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French sacred music in Lutheran Germany, 1660–1730

THE HISTORY OF musical migration and artistic mobility in early modern Europe has received considerable scholarly attention over the last 20 years, representing a particularly dynamic field of interdisciplinary research.[1] The intersections between artistic migration and the circulation of musical repertory have, however, proved somewhat more elusive subjects, and ones that need to be explored in more depth. It is true that the investigative methods and sources are quite different in each case and that the results do not always intersect, nor do they always produce a coherent picture or allow us to go beyond a few typical case studies. Nevertheless, some contributions on early modern Germany have already sought to combine both levels of investigation to expand the body of evidence and revisit some well-established assumptions as to the hybridization between musical, cultural and confessional identities.[2]

This contribution bears upon such issues and demonstrates, through three case studies using different methods of investigation, that the joint examination of artistic migration and musical circulation can still produce a lot of fresh data and new perspectives. In uncovering new musical sources and biographical material on French musicians in Germany, my research covers a broad range of institutions from court chapels to private music practices and pays attention to confessional and cultural hybridization in early modern court and city life. This in turn helps to point out the varying political, confessional and cultural contexts as well as significations of the French motet and other church music written by French musicians in German-speaking lands.[3]

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1 Goulet & zur Nieden 2015; Over & zur Nieden 2016; Beaurepaire *et al.* 2018.

2 Frandsen 2006; Ahrendt 2011.

3 Delpech 2020.

Music historians have often assumed an implicit division of labour between Italian and French musicians in German territories during the 17th and early 18th centuries. While studies of the reception of Italian music have mainly focused on sacred music and opera, French musicians are primarily associated with the production of dance and theatre music.[4] This certainly holds largely true, and even the prominent writer Johann Mattheson, who presented himself as an expert on French musical style in the early 1710s, did not seem to have held French church music in particularly high esteem:

> The contemporary French composers to this hour almost indiscriminately call all their church pieces *des Motets*. One must willingly permit them such freedom, although the ignorance in the denomination of a thing gives some well-founded suspicion that one does not properly know or understand the matter itself.[5]

It would be tempting to assume that Mattheson's irony reflected a more general lack of interest in French sacred music in Lutheran Germany, and to think that the dissemination of French music in Northern Europe was strictly limited to secular or instrumental genres, in stark contrast to the spread of Italian sacred music and church singers all over Europe. This contrast, however, is accurate only to a certain point. In this article, I challenge the clear-cut dichotomy between French secular music and Italian sacred music by taking a closer look at various sources of French sacred music and the context in which they originated. Going beyond instrumental, dance and stage music, I show that various German courts, Lutheran and Catholic alike, relied on French sacred music to a surprising degree, and that some members of French bands were even charged with the execution and composition of music

4 See, for example, Frandsen 2006; Robertson 2009; Scharrer 2014; Fogelberg Rota 2018.

5 Mattheson 1739, p. 223: "Die heutigen Frantzosen nennen zwar noch bis diese Stunde alle ihre Kirchen=Stücke, fast ohne Unterschied, *des Motet*s: Man kann ihnen auch solche Freiheit gerne gönnen: wiewol die Unwissenheit in der Benennung eines Dinges keinen übel gegründeten Argwohn gibt, daß man auch das Ding oder die Sache selbst nicht recht kenne oder verstehe." My translation.

for the church. Tracing the circulation of printed and manuscript sources of French church music in German territories, we can find new and varying types of evidence bearing on this question while also considering the European migration of French musicians.

