

The Polonaise and Mazurka in Mid-Eighteenth Century Dresden: Style and Structure in the Music of Johann Christian Roellig

Nigel Springthorpe

Abstract

While recent studies have explored the significance of the Polish style in the music of Georg Philipp Telemann and Johan Sebastian Bach and the importance of the Polish dances in Dresden has long been recognized, the eighteenth-century German polonaise remains a largely neglected area of inquiry. The restoration of the library of the Singakademie zu Berlin in 2000 has made it possible to explore an important collection of mostly *unica* sources of music by Saxon composers from c1740-c1763, amassed by the Meissen porcelain mosaic artist Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel (1727–1802). Klipfel's collection includes music of Johann Christian Roellig (born 1716), possibly the most prolific composer of polonaises in Dresden during this period and one of the earliest German composers to write *mazurs* (mazurkas) in instrumental works. The first-hand knowledge of the Polish style that musicians of the Saxon electoral court and Count von Brühl gained as a result of the frequent journeys to Warsaw resulted in Dresden polonaises that are relatively un-‘Germanized’. This article examines the social and musical context of the polonaise in the mid-eighteenth century Dresden including the repertoire of the annual *Redouten* (masked Balls), then examines the polonaise and mazurka of Johann Christian Roellig and his contemporaries, including Johann Georg Knechtel, Georg Gebel and Gottlob Harrer. A survey of the use of polonaises in *Redoutentänze*, symphony, and partita reveals significant differences in style and structure between these genres.

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Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann Sebastian Bach and their German contemporaries were amongst the first to write polonaises with any regularity, and these tended to appear in keyboard and orchestral suites as an extra ‘galanterie’ to add colour to the selection of dances.¹ This raised interest in the polonaise in the eighteenth century was apparently due to the composers’ desire to cultivate Polish patrons, and to provide exotic dances to audiences more familiar with French, Italian and German styles.² Recent studies of the adoption and assimilation of the Polish style in the music of Telemann and the vocal music of J.S Bach have highlighted rhythmic and melodic features associated with this ‘barbaric’ idiom as well as illuminating broader cultural implications.³ Telemann’s interest in the music of Poland came initially from his first-hand encounters with Polish music during his Kapellmeistership in Sorau (1705-1708). In the case of Bach, the stimulus was the importance of the Polish style at the Dresden electoral court. The Elector of Saxony (also King of Poland), encouraged the performance of Polish music at court in Warsaw and Dresden, and by the mid eighteenth century the dance, otherwise known as the *danse aux lumières*, had a particular affinity in Dresden courtly and civic life. Charles Burney was moved to write in 1772 that: ‘Musical airs, known by the name of Polonaises, are very much in vogue at Dresden, as well as in many other parts of Saxony; it is probable, that this was brought about during the long intercourse between Poles and Saxons, during the reigns of Augustus the second and third.’⁴ Szymon Paczkowski has not only established the use of the polonaise rhythms and cadences in movements of the B minor Mass, but has pointed out the pragmatic reasons why Bach incorporated elements of this style in music accompanying his application to the office of Dresden court composer in 1733, and why he might include arias in a polonaise style in cantatas dedicated to high-ranking appointees of the Saxon Elector, such as City Governor of Leipzig.⁵ However, as Peter Wollny has pointed out, the early history of the dance remains largely unexplored.⁶

¹ There are just three named examples that can be attributed to J.S. Bach: one for keyboard (in the Sixth French Suite BWV817) and two for orchestra (in Brandenburg Concerto No.1 BWV1046 and Orchestral Suite No.2 in B minor BWV1067). There are more examples in the works of Telemann, including a number of *Ouverturen*: in Bb (TVW55: D13, F14, A2, a2, a4 and B12); the *Danse d’Polonese für Violino primo und Violone* (Rostock Mus. saec. XVII 18. 53/3 & 3a, dated after 1717-22) and a single movement for flute or violin and continuo, dated 1728 (TVW41:D4).

² David Schulenberg: *The Music of Wilhelm Friedmann Bach* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press 2010), 96.

³ See Klaus-Peter Koch: *Die Polonische und Hanakische Musik in Telemanns Werk, Teil I & Teil 2* Magdeburger Telemann-Studien VI (Magdeburg 1982) and Studien VIII (Magdeburg 1985); Steven Zohn: *Music for a Mixed Taste: Style, Genre, and meaning in Telemann’s Instrumental, Work* (Oxford, 2008); Szymon Paczkowski, ‘On the problems of parody and style in the “Et resurrexit” from the Mass in B minor by Johann Sebastian Bach’, *Bach* Vol. 37 No. 2, 2006, p.1.; and ‘The Role and Significance of the Polonaise in the Quoniam of the B minor Mass’ in *Exploring Bach’s B-minor Mass*, ed. Tomita, Leaver and Smaczy (Cambridge, 2013), 54-83.

⁴ Percy A. Scholes, ed.: *Dr Burney’s Musical Tours in Europe. An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour In Europe and the Netherlands* (London: Oxford University Press, London, 1959), vol. 2, 153.

⁵ See Szymon Paczkowski, ‘Bach and the story of an “Aria Tempo di Polonaise” for Joachim Friedrich Flemming’ *Bach* Vol. 38, No.2, (2007), 64-98. Indeed Irving Godt cites the presence of the polonaise in the

The principal contexts for the polonaise in eighteenth-century Dresden were courtly entertainment and masked balls (*Redouten*). While, the processional polonaise was apparently part of courtly life in Dresden by the turn of the eighteenth century, the earliest detailed report of such a procession is that of the wedding of Prince Friedrich August (latterly, August III) and Maria Josepha von Hapsburg on 4 September 1719:

The King and Queen opened the ball to the strains of magnificent music, to which a Polish dance was performed, *dames* and *cavaliers* couple after couple following the King. In front of the King walked four Marshals with their staffs, and since this took half an hour, the royal personages and their ladies round about sat down again; after this the Electoral Prince invited his bride to dance a *minuet*... There were also English and German dances.⁷

Such was the popularity of the dance, right up to the end of the Saxon monarchy in 1918, ceremonial balls at the Dresden court usually commenced with a polonaise.⁸ The polonaise was also popular in civic life at the fashionable evening's entertainment called *Redoute*, which appear to have been an important feature of the Dresden social calendar from the 1720s to the 1770s. Commercially produced sets of orchestral minuets and polonaises, created for use in specific years in the *Redoutensaal*, were advertised by Breitkopf between 1761 and 1780 (Table 1).

Suite in B minor, BWV 1067 as part evidence that the work was one that had been recycled and adapted from an earlier version originally composed in Cöthen in the years 1735-36. Godt proposes that the polonaise was added at a time when Bach as actively sought royal favour at the Dresden court. (See Irving Godt 'Politics, Patriotism, and a Polonaise: A Possible Revision in Bach's Suite in B Minor' *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 74, No. 4 (1990), pp. 610-622

⁶ Peter Wollny: '...welche dem größten Concerte gleichen': the polonaises of Wilhelm Friedmann Bach in *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, Ed. Hogwood, (Cambridge, 2003), 169.

⁷ Sachs, *World History of the Dance* trans. Bessie Scvönberg (London: Allen & unwin, 1938), 425, citing *Das Königliche Denckmahl, welches nach geschehener Vermählung Ihro Hoheit des Könlichen und Chur-Sächsischen Cron-Printzens Herrn Friedrich Augusti, mit der Durchlauchtigsten Fr. Maria Jesepha, Ertz-Hertzogin von oeterreich, bey Dero Hohen Ankunfft in der Königl. und Chur-Sächs. Residentz-Stadt Dreßden, vom ersten biß letzten Sept. 1719 gestiftet worden* (Frankfurt and Leipzig 1719) ,43.

⁸ Szymon Paczkowski, 'The role and significance', 72.

Table 1: Collections of *Redouten* performed in Dresden between 1749 and 1779

1749	[J.C.] Roellig	<i>XVIII minuet e Trios de Redoute 1749 a 2 Violini e Bass. Alcuni con Corni, oboi e Fagotti</i>	Breitkopf NT, New Year, 1764 p.48 ⁹
1754	[J.B.G.] Neruda ¹⁰	<i>Balli per l'anno. 1754. del Sign Neruda.</i> (arr. for keyboard)	<i>D-LEm</i> Becker III.8.56
1755	anon [Röllig and/or Knechtel?]	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>XXIV Menuettes & Trios de la Redoute 1755 pour le clavecin</i> • <i>XII Polonese de la Redoute 1755 pour le clavecin</i> (Same as below?) 	Breitkopf NT, New Year, 1764 p.38
	[J.C.] Roellig	<i>del Sign Röllig. Men. et Pol. de la Redoutte / 1755</i> ([arr.] for keyboard (same as above))	<i>D-LEm</i> Becker III.8.59 ¹¹
	Knechtel ¹²	<i>Menuets et Polonaises / de la / Redoute Anno 1755</i> ([arr.] for keyboard (same as above))	<i>D-LEm</i> Becker III.8.53
	Anon [‘Gebel’] ¹³	[12] <i>Polonoisen de la Redoute 1755</i> (for keyboard)	<i>GB-Lbl</i> add. 32315
1756	Knechtel	<i>Menuets & Polonaisen à la Redoubte Anno 1756</i> (For orchestra)	<i>D-SWI</i> Mus 4739
	[J.C.] Roellig	<i>Menuets & Polonaisen à la Redoubte Anno 1756</i> (For orchestra) (Same as below)	<i>D-SWI</i> Mus 4739
	[J.C.] Roellig	<i>Redoutte l'anno. 1756. Menuet et Polonoise del Sign. Röllig</i> (For keyboard, an arrangement of above)	<i>D-LEm</i> Becker III.8.59
1765	Adam ¹⁴	<i>Menuetts / de la Redoutte / 1765 / del Sigl. / Adam</i>	CZ-Pu 59 R 4830
1767	[J.A? / Johann Wilhelm] Simonetti ¹⁵	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Dresdner Redouten Menuetten e Trios de anno 1767 a2 Tromb, 2ob. 2Fl.trav. 2Fl.picc.B.</i> • <i>Dresdner Redouten Polonoisen de anno 1762</i> [sic] 	Breitkopf Supp. II: 1767

⁹ *Verzeichniss Musicalischer werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für all Instrumente, Zweyte Ausgabe, Leipzig, in der Neujahrmesse* (Lepzig, 1764)

¹⁰ Johann Baptiste Georg Neruda (1711-1776) was a Czech composer and violinist. In 1741-2 he entered the service of Count Rutowski in Dresden and then from 1750 -1772 was *Konzertmeister* of the Dresden Court Orchestra. While there is no reference to the *Redoute* in the title of Becker III.8.56, the dating of the work, provenance and format these ‘balli’ indicate they are clearly also *Redoutentänze*: the reference to a particular year in the title is unusual on works of the period indicating an association with an annual event; in addition, the set of dances (very likely a keyboard arrangement of an orchestral set of dances) is preserved amongst other arrangements of *Redoutentänzen*, such as those for the following year by Knechtel.

¹¹ The same copyists are responsible for the Neruda, Roellig and Klipfel collections in *D-Lem*, which appear to be have originated from Breitkopf (my thanks to Peter Wollny for confirmation of this point).

¹² Little is known of Johann Georg Knechtel (born c1710). In about 1734, he succeeded Johann Adam Schindler as first horn in the orchestra of the Dresden court chapel and remained in the court orchestra as a horn player until 1756, at which point he transferred to cello, remaining with the Kapelle until 1773. In addition to the set of minuets and polonaises in Schwerin and Leipzig, 25 polonaises were published in London by Cox (RISM K980).

