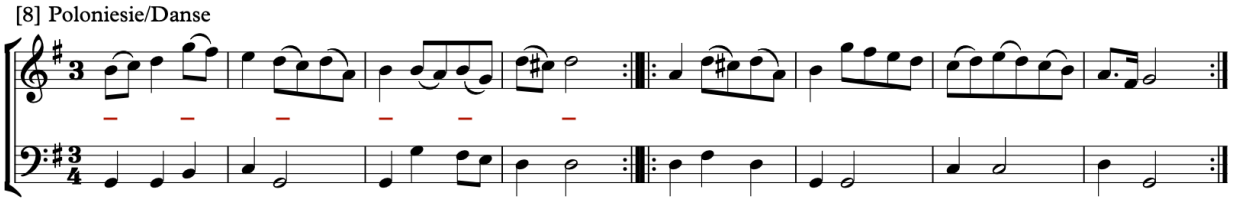
Fig. 14: *polonièse* no. 8



Let us begin by assuming the performer obeys the beat hierarchies of eighteenth-century convention to the best of their ability, given what has been written on the page, without knowledge or experience of either Polish folk music or eighteenth-century sources describing it. Even this simple assumption presents an immediate difficulty, in a piece whose odd 3-over-3/4 signature smacks faintly of bewilderment on the part of the transcriber. In isolation the bass line could plausibly be felt in 3/4, but the rhythmic figures of the upper line threatens to make nonsense of it by the first beat of the second bar. By the end of the fourth bar the premise of a simple 3/4 has unraveled into something that, if obeyed to the letter, will resemble an ungainly waltz, and defang the quarter-half rhythm that defines the bass line by allocating the strong beat

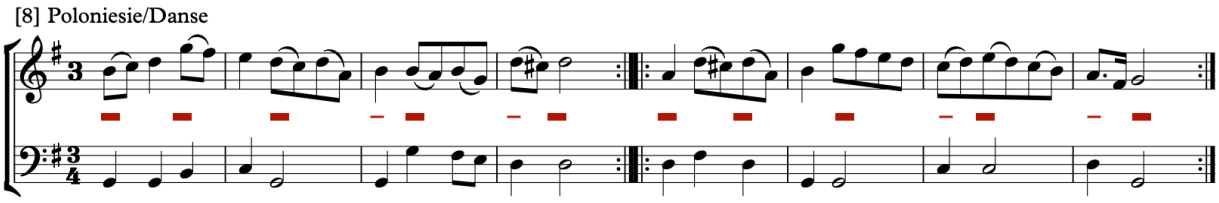
to the quarter note. (When imagining someone attempting to dance to this tune, would the dancer not end the phrase with a foot hanging in the air on the weak second and functionally empty third beats of the fourth and eighth bars in consequence?) Extant recordings, even those that evince little familiarity with folk conventions, generally choose to treat this movement as though it were in 6/8 in order to make sense of it.

Fig. 15: *polonièse* no. 8, with the beat pattern heard in more conventional baroque recordings underlined



But if this was the intended beat pattern, why not simply write it in 6/8, instead of this odd 3-over-3/4 configuration? What seems likeliest, in my estimation, is that the intention was to preserve the even-numbered bars' quarter-half rhythm in a format that highlighted the Lombard-figure-writ-large and visually emphasized the half note stress *without removing the stress from the quarter note entirely.* Written as two bars of 6/8 (rather than four bars of 3-over-3/4), the default reading would be an unstressed fourth beat; a stress could be added via written accent, but even were written accents as common in the eighteenth century as they became in subsequent periods, a written fourth-beat accent might risk an interpretation where the fourth beat receives a more significant stress than the fifth beat.

Fig. 16: *polonièse* no. 8, with four-bar hemiola beat pattern suggested by the interplay of melody and bass lines underlined



Assuming this is the intended reading of the bass line's stress patterns (and as the quarter-half double-stress pattern is one of the most immediately identifying topics associated with Polishness, it seems a reasonable supposition), we are left with a final option for interpreting the stress pattern. The second four-bar cell points us to a solution: two bars felt more or less in 6/8 (with a stress pattern of **1**-2-**3**-4-**5**-6, perhaps with a light stress on 4 in the bass line not mirrored in the treble), followed by two bars felt as a hemiola (with a stress pattern of **1**-**2**-3-**4**-**5**-6). That precise stress pattern is written into the bass line, with both bars 7 and 8 featuring the quarter-half double-stress. Tellingly, this is also the stress pattern chosen in a recording by the Orkiestra Czasów Zarazy, whose members are clearly familiar with their own musical traditions.