From theatre to the church: Stéphane Valoy

There is no question that the bulk of the repertory of French music that was circulating in Northern Europe around 1700 consisted of secular, largely instrumental music. With a few notable exceptions such as Anne de La Barre, Louise Dimanche or Marie Rochois, French musicians active in Scandinavia or Germany were mostly instrumentalists or dancing masters employed to reinforce French troupes of actors. In some cases, the employment of French musicians in German court chapels was gradually accompanied by the secularization of their musical duties. The court of Hanover provides a good case in point. When the Catholic duke Johann Friedrich died in 1679, all Italian musicians from Venice who had previously served in the Catholic chapel under the direction of Antonio Sartorio were fired within a few months. Instead, the new duke Ernst August and his wife Sophie of Hanover hired seven French musicians in August 1680, under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Farinel:

> For his recreation, Ernst August will enjoy the violinists whom his son [i.e., Georg Ludwig, who was then in Paris] has chosen for him and brought here. They are not as expensive as Italian music.[6]

In the Hanover court records, the Italian musicians were listed in the section "Bey der Hofkapelle" along with the Catholic clergy and other staff of the church.[7] From 1680 onwards, French musicians are listed in a separate section ("Denen Musicanten") without any relation to the personnel of the court chapel.[8] This striking laicization of the musi-

6 Letter from Sophie of Hanover to Karl Ludwig von der Pfalz, 5 August 1680. Bodemann 1885, p. 432: "E[rnst] A[ugust] se va recreer un peu par des violons qu'il a fait venir, que son fils luy a choisi, qui ne coutent pas tant que la musique Italienne." My translation.

7 Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Hannover, Hann. 76c A No. 99, 1679–1680, p. 347.

8 Delpech 2020, pp. 89–90.

cians' position within the court was in line with the liberal religious attitude of the new rulers. Sophie of Hanover professed a Cartesian rationalism that could at times border on a radical Enlightenment hostile to any form of religion and obscurantism. In her correspondence with her brother, she repeatedly boasted about reading Spinoza (who was highly controversial at the time, if not banned by ecclesiastical authorities) during church services.[9]

Even though the new rulers of Hanover were not devout Lutherans, the need for church music did not disappear overnight. The French musician Stéphane Valoy, born in Paris, was primarily active as a musician in French acting troupes.[10] Before moving to Belgium and Darmstadt in the early 1700s, he was active at the court of Hanover between 1680 and 1698 as a member of the French orchestral band. Starting in 1691, he took over the position of chapel master left vacant during the absence of Jean-Baptiste Farinel.[11] In Hanover, he composed music for the court ballets and theatrical divertissements, as shown by several librettos.[12] Some of his secular instrumental music has been transmitted in several manuscripts copied between 1688 and 1690 by French musicians of Hanover (i.e., Guillaume Barré, Charles Babel and Gilles Héroux) and today kept in Darmstadt.[13] Late in his career, Valoy worked in Darmstadt as a musician to the French theatrical troupe from 1712 until his death in 1715.[14] He must have brought the Hanover manuscripts with him, and they were probably passed to the court library upon his death in the absence of an heir.

Stéphane Valoy—sometimes referred to as Étienne, another form of

9 Israel 2001, pp. 84–85.
10 Delpech 2020, p. 45.
11 Niedersächsisches Landesarchiv Hannover, Hann. 76c A No. 100, 1680–1681, p. 406.
12 See, for example, D-HVl, C 15842 No. 7, *Prologue sur l'heureuse naissance du jeune Prince Frederic August*, Hanover 1685, p. 16: "Monsieur Valois [a composé] toute la musique." D-HVl, C 15842, No. 8, *Le Triomphe de la Paix, balet dance sur le grand theatre de Hannover,* Hanover 1685, p. 24: "Mr. de Valois a composé toute la musique."
13 D-DS, Mus. ms. 1221, 1226, 1227, 1230. Schneider 1986; Albertyn 2005; Delpech 2020, pp. 226–227.
14 Noack 1967, p. 187.

his name—had also composed sacred music for the Lutheran court chapel in Hanover. The Bokemeyer Collection, kept in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, features one short mass by Valoy copied by Georg Österreich.[15] A Magnificat attributed to Valoy also appears in the collections of the Royal Music Library in London.[16] It was written on English paper by an anonymous copyist who probably followed the court of Hanover to London in the wake of George I's ascent to the British throne, as suggested by Peter Wollny.[17] For different reasons, both the Bokemeyer and the Royal collections feature quite extensive segments from the Hanover court repertory at the end of the 17th century. While in both works of Valoy the title and scoring are labelled in Italian, all subsequent indications (e.g., *lentement*, *hardi*, *grave* and *tous*) are given in French throughout the scores.