¹³ The source, anonymous and tentatively dated 1770-1800 in RISM, has been ascribed to Gebel (1709-1753) presumably since the previous items in the bound collection, consisting of some minuets and polonaises, ascribed to Georg Gebel, have been copied in the same hand. However, an examination of the source by the author indicates that the 12 Polonaises of 1755 (f.104) are copied on different paper (watermark is crossed hammers in shield) to the Minuet, Poloniase, minuet and trios combination on f.101-2) (watermark is a standing man next to a tree trunk) and the two polonaises and minuet in f. 103 (watermark is very faint shield-like shape.) Not only do the dances apparently post-date Gebel’s move from Dresden to Rudolstadt (in 1747), but also his death. Thus, the attribution to Gebel must be deemed quite doubtful. In the discussion below this will be referred to as the ‘Gebel’ set.

¹⁴ Johann Adam (c1705-1779) was a *Jagdpipeffier* at the Dresden court from 1736 then a violist in the Hofkapelle. From c1740 he was ‘ballet-compositeur’ of the court opera and composer and director of the French theatre (1763-9). He composed ballet music for Hasse operas and in 1756 published a *Recueil d’airs à danser executes sur le Théâtre du Roi à Dresde*, arranged for harpsichord and it is presumed that the orchestral and chamber works in the Breitkopf listed under ‘Adam’, can be attributed to him. Charles Burney reports meeting Adam in 1772.

¹⁵ Simonetti may be J.A. Simonetti.; or (more likely) Johann Wilhelm Simonetti, who composed a violin concerto that survives in the Dresden State and University Library and in Frankfurt.

		- 1767?] <i>son pari Instrumenti.</i>	
	Simonetti	<i>Minuetti e Polonesi e alteri Balli, di Dresda, de 1767 à più Voci (same as above?)</i>	Breitkopf NT, Michaelmas, 1770, p.35 ¹⁶
1768	Simonetti	<i>XXIV. Dresdn. Redouten Menuetten XXIV Polonoisen, Steyerisch, Masur. Von SIMONETTI, ao. 1768</i>	Breitkopf Supp. III: 1768
1769	Adam	<i>XXIV. Dresdn. Redouten, Menuetten Ao.1769 G.A. ADAM [For orchestra]¹⁷</i>	Breitkopf Supp. III: 1768
	Adam	<i>Minuetti, e alteri balli, de 1769, à più Voci del Sig. Adam (same as above?)</i>	Breitkopf NT, Michaelmas, 1770, p.35
	Simonetti	<i>XXIV. Dresden. Redouten Menuetten VI Polonoisen, Steyerisch, Masur. Von SIMONETTI, A. 1769. A 2Cor. 2Ob. 2Fl. 2V. e B.</i>	Breitkopf Supp. III: 1768
	Simonetti	<i>Minuetti e Polonesi e alteri Balli, di Dresda, de 1769 à più Voci (same as above?)</i>	Breitkopf NT, Michaelmas, 1770 p.35
1771	Simonetti	<i>XXIV. Dresden. Redout. Men. & c di Simonetti, ao 1771</i>	Breitkopf Supp.V: 1770
	Hennig ¹⁸	<i>XII. Dresden. Redout. Men. & c del Sign. HENNIG, ao 1771</i>	Breitkopf Supp.V: 1770
1772	Simonetti	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>XXIV. Dresden. Redout. Men. Etc. di SIMONETTI, ao.1772</i> • <i>VI. Polonoisen di SIMONETTI, ao. 1772</i> 	Breitkopf Supp. VI: 1771
	Simonetti	<i>XXIV. Dresd. Reduten – Menuetten 1772. 3 thl. VI Polonoisen 1772. 1 thl. 12gr</i>	Breitkopf NT, Easter 1780 p.25 ¹⁹
1779	Simonetti	<i>XII. Dresd. Reduten–Menuetten 1779. 1 thl. 12gr</i>	Breitkopf NT, Easter 1780 p.25
	Dietrich	<i>VI Dresdner Reduten–Polonoisen 1779. 1 thl. 4gr</i>	Breitkopf NT, Easter 1780 p.25
	Richter ²⁰	<i>XII Dresdner Reduten–Menuetten 1779. 1 thl. 12gr.</i>	Breitkopf NT, Easter 1780 p.25
	anon	<i>XXIV.Dresdner Reduten-Angloisen und Quadrillen 1779. 2 thl. 8gr.</i>	Breitkopf NT Easter 1780 p.25

There were four other contexts in which polonaises were composed or survive as instrumental pieces.²¹ First, there are collections of keyboard polonaises by Johan Gottlieb Goldberg (also attributed to Johann Gottfried Ziegler) and Wilhelm Friedmann Bach designed to be performed in concert or private context during the period c1754-1770.²² In collections such as these, composers often use the

¹⁶ *Verzeichniss Musicalischer werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für all Instrumente, Dritte Ausgabe, Leipzig, nach der Michaelmesse 1770*

¹⁷ A movement from this set might well be the *Fackeltanz / a / due Corni / due Oboe / due Violini et / Basso / Del Sig: Adam / ist bey der Vermählung des / Königs Friedrich August als Curfürst / Anno 1769 von den König Camer / Musici gespielt worden.*

¹⁸ Hennig may be either Karl Hennig who flourished as a composer c1790-1810, and is the composer of duets for two violins in Koln *D-KNm*); or (more likely) b) Christian Friedrich Hennig, Kapellmeister at Sorau (flourished c1760-1775) and composer of divertimenti for cembalo in Dresden State and University Library and three divertimenti for strings and keyboard in Leipzig (*D-LEM*).

¹⁹ Breitkopf [non thematic catalogue]: *Verzeichniss Musicalischer werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für all Instrumente, Vierte Ausgabe, Leipzig, nach der Ostermesse 1780*

²⁰ Possibly Johann Christoph Richter (1700-1785), organist and composer based in Dresden. He was appointed Hoforganist at an early age of 17 years, and was appointed Hofcantor 1751-1785. He learned to play the Pantaleon from Hebenstreit.

²¹ Szymon Paczkowski, in 'Aria Tempo di Polonaise', 80, states that there were also many collections of songs or odes that contained sung polonaises such as that by Sperontes *Singende Muse an der Pleisse* (1736), of which a third are polonaises. It is conjectured that Bach based the 'Aria Tempo di Polonaise' of BWV 210a on an existing melody that the dedicatee(s) may have known.

²² Schulenberg, 'Wilhelm Friedmann Bach', 96, comments: '...if any members of the Bach family actually saw polonaises being danced, these were more likely stylised versions in Dresden court ballets rather than in Polish folk dances from which the latter presumably evolved.' Yet it seems inconceivable that W.F. Bach did not attend civic *Redouten* in the period 1733-1746 and that it was not 'court ballet' but functional dances in the polonaise style that W.F. Bach would have experienced.

polonaise to explore a spectrum of ‘affects’ and keys in a systematic way, in the manner of earlier preludes and fugues.²³ Works such as Friedmann’s twelve polonaises Fk 12, written in Halle c1762, not only required an advanced technique, but are sophisticated works far removed from the polonaise’s folk origins, a point to which I will return.²⁴ There were also compilations of pre-existing single works garnered from various sources for domestic performance, often of a simpler style suitable for amateurs.²⁵ Examples of the latter are the disparate gatherings of single movements by multiple composers, many anonymous and often copied from larger multi-movement works, preserved in the Becker collection in the Leipzig Stadtbibliothek.²⁶ Similarly, Princess Maria Anna Sophia of Saxony (1728-1797), daughter of Augustus III, collected over 350 polonaises.²⁷ Second, polonaises often appear in pedagogic collections, such as J.S Bach’s 1725 *Clavier-Büchlein* and the various volumes published by Breitkopf advertised as ‘Kleine Stücke aufs Clavier für Anfänger’.²⁸ Third, polonaises or *alla polacca* movements appear in symphonies that precede homage cantatas to members of the Wettin family, such as those composed by Johann Christian Roellig (b1716) and performed by the Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum.²⁹ Finally, polonaises were utilised as the concluding movement that defined a subgenre of ensemble partita that was extremely popular in Dresden in the 1740s-1760s and closely associated, in particular, with the Kapelle of Count von Brühl. The most prolific composer of the ‘Dresden partita’ was Roellig, who composed over sixty examples in a variety of instrumentation from solo keyboard to orchestra.³⁰

J.C. Roellig, whose older brother Johann George was organist at the court of Anhalt-Zerbst), was in born Berggieshübel and attended the Dresden Kreuzschule. Thereafter, little is known of the composer other than he appears to have been an itinerant freelance musician in the Dresden-Meissen area before moving to Hamburg c1763, where he was associated first with the Ackerman Opera Company as co-repetiteur (from 1764 to 1773) and then as Kapellmeister to Graff Ernst von Schimmelmann, a post he very likely maintained to the end of his life (c1780). He was befriended by the amateur musician and collector Carl Jacob Christian Klipfel (1727–1802), a Meissen porcelain artist and latterly co-director of the Berlin Porcelain Factory (Königliche Porzellan-Manufaktur), who commissioned numerous works which were performed by the Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum. Over 160 works by J.C. Roellig, representing 95% of his extant oeuvre, are preserved in the Klipfel collection, which was amalgamated into the holdings of the Sing-Akademie zu Berlin around

²³ Wollny, ‘Polonaises of Wilhelm Friedmann Bach.’ 173.

²⁴ Wollny, *ibid*, 171, notes W.F. Bach’s ‘virtuosic tendency’ in relation to the music of his brothers.

²⁵ Ziegler, *Giov. Gottfr. Musico di Cam. Del Contr di Brühl*, XXIV. Polonesi per tutti i tuoni all’ Clavicembalo. Berlino, 1764 (listed in the 1773 Breitkopf Catalogue) which are related to: *24 Polonaisen duch alle Tonarten* by Goldberg (1749) and the 12 Polonaises W.F. Bach composed c1754- 1765 in Halle in the period following his stay in Dresden and advertised for subscription in 1770. Other collections included *Menuetten und polonaisen für das Clavier von Bernhard Theodor Breitkopf / Leipzig bey Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf und Sohn / 1769*.

²⁶ For example D-Lem, Becker III.8.28: ‘*Tänze Arien, Ouvertüren und Stücke aus den Opern und Klaviersuiten von C. H. Graun, J. A. Hasse, Fiorillo, Gebel, Hofmann u.a. mit einem Anhang von 18 Chorälen.*’ Two of the anonymous movements are the final movements of the Roellig Partita in D major (*D-Bsa* SA 2351) and Partita in C major (SA2413).

²⁷ Stephen Downes: ‘Polonaise’, *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, (London, 2001), xx, 45

²⁸ For example: ‘*Albrechts, Joh. Lotz. Musicalische Aufmunterung vor die Anfänger des Claviers, bestehend in sieben Menuetten, und eben so viel Polonaisen, duch die Durtöne C. D. E. F. G. A. B. welche auf das leichteste eingerichtetem und nach denen anfangended Clavier-Schülern zum Gebrauch un Uebung herausgegeben, I. Theil Augsp, 1760.*’ offered in: *Verzeichniss /Musicalischer Bücher / sowohl / zur Theorie als praxis, und für alle / Instrumente,/ in ihre gehörige Classen / orentlich eingetheilet; / welche bey / Bernh. Chroistoph Breitkopf un Sohn / In Leipzig / um beystehende Preiße à Louisd’or 5 Thlr., Zu / bekommen sind. // Dritte Ausgabe. // Leipzig, nach der Ostermesse. 1763*; and Georg Simon Loehlein’s *Clavier=Schule, oder kurze und grundliche Anweisung zur Melodie un Harmonie, duch mit beyspielen erkläret.* (Leipzig und Zullichau, 1665) which contains four polonaises.

