

**MHS Jmhs 20:13**

**A Contextual Study of a  
Lute Manuscript**



**by**

**Robert Eklund**

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**UUB 20:13**

**A Contextual Study of a**

**Lute Manuscript**

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Stockholm University  
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first half of the 18th century.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

BN-P	- Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris.
BL	- British Library, London.
BUL	- Berndorf Neues Universal-Lexikon der Tonkunst.
ES	- Enciclopedico dello Spettacolo.
KB	- Kungliga Biblioteket, Stockholm.
LUB	- Lunds Universitetsbibliotek.
MAB	- Musikaliska Akademins Bibliotek, Stockholm.
MGG	- Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
NG	- The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.
RA	- Riksarkivet (National Archives), Stockholm.
RISM	- RISM B VII; Boetticher, W. <i>Handschriftlichen überlieferte Lauten- und Gitarrentabulaturen des 15. bis 18. Jahrhunderts</i> .
RM	- 'Reference Material'; see 1.2 - 'The Scope of the Paper'.
S1	- The D# minor suite of UUB Imhs 20:13.
S2	- The G# major suite of UUB Imhs 20:13.
SGLS	- Svenska Gitarr- och Lutasällskapets tidskrift.
SSA	- Stockholms Stadsarkiv (City Archives).
STM	- Svensk Tidskrift för musikforskning.



## 1 INTRODUCTION

'..., le Luth est le Charlatan de la Musique, parce qu'il fait passer pour bon ce qui est mauvais sur les bons instrumens.'<sup>1</sup>

Of the various periods in the lute's history, that which is chronologically closest to us - the 18th century - is ironically the least familiar. The lute is strongly associated with Elisabethan England through well known composers such as John Dowland, and the 17th century French lutenists' influence on the *style brisé* clavecin composers is similarly well documented. However, the generations of German lutenists working after c.1720 are largely unfamiliar today. One explanation is that by this time the lute had lost the preeminence which it had enjoyed in previous centuries, its position as the main chordal, dynamically flexible instrument having been supplanted by the piano-forte. Also, writers such as Mattheson criticised the lute for being exceptionally hard to play and tune, as well as excessively expensive to maintain.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the gradual abandonment of the continuo concept deprived the lute of its accompanimental role.

Thus, 18th century lutenists were writing for an increasingly obsolescent instrument. However, they were very productive and technically innovative, and the treasury of 18th century lute music constitutes a rich, interesting and idiomatic contribution to the repertory of the instrument. Few of the works were ever published, however, and the bulk of the repertory is preserved in MSS in various museums and libraries, which thus renders it inaccessible. The notation presents a further difficulty, since virtually all of this music was written in tablature - a notation which few scholars read.

Although Sweden's contribution to the history of the lute was never major, a relatively large amount of lute music is preserved in Swedish libraries, museums and foundations. Most of these have been treated in a series of articles by Kenneth Sparr in the Swedish Guitar and Lute Society Journal,<sup>3</sup> but there are no thorough studies of Swedish lute MSS, with the sole exception of Bengt Hambreaus' *Codex Carminum Gallicorum*,<sup>4</sup> translated into French.

Furthermore, articles on Swedish lute MSS in international languages are even less common, and consequently knowledge about the music concerned is inaccessible to the international audience of players and scholars.

The aforementioned situations provided the author with ample justification for writing this paper.

---

<sup>1</sup>Mersenne; *Nouvelles observations physiques et mathématiques* (appended to *Harmonie Universelle III*), p. 20, Paris 1637 (See Bibliography).

<sup>2</sup>Mattheson; e.g. *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchester*, pp. 274-277.

<sup>3</sup>See Bibliography: Sparr, Kenneth.

<sup>4</sup>Hambreaus, Bengt; *Codex Carminum Gallicorum*, Uppsala University 1961.

## 1.1 UUB Imhs 20:13

Several lute MSS are preserved Uppsala University Library, one of which is UUB Imhs 20:13.<sup>1</sup> It is written in French tablature for a 13-course lute in the so-called D minor, or 'standard baroque',<sup>2</sup> tuning, and consists of four folios bound together with a thread. It is anonymous and its provenance is unknown. It contains two suites and an *Affettuoso* attributed to 'Sigre Chelleri'.