In both works, the composition of the string ensemble reflects the French tradition of orchestral scoring, especially when one considers the presence of two viola parts written in the French clefs for "haute-contre de violon" (C1) and "quinte de violon" (C3). The use of two viola parts was admittedly very common in northern Germany at that time, including in manuscript sources from the Bokemeyer Collection.[18] In this case, however, the scoring is indisputably based specifically on a French model, since instead of being notated in the C3 and C4 clefs, as is overwhelmingly the case in northern German church and printed music, they are notated in the C1 and C3 clefs. The same characteristics are also found in other sources from Hanover, such as in the Darmstadt manuscripts or some operas composed for the court by Agostino Steffani. In Hanover, Steffani used the same scoring as did Valoy with two viola parts in C1 and C3, occasionally labelled "haute-

15 D-B, Mus. ms. 30293, "Missa à 9 et più. 5 Istromenti è 4 Voci, con Organo Valoy." Further details from Kümmerling 1970, p. 131 (No. 1034). Another manuscript from the Bokemeyer Collection features a suite by Valoy, along with compositions by Agostino Steffani, Georg Ca spar Schürmann, Antonio Lotti, Reinhard Keiser, Francesco Bartolomeo Conti and Alessandro Scarlatti: D-B, Mus. ms. 30274.

16 GB-Lbl, R.M. 24.a.1, "Magnificat à 4 Voci et 4 Instrumenti e Continuo. Di Signor Valoy."

17 Wollny 1998, pp. 68–69; Delpech 2020, pp. 227–229.

18 Haenen 2015.

contre" and "taille", as well as French playing indications for the orchestra, whereas he provided Italian dynamics for his singers.[19] Another common feature is the extensive use of wind trio sections for two oboes and bassoon, another French habit. All of this reflects the performance practice of French players in the Hanover court orchestra.

Another striking element of Valoy's church music is the use of a choir of soloists in alternation with the full choir—a procedure reminiscent of the French use of the *grand chœur* and *petit chœur*, in the genre of the grand motet. On the whole, however, the musical style of both works is best described as international or mixed, rather than specifically French. Valoy displays a solid contrapuntal technique, which is not usually a focus of French composers, and he makes great use of melodic and harmonic sequences which contemporary French composers tend to avoid and which are typical of a modern concerto-like style.[20]

Beyond those two fairly exceptional large-scale pieces, Hanover musicians were also performing genuine French church music. A few printed leaves from the court chapel's collections emerged in the 1980s in a small village near Hanover, where they served to seal off the pipes of a church organ.[21] Among them were two original prints of motets by Henry Du Mont.[22] It is likely that the French musicians employed from 1680 onwards were performing those motets at the Lutheran chapel of the court. Several other fragments of printed sacred music are preserved across northern Germany. In Wolfenbüttel, one part ('Dessus du grand chœur') of the original 1684 edition of Jean-Baptiste Lully's motets has been preserved, possibly indicating that a complete set of separate parts was once present in the ducal collections.[23] A manuscript copy of Lully's *Te Deum* has also been preserved in Schwerin, but only includes instrumental parts, again hinting at the presence of a now lost set of parts in the court collections.[24]

19 Sadler 2017, pp. 70–73.
20 Delpech 2020, pp. 227–229.
21 Sievers 1979, pp. 61–67.
22 Henry Du Mont, *Meslanges à II, III, IV & V parties*, vol. 2, Paris: Robert Ballard, 1657; Henry Du Mont, *Motets à deux voix avec la Basse-Continue*, Paris: Robert Ballard, 1668.
23 D-W 123 Mus. div.
24 Waczat 2002.