²⁹ See Nigel Springthorpe, ‘Porcelain, Music and Frederick the Great: a survey of the Klipfel Collection in the Sing-Akademie, Berlin’, *Royal Musical Association Research Chronicle* 46:1, (2015), 5-13. This repertoire is discussed below.

³⁰ The ‘Dresden Partita’ was first identified as a distinct sub-genre in Nigel Springthorpe: ‘Who was Röllig? - Röllig and the Sing-Akademie collection’ in *Fasch-Studien 10: Musik an der Zerbstter Residenz: Bericht über die Internationale Wissenschaftliche Konferenz vom 10. bis 12. April 2008 im Rahmen der 10. Internationalen Fasch-Festtage in Zerbst*, (Ortus Musikverlag, Beskow 2008), 117-142.

1810.³¹ Roellig was a prolific composer of symphonies and partitas, and his music epitomises the mid-century *galant* idiom prevalent in Dresden c1740-1760, particularly in the slow movements. Influence of the emerging early Viennese classical style is also apparent in later works.

Roellig's music provides the largest surviving oeuvre of Dresden polonaises of any single composer encompassing dances in at least three collections for *Redouten*, in partitas and divertimenti composed c1740-1763 and in symphonies preceding homage cantatas. This repertoire is notable for its formal variety and also for the inclusion of the *mazur* (mazurka), and early use of this dance type in music by a German composer. In what follows, I examine the social contexts of the mid-century polonaise in Dresden before turning to the style and structure of Roellig's examples in a particular.

The Dresden *Redouten*, context and repertoire

Dancing was a popular pastime in Dresden in the eighteenth century. Whereas outdoor concerts (*Gartenkonzerten*) were popular in the summer months, on winter evenings the dance culture thrived, 'since the local sprightly folk do not despise Terpsichore's pleasure, so there are many dance halls, dance rooms and dance parlours [in Dresden]. ...Of the halls, the most visited is Perini's, and the most beautiful is the Hotel de Pologne.' ('Da das hiesige muntre Völkchen Terpsichore's Freuden keineswegs verachtet, so giebt es auch ein Menge Tanzsäle und Tanzzimmer, und Tanzstübchen... Von den Sälen ist der besuchteste, der bei Perini; der schönste im Hotel de Pologne.')³² *Redouten* were first established in the electoral palace in the early eighteenth century, and commercially organized balls had become popular in the city by the mid-century. In 1744 the balls took place in a house in the Pirnische Gasse while by 1750 they were promoted at both the Hotel de Saxe and the Hotel de Pologne as well as at private functions. Between mid January and Shrove Tuesday, during the carnival season, as many as 26 balls would take place.³³ By 1729, the masked balls took place three-times weekly on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays and then nightly in the final week leading up to Shrove Tuesday.³⁴ *Redouten* continued unabated through the Seven Years War and in 1761 masks were dispensed with for the first time.³⁵

Music at the earliest balls consisted of 'Menueen und teutsche auch Engl' Tänze mit Violine',³⁶ but the stately processional polonaise, that was the custom at the beginning and end of courtly balls, also became one of the main features of the civic *Redouten*. The main purpose of the court polonaise was to offer the lady, in whose honour the ball is given, to be able to greet the guests and to invite them to participate in the entertainment. Thus, the sequence of dances provided a ritual entrance or, when it was performed at the end of the evening, an exit to the proceedings, when farewells replaced greetings. The couples progressed in line with gliding steps accented by bending the knees slightly on every third step on the final beat of the bar, waiting to be presented to the host.³⁷ Clearly, a single binary dance would not provide enough music for such a ritual and thus composers provided a chain of dances in a collection.

There was a formality to the dancing of the polonaise: 'Two bows were usually done, each taking up one bar of the music, with the first to the public, the second to the lady, much in the same manner as the minuet.' Then 'the general carriage of the body, the body should be stretched and pulled up with the sternum lifted thereby creating a pigeon-chested effect.'³⁸ The only detailed description of the eighteenth century polonaise and its step, the *pas de polonaise*, is found in

³¹ See Springthorpe, 'Porcelain, Music and Frederick the Great'.

³² Anon: *Neue Ansicht von Dresden. Für reisende von einem Reisenden* (Lepzig, 1799), p. 156, quoted by Remy Petric in *Dresden Bürgerliches Musik- und Theatreleben in 18. Jahrhundert* (Marburg: Tectum 2011), 358.

³³ That is, the Carnival opera season that started shortly after Christmas in many centres, as opposed to the religious period ending on Shrove Tuesday. John A. Rice 'Music and the Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century - Hollander Distinguished Lecture in Musicology', Michigan State University, 15.3.2013, <<https://sites.google.com/site/johnaricecv/music-and-the-grand-tour>> (14 November 2014).

³⁴ Ulrich Rosseaux: *Freiräume: Unterhaltung, Vergnüen und Erholung in Dresden 1694-1830* (Köln, 2006), 95.

³⁵ Rosseaux, 'Freiräume', 96.

³⁶ Rosseaux, 'Freiräume', 89.

³⁷ See Susan Au's article 'Polonaise' in *International Encyclopedia of Dance*, ed. Selma Jeanne Cohen, six volumes (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), volume 5, 223.

³⁸ Donna Greenberg: 'Workshop: An introduction to the Eighteenth-Century Polonaise' in: *Society of Dance History Scholars – Proceedings, Twenty-Fifth Annual Conference, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 20-23 June 2002*, (Winsconsin, 2002). 'Workshop', 45-46.

Christoph Gottlieb Hänsel's 1755 ballroom manual *Allerneuste Anweisung zur Ausserlichen Moral*. Couples promenaded around the ballroom, led by the male partner to the left, the lady with her hand (in the 'Polish style') placed on her partner's right palm which was stretched in front of him, moving with steps described by Hänsel as a *bourrée tombeé*.³⁹ Hänsel comments that 'when the Germans dance, the gentlemen often let the lady's hand go so that the separated couple could perform different variations in the figure, with one in front, or behind the other, for example, arranged in a straight line or in a serpentine manner, in the manner of a hey; the men could then dance from the bottom to the top of the line weaving in and out until each dancer reaches his lady again. Then they might dance around in a circle, and then the ladies could do the same as the men.'⁴⁰

There appears to have been a marked difference in the manner of the dance as perceived by the native Poles and that by the dancing public in Germany. In 1755, the Leipzig dancing master Hänsel, explicitly remarked upon the lack of consensus in movement amongst German dancers with words: 'The true polonaise is indeed something splendid, especially when the step is executed in a regular and precise manner to the music, at a moderate speed and with gentle bearing. Indeed it is, as I have given it here, but it is to be lamented that taste differs so greatly and in others great cities, [presumably including Dresden] one comes across ballroom dancers who all fancy that they know how to do the *pas de polonaise* correctly, but they are for the most part charlatans, and it is not our intention to enter into a quarrel with them.'⁴¹ The character of the original processional Polish dance was one marked by a certain gravity and in Hamburg in 1786 it was described as a 'proud walk' consisting of

Lauter majestätischen Schritten, drey auf einem tact; mit unter kommen dann kleine Krümmungen, wo der Mann einen Augenblick wie ein Slave kriecht. (Das Weib aber das überhaupt in Polen edlerer beserer natur zu aeyn scheint, auch wirklich da regiert) das geht ihren stolzen Gang fort. Nun aber kömpt mit einemale der Schluß eben so unvorbereitet wie in der Musik; mit mitten in einem Schritt hält der Tänzer ein, und macht einen Bückling bis an die Erde.

'nothing but majestic steps, three to a bar. At times there comes small bendings over, wherein the man crawls along for a moment like a slave (the woman, however, who on the whole appears to be of a higher nobler nature in Poland, in fact even governs there); this continues their proud walk. And then all of a sudden, it ends just as unexpectedly as the music; in the middle of a step the dancer stops and does a bow to the floor.'⁴²

Writing at the Stockholm court around 1769, Sven Lagergring bemoans the failure of other Europeans to grasp the appropriate style: 'Polish dances were much in fashion, caused by the many Poles who came. However, there was a big difference between the Pole's own movements and the Polish dances as translated into Swedish because the Polish women sailed forward like swimming statues, but the fellows, on the other hand made continuous swingings and noise with their iron heels, which truly looked brisk and light.'⁴³

The composers who provided the music for the civic events (and much of the instrumental music performed in the city) were members of the various Dresden *Kapellen* (royal or aristocratic) such as Johann Baptiste Georg Neruda, Johann Georg Knechtel and Johann Adam, or freelance composer-performers, as in the case of Roellig. Numerous sets of *Redoutentänzen*, consisting of minuets and

³⁹ From time to time the man passed the lady in front of him to his other side and then back again, and the dance might be punctuated or varied with bows and polite conversation. Though this last detail might have been more customary with late eighteenth century or even early nineteenth century forms of the dance. See Au, 'Polonaise', p. 223.

⁴⁰ More detailed comments and description of the steps can be found in Greenberg: 'Workshop', 45-6.

⁴¹ Hänsel, *Allerneuste Anweisung zur Ausserlichen Moral* (Leipzig, 1755), 138-139, Greenberg 'Workshop', 45. A hey is a serpentine dance or type or reel in which three or more dancers move in the opposite direction to the main line, passing the oncoming dancers alternatively to the right and left, with or without holding hands. See Ingrid Barinard, 'Hey', in *International Encyclopedia of Dance Dances*, ed. Cohen, volume 3, 361.

⁴² Carl Friedrich Cramer, ed., *Magazin der Musik* (1783) 54, 'Hamburg: in der Musikalische Niederlage', quoted in Greenberg, 'Workshop', 45.

⁴³ Sven Lagergring, *Swea Rikes Historia* (Stockholm, 179-1783) quoted in Mary Skeaping, 'Ballet under the Three Crowns' in *Dance Perspectives*. 32 (1967), 4-63.

polonaises, were composed for the commercial *Redouten* organised in the various hotels and other city venues from the 1740s to the 1770s, and many of these were published by the Breitkopf firm. Works that may be connected to the Dresden *Redoutensaalen* with varying degrees of certainty have been listed in Table 1.