It is listed in *RISM*,<sup>3</sup> where Boetticher dates it around 1730. Pohlmann refers to it as 'vermutlich aus dem 17. Jahrhundert'.<sup>4</sup> In Rudén's *Music in tablature* - a complete listing of all Swedish tablatures presently known - its dating is said to be the mid-18th century.<sup>5</sup> 20:13 (as it will be called henceforth) is also discussed in an article by Sparr, who carefully states that its dating is the 18th century.<sup>6</sup>

## 1.2 THE SCOPE OF THE PAPER

This paper attempts to answer some major questions concerning 20:13, i.e. its origin, its dating, a possible composer and the like.

Rather than examining one area in minute detail, this study will take as many different factors as possible into account, including such divers elements as harmonic treatment, stylistic traits, watermark, ornament signs, idiomatic techniques and so forth, this giving a broadly based, detailed description, albeit at the expense of certain minutiae.

The following topics will be studied in greater detail:

- i) A transcription of 20:13, as well as edited versions of all concordances encountered.

This is for the benefit of readers who may not be familiar with tablature. However, some features under discussion cannot be transcribed into staff notation without visual loss of the information one desires to convey; in such cases only tablature will be provided.<sup>7</sup>

- ii) A comparative examination of 20:13 to with regard to contemporary solo lute music.

---

<sup>1</sup>Uppsala Universitetsbibliotek, Instrumentalmusikhandskrift 20:13.

<sup>2</sup>Radke 12.

<sup>3</sup>Boetticher; p. 335.

<sup>4</sup>Pohlmann; *Laute, Theorbe und Cittarone*; p. 138.

<sup>5</sup>Rudén; p. 53.

<sup>6</sup>Sparr; *Luttablatur i svenska bibliotek*, SGLS 1976, pp. 44-48.

<sup>7</sup>For readers not already familiar with tablature, the article in NG is recommended (NG; s. v.).

This is done in order to see how 20:13 fits into the contemporary lute repertory regarding general style, form, technical complexity, keys employed and so forth.

In deciding what music to include in the reference material - RM in the following - it became necessary to limit the chronological range of the sources, and the year 1720 has been chosen as the earlier cut-off point, for four main reasons:

- a) The datings in *RISM* and Rudén.
- b) 20:13 is written for a 13-course baroque lute, an instrument for which no music is known prior to 1720.<sup>1</sup>
- c) Some of the technical devices found in 20:13 suggest a late dating (see 2.5-2.6.3).
- d) The years of Chelleri's sojourn in Sweden, which were most probably 1732-34 (see 3.2 - 3.2.2).

Two works were of great assistance in compiling the RM; Charles Amos' dissertation<sup>2</sup> and Joseph Zuth's *Handbuch der Laute und Gitarre*,<sup>3</sup> the first of which constitutes the most extensive listing of German lutenists to date. Rudén was consulted with regard to the Swedish material.

The cut-off date of 1720 means that some prolific composers who were active just before that period are excluded, for example Graf Johann Losy von Losenthal<sup>4</sup> (1643/7 -1721).

The principal composers of lute solo music included in the RM are as follows:

Wolff Jacob Lauffensteiner	1676 - 1754
Johan Georg Weichenberger	1676 - 1740
Sylvius Leopold Weiss	1686 - 1750
David Kellner	1670 - 1748
Ernst Gottlieb Baron	1696 - 1760
Adam Falckenhagen	1697 - c.1760
Rudolf Straube	1717 - 1785
Joachim Bernhard Hagen	employed in 1766 at Bayreuth
Johann Friedrich Daube	1730 - 1797

---

<sup>1</sup>Michael Lowe (see Sources - Oral) and Douglas Alton Smith (see Sources - Letters) agree on considering the Weiss London MS (see Sources - Manuscripts), begun in 1719/20, as the earliest example of music for a 13-course instrument. Lowe also points out that the lowest basses bear marks of having been added at a later occasion.

<sup>2</sup>Amos, Charles; *Lute Practice and Lutenists in Germany between 1500 and 1750* (see Bibliography). An important thing to point out here is that after 1700 almost all lutenists of any importance were active within the 'German' area of Europe (cf. NG, article 'Lute', § 4: History.)

<sup>3</sup>See Bibliography: Zuth, Joseph.

<sup>4</sup>Losi, Logy and other spellings occur.

In addition to those listed above, the RM also includes a large number of lesser known composers such as Pichler, Blohm, Gäbel and others.