Finally, it should be noted that the Düben Collection preserved in Uppsala also features a number of manuscript copies of French sacred works, most notably three *petits motets* by Campra and one by Brossard, as well as one *motet à grand chœur* by Nicolas Bernier and no fewer than 19 works by Henry Du Mont, two of them unpublished. Even though large portions of this repertoire were available in print, the vast majority of the Dumont copies preserved in the Düben Collection present significant differences from the printed versions and must therefore have been circulated as manuscripts.[25] A short piece composed for the funeral of Queen Ulrika Eleonora the Elder in Stockholm in 1693 by Pierre Verdier, a French musician active in Stockholm from 1647 until his death in 1706, reinforces the point already made with Valoy, namely that the musical duties of French musicians employed at Lutheran courts could very well include the performance and composition of church music.[26] As Lars Berglund has shown, Pierre Verdier's short dialogue for two voices (*Kristus är mitt liv*) was performed alongside an arrangement in Swedish of a Latin motet by Daniel Danielis (1635–1696), former chapel master at the court of Güstrow and at the time *maître de musique* at the cathedral of Vannes.[27]

French motet as royal emblem: The Dresden court

A parallel situation occurred in Dresden in the wake of August the Strong's conversion to Catholicism and his election to the throne of Poland in 1697. The numerous French musicians hired in the Dresden court chapel from 1699 onwards participated in the music-making at the Catholic court chapel inaugurated in 1708. The journal of the Jesuits in charge of the Dresden Royal Chapel documents several performances by French musicians and shows that at least one of them had composed a mass, perhaps Louis André who was hired as a composer of French music between 1720 and 1733.[28] As Gerhard Poppe has pointed

25 Decobert 2011, pp. 209–212.

26 S-Uu, Vmhs 54:1. On the context of this composition see Berglund 2020.

27 Berglund 2020, pp. 252–257.

28 Reich 1997, pp. 315–380. See, for example, the entries on 22 November 1711 ("Musicam pro Sacro cantato fecerunt Galii Regii Musici in honorem Sanctae Caeciliae Virginis et Martyrae quod recenter composuit Dominus

out, Jan Dismas Zelenka's output for the Catholic court chapel also reveals that he might have been composing for a specific, French-trained ensemble, in contrast to Giovanni Alberto Ristori and Johann David Heinichen, whose scoring and writing habits point towards more important, Italian ensembles.[29]

The court collections in Dresden also feature several printed and manuscript copies of French motets (see *Table 1*). Among them, three are of particular interest. One set of partbooks to Robert's *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy* in the 1684 edition from Ballard are bound in the light blue wrappers typical of the music used at the Catholic chapel, and are partly relabelled to fit the usual scoring and practices of the chapel. This set is almost complete and is one of the three known exemplars preserved worldwide. Although most of the string partbooks show little or no trace of use, possibly because they were copied and duplicated instead of being directly distributed to the musicians, some vocal partbooks and above all the continuo parts bear numerous manuscript corrections, hinting at a regular performance of at least a selection of motets.[30] The two late manuscript copies of Lully's *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy* suggest that the original printed set of parts must have been present at some point in the court collections. One of them bears a note written by Franz Schubert, a court musician in Dresden around 1800, stating that the original set of parts was sent directly by King Louis XIV to August the Strong as a gift.[31]

This note, as well as the presence of at some point both editions from 1684 in Dresden, is particularly interesting from both a confessional and a political perspective. Both editions were specifically commissioned by Louis XIV just after having moved his court to Versailles, as a way to commemorate the two composers who had served at the Royal

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Zelenka, pariter Musicus Regius"), 30 November 1712 ("Sub Sacro cantato musicam solennem fecerunt Galli Musici Regii et diu ante probaverunt") and 14 June 1722 ("Hora 11. Sacrum cantatum, composuit aliquis Gallus [Louis André?] hoc Sacrum et cum Regiis Musicis illud produxit").

29 Poppe 2005, pp. 329–339.

30 Delpech 2017.

31 DDl, Mus. 1827-D-2, inner cover: "Ist unter August dem 2ten König von Pohlen und Sachsen nach Dresden von König Ludewig dem 14ten von Frankreich an König August den 2ten zugeschickt worden. Franz Schubert."

Table 1. French sacred music in the Dresden collections (D-Dl).