Other sets of dances intended for Dresden in years not listed in the table include the orchestral minuets advertised in the Breitkopf catalogues Johann Erhard Steinmetz⁴⁴ and keyboard arrangements of sets of minuets and polonaises by Georg Gebel, (Christian Friedrich?) Horn and Johann Christian Fischer, as well as two sets of polonaises and one set of *Steierische* dances and mazurkas (*Mazurische Tänze*) for two violins and bass by anonymous composers. A manuscript collection of seven minuets and three polonaises by (Johann?) Adam in Marburg is also very likely to have been intended for Dresden *Redouten*, though the date is frustratingly left blank in the source: *Menuets / et Polonoises / a / Corno Primo. / Corno Secondo. / Flauto Primo et Oboe. / Flauto Secondo et Oboe. / Violino Primo / Violino Secondo. / et Basso. / del / Sig. Adam / Redoute / de l'annee [...]*.⁴⁵ Breitkopf also offered sets of dance music by a number of composers associated with cities outside of Saxony, some as far afield as Vienna, attesting to the popularity of the dance and its distribution around Europe.⁴⁶

Breitkopf still found it commercially viable to advertise sets of dances from the 1740s and 1750s in its first catalogues of 1761.⁴⁷ However, in later catalogues Breitkopf advertised material that was much more current as with the *Redoutenmusik* by Simonetti for 1767 and 1768. More importantly, the 1768 supplement advertised collections by Adam and Simonetti for the following season in 1769 while the 1771 supplement offers music intended for the 1772. It is clear, therefore, that the firm continued to view such music as a lucrative commercial enterprise. While Roellig, Knechtel and Neruda were fashionable in the 1750s, by the 1760s and 1770s it was to the music of Adam, (Christian Friedrich?) Hennig and 'Simonetti' that Dresden danced. Two markets served by the sets of *Redoutentänzen* dances offered by Breitkopf: courtly or public event requiring an orchestra to provide an appropriate volume of sound for a large hall, and domestic situations where the music is provided by a solo keyboard. Thus, the collections by Roellig, Knechtel, Neruda and Adam were offered in both orchestral and keyboard versions. In addition to the *Redouten* music in the table 1 above, Roellig composed additional examples of the dance listed in Table 2. The collections in ensemble scoring are likely also to have been destined for the dance hall, but the keyboard set (item 3) and three single keyboard pieces (arrangements of movements from instrumental partitas) are more likely to have been collected by amateur keyboard players, passed between musicians in an informal manner.

⁴⁴ The 1764 Non-thematic catalogue (*Verzeichniss Musicalischer werke, allein zur Praxis*, p. 4) lists three sets of orchestra dances that appear to be all by Steinmetz: VIII. *Polonese, a 2 Corni, 2 Oboi, 2 Violini & Basso* / X. *Polonese, a 2 Violini & Basso. 12 gl.* / XII. *Polonese, a Violini unis e Basso. 8 gl.* Little is known of Johann Erhard Steinmetz. He was a Dresden composer and works that survive are two symphonies in D, four partitas in C, D, F and G, and sonatas in the Klipfel collection (all *D-Bsa*), a mass and sonata in *D-SLUB* and symphonies in the Brussels Conservatoire Library. Gebel (VI Menuetti & VI Polonese per il Cemb. Solo.) is presumably George Gebel (junior) (1709-1753) who was appointed to the Kapelle of Count von Brühl in 1735. He took lessons on the pantaleon from Hebenstreit and left Dresden in 1747 to take up the appointment of Kapellmeister to Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt. He composed symphonies and partitas of the Dresden-type. Minuets and polonaises by Gebel can be found in *GB-Lbl* (but see comments above). Horn (VI Menuetti per il Cembalo Solo / VI Polonese per il Cembalo Solo) may be Johann Ludwig Horn, to whom RISM attributes a partita in the Klipfel collection and there is a violin concerto in *D-Dl*, formerly part of the Dresden court collection (Schrank II); or (more likely) b): Christian Friedrich Horn (fl. 1730-1760) who was *Konzertmeister* of the Count von Brühl Kapelle in Dresden.⁴⁴ Johann Christian Fischer (1733-1800) was born in Freiburg, played oboe concertos in Warsaw 1757 and settled in Dresden and is listed in the 1764 Court Calendar as a member of the Dresden Hofkapelle. Sometime after 1764, he commenced touring as an oboe soloist. He eventually settled in London and married the daughter of Thomas Gainsborough, who painted a full-length portrait of his son-in-law.

⁴⁵ *D-MGmi* HA IV 6

⁴⁶ These included: 'Steyerisch, Masur, Cosac, 1767' by Simonetti (Strasburg); 'XII Minuets per Carnival' by [Johan Gottfried] Janitzsch (Berlin) and well as sets of minuets by Prager, Pannerberg (Hannover?) and five sets by Wagenseil (Vienna), Matielli (Vienna), and [?Joseph/?Michael] Haydn (Vienna).

⁴⁷ A great deal of music offered in the firm's earliest catalogues had been acquired by Breitkopf in the period 1745-1760. See Andreas Glöckner in *Bach Perspectives 2: 'JS Bach, the Breitkopfs, and the eighteenth-century music trade'*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996) 27-30.

Table 2: Other sets of polonaises by Johann Christian Roellig

date	title	instrumentation	source
unknown	<i>XII Polonaises à2 violini e Basso. a 12gl.</i>	2 vn, and bc	lost - Breitkopf 1761 p.52 ⁴⁸
unknown	<i>XI Polonaises à2 violini e Basso. a 12gl.</i>	2 vn, and bc	lost - Breitkopf 1761 p.52
unknown	6 Menuets & 6 Polonaises – a rough autograph composition score	keyboard	<i>D-Bsa</i> SA4606
unknown	6 Polonaises (different from above)	2 hn, 2 vn, and bc	<i>D-Bsa</i> SA4615
unknown	<i>Polonaise avec le Masur</i> (in D) (= arr. of last movement of <i>D-Bsa</i> SA 2351)	keyboard	<i>D-LEm</i> Becker III.8.59.28
unknown	<i>Polonoisse</i> [in C] (= arr. of last movement of <i>D-Bsa</i> SA 2213/3229)	keyboard	<i>D-LEm</i> Becker III.8.59.28
unknown	<i>Polon: dal Sigl.Roelling.</i> [sic]	keyboard	<i>D-ZI</i> Mascr.bibl.. Zitt.B.349 ⁴⁹

The richness of the repertoire for the Dresden *Redouten* indicates not only a lively interest in new music to support both the court events and public events, but also a wider market for private performance in the home. That the Breitkopf firm in Leipzig offered many of these dance collections, originally composed by Dresden-based musicians, for consumption in that city, indicates the music's broad appeal. It is also likely that the vast quantity of music closely associated with the *Redouten* acted as a crucible for compositional formulae that Roellig, Gebel, Knechtel, Neruda *et al* would explore in other genres such as the partita, symphony and homage cantata.

⁴⁸ Breitkopf [non thematic catalogue]: *Verzeichniss Musicalischer werke, allein zur Praxis, sowohl zum Singen, als für all Instrumente, Vierte Ausgabe, Leipzig, in der Michaelmesse 1761.*

⁴⁹ From a collection of 38 items, entitled *Clavierbuch | vor | Florentine Tugendreich | Seidelin. | Lauban | 1774. | den 1^{ten} Febr* that also includes a minuet and a polonaise from the 1755 collection of *Redoutenmusik* in Leipzig by Knechtel.

Style and phrase structure in Roellig's polonaises and mazurkas

A study of the polonaise within the context of eighteenth-century German music must address the issue of 'echt' (authentic) versus 'unecht' (inauthentic), complicated by the fact that most examples were not intended as dance music, but rather as characteristic dances or stylised galanteries in suites for keyboard or instrumental ensemble. The distinction between German ('unecht') and 'echt' polonaises is described in detail in an extended essay published in Marpurg's *Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst* (1760/63) by Christian Friedrich Schale, who claims that many pieces 'resemble the Polish style only vaguely'.⁵⁰ Daniel Gottlieb Türk highlights the 'Germanization' of the genre but does not identify features that might be considered authentic: 'In general, few polonaises which are written by German composers and danced in Germany, have the character of an authentic polonaise.' ('Ueberhaupt haben nur wenige Polonoisen, welche von deutschen Komponisten geschrieben und in Deutschland getanzt werden, den Charakter einer ächten Polonoise.'⁵¹ A similar lack of distinction is found in contemporaneous and modern commentaries: David Schulenberg states that the eighteenth-century keyboard polonaise 'was a modest dance whose music resembled that of a minuet'⁵² and, in Gerber's personal copy of the J.S. Bach French Suite in E major, BWV 817, the polonaise movement is even labelled a 'Polish minuet' (*minuet polinise* [sic]). These are puzzling remarks when one considers that sets of minuets and polonaises were produced in the same collections, and that each dance-type has such distinct personalities and musical characteristics. Yet they are more understandable if one focuses on the music of J. S. Bach and, in particular on the polonaise in BWV 817, where the boldness of the typical Polish rhythms and texture has been dissipated by the even tread of the left hand quavers. Peter Wollny points out that 'the countless polonaises composed in North and Central Germany during the 1750s and 1760s form a separate tradition that had deviated considerably from the original model'.⁵³ This is certainly true of the keyboard polonaises in the collection written by Wilhelm Friedmann Bach which are sophisticated 'abstract' pieces rather than functional dances. In these, phrase structure and modulatory patterns are more akin to those found in minuets than those outlined below. The writing in both hands is often much more florid than in polonaises designed for dancing, as in Example 1. Apart from the stately triple metre and bold style, there are few pointers to the polonaise style.

Example 1 – Wilhelm Friedmann Bach Polonaise in D major, Fk.12/3, bars 1-5, ed.TobisNoten-archiv <www.imslp.org>. Used by permission.

⁵⁰ Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Kritische briefe über die Tonkunst, mit kleinen Clavierstücken und Singoden begleitet von einer musikalischen Gesellschaft in Berlin* (Berlin 1763) vol. 2, letter LXX (17 July 1761), 41-46. Schale is presumably, one of the 'contemporary theorists' Szymon Paczowski refers to in 'Parody and style' 28.

⁵¹ Daniel Gottlieb Türk, *Klavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Klavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende, mit Kritischen Anmerkungen* (Leipzig and Halle, 1789), 402.

⁵² David Schulenberg, *The Keyboard in Baroque Europe*, ed., Hogwood, (Cambridge, 2003), 96.

⁵³ Wollny, 'The Polonaises of Wilhelm Friedman Bach', 173.

A further example of the ornate keyboard- type composed by musicians in northern Germany is the set of six polonaises published by Friedrich Gottlob Fleischer (1722-1806) in 1769.⁵⁴ This set of dances is preceded by a set of variations, of which the last is also styled as a polonaise. Stereotypical Polish features (described further below) in Fleischer's examples include lengthy tonic pedals, the typical cadential formula, typical rhythmic constructions and a 'Fine' at the end of the first repeated section, approached by a *dal segno* of last six bars. Overlaying these characteristic features Fleischer adds frequent demisemiquaver runs and occasional chromatic scales. Less abstract and stylized than W.F. Bach's Fk.12, but nevertheless belonging to the German tradition are the Johan Gottlieb Goldberg (or Johann Gottfried Ziegler) set of twenty-four polonaises, each of which is in a different key and explores a different affect.⁵⁵ These generally commence in a simple style, often with hands in octaves capturing the boldness associated with the Polish dances, but, soon explore more idiomatic keyboard patterns (Example 2). Similar in style are the six polonaises by Bernhard Breitkopf, published in 1769.⁵⁶

Example 2 – Johann Gottfried Ziegler: Polonaise 6 from *24 Polonoises pour le Clavecin* (Berlin 1874), ed. Maxim Serebrennikov <www.earlymusica.org>. Used with permission.

By contrast, the polonaises of composers closely associated with the Brühl Kapelle, which frequently travelled with the court to Warsaw indicate that Dresden examples of the were generally simpler and more 'orchestral' and probably closer to the 'echt' model than to the more elaborate 'Germanized' one. Much less ornate than some of the examples mentioned above are the keyboard transcriptions of the *Redoutentänze* by Roellig, Neruda and Gebel, which are notable for their simple, bold rhythms and nearly universal two-part keyboard texture that render the dances to accessible to amateur players (Example 3). In orchestral versions, the two-part texture (with violins are mainly in unison) is rendered effective by the instruments' sustained tone (see examples 6 and 9 below). Head motifs played in octaves make a bold effect while the simplicity of the harmonic palette is emphasized by the pedal points.