Some interesting composer-lutenists have been excluded for the simple reason that none of their music seems to have survived. This is particularly true of the Russian lutenist Belagradzky, whom we know studied in Dresden with Weiss in the 1730's. Belagradzky is all the more interesting since he was apparently known in Sweden, and is mentioned by Hallardt.<sup>1</sup>

Another feature of the period in question is the presence of a large group of lutenist-composers who, to judge from their surviving music, wrote almost exclusively for small ensembles including one or more lutes, such as trios with an obligato lute part doubling both a bass line played on a cello, and doubling a melody line played on a violin, the lute filling out chords in-between. The style of these concertos differs to some extent from that of solo lute music, although the later concertos eventually acquired more independent lute parts.<sup>2</sup> MSS containing music by such 'concerto composers' have been examined, lest something of major importance be overlooked - an identical hand, identical usage of ornament signs or the like - albeit slightly less thoroughly in order to keep the paper to a reasonable length. Of these composers Carlo Kohaut (1726 - 1784), Johann Kropffganss Jr. (1708 - c.1770) and Meusel (first name and dates of birth and death unknown) are worthy of note.

- iii) A comparison between the lute version of the Affettuoso and the concordances found; here biographical notes on the persons encountered will be included.
- iv) A perusal of contemporary Swedish lute tablatures in order to detect possible similarities to 20:13.
- v) A search for Swedish lutenist active during the period concerned, in order to find potential composers for 20:13.

Finally, the author would like to convey some hints on the performance of this music to any interested readers.

Readers wishing to acquire some background information regarding the lute are recommended to read the articles 'Lute', 'Archlute' and 'Theorbo' in NG.<sup>3</sup> Concerning the terminology 'quarter-notes' and 'half-notes' have been preferred to 'crotchets' and 'minims'; German analytical symbols have been used instead of the Roman numeral system; American 'measure' and 'bar' have been chosen instead of English 'bar' and 'barline'. In the quotations all typographical variations - such as Gothic and Roman script - have been omitted.

---

<sup>1</sup>Hallardt; MAB Hskr 28; *Musikens beskaffenhet i åtskillige länder och städer* (not foliated), chapter 12: *Musiken i Ryssland*.

<sup>2</sup>Notes taken by the author at the Lute Society Meeting held at the Art Workers' Guild in London in January 1987, when Tim Crawford and Peter Holman gave a discourse on this part of the lute's history.

<sup>3</sup>NG; s.v.

### 1.3 WATERMARK

The watermark of 20:13 is **VRYHEYT**, with a lion in a double circle-frame **PRO PATRIA EIUSQUE LIBERTATE**. The countermark is **I HONIG**.

The mark is found in Heawood<sup>1</sup> as entry 3148<sup>2</sup> and is taken from a legal document dating from 1745.



Fig. 1.1 - Watermark and countermark.

As regards the shield Pro Patria Eiusque Libertate, four examples are found in Heawood: entry 201,<sup>3</sup> dated 1765; entry 214,<sup>4</sup> c.1770-90, and the two similar marks 3148 and 3154,<sup>5</sup> dating from 1776. The main emphasis, however, must be put on the identical mark **VRYHEYT LION**.

The countermark I Honig is not found in Heawood. Whenever the name Honig appears, it is in other forms such as **C & I HONIG**, **I HONIG & ZOONEN** and

**I HONIG**  
&  
**ZOONEN**<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Heawood, Edward; *Watermarks* (see Bibliography).

<sup>2</sup>ibid; p. 134 and PL. 400.

<sup>3</sup>ibid; p. 68.

<sup>4</sup>ibid; p. 69.

<sup>5</sup>ibid; p. 134.

<sup>6</sup>ibid; PL. 436.

The countermark **HONIG** alone is found as entry 3347,<sup>1</sup> taken from a MS dated 1724-26.<sup>2</sup>

Bengtsson in his treatise on Johann Helmich Roman<sup>3</sup> said with regard to watermarks:

'Vryheyt /.../ C & I Honig: förekommer i talrika hdskr., såväl odaterade Roman-autografer som avskrifter av bl. a. Brant, medlemmar av »Kopistgruppen 1751» samt H/N 33-35 och 60. Lew 1749, 1761 och 1766.'<sup>4</sup>

This confirms the presence of the paper in Sweden between 1749 and 1766 - although Bengtsson mentions the countermark C & I HONIG - which tallies well with the date 1745 found in Heawood.