Call No.	Composer	Title	Format	Provenance
Mus. 1718-E-01	Pierre Robert	Motets pour la chapelle du Roy	Ballard 1684	Katholische Hofkirche
Mus. 2012-E-01	Paolo Lorenzani	Motets à 1–5 parties	Ballard 1688	Königliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung
Mus. 2116-Q-1	Michel Richard de Lalande	Motets, Books 2 and 3	Boivin 1729	Königliche Privat-Musikaliensammlung
Mus. 2124-E-1	André Campra	Motets à 1, 2 et 3 voix	Ballard 1700	
Mus.1827-D-1	Jean-Baptiste Lully	Motets a deux Chœurs	Ms. copy of Ballard 1684	Late copy, 2 volumes
Mus. 1827-D-2	Jean-Baptiste Lully	[Motets pour la chapelle du Roy]	Ms. copy of Ballard 1684	Late copy, first volume missing
Mus. 1-B-104	André Campra	Exsurge Domine	Ms. copy of Ballard 1695, 1699 or 1700	Copy from one of the first editions in a miscellaneous ms.

Chapel in the Louvre during the first 20 years of his reign.[32] On the title page of those lavish editions, the motets were explicitly labelled "for the chapel of the king". And yet in Dresden as well, the transformation of the old court opera into a newly consecrated Catholic chapel in 1708 played a crucial role in August the Strong's strategy to retain his royal prerogative. To maintain his claim to the Polish throne, which had been seriously shaken in the wake of the Great Northern War, August the Strong had to court the favours of the Holy See, to persuade the pope that he had remained a faithful Catholic, and to urge him not to recognize the new ruler installed by Sweden in 1705.[33] The directives for the new Royal Chapel published in 1708, written in French, also provided for the organization of the music, showing the concern to em-

32 Guillo 2009, pp. 281–284.
33 Ziekursch 1903, pp. 122–127.

Thar-Freytags-MUSIQUE,
Welche
zu seliger Betrachtung der Erlösung
JEsu Christi,
So für unsere Sünde geschehen ist,
Von dem berühmten Monsr. de Lully,
Ober-Capellmeister
Ihro Königl. Maj. in Franckreich ꝛc. ꝛc.
componiret.
Alleine auf gnädigsten und hohen Befehl
Des
Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn,
HERRN
Ernst Friedrichs, II.
Hertzogen zu Sachsen,
Jülich, Cleve und Berg auch Engern und Westphalen, ꝛc.
In Hoch-Fürstl. Schloß-Capelle
nicht sonder viele Erweckung derer Seelen aufgeführet,
und ausgetheilet worden
den 15. April. 1740.

Hildburghausen,
Druckts Johann Melchior Pentzold, Fürstl. Sächs. Hof-Buchdrucker.

Figure 1. Lully's *Miserere* (LWV 25) as *Karfreitagsmusik*: Libretto from 1740, Hildburgshausen. D-HAu, Hs.-Abt. Pon We 2494, 4°.

ulate the "splendour of Catholic Kings and Rulers".[34] In this context, the use of *Motets pour la chapelle du Roy* made perfect sense. The motets are a sonic manifestation of the royal ambitions of August the Strong, as well as a significant departure from the Italian patronage of sacred music cultivated decades earlier by his Lutheran predecessors.

Although motets by Pierre Robert and Jean-Baptiste Lully could already have seemed antiquated by 1708, this French sacred repertoire apparently held sway well into the 18th century in other Lutheran courts in the region. A newly discovered libretto shows that Lully's *Miserere* LWV 25, a motet first published in the 1684 anthology, was performed as *Karfreitagsmusik* on Good Friday 1740 in the Lutheran court chapel in Hildburgshausen (*Figure 1*).