There are, of course, arguments that might be made for a straight 6/8 beat pattern. A performer might decide to interpret the tune in the style of one of Telemann's more "appropriately clothed" courtly polonaises, whether because they feel it more appropriate to their performance goals, disagree with the above reading of the time signatures, deny that Telemann would ever have approved of a "beer-fiddler" interpretation of something he had written, or simply prefer it stylistically. Any and all of these reasons might produce a cohesive, engaging

performance, if consciously chosen and explored. I certainly do not mean to suggest that one should play every eighteenth-century "polonaise" movement as though it were the heel-kicking beer-fiddler variety indiscriminately. But in this specific instance - a short, unadorned tune containing Polish topics, in the hand a composer with a documented fondness for lower-class folk music, written somewhat awkwardly in what appears to be an attempt to preserve rhythmic figurations that do quite fit neatly into the notation system - I would argue for the inclusion of the beer-fiddler interpretation in our modern translations of eighteenth-century musical life.

"Translation" may be a particularly apt descriptor for part of an HIP musician's job. Not only is the interpretation of the work laid in their charge, they must also play intermediary between an audience and a fragment of the composer's imagination written in a musical language that is, to all of us in the present, long dead. This is the crux of where the notion of authenticity as anything other than an aspiration collapses: even were the historical record perfectly complete and entirely knowable, performer and audience alike are still beholden to the passage of time, and to the cultural norms and musical languages through which we cannot help but filter everything. In the words of Thurston Dart, "It is impossible for anyone living today to hear early music with the ears who first heard it, and it is idle to pretend otherwise."[144] From this point of fact, a paradox emerges: if the musician wishes to be maximally faithful to (their understanding of) a musical text as it would have been performed in its day, they risk the music's topical references going unheard in the ears of an audience that is likely neither to be listening for them nor to understand their meaning without assistance. If the musician wishes to adopt the performance conventions of the eighteenth century - that is, to be a musical rhetorician, and

[144] Cited in Haynes, *The End of Early Music,* 144.

"[master] controlling the emotional responses of their listeners"[145] - they may need to make interpretive decisions at odds with those of an eighteenth-century musician in order to communicate with an audience now. If performers who have studied eighteenth-century are still likely to display some contextual illiteracy when it comes to identifying and expressing Eastern European topics in the music whose conventions are familiar to them, how much more foreign is an audience likely to find the language of those village-trained musicians from nations whose musical identities are most notable for their absence from the canonized repertoire? Furthermore, to an audience with several centuries and the works of Dvořák, Liszt, and Bartók between them and a Telemann *fantasia,* the latter's Eastern European topical references may sound so mild, as well as being obscured by the comparatively unfamiliar eighteenth-century idiom, that the musician must make a sacrifice. A performance that effectively communicates affect and topical references to the audience, but reaches beyond the bounds of what Telemann might have considered "good taste," or a performance as faithful to our understanding of Telemann's style as possible, in which the audience detects no traces of musical Polishness at all.

Over half a century into the current HIP movement, the body of scholarship has grown broad enough to meet the needs of any musician seeking general guidance on how to shape their decisions as rhetoricians, communicators, and interpreters. I have little to add that has not been said better or addressed more substantively elsewhere. Having set the interpretive challenge, it must be for any performer who approaches these musical crossroads answer as they will.

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[145] Tom Beghin, "Delivery, delivery, delivery! : crowning the rhetorical process of Haydn's keyboard sonatas," in *Haydn and the Performance of Rhetoric,* Eds. Tom Beghin and Sander M. Goldberg (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 131-171: 145.

To quote Haynes once more: "what we want is to be confident we've realized the style as we perceive it at this particular moment."[146] In compiling the context, analytical framework, and examples in this thesis, my hope is not only to interest other performers in engaging with Eastern European topics, but lend them (and myself) some assistance in achieving that stylistic confidence in their encounters with music built upon those topics, exploring the crossroads where the canon intersects with other musical traditions, and expanding the scope of the current historical performance landscape still further.

[146] Haynes, *The End of Early Music,* 120.

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