As for the speed at which paper was consumed, we read in NG:

'...batches of paper with identical watermarks were normally used over a relatively short time,...'<sup>5</sup>

Heawood states that:

'...an examination of some 80 cases in the first few decades of the 19th century has given an average interval of not quite three years; and it would be less if cases were thrown out in which the paper was used by a traveller abroad, who evidently took out a stock of paper with him and used it until it was finished.'<sup>6</sup>

LaRue's article of 1966<sup>7</sup> states that a typical interval between fabrication and consumption was five years.<sup>8</sup>

Although the evidence provided by watermarks can only be regarded as suggestive, this examination would seem to place 20:13 somewhere during the period 1745-1766.

---

<sup>1</sup>ibid; PL. 437.

<sup>2</sup>ibid; p. 138.

<sup>3</sup>Bengtsson; *J. H. Roman och hans instrumentalmusik* (see Bibliography).

<sup>4</sup>'Vryheyt C & I Honig: occur in numerous mss., undated Roman autographs as well as copies by among others Brant, members of »Kopistgruppen 1751» and H/N 33-35 and 60. 1749, 1761 and 1766.' ibid; p.127.

<sup>5</sup>NG; article 'Watermark', vol. 20, pp. 228-229.

<sup>6</sup>Heawood; p. 31.

<sup>7</sup>LaRue, Jan; *Classification of Watermarks for Musicological Purposes* (see Bibliography).

<sup>8</sup>ibid; p. 60. Repeated in LaRue's article 'Wasserzeichen' in MGG, vol. 14, pp. 266-267.

## 2 THE SUITES

As mentioned above 20:13 contains two suites and an affettuoso *del Sigre Chelleri*. The first suite is in D sharp minor - *Dis mol* - and the second suite is in G sharp major - *Gis dur* . These will henceforth be referred to by the abbreviated forms 'S1' (for the D sharp minor suite) and 'S2' (for the G sharp major suite).

The disposition of the items is given in the following table:

<u>MOVEMENT</u>	<u>FOLIO</u>
Prelude	1
Allemande	1
Courante	1v
Siciliana	1v - 2r
Menuet	2
Gavotte	2
Gigue	2v
Prelude	3
Allemande	3
Courante	3
Sarabande	3v
Menuet	3v
Giga	3v
Affettuoso	4

Table I - Disposition of movements.

Because of different problems pertaining to the Affettuoso, this will be studied in a separate chapter (see 3 - 3.3.8).

In this chapter the music *per se* will be examined first, followed by ornaments and signs encountered, and finally the technical idioms of the suites. Reference will be made to the RM, wherever possible.

### 2.1 STYLE

Many details have to be taken into account in analyzing the style - harmonic treatment, texture, melody, harmonic rhythm, melodic rhythm, to mention just a few - and since there is virtually no limit to the amount of detail one can include, an exclusively analytical paper can be of any length. Since the aim here has been to take as many different parameters as possible into consideration (as mentioned in 1.2), a minutely detailed analysis will not be provided in this paragraph, the purpose of which aim is to outline the general musical characteristics of 20:13, this in order to place it in its chronological and stylistic context.

The date attributed to 20:13 in the aforementioned sources (see 1.1) is intriguing, since the years 1730 - 1750 saw a major change in the history of Western art music, and for twenty years two major schools of composers were active: the conservative baroque composers - such as Johann Sebastian Bach - composing in an affective, harmonically and rhythmically advanced style, thus bringing the 'baroque' era to a close, and alongside of these, the 'modern' school - e.g. C. Ph. E. Bach - writing in an idiom where clarity of form and harmony was the ideal, something which involved a simpler treatment of harmony, where the functions of the chords within the tonalities were important, and shorter, clearly defined melodic phrases were employed.

This development naturally had its counterpart in lute music. Unfortunately, however, virtually no studies have so far been made on the musical style of the lute composers concerned, and stylistic analyses of the output of the composers included in the RM - no matter how desirable - are regrettably beyond the practical scope of this paper. For practical purposes a distinction will be made here between two main schools of lute composers, the earlier, 'baroque' composers Weichenberger, Lauffensteiner, Kellner and Weiss,<sup>1</sup> and the later, 'galant' or 'empfindsam' composers Falckenhagen, Hagen, Straube and Daube.<sup>2</sup>

The analysis will mainly attempt to draw a conclusion as to which of the aforementioned styles could be said to apply to 20.13, i.e. the overall musical viewpoint which characterises 20:13.