This parallels a similar process in 18th-century France of canonizing Lully's music, a phenomenon that has been studied with great insight by William Weber.[35] The title page of the Hildburgshausen libretto states that the performance happened at the request of Duke Ernst Friedrich II. He travelled in France during his youth in 1722–1723, where he attended the coronation of Louis XV, before moving to Geneva and Utrecht where he studied. It is puzzling to think that the exact same afternoon, a mere 200 kilometres away, a passion by Johann Sebastian Bach, probably a reworking of the St Matthew Passion, was being performed at the Thomaskirche in Leipzig.[36]

Manuscript dissemination beyond the court

Besides being present in the most important and rich court collections, French motets were also circulated among music lovers in more private settings. This point is well illustrated by the presence of numerous musical prints of French sacred music in the private music collection of Count Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn (*Table 2*).[37] Born in Mainz as the fifth son of a large and prominent Catholic family, Rudolf

34 Theiner 1894, vol. 2, pp. 75–78, at p. 76: "ces jours la on chantera une Messe solemnelle avec la Musique à voix et Instruments du Roi et avec la splendeur accoutumée des Roix et Souverains Catholiques". My translation.

35 Weber 1984.

36 Wolff 2000, p. 457.

37 Zobeley 1967.

Table 2. French sacred music in the collection of Rudolf Franz Erwein von Schönborn.

Nr	Composer	Title	Printer	Date	Ms. Annotation
34	S. de Brossard	*Prodromus Musicalis Seu Cantica Sacra*	Ballard	1695	Paris 26. Juin 1699
35	S. de Brossard	*Elevations et motets*	Ballard	1698	Paris 26. Juin 1699
39	A. Campra	*Motets à 1, 2, et 3 voix*, vol. 1	Ballard	1695	Paris 26. Juin 1699
40	A. Campra	*Motets à 1, 2 et 3 voix*, vol. 3	Ballard	1711	v.S. [von Schönborn]
48	Henry Du Mont	*Motets à 2, 3 et 4*	Ballard	1681	Paris 5. Sept. 1699
49	Henry Du Mont	*Récit de l'éternité*	Ballard	1699	Paris 7. Sept. 1699
55	Edmé Foliot	*Motets à 1, 2 et 3 voix*	Auteur	[1710]	1711
76	Nicolas Le Bègue	*Motets pour les principales Festes*	Ballard	1687	Paris 7.7.1699
77	Nicolas Le Bègue	*Motets pour les principales Festes*	Ballard	1708	
93	Pierre Menault	*Vespres à deux chœurs*	Ballard	1693	1699
98	Jean-Baptiste Morin	*Motets à une et deux voix*	Ballard	1704	

(1677–1754) was first sent to the Jesuit German College (Collegium Germanicum) in Rome before going to the University of Leiden. He then spent a few months in Paris, where he purchased eight printed scores of sacred music between June and September 1699, as indicated by the dates of acquisition reported on the copies. These acquisitions marked the beginning of an ongoing interest in church music, as Schönborn purchased no fewer than 20 oratorios, 90 masses, 318 motets and 420 psalms and hymns, with the total number of scores of sacred music amounting to more than 800 by the end of his life.[38]

Equally intriguing is the diffuse presence of French motets in private manuscripts. One small motet for bass and two violins by André

38 Zobeley 1967, p. xiii.

Campra found its way into an anonymous miscellaneous manuscript from the early 18th century, apparently copied by a professional musician, together with several anonymous overtures, dance movements and keyboard pieces by Emanuele d'Astorga.[39] The manuscript copy of a more complex work by Lalande held in the Bokemeyer Collection in Berlin also provides a fascinating case study of the manuscript circulation of large-scale French sacred music.

The Bokemeyer Collection features one of the earliest motets by Michel Richard de Lalande, which was never printed: *Audite caeli quae loquor* (see *Figure 2*).[40] As in the case of Valoy, the manuscript was copied by Georg Österreich himself, probably during his time as a singer at the court in Wolfenbüttel between 1686 and 1689, or during his tenure as a chapel master in Gottorf between 1689 and 1702.[41] The copy was realized on paper produced by Johann Wilhelm Cast, active as a paper maker in Hasserode near Wernigerode, some 50 kilometres south of Wolfenbüttel.[42] The music was presumably already composed before 1683, when Lalande first took up the position of chapel master at the court of Versailles. The only other source transmitting this work is a manuscript copied by André Danican Philidor, completed in 1689 and kept in Versailles to this day.[43] This manuscript features two different versions of the same motet: the table of contents lists a later and an earlier version, the latter described by Philidor as "in the way that Mr. de Lalande composed it the first time"("de la manière que Mr. De la Lande l'avoit fait la premiere fois").