⁵⁴ *Sammlung Einiger Sonaten, Menuetten und Polonoisen, wie auch einiger andern Stücke für das Clavier von Friedrich Gottlob Fleischer.* (Braunschweig, 1769). Fleischer studied in Leipzig, probably with Doles, took up a position in Brunswick in 1747, and was later a teacher of Anna Amalia of Weimar. He is known for his virtuosic keyboard works that are similar in intent to C.P.E. Bach.

⁵⁵ Goldberg, *PL-WRu* 61477; Ziegler: *24 Polonoises pour le Clavecin* (Berlin, 1764)

⁵⁶ 'Menuetten und Poloneses fürs Clavier', *Verzeichniss Musicalischer Werke*, 1770, 102.

Example 3 – Knechtel: Polonaise in D from *Minuets et Polonoises de la Redoute 1755* transcribed from D-LEm Becker III.8.53.

Unlike the minuet, where phrases are usually constructed in two-bar (six-beat) units that build up into four- and eight-bar periods, the *pas de polonaise* is a one-bar pattern, allowing for greater flexibility of phrase structure and the creation of five, six and ten-bar phrase units.⁵⁷ Frequently, a two-bar cadential phrase will follow a four-bar unit, to create a six-bar phrase. Thus, while on the surface the music will often fall into four-bar phrases, a division into two-bar units tends to predominate. Not unexpectedly, the duration of polonaises and disparities in between the first and second repeating sections tend to be more varied in the concert works (e.g. the final movements of the partitas) than in functional dances. To highlight this variety in the following analyses, an upper case letter denotes a four-bar phrase, a lower case letter denotes a two-bar phrase, while a lower case letter in brackets indicates a single-bar unit. Thus, a six-bar repeated section, a common feature in the polonaises and mazurs, might be analysed either as $||:A+b:||$ (i.e. a four bar phrase followed by a cadential two-bar phrase); or $||: a+a, b:||$ (a four bar phrase where there is a repetition of the same two-bar melodic unit, followed by a cadential two-bar phrase); or $||: abc :||$ (three distinct two-bar phrases with contrasting material, the most common pattern in Roellig's dances). Sequential repetition is indicated by underlining.

The 'separate tradition' referred to above by Wollny is no more strikingly seen as in the structure of the polonaise itself. In contrast to French and German dances of the baroque suites, in which there is typically an imperfect cadence or a modulation to a new key at the end of the first repeated section, Dresden polonaises designed for dancing do not modulate.⁵⁸ Instead the first section remains in the tonic and concludes with a perfect, or, less frequently with an imperfect cadence. The reason may be seen in the concluding bars of the dance, where there is end rhyme of the final two, four or six bars from the first half. This is most often a verbatim repeat in the tonic, indicated by a *dal segno* or *da capo* marking (as in example 4) and it imposes a severe restriction on the dance's tonal scheme.

A lack of surviving indigenous polonaises from the eighteenth century suggest the dance in popular culture was part of an oral tradition, making it difficult to know what might constitute its 'authentic' characteristics. Limited help is provided by contemporary theorists who highlight several melodic and rhythmic features that 'define' the polonaise. As describe by Marpurg in 1763, the 'authentic' (*eigentlich*) version always begins upon the first beat of the bar, while the German variety could be preceded by an anacrusis and tends to fall into two-bar phrases.⁵⁹ It would appear that a more authentic version was the norm in Dresden; all the polonaises in the Roellig, Knechtel and 'Gebel' *Redoutentänzen* and all but one of the polonaises in the Roellig partitas (the exception being SA 3227) commence without any anacrusis. Indeed, in 1739 Mattheson described the lack of an anacrusis as a particular feature of the dance: 'The beginning of the polonaise, taken in the strict sense, has something peculiar, in that is begins neither with the half note in upbeat, as the gavotte; nor even with the last quarter of the metre, as a bourée, but straightway quite blunt and as the French say, *san façon*,

⁵⁷ Greenberg, 'Workshop', 46.

⁵⁸ For example, eight of the polonaises in W.F. Bach's Fk.12 (nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 and 11) modulate to the dominant at the end of the first repeated section, while nos. 2 and 6 modulate to the relative major.

⁵⁹ Marpurg: *Kritische briefe über die TonkunstLXVI. Brief. Theil I, Band II, p.21.*

commences confidently on the down beat.’ (‘Der Anfang einer Polonoise, in genauem Verstande genommen, hat darin was eigenes, daß sie weder mit dem halben Schläge im Aufheben des Tacts, wie die Gavot; noch auch mit dem letzten Viertel der Zeitmaasse eintritt, wie die Bourree; sondern geradezu ohne allen Umschweif, und wie die Frantzosen sagen, sans *façon*, mit dem Miiderschläge in beiden Arten getrost anhebet’).⁶⁰ This kind of polonoise was the norm in Dresden; an anacrusis is lacking in all the polonaises in the Roellig, Knechtel and ‘Gebel’ *Redoutentänze*; and all but one of the polonaises in Roellig’s partitas.⁶¹ Daniel Gottlieb Türk indicates that ‘the polonoise ... has a solemn and serious character. The movement of the true polonaises, which fall into two or three parts, is quicker than we usually assume.’ (‘Die Polonoise ... von feyerlich gravitätischem Charakter. Die Bewegung der wahren Polonoisen, worin nur weihige Zwey und Dreyzigtheile verkommen, ist geschwinder, als wir sie gewöhnlich nehmen.’)⁶² Kirnberger suggest that the basic tempo of the polonoise is somewhere between that of the sarabande and that of the minuet. The more elaborate semiquaver movement in many of the Roellig and Knechtel polonaises would suggest a typical basic tempo of crotchet 90 for these dances. A was the norm in copies of music for dancing, tempo is never indicated sources by Dresden composers within this survey. In contrast, the presence of a variety of tempo markings from adagio, through poco adagio, andante, allegretto, molto moderato to allegro moderato is yet another unusual feature of the W.F. Bach Polonaises of Fk.12, indicating, in the slower tempi, music that is ‘for the ear rather than the foot’. Cramer also comments upon ‘...the many syncopated notes, often free and fast melodic passages, the frequent strong accents, that makes a really striking contrast with the fast and frequent alternations between forte and piano, and the unprepared short pauses on the second so-called weak beat of the bar’ (‘die vielen syncopirten Noten, der oft freye und schnelle melodische Gang, die häusigen starken Accente, all‘ das macht einen gar auffallenden Contrast mit dem schnell und oft abwechselnden Forte und Piano, und mit dem unvorbereiteten kurzen Schlußfällen auf den zweiten sogenannten schlechten Tactheil des Tacts’).⁶³

Zygmunt Szweykowski suggests that during the eighteenth century, it was the ‘intensive infiltration’ of these rhythms into what had for two centuries hitherto been labelled ‘Polish dance’ in Western Europe, that defined the ‘polonoise’, a musical term which came to mean the same thing in both Poland and abroad.⁶⁴ Szweykowsk also notes that at the same time that the polonoise rhythms crystalised, the melodic character underwent a change from a predominantly vocal type (prevalant in the seventeenth century) to a type that was essentially instrumental in character, clearly identifiable in examples 4-6 below. Several melodic and rhythmic features that are typical of the Dresden polonoise:

- a) An underlying iambic rhythm that places stresses on the second beat.
- b) A rhythmic pattern: ,⁶⁵ most commonly set triadically, that develops into the ‘signature’ rhythm:  associated with the music of Chopin (see Example 4):
- c) Syncopated patterns set triadically, very commonly employed either as an alternative opening or in a middle phrase (see example 2, bar 1).
- d) Repetitions of rhythmic cells, particularly in middle phrases.
- e) The cadential phrase of running semiquavers in the penultimate bar, leading to the ‘signature’ cadential formula, as described by Marpurg: a melodic resolution in the final bar onto the tonic note featuring a rhythmic pattern of four semiquavers leading to a minim or two

⁶⁰ Johann Mattheson *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Herold 1739), 228, translated in Ernest C. Harriss, *Johann Mattheson’s ‘Der vollkommene Capellmeister’: A revised Translation with critical commentary* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1981), 458-459. Perhaps the polonoise was described as a ‘minuet polinese’ because the Minuet was one of the few dances of the early eighteenth-century dances that started without an anacrusis.

⁶¹ The exception being SA 3227.

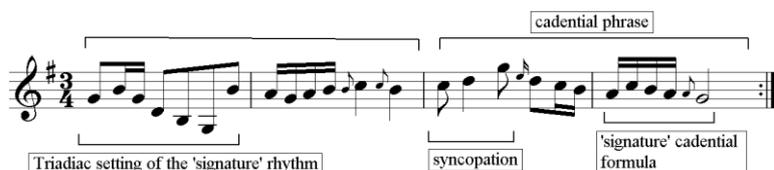
⁶² Türk, *Klavierschule*, 402.

⁶³ Carl Friedrich Cramer, ed. *Magazin der Musik* (Hamburg, 1783). 54

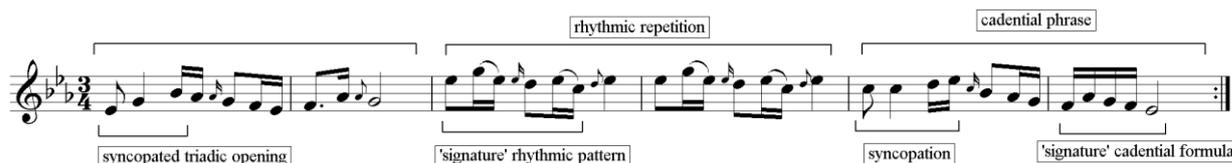
⁶⁴ Zygmunt M. Szweykowski: ‘Tradition and popular elements in Polish music of the Baroque Era’ *Musical Quarterly* 56/1 (1970), 105.

⁶⁵ Marpurg: *Kritische briefe über die Tonkunst*, volume 2, 43, suggests such a rhythm is typical of the German Polonoise.

crotchets, usually ornamented by an appoggiatura (see final bar of both examples 4 and 5 below).⁶⁶



Example 4: Johann Christian Roellig, Polonaise from Partita in G bars 1-4, transcribed from *D-Bsa* SA 3228



Example 5: Johann Christian Roellig, Polonaise from Partita in Eb, bars 1-6, transcribed from *D-Bsa* SA 2347

The first repeating section in Example 5 features the three two-bar units in a typical ‘**abc**’ pattern, consisting of an opening phrase with signature syncopated triadic motive; a central phrase featuring repetition of the the signature rhythmic pattren and cadential phrase featuring a syncopated motif and the most common cadential formula. Other ‘Polish’ characteristics identified by Zohn in the music of Telemann that can that can be found in the Roellig polonaises are the frequency of tonic pedal points, reiterative pitches, and unison and octave writing, (particularly in the head motive).⁶⁷ The polonaise from Partita in D major (*D-Bsa*, SA 2321; c1748-54) provides a a striking example of tyeses characteristics (see example 6). Here the strong one-bar rhythmic motivic repetition in bars 1-3 (presumably based on the the one-bar *pas de polonaise*) frequent unisons, pedal points, simple harmonic style, the ‘instrumental’ triadic character of the melodic material as well as the sudden contrasts in dynamic (implied in bars 5 and 70, all serve to capture the pomp and processional characteristics of the polonaise. It is the cumulative effect that defines the style of the polonaise associated with Dresden in the period 1740-1760.

⁶⁶ Marpurg: *Kritische briefe über die Tonkunst*, volume 2, letter LVII (4 July 1761), 18 and 44.

⁶⁷ Zohn: ‘Music for Mixed Taste’, 494, (Example 9.2); 495 (Example 9.2b) and 497.