### 2.1.1 HARMONY

In the **S1 Prelude** we already encounter an affective treatment of harmony; unstable and forward-pushing. After an initial chromatic passage over a first degree note, the Prelude lands on a Dominant pedal on top of which a syncopated, chromatic melody line works forward. The Prelude ends effectively on the Dominant:

---

<sup>1</sup>Weiss was acquainted with J. S. Bach.

<sup>2</sup>It might here be pointed out that Forkel in his *Musikalischer Almanach* from 1782 says about Weiss' son Johann Adolph Weiss: '...Lautenist zu Dresden; /.../ Ein Sohn des berühmten Sylvius Leopold, /.../ Er spielt [present tense!] die hinterlassenen vorzüglichsten und schweren Composition seines sel. Vaters, die in dem ächten und körnichten Geschmack geschrieben sind, wie ungefähr die Clavier-arbeiten des sel. Joh. Seb. Bach, mit vieler Leichtigkeit und Reinigkeit.' Forkel; p. 111.



Fig. 2.1 - End of S1 Prelude.

Anticipated thus by the Prelude, the **S1 Allemande** is equally affective as regards harmonic treatment. In the first measure a first inversion Dominant 9th chord sets the mood of the movement, and one is not surprised when in ms. 9 the piece modulates into the Dominant minor, rather than the major.

Fig. 2.2 - S1 Allemande; ms. 9.

In the second strain the S1 Allemande modulates through F<sup>#</sup> maj (relative maj/tP), A<sup>#</sup> maj (dominant maj/D) and returns to D<sup>#</sup> min, eschewing the picardic third on the final chord.

The **S1 Courante** employs even more keys. In ms. 6 the G<sup>#</sup> min chord is used as a pivot leading into the relative major.

Fig. 2.3 - S1 Courante; ms. 6-7.

In mss. 25-26 a clear cadence is made in C<sup>#</sup> maj (Dominant maj coming from F<sup>#</sup> maj), then a G<sup>#</sup> minor cadence is abruptly introduced.

Fig. 2.4 - S1 Courante; mss. 25-28.

However, the piece is swiftly brought back to F<sup>#</sup> maj in the following measure.

The first strain ends on F<sup>#</sup> maj, but in the second strain a repeated A<sup>#</sup> maj chord (mss. 42-44) informs us that we are now back in D<sup>#</sup> min (ms. 45). This done, a new D-T cadence is carried out in C<sup>#</sup> maj, the Tonic chord of which is changed into a Dominant 7th chord in F<sup>#</sup> maj.

MEASURE	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49
Tonality	D <sup>#</sup> maj-----			C <sup>#</sup> maj-----		F <sup>#</sup> maj-----		
Chord	A <sup>#</sup> ./.    ./.    d <sup>#</sup>			G <sup>#</sup> C <sup>#</sup>		C <sup>#</sup> 7    F <sup>#</sup>		
Function	D    D    D7    t			+S/D    T		T7/D7    T		

Table II - S1 Courante; mss. 42-49.

In mss. 55-58 we encounter a feature characteristic of both S1 and S2 - as will be shown in the following - modulation by dint of chromatic alteration.

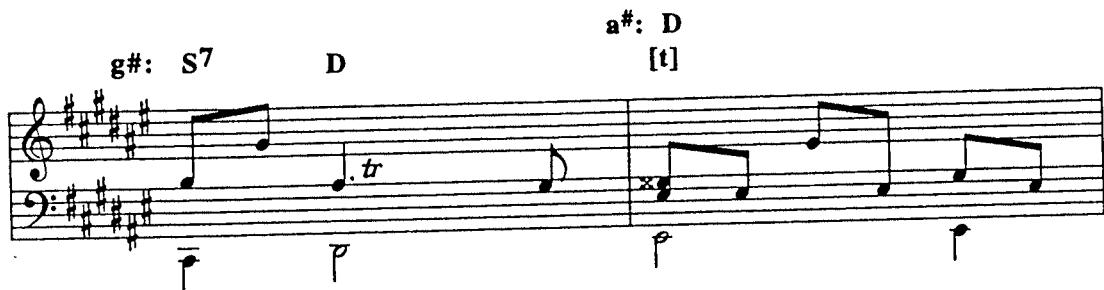


Fig. 2.5 - S1 Courante; mss. 55-58.

As is shown in figure 6, a clearly defined cadence is carried out, but instead of landing on the anticipated Tonic chord, the Dominant is chromatically altered and turned into a Dominant chord in another tonality. It is also noteworthy that the piece is modulating here from F<sup>#</sup> maj, through G<sup>#</sup> maj to A<sup>#</sup> min (landing on the A<sup>#</sup> min chord in ms. 64); an effective and daring employment of keys.