The version copied by Österreich is a reworking of the earlier version (see *Figure 2*). He retains not only the French title, but also the traditional denominations and clefs of the typical five-part French string orchestra: "Premier et Second Dessus" (G1), "Haute-contre" (C1), "Taille" (C2), "Quinte" (C3) and "Basse de Violon" (F4). By contrast, the vocal parts are subjected to an extensive reworking process. First, the two five-part choirs ("grand et petit chœur", i.e., full choir and choir

39 D-Dl, Mus. 1-B-104.
40 D-B, Mus. ms. 30222.
41 Kümmerling 1970, p. 119 (No. 590); Lange 2004.
42 Delpech 2020, p. 232.
43 F-Vm, Ms. 12.

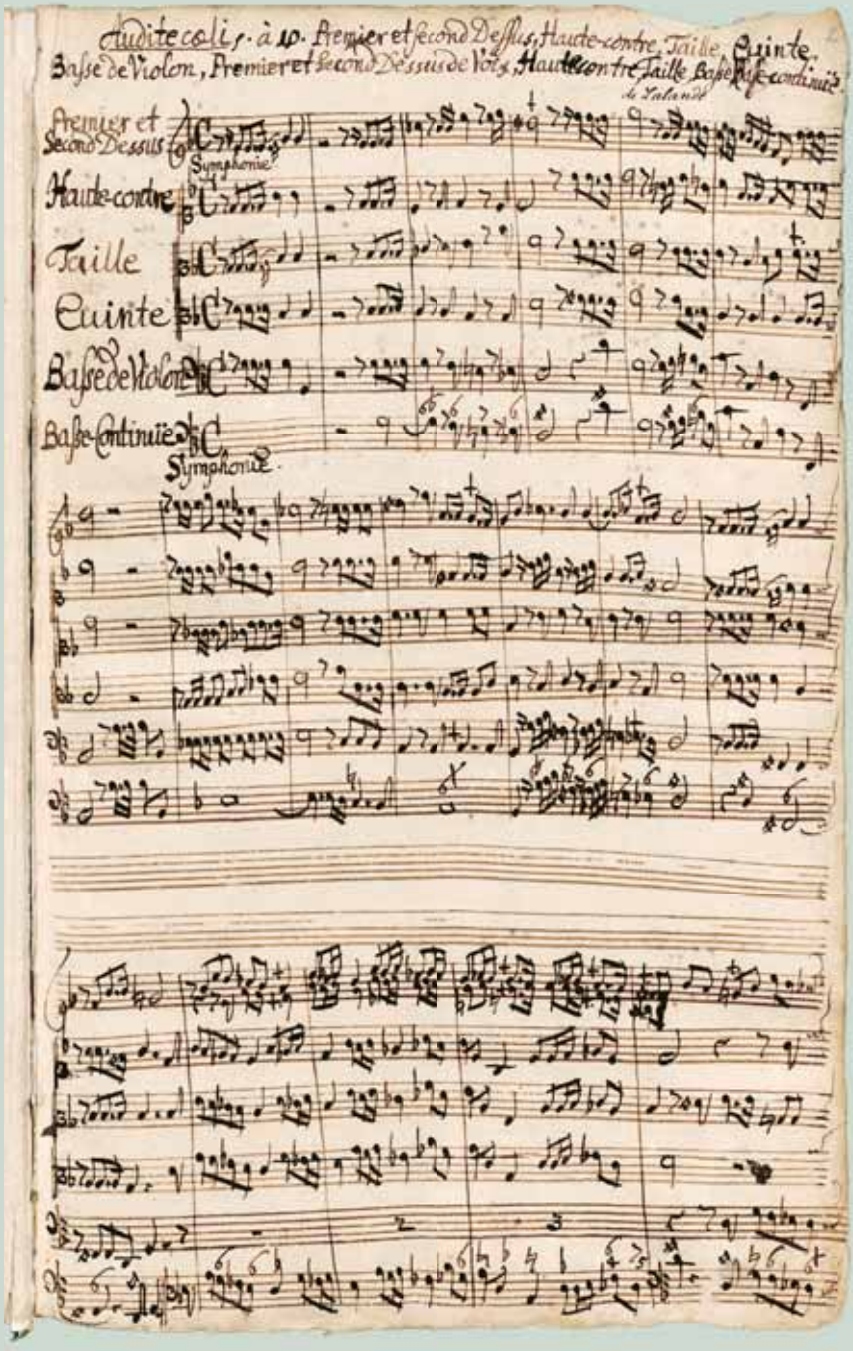

Figure 2. Georg Österreich's copy of Michel Richard de Lalande's *Audite caeli quae loquor* (first page). D-B Mus. ms. 30222.

of soloists) with four male voices and only one soprano voice each are melded into one standard single choir with three higher voices, two soprano and one alto. This in turn leads to the complete rewriting of several passages, especially contrapuntal ones. The original, typical French nomenclature of the two choirs is thus blended to achieve a more normal nomenclature under German standards. One can also observe that no part is divided in Österreich's copy, and that this German version could then possibly be sung with one voice per part.

How Österreich could have had access to the music of Lalande's *Audite caeli* is an intriguing question. He must have realized his copy from a manuscript, since no print was available, but the channel of transmission is unclear. A manuscript version could have been brought to Wolfenbüttel by some French musicians active in one of the Braunschweig courts. In 1684, August Wilhelm may have brought home some French musicians on his way back from Paris, together with the dancing master Nanquer.[44] It is also worth noting that the chapel master in Güstrow, Daniel Danielis, engaged with Lalande in the competition to recruit a new chapel master for the Royal Chapel in Versailles in 1683. A third person coming into consideration was Johann Sigismund Kusser, an expert in French music who was also active in Wolfenbüttel between 1689 and 1692 and (although he might in fact never have studied in France, contrary to a common assumption) was well-acquainted with French methods of composition.[45] This last supposition is reinforced by the fact that Österreich also copied two otherwise unknown fairly early motets by Kusser.[46]