Polonaise

The image shows a musical score for a Polonaise in D major, 3/4 time. It consists of two systems of four staves each: Violin 1 (Vln. 1), Violin 2 (Vln. 2), Viola (Vla.), and Bass (B.). The key signature has two sharps (F# and C#). The first system (bars 1-12) features a rhythmic pattern of eighth and sixteenth notes. The second system (bars 13-24) includes trills (tr) and dynamic markings such as *tenuto* and *ff* (fortissimo).

Example 6: Johann Christian Roellig, Polonaise from Partita in D, bars 1-12, transcribed from *D-Bsa* SA 2321

Form in Dresden *Redoutentänze*

Collections of *Redoutentänze* by Roellig, Knechtel, Neruda, Adam and ‘Gebel’ may have been performed as continuous sequences, providing a period of uninterrupted dancing to minuets (about twenty minutes) and polonaises (about ten minutes). Such sequences were an important feature of a serious and majestic processional dances like the polonaise, which only ended when all the guests had been presented. Unlike the common tonal centre of dances in suites, or the ascending pattern through all 24 keys in the Goldberg (or Ziegler), the sequences of dances in collections of *Redoutenmusik*, underscore the functional nature of the music. Apparently, to gain extra length, minuets are often paired in ‘Alternat’ and ‘Trio’ groupings, requiring a da capo of the first minuet and the sequence of keys indicates that these da capos are integral to the performance of the collection. Similar groupings, though less frequent, can be found in the polonaise sequences. Clearly, there is no requirement to end the sequence of dances in the original key. Common to all the surviving Dresden *Redouten* music by Hiller, Neruda, Gebel, Knechtel and Roellig from 1754-1756 is the opening key of D major, no doubt reflecting the scoring of strings with horns. However, the key of the final dance is always closely related to that of the first dance, probably to enable a smooth segue if the sequence were to be repeated.⁶⁸ In the set of parts for 1756 in Schwerin, Roellig’s music is interlinked with Knechtel’s set, suggesting that perhaps at least two sets of polonaises and minuets apiece were required for a full evening of music at the *Redoute*.⁶⁹ Although it is possible that these collections were simply repositories of unrelated single dances that could be combined into ‘suites’, the smooth segue of keys

⁶⁸ Both Roellig’s 1755 and 1756 sets of minuets and Knechtel’s 1755 set of minuets commence in D major but end in Bb major. Neruda’s set of minuets ends in G major while Hiller’s ends in D minor. The various set of *Redouten* polonaises universally commence in D major; both Roellig’s 1755 and 1756 sets of polonaises end in either A major or A minor, while Klipfel’s 1755 set ends in G major, and the ‘Gebel’ and Neruda sets end in F major). All have similar modulatory patterns, explore closely related keys in the first half of the sequence before moving to flatter keys (Bb major, Eb major and C minor) in the second half.

⁶⁹ *D-SWI Mus.* 4739. It is significant that there are sets on offer by as many as four composers in any year in the Breitkopf catalogues, perhaps an indication of the amount of music required for an evening of dancing, or that organisers of *Redouten* had a choice of material to distribute among differing venues. In any case the Breitkopf listings illustrate the richness of the repertoire.

between the majority of the items, particularly between the framing movements of the polonaises, strongly suggests a performance where the players continue for as long as was required, stopping at the end of any particular dance and moving, on cue, to the next required dance. Indeed, the instrumentation of the dances of Roellig's 1756 set of polonaises (for strings, plus pairs of horns and trumpets) tends to support this hypothesis (Table 3). There is no sense of finale in movement 12 which is the only one in a minor mode and is scored for strings only. Horns appear only in movements 1, 2, and 9, while trumpets are only used in No.7. Thus the musicians may have played through all twelve and repeated the first seven.

Table 3: Tonalties and brass instruments in the polonaises in Roellig's 1756 *Redoutemusik*

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Hn	Hn					Tpt		Hn			
D	D	G	C	E	A	D	Bb	Eb	G	G	a

In formal terms the *Redoutenpolonaisen* by Roellig, Knechtel and 'Gebel' utilise a restricted number of variants. Most common in the Knechtel and Gebel sets are eight-bar **4:|:4**, and especially 20-bar **8:|:12** patterns. The **4:|:4** pattern is also favoured in the polonaises by Roellig, who favours second sections that are considerably longer than the first section (**4:|:10**; **4:|:12**; **4:|:14**) providing a relief from what might otherwise be a rigid predictability of the musical structure. Only in the longest dances of the 1755 by Roellig (**8:|:14** and **10:|:14**) does he include *dal segno* structures. Noteworthy is a dance in the Knechtel's 1755 collection with an uneven number of bars in the second half (**8:|:7**).

The polonaise in Roellig's homage works

Another locus of the polonaise style was instrumental and vocal works written in honour of the electoral throne of Saxony. As noted earlier, Paczowski has argued that J.S. Bach wished to allude to the secular power, majesty and might of rulers in works such as the B minor Mass and in occasional music that honoured a representative of the Elector, he sometimes to the polonaise or polonaise rhythms to refer directly to the political situation in Dresden. He adds that 'in the context of Polish-Saxon courtly ceremonies, the polonaise ... should be understood as a "royal dance", equally suited to be used as a symbol of royal power in a secular or religious context.'⁷⁰ This also holds true for the four homage cantatas in the Klipfel collection that Roellig composed for the Meissen Porcelain Factory Collegium Musicum in 1753-54 to honour the birthdays of members of the Wettin family.⁷¹ Each homage cantata performed in Meissen is preceded by a symphony that deviates from the normal three-movement, in replacing slow and quiet central movement with a stately a polonaise or 'alla Polacca'. The symphonies of three of the four homage cantatas that survive in the Klipfel collection also exist separately as concert works (Table 4).⁷² For these three works, dedicated to minor members of the royal family, the inclusion of horns may allude to hunting, a favourite royal pastime. Of all possible topoi in the mid eighteenth century, 'perhaps none held as

⁷⁰ Paczkowski, 'On the Problems of Parody and Style', 25.

⁷¹ See Springthorpe, 'Porcelain, Music and Frederick the Great', 5-13.

⁷² The fourth homage cantata is *Die Lust von jenem Schreckenbilde* (D-Bsa, SA 1177(5)), performed in Meissen 17 October 1753. Not only does the symphony include a polonaise movement, but the work is also suitably scored for a royal birthday, with trumpets, timpani, two oboes and strings. It is possible that two other Roellig symphonies with a polonaise or *alla polacca* central movements were associated with lost vocal works: the Symphony in B minor of 1747 (SA 2301 and SA 2398) and the Symphony in B flat major (SA 3203) for posthorn, two oboes and strings.

deep resonance for Dresden as the hunt, which accompanied many of the social and political activities involving the Elector of Saxony.⁷³

Table 4: Symphonies by Roellig that feature polonaise movements

Concert symphony	instrumentation	Type of central movement	Homage cantata with which the symphony is also associated
Symphony in Bb (SA 3206)	2 oboes and strings	alla polacca	<i>Die Lust von jenem Schreckenbilde</i> (1753) SA 1441
Symphony in C (SA 2300 / SA 1439(6))	2 horns and strings	alla polacca	<i>Herr Schulz hört nur einmal</i> (1754) SA 797(3)
Symphony in C (SA 3213)	2 horns, flute and strings	polonaise	<i>Wie glücklich ist ein edles Herz</i> (1754) SA 797(1)

Roellig was not unique in including polonaise and *alla polacca* movements in symphonies dedicated to the Saxon Royal family. Gottlob Harrer (1703-1755), Kapellmeister to Count von Brühl, included an *alla polacca* as the central movement of the Sinfonia in D major (1747) and a polonaise as the final movement of nine movements in the Sinfonia in G major (1737).⁷⁴ Both symphonies were performed to the royal party at the royal hunting lodge at Hubertsburg following a vigorous day in the saddle, and are scored for three horns, woodwind and strings, featuring movements in compound time imbued with hunting calls on the horns.⁷⁵ Stanislaus Poniatowski describes a typical day of hunting and lavish entertainment at Hubertsburg which commenced at 08:30 with an opulent breakfast, served from the King's carriages in the hunting grounds. The hunt would then move into the forest followed by courtiers and staff in livery and twenty-four carriages, some carrying ladies of the court. Following a lunch, served again from carriages, the hunt would continue into the afternoon. After some free time to freshen up and change, the social activities then moved to the theatre, where there was hunt music ('Jagdmusik aufspielte') and opera.⁷⁶ An example of the latter is Hasse's *La Didone abbandonata*, performed at Hubertsburg in 1742, in which the central movement of the sinfonia is an *alla polacca* scored for strings and a pair of horns.⁷⁷ The musical entertainment was then followed by dinner at the King's table and finally conversation in private chambers. As Poniatowski notes, the hunt concluded not with the killing of the deer, but only following the entertainment and evening meal.

Compared to his *Redoutentänzer*, Roellig adopts more stylized internal structures in his symphony polonaises, such as rhyming two-phrase micro-structures or rondo-like structures. In these works, rhyming is created not only by the use of the same melodic material in the closing bars of each repeated section (often a verbatim repetition of the last phrase of the first repeated section's concluding phrase through a *dal segno* indication), but by a three-phase periodic repetition of material throughout the movement. In its simplest form as found in Symphony in C major (D-Bsa SA 2300 This repetition involves two phrases that are repeated with harmonic variation: ||:AB :||: A¹B, A²B :||.

⁷³ Russell Todd Robar: 'Form, Style, Function, and Rhetoric in Gottlob Harrer's Sinfonias: A case study in the early history of the symphony.' (PhD Dissertation, University of North Texas, 2003), 112.

⁷⁴ HarWV 7: *Sinfonia nella quale so trova tutto quell che si suona quando si fa caccia al cervo forzato per la festa di Sant'Uberto nella / Real Villa d'Ubertsburg l'anno 1747 li 3 Novembre* (D-LEm, Becker III.II.41/1); HarWV 29): *Sinfonia imitante la caccia dei Cignali, / fatta per la festa di Sant'Uberto nella / Real Villa d'Ubertsburg l'anno 1737 li 3 Novembre* (D-LEm, Becker III.II.42/7).

⁷⁵ On the music and social context of these two works, and for scores, see Robar: 'Form, Style, Function and rhetoric', 112- 144, 173-203 and 411-436.

⁷⁶ Stanislaw August Poniatowski, *Mémoires du roi Stanislas-Auguste Poniatowski* (St Petersburg: Académie Impériale de Sciences, 1814-1924), reprinted in Aladár von Boroviczény. *Graf von Brühl, der Medici, Richelieu und Rothschild seiner Zeit* (Zurich, Amalthea, 1929), 405-6. Poniatowski, (1732-1798) was the last King and Grand Duke of Poland (1764-1798), and visited Dresden in 1747.

⁷⁷ Hasse's opera also features a hunt scene in which Dido and Aeneas are separated from the rest of the hunting party and make love in a remote cave. Ortrun Landmann appears to have been first to have pointed out the symbolic meaning of *polacca* sections in Hasse operatic sinfonias in 'Bermerkungen zu den Hasse-Quellen der sächsischen Landesbibliothek', *Colloquium 'J Adolph Hasse und die Musik seiner Zeit'*, ed., Friedrich Lippmann (Laaber, Laaber, 1987), 493-4.

Repetition is also a feature of the micro-structure; common to both the ‘A’ and ‘B’ phrases of *D-Bsa* SA 2300 is the recurrence of the initial one bar motif (Example 7).