The same is also found in the **S1 Menuet**.

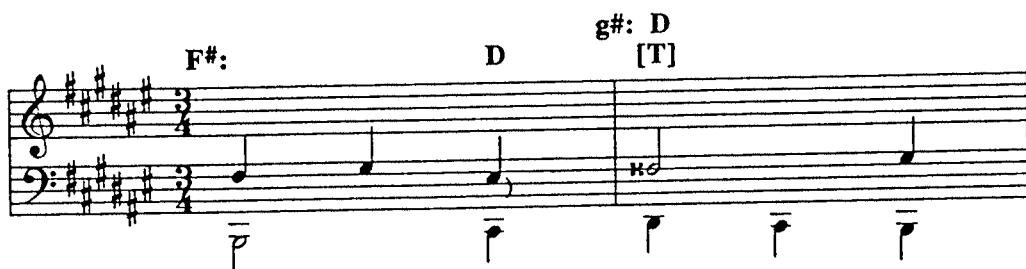


Fig. 2.6 - S1 Menuet; mss. 33-34.



Fig. 2.7 - S1 Menuet; mss. 40-42.

In the latter example above, a Subdominant chord in F<sup>#</sup> maj is chromatically turned into a Neapolitan 6th chord in D<sup>#</sup> min, a chord also employed in mss. 46 and 49.

A similar procedure is also found in the **S1 Gavotte**.

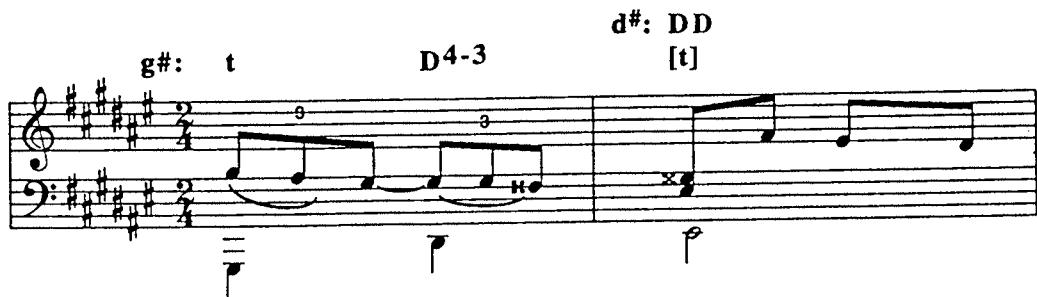


Fig. 2.8 - S1 Gavotte; mss. 37-38.

In the **S1 Gigue** chords are easier to distinguish, since the movement employs long passages of arpeggiated chords, leaving no doubt as to their respective functions. Part writing in the Gigue is also more clearly defined than in the remainder of the suite (see also 2.1.2). Its modulation into the relative maj is abrupt, albeit clearly defined.



Fig. 2.9 - S1 Gigue; mss. 13-15.

The S1 Gigue exploits three keys only - D<sup>#</sup> min (t), F<sup>#</sup> maj (tV) and A<sup>#</sup> min (°D) - and ends as it began, with a repeated D<sup>#</sup> min chord.

The **S1 Siciliana** is in many ways different from the other movements of S1, and contrasts sharply with the rest of the suite. First, it is in D<sup>#</sup> maj, thus breaking the normal scheme of suite compilation whereby all movements are in the same key. Second, its harmonic rhythm is slower, putting more weight on the Tonic-Dominant relationship. It is more modern 'modern' in both respects than the other movements of S1.

Whereas the other movements of S1 bear all the trademarks of the baroque conception of harmonic treatment - ambiguous functions, sudden changes of keys, inverted chords, affective chromaticism and so forth - almost all the chords of the S1 Siciliana are given either a Tonic or a Dominant function.

Moreover, it makes use of consecutive thirds over pedals, very much in the 'galant' idiom of Falckenhagen, which gives the piece a slow, even

stationary harmonic pace. Another feature also used by Falckenhagen is the octave transposition of reiterated passages (also a trait of the 20:13 Affettuoso; see 3.1).



Fig. 2.10 - S1 Siciliana; ms. 7-10.



Fig. 2.11 - Falckenhagen: Sonat I, Largo; mss. 22-23.

A similar passage is found in Straube, whose music also adheres to the 'empfindsam' style.