The two motets by Kusser, *Dilata me* and *Quis det oculis*, form a contrasting pair. The first seems to adopt an Italian style whereas the second is written in a clearly French idiom.[47] The violins are notated in the G2 clef in the first case, as was customary in Germany and Italy, and in the G1 clef in the other, following the French custom. The harmonic rhythm, very lively and regular in the first motet, is much slower and more irregular in the second one. The melodic writing is also very dif-

44 Ahrendt 2011, pp. 41–44.
45 Owens 2017, pp. 28–45; Delpech 2020, pp. 253–255.
46 D-B, Mus. ms. 4238, 4239.
47 Delpech 2020, pp. 258–261.

ferent: where the violins play a few solo, virtuosic figures in the opening ritornello of the motet in Italian style, the two flutes have a much more rigid, contrapuntal and ornamented line in the motet in French style. Even more striking are the differences between the vocal lines of both works. While the vocal line is quite florid and ornamented in the Italian motet, the stiffer, declaimed prosodic style in the second denotes a tentative French style. Both motets by Kusser copied by Österreich bear the original call number typical of the Bokemeyer Collection (1225 and 1228), fairly close to the call number of the motet by Lalande (1227), which could indicate either the proximity of those three scores on the shelves of Bokemeyer's music library or the chronological proximity of the copy process. The *Dilata me* is also copied on the same paper as Lalande's *Audite caeli*.

When brought together, these scattered pieces of evidence offer a consistent picture showing that the dissemination of French sacred music up to 1700 in Lutheran territories was far from insignificant. Building on those sources and integrating them into a broader narrative could help music historians gain a more complex and nuanced view of the dissemination of church music in early modern Europe. The dissemination of the peculiar genre of the motet, crossing confessional boundaries, opened the way to various copies, performances, adaptations and reworkings. It also followed the routes of human migration, in the footsteps of French musicians hired in German courts, Lutheran and Catholic alike.

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