The image shows a musical score for violin 1 part, transcribed from SA 2300. It consists of five staves of music. The first staff (measures 1-6) is divided into two phrases, A and B. The second staff (measures 7-12) is divided into A1. The third staff (measures 13-18) is divided into B and A2. The fourth staff (measures 19-24) is divided into B (=bars 5-8). The fifth staff (measures 25-30) is divided into a 'Link to next movement' section. The score includes various musical notations such as trills, slurs, and dynamic markings (p, f).

Example 7 - Roellig Polonaise' from Symphony in C, violin 1 part, transcribed from SA 2300

A variant of the two-phrase structure occurs when new material is introduced at the beginning of the second repeated section, as seen in the Symphony in D major (*D-Bsa*, SA 2301). Here, the second section echoes the first through returns of ‘B’ material: $||:A+B:||:C+B^1, A^1+B:||$. In the polonaise movement of his Symphony in Bb (*D-Bsa*, SA 3213) Roellig goes one step further by establishing a rhyming of the two-phrase structure, creating a rondo-binary hybrid form $||:AB:||:CB, DB:||$. A similar structure can be seen in the six-bar phrases (bc,) of the polonaise movement in the Symphony in Bb (*D-Bsa*, SA 3206), where new material (‘D’ and ‘E’) is heard in place of during the dance’s second half (Example 8):⁷⁸

(Dal segno)

Phrase structure of *D-Bsa* SA 3206: $||:4+4+2:||:4+4+2, 4+||4+2:||$

$||:A, \underline{bb}, c:||: \underline{D}, \underline{bb}^1, c^1 E || \underline{bb} c:||$

Bars 11-14 (‘D’) display a feature common to many polonaises, a sequential phrase consisting of three statements of a one-bar pattern, concluding with a cadential bar. The effect of the strophic micro-structure, and of the dal segno, is not only a restricted harmonic scheme, but also a break down of the binary structure that is so prevalent in dances of the baroque suite.

⁷⁸ Underlining here and in following diagrams indicates sequential repetition. A six-bar phrase structure is also seen in the *Alla pollaca* of Harrer’s Symphony in D major, HarWV 7:
 $4, 2+2, 2:||:4, 2+2, 2 = ||:A, \underline{bbc}:||:A^1, \underline{bbc}:||$

Example 8: Roellig, Polonaise from Symphony in Bb major, violin I part, transcribed from *D-B SA 3206*

Polonaise movements in Dresden Partitas

The Dresden partita was cultivated principally in the 1740s and 1750s by composers who lived and worked in the Dresden area.⁷⁹ The remarkably consistent use of the minuet and polonaise as the final two movements elevated the polonaise from an occasional movement in contemporary suites to a pivotal feature of the partita; very few of Roellig's partitas that do not conclude with a polonaise or an *alla polacca* movement. Apart from one solitary partita in six movements and few more in three, Roellig partitas fall into two groups: those with four movements (the majority), and those with five. All movements, except for introductory adagios, are in some type of binary form, with some opening movements in sonata form. Most partitas conclude with a single binary polonaise ranging from eight to thirty-two bars in length. But there are also polonaises with trio sections, or sets of variations, polonaises alternating with contrasting dances such as the musette and mazur, and movement consisting of alternating *Furioso* and *Tranquillo alla polacca* sections. Roellig cultivated each of these movements types during specific period: polonaises with trios were composed only up to c1752, variation movements only appear in a cluster of works from 1756-1760 and the movements contrasting *Furioso* and *Tranquillo-alla polacca* conclude three partitas (which also exist in arrangements for flute or violin with keyboard entitled divertimento) composed c1758.⁸⁰ In these last movements, Roellig

⁷⁹ See Springthorpe 'Who was Roellig', 131-133 for a summary of the typical movement plans of Roellig's Dresden partitas and suites. Saxon composers or other composers associated with the Dresden Partita include: Johann Adam (1704-1779); Johann Friedrich Drobisch (1723-1762); Fritsch (*fl.* 1737); George Gebel (1709-1753); Gottlob Harrer (1703-1755); Hasse; Johann Adam Hiller (1728-1804); Johann Ludwig Horn (*fl.* 1735-1762); Christian Gottfried Krausse (1719-1770); Johann Kropfgans (1708- c 1770); George Simon Löhlein (1725-1781); Christian Gottlob Neefe (1748-1798); Johann Baptiste George Neruda (c1707-c1780); J.C. Roellig (born 1716); Markus Ruslaub (*fl.* 1760-1785); Johann George Schürer (c 1720-1786); Gottfried Siegmund Schwägriichen (1694-1741); Johann Erhard Steinmetz (1717-1753); Johann George Tromlitz (1725-1805) and Johann Gottlieb Wiedner (c1714-1783). The Dresden partita is a topic of ongoing research by the author.

⁸⁰ Partita in D (D-Bds SA 2319) / Divertimento in D (D-Bds SA 4338); Partita in D minor (D-B SA 2318) / Divertimento in D minor (D-Bds SA 3242); and Partita in G (D-Bds SA 2397/SA2340) / Divertimento in G (D-Bds SA 2423); SA 2423). On the dating of these works, see Springthorpe 'Porcelain, Music and Frederick the Great', 28-30. The partitas are arrangements of divertimenti in *VI Divertimenti* for flute or violin and cembalo (a2) (Breitkopf part III, 1763). With the exception of Roellig and Binder, all the composers of divertimenti advertised in the Breitkopf catalogues of 1761-1767 were of Austrian or Bohemian descent and worked in the Austrian orbit (Maximillian Joseph Hellmann, Joseph Haydn, Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Antonin Kammel, Karl Kohaut, Leopold Mozart, Carl Ditters von Dittersdorf and Leopold Hofmann). It is a possible that

adopted a novel approach to form: within a overall binary structure that includes a coda they alternate four-bar *tranquillo* sections with *Furioso* sections varying in length and material. Note in Example 9 that each *Furioso* section ends with an imperfect cadence and fermata (bars 14, 28, and 47). In keeping with the polonaise structures discussed above, the rhyming four-bar *Tranquillo alla polacca* sections at the end of the two binary halves (bars 15-18 and bars 49-52) provide identical endings in the tonic. The medial *Tranquillo alla polacca* in the second repeating section (bars 29-32) is varied and in the relative major whereas the coda (bars 53-56) reproduces the earlier tonic statement (bars 49-52) an octave higher.⁸¹

There are echoes in the striking juxtapositions between the quiet *Tranquillo alla polacca* and the loud *Furioso* sections of ‘die lustige polnische Ernsthaftigkeit’ (‘the comic Polish seriousness’) identified by Telemann.⁸² This characterization is expanded by Johann Adolph Scheibe who remarks that the polish style ‘is quite comic, but nevertheless of great seriousness. One may very easily employ it for satirical purposes. It seems to almost mock itself: in particular it befits a really serious and bitter satire.’ (‘Insgemein ist diese Schreibart zwar lustig, dennoch aber von großer Ernsthaftigkeit. Man kann sich auch derselben zu satyrischen Sachen sehr bequem bedienen. Sie scheint fast con sich selbst zu spotten, insonderheit wird sie sich zu einer recht ernsthaften und bitteren Satire schicken.’)⁸³ While Roellig might not be actively seeking to engender comic elements in his music, it is not difficult to hear echoes of the comic-serious dichotomy in his furious-tranquil alternations. More significant, in any case, is the association of tranquility of the *alla polacca* style, implying an inherent stateliness of the polonaise.

Wagenseil’s visit to Dresden in 1756, and was a catalyst for interest in the divertimento, a new genre to the city in the late 1750s. There is a large collection of his music (including many divertimenti) in the former court library (now in D-Dlb).

⁸¹ The movements in D major and G major adopt a slightly different model in which the first half of the coda is varied from previous versions of the *Tranquillo alla polacca* section.

⁸² Telemann coined the phrase ‘die lustige polnische Ernsthaftigkeit’ in a commentary on the Lied ‘Sanfter Schalf’ (TWV25:63 in *Singe-Spiel- und general bass Übungen* No.25), quoted and translated in Zohn: ‘Music for Mixed Taste’, 487.

⁸³ Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musicus* (Leipzig 1745),145, quoted and translated in Zohn: ‘Music for Mixed Taste’, 487.

Form in partita polonaises

The proportional length of the two halves in Roellig partita polonaises demonstrates the variety of structure in his sixty-four examples of the dance. While there is greater variety in the partitas compared to the *Redoutentänze*, the proportions 4:4 (twelve examples) and 8:12 (nine examples) are the most numerous in both genres.⁸⁴ Of particular interest are partita polonaises with odd number of bars (5:8, 5:13 and 6:11), and one with a shorter second half (8:6).⁸⁵ These asymmetrical structures suggest the music of for the ear rather than for the foot. Usual in this repertory is a first repeated section ending with a perfect cadence in the tonic key and a second repeated section that is generally longer than the first in polonaises (only one polonaise has a first section longer than the second). Most dances feature some kind of rhyming of the final bars of each half but, as Table 5 shows, the amount and nature of repeated material varies. Of the fifty partita-polonaises longer than ten bars, no two have an identical internal structure. But shorter movements are more uniform: all but one of the eight-bar partita-polonaises are in an **ab:cd** while the ten-bar (4+6) examples structure are in **ab:ccb** structure. All but one of the dozen eight-bar polonaises in the partitas have a non-rhyming **ab:cd** structure, and these fall into two chronological subgroups (c1748-1754 and c1756-1757).⁸⁶ Seven dances in the later subgroup include a set of three variations followed by a da capo of the polonaise, the only use of variation technique in Roellig's entire oeuvre.⁸⁷ Variations either follow a passacaglia model, in which the bass line (a viola bassetto) is more or less intact during each variation (SA 2342 and 3233), or adopt a *concertato* texture in which violin 1, violin 2 and cello are assigned solos in successive variations (SA 2352, 2355/2366 and 2356/1).

Table 5: Incidence of rhyming in Roellig partitas

Group	feature	incidence
1	Where there is a rhyming of the final phrase s of both halves	30
2	Quotation of all the first-half material in the second half (only one example does not rhyme).	10
3	Rhyming of the opening phrases in both halves concluded by a rhyming of the final phrase.	4
4	Rhyming of the opening phrases in both halves but with no rhyming of the final phrases	4
5	Where no material in the first repeated section is quoted in the second repeated section	16

Thematic materials can be very restricted: in some examples no new material is presented in the second repeating section, such the movement in Suite in B flat major in which has the structure **ab: a¹a¹ b¹b: ||**.⁸⁸ Many four-bar phrases consist of one-bar pattern states three times, often sequentially, followed by a cadential bar, as in the Polonaise 2 of the Partita in B flat major (*D-Bsa* SA 2410). In this instance, no new material is presented in the second half of the dance: **Abc: Abc¹, b¹c², bc: ||** (Example

⁸⁴ Other popular proportions are 4:6 (five examples), 4:10 (four), 10:20 (four) and 6:12 (three).

⁸⁵ Other proportions include 4:8; 4:12 (two examples); 4:14; 5:8; 6:10 (two examples); 6:14; 6:16; 6:24; 8:8 (two examples); 8:10; 8:14; 8:16; 8:20; 8:24; 10:12; 10:14; 12:16; 12:18

⁸⁶ The earlier group of polonaises belong to works in which all the movements are very brief: Partita in F minor (*D-Bsa*, SA 3237) for flutes and strings, the Partitas in A minor (SA 2341) and D major (SA 2432) for flute and cembalo and the second of six suites for wind band (SA 2415/2) in B flat major.