Fig. 2.12 - Straube: Sonata II, Poloneso; mss. 34-35.

This is in fact a repetition of mss. 29/30.

In short, S1 exploits eight keys:

<u>KEY</u>	<u>RELATIONSHIP (to D# min)</u>
D# min	Tonic (t)
A# min	Dominant minor ( ${}^{\circ}D$ )
G# min	Subdominant minor (S)
E# min	Supertonic minor (sVp)
F# maj	Relative minor (tP)
A# maj	Dominant major (D)
C# maj	Subtonic major ( ${}^{\circ}Dp$ )
D# maj	Tonic major (tV)

Table III - Key relationships in S1.

All the movements of S1 - excepting the Siciliana - show a baroque treatment of tonalities, often obscured by the use of inverted chords or avoidance of clearly defined Tonics. Keys are also frequently passed through, in order to achieve a restless, affective effect.

S2 does not show quite such expressive and affective a language as S1, which is of course to be expected in a major key suite.

However, the **S2 Preludio** is conceived in very much the same way as its S1 equivalent, using a chromatic, syncopated melody over a pedal.

The Preludio exploits three keys - Ab maj (T), F min (Tv) and Eb maj (D).<sup>1</sup>

The **S2 Allemande** has a fast harmonic rhythm and makes use of diatonically transposed sequences, a baroque trait (e.g. mss. 6/7; 11-13; 18-20 and 21-23). In the second strain, the main theme is recanted in the Dominant maj (see also 2.3). Passing through F min (arrived at with a Neapolitan 6th chord in ms. 35) and C min ( ${}^{\circ}D$  in F min), a recapitulation<sup>2</sup> is made in ms. 48, without any preparation, in a quasi-sonata form (see 2.3).

Fig. 2.13 - S2 Allemande; mss. 47-49.

<sup>1</sup>The keys of S2 will be named as flat keys, in accordance with the transcription.

<sup>2</sup>The term 'recapitulation' will henceforth imply a return of both the original key and the main theme.

After two brief excursions into E<sup>b</sup> maj (mss. 53-54) and F min (mss. 54-55), A<sup>b</sup> maj is finally established.

The **S2 Courante** commences in a similar way to the S2 Allemande with a descending bass line. In mss. 10-14 a series of chords obscures the tonality:

Measure	10	11	12	13	14
Chord	Cmaj	Fmaj	B <sup>b</sup> maj	E <sup>b</sup> maj	A <sup>b</sup> maj
Function	D	T/D	T/D	T/D	T

Table IV- S2 Courante; mss. 10-14.

After this D-T/D-T passage G maj is introduced in ms. 15 as the Dominant chord in the Mediant C min (Dp), in which key the first strain ends. The second strain recants the main theme in the Mediant minor, passes through F min (mss. 26-28), E<sup>b</sup> maj (mss. 28-33), F min (mss. 34-37), C min (mss. 37-40) and re-establishes A<sup>b</sup> maj in ms. 40. In mss. 51-55 an ascending, cumulative diatonic sequence completes the movement. In ms. 56 a flaw in the compositional technique is found: consecutive 5ths are found.

The **S2 Sarabande** is perhaps the most interesting movement of S2. First, once again, we encounter consecutive 5ths in ms. 5:



Fig. 2.14 - S2 Sarabande; ms. 5.

These are so obvious in the tablature (the same chord shape being moved one fret) that one wonders whether the composer deliberately disregarded the rules of voice-leading which were in force during the period.

Second, what is more interesting is that in the second strain we not only find an advanced, fast-moving harmonic rhythm, but also the same type of modulation through chromatic alteration encountered in the S1 Courante, Menuet and Gavotte.



Fig. 2.15 - S2 Sarabande; mss. 12-14.

Fig. 2.16 - S2 Sarabande; mss. 17-18.

The **S2 Menuet** is structured in the same way as the S2 Sarabande; the first strain, repeated 'Da Capo al Fine', is entirely in A<sup>b</sup> maj, and the second strain moves from F min to C min, although the S2 Menuet ends with an un-harmonised first-degree note, in contrast to the picardic third of the S2 Sarabande's second strain.

The beginning of the **S2 Giga** corresponds to the S2 Allemande and Courante insofar as it repeats a Tonic chord above a descending bass line. Likewise, it also repeats the main theme in the second strain in the Dominant major (relative minor in the case of the Courante, as mentioned above).

When modulating into the Dominant maj, a four-measure passage stresses the Dominant-Tonic relation in E<sup>b</sup> maj (although ms. 14 could possibly be interpreted as D7-T in F min).