⁸⁷ Partitas in C major (*D-Bsa*, SA 2342), C minor (SA 3233), G major (SA 2352) and A major (2356/2) and Divertimento in A major (SA 2355), all for strings; Partita in C major (SA 3234) and Divertimento in G minor (SA 3236), both for flute and cembalo (possibly arrangements of lost orchestral works). SA 3236 is the fourth work in *VI Divertimenti* for flute or violin and cembalo (Breitkopf catalogue, 1763), and SA 2342 and SA 3233 are arrangements of the fifth and sixth works in the same collection.

⁸⁸ Breitkopf catalogue, Raccolta V, No.3 (*D-Bsa*, SA 2415/3), for wind band. The work is also arranged 'a6' for trumpets and strings (SA 2535) and 'a2' for violin and cembalo (SA 2418). other examples of an entire movement based upon the first repeating section include the central movements of symphonies in C major (Sa 2300) and B flat major (SA 3202), discussed above.

10).⁸⁹ In the second polonaise Roellig appears to be exploring a different polish dance-style as there is no syncopation and the initial rhythmic repetition (bars 1-4) and following motive (bars 5-6) are characteristic of the mazur.

Among the dances with five-bar units, the first polonaise of the Partita in B flat major (D-Bsa, SA2410) includes an ‘extra’ bar between the sequential music of bars 7-10 and the reprise of the first-half music in bars 12-17, creating the structure $||:abc:||:dd(e) | abc:||$ (Example 11). Featuring a dotted rhythm derived from the ‘c’, bar 11 provides a link back to the head-motive. In two examples the single bar is the opening bar (head-motive) of the dance. In two examples the single bar is the opening bar (head-motive) of the dance. The five-bar section of the polonaise from the Partita in A (SA 2392/SA 3224) is constructed from a single bar ‘(a)’ followed by a two-bar unit ‘b’, concluding with a cadential phrase, since ‘b’ and ‘c’ are restated verbatim at the end of the second repeated section: $||:(a)bc:||: dd | bc:||$ (Example 12). A similar 1+2+2 structure can be perceived in the Partita in C major (SA 2394) which is divided $||:5:||:13:||$. A da capo of the first half creates an overall structure is $||:(a)bc:|| de ff | (a)bc ||$ (Example 13).

Example 10: Polonaise No.2 from Partita in Bb major, transcribed from *D-Bsa*, SA 2410

Example 11: Roellig, Polonaise 1 from Partita in B flat major, bars 7-17, transcribed from *D-Bsa* SA 2410

⁸⁹ Similarly, the ‘E’ phrase in D-Bsa, SA2421, quoted above, also consists of a one-bar sequence and a cadential bar (AAAB).

Example 12: Polonaise from Partita in A major, bars 1-5, transcribed from *D-Bsa* SA 2392/3224

Example 13: Polonaise from Partita in C major, transcribed from *D-Bsa*, SA 2394

Example 14: Polonaise No.2 from Partita in Bb major, transcribed from *D-Bsa*, SA 2410

Some of the lengthier partitas have a more complicated internal organization, such as the rondo-like structure of Partita in C minor (*D-Bsa* SA 2421) which divides into three balanced ten-bar units $||:ab, ccd ||: ab^1, ccd | E, ccd ||$. Similarly, in a thirty-bar example in the Partita in C (*D-Bsa* SA 2413 /SA 3229), the last four bars of the first half return to punctuate two sets of new material in the second half: $||:aa^1, bb^1, cd ||: b^2e, cd^1 | gg, cd:||$.

Polonaise and trio, musette and mazur

In several of Roellig's partitas from the period c1747- c1752 there are instances in which the polonaise is followed by another movement acting as a trio section, requiring a *da capo* repetition of the polonaise.⁹⁰ Only in three movements is the second dance another polonaise.⁹¹ Elsewhere the

⁹⁰ According to Maja Trochimczyk in 'Polonaise (Polonez)' (http://www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/dance/polonaise.html, (30.7.2014), the trio first appeared in the polonaises by Michał Kleofas Ogiński (1765-1833), composed c1790. However, earlier examples can be found the Telemann *ouvertures*, such as TWV 55 a2.

second dance another rustic type featuring drones. Of the three entitled ‘musette’, two are in duple time, while one is in triple ($\frac{3}{8}$) time and is a mazur is all but name. In the other three examples the trio section is labelled ‘*massur*’. Common to all the works with musettes and mazurs, which are listed in table 6, is a scoring is the instrumentation of two obbligato instruments in addition to strings.

Roellig’s mazurs, which he normally identifies as such, are amongst the earliest instances of the dance in mid-eighteenth century German concert music. No other examples dating from before c1770 appear in RISM, while the first to be advertised by Breitkopf are those by Simonetti for the 1768 Dresden *Redouten* (see Table 1). There is little indication of how the mazur was danced, but it appears to have been introduced into German courts by Friedrich Augustus II (1697-1733) who was fond of it.⁹² In any case, the dance was known to mid-eighteenth century German musicians in the mid-century since Joseph Riepel (who lived in Dresden 1739-1745) mentions the term ‘*massur*’ in 1752.⁹³

For both the musettes and mazur, Roellig adopts a four-part structure resembling a double binary form, a structure associated with the ethnic mazur.⁹⁴ In the D major mazur (D-Bds, SA 2351), the repeats in the A and B section are written out and the whole A+B section is repeated. The G major musette (SA 2417) shares its 8+6 structure with the example of a mazur in Marpurg, while the 4+4, 6+6 structure of the A and B sections is common to all three ‘mazurs’ listed in Table 6.⁹⁵

Table 6: Structure of the musette and mazur movements in Roellig partitas

Work and call number	Designation of movement & metre	Repeated sections			
		A	B	C	D
		No. of bars:			
Partita in G (fl, solo vn, strings) SA 2417 (aut. score)	Musette $\frac{2}{4}$	8	: 6 :	: 4 :	: 12 :
Partita in C (ob, solo bn, strings) SA 3240 (parts) (c.1747)	Musette $\frac{2}{4}$: 4 :	: 8 :	: 12 :	: 12 :
Partita in Bb (2ob strings) SA 3227 (parts) (c1748-51)	Musette $\frac{3}{8}$ [<i>massur</i>]	: 8 :	: 8 :	: 10 :	: 12 :
Partita in Eb (hn, solo bn, strings) SA 3239 (parts); SA 2391/1 (score) (before 1747)	Massur $\frac{3}{8}$: 4 :	: 6 :	: 6 :	: 10 :
Partita in D (2hn strings) SA 2351 (parts) (1753-54)	Massur $\frac{3}{8}$: 20 (4+4, 6+6) :		: 4 :	: 6 :
Partita in A (2fl strings) SU 57:22 (parts) (?1753-55)	Massur $\frac{3}{8}$: 4 :	: 6 :	: 4 :	: 6 :

All three examples of the dance lack the irregular accents on the second and third beats of the bar that is a typical feature of this type, but they include drones that allude to the *dudy*, a rustic bagpipe associated with the performance of mazurs in Poland. They also feature the **aabb** and **aaab** phrase structures associated with the folk dance.⁹⁶

⁹¹ In the Partitas in D major (*D-Bsa* SA 2338, c1748) and G major (*D-Bsa* SA 2345 and SA 2395, c1748-54), second dance is described as a ‘trio’, whereas in the Partita in Bb major (*D-Bsa* SA 2410, c1756) it is referred to as ‘Polonoise 2’.

⁹² Maja Trochimczyk: ‘Polish Dances: Mazur (Mazurka)’ <www.usc.edu/dept/polish_music/dance/mazur.html> (24 August 2014).

⁹³ Joseph Riepel, *Anfangsgründe zur musicalischen Setzkunst* (Regensburg and Vienna, 1752), volume 1, 50.

⁹⁴ Maja Trochimczyk ‘Polish Dances: Mazur (Mazurka)’, reports that the music of mazurkas ‘consists of two or four parts, each part having six or eight bars, and each part is repeated’.

⁹⁵ Marpug, ‘Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst’, volume 2, p.45-46

⁹⁶ Trochimczyk, Polish Dances: Mazur (Mzurka)’, quoting Halina Windakiewiczowa, *Wzory polskiej muzyki ludowej w mazurkach Fryderyka Chopina* (Warsaw, 1926)

As is typical in rustic mazurs, Roellig repeated the rhythmic motif in the first four bars of the A major mazur (*S-U* 57:22), while the motif in bar 21 dominates the second half of the dance. Rustic features in this dance include strong second beats (bars 1-4, 6 and 9); lively dotted rhythms, and rhythmic asymmetrically in bars 28; as well as the persistent tonic and dominant pedals recreating the drones of the *dudy*. In contrast to the musettes described above, the form and has a simple construction based mainly on two-bar units: $||:A:||: bb, c :||: dd :||: dd, e :||$, (Example 14). The B flat musette is essentially a mazur and shares features with the D major dance, most notably a tonic pedal for the duration of the first two repeated sections, as well as the metrical shift effected by displacing the initial anacrusis to the downbeat in subsequent phrases, a further characteristic of the dance (Example 15). Similar alternations of phrases with and without anacrusis continues in the second half of SA 3227 where there are phrases with and without anacrusis in a $||: dEF :||: GEF :||$ rhyming structure, supported by alternating tonic and dominant harmonies (see Example 16).

Example 14: Roellig, 'Massur' from Partita in A major, bars 11-30, transcribed from *S-U*, 57:22

Example 15: Roellig, 'Massur' from Partita in Bb major, bars 1- 8, transcribed from B-Bsa, SA 3227

Example 16: Roellig, 'Massur' from Partita in Bb major, bars 17-38, transcribed from B-Bsa, SA 3227

Just as the minuet became established as an essential movement type in late eighteenth century Viennese string quartets and symphonies, the polonaise found its place as the final movement of the Dresden Partita. Ultimately, however, it proved to be a feature that was not to survive the end of the Seven Years War and the political changes following the death of Count von Brühl and August III in 1763. The few post-1763 Dresden partitas including polonaises can be attributed to composers based in Leipzig such as Johann Gottlieb Wiedner; Georg Simon Löhlein and Christian Gottlob Neefe.

Although it is not easy to gauge how ‘Germanized’ the polonaises became during the eighteenth century, a clear division is apparent between stylized examples and the more and central German polonaise in the eighteenth century, a clear division is apparent between the stylized examples and the more simply constructed examples found in the Dresden dance repertoire. If there was an understandable inherent need to add ‘order’ to rustic dances in the process of making them palatable to courtly, taste then the Dresden repertoire, is at least free of the lampooning or satirical quality observed in polonaises by some eighteenth century commentators.⁹⁷ Many Dresden musicians and they appear to have preserved something of the folk roots of the polonaise and mazur through bold of the melodic material, strong rhythms, textural clarity, and varied formal plans.

As this study has shown functional dances produced for the *Redouten* display less formal variety than dances in concert works such as partitas and symphonies, one finds more complex phrase structures and rondo-like or through composed forms. In some later works by Roellig, the polonaise movement in partitas and divertimenti is subject to abstraction and modification by the application of variation technique and alternation of *alla-polacca* and *furioso* sections. The sheer quantity of material produced by Roellig, together with the formal variety outlined above, provides not only valuable insights into the style and construction of polonaises and mazurs in Dresden, but also a useful reference point for studying examples by other eighteenth century musicians.

Nigel Springthorpe

⁹⁷ On the adaptation of related repertory of folk dances see Robert G. Rawson, ‘Courtly Contexts for Moravian Hanák Music in the 17th and 18th centuries’, *Early Music* vol. 40/4 (2012), 577-591.