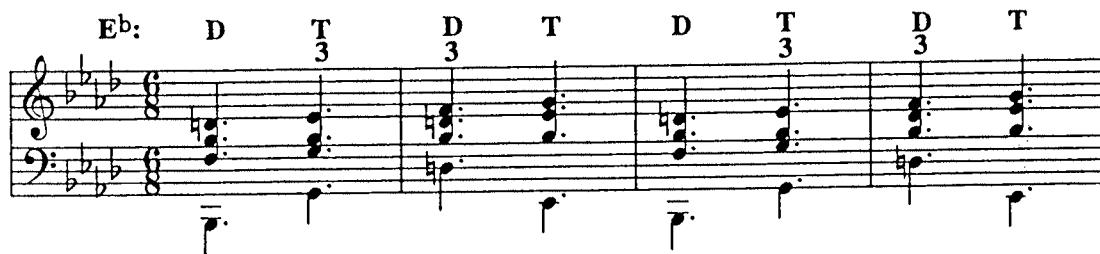


Fig. 2.17 - S2 Giga; mss. 15-18.

The alternate use of first inversion chords in respectively the Dominant and the Tonic veils the establishment of a clear tonal centre which separates these passages from the D-T passages in the S1 Siciliana, where such repetition clarifies the function of each chord.

The second strain of the S2 Giga - like the second strain of the S2 Allemande - exploits a rich variety of keys. From E<sup>b</sup> maj (mss. 31-38), it modulates through C min (mss. 38-43), F min (mss. 43-45), E<sup>b</sup> maj (mss. 45-49), C min (mss. 49-50) and G min, the most remote key to be employed in the suite, which is used for the first and only time in mss. 51-56.

The harmonic rhythm accelerates in mss. 57-58.

The musical score consists of two staves of music in common time. The top staff starts with a key signature of C major (no sharps or flats). The bottom staff starts with a key signature of A-flat major (three flats). The music is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. Above each measure, the Roman numerals for the chords are written: C, D, f:, D, T, B<sup>b</sup>: D, t, E<sup>b</sup>: (D). The notes are primarily quarter notes, with some eighth notes appearing in the later measures.

Fig. 2.18 - S2 Giga; mss. 57-58.

Instead of remaining in the Dominant maj arrived at in ms. 59, and amplified by the use of root-position Tonic and Dominant chords in mss. 59 and 60, F min is abruptly introduced in ms. 61, without any modulative preparation.



Fig. 2.19 - S2 Giga; mss. 59-62.

The same appears in ms. 64, where A<sup>b</sup> maj is established in root position, preceded by the Dominant root-position C maj chord in ms. 63.

S2 exploits six keys:

<u>KEY</u>	<u>RELATIONSHIP (to Ab major)</u>
A <sup>b</sup> maj	Tonic major (T)
E <sup>b</sup> maj	Dominant major (D)
F min	Relative minor (Tp)
C min	Mediant minor (Dp)
B <sup>b</sup> min	Supertonic minor (Sp)
G min	'Leading note minor'

Table V - S2; Key relationships.

Both suites use a rich harmonic palette, passing through several keys even in the shorter movements. The harmonic rhythm is fast, modulations are often abrupt and obscured by inverted chords and chromaticism. New keys are introduced in several ways: via pivot chords, chromatic alteration and even without any preparation. The listener is frequently given just enough time to perceive a key before the music modulates again.

The S1 Siciliana is puzzling in that it contrasts with the baroque idiom of both S1 and S2. Its major key design is at variance with the conception of suite compilation, and anticipates the developing three movement *Sonata* with the central, normally slow, one in another key. Moreover, its harmonic rhythm is slow and emphasises juxtapositions of Tonic and Dominant chords, a 'modern' trait characteristic of the 'galant' style as represented by e.g. Falckenhagen and Straube, in whose music passages similar to those encountered in the S1 Siciliana are found. Reiteration of phrases over a stationary harmony, passages of consecutive thirds and so forth, are equally characteristic of the galant idiom. The S1 Siciliana gives an impression of a composer belonging to the old tradition, experimenting in the modern style. At all events, its presence suggests that the suites dates from a period in which both styles coexisted.

## 2.1.2 MELODY, PHRASING AND RHYTHM

The melodies in S1 and S2 in general are extended and progressive, and the melodic phrases likewise continuous with no regular points of repose.

The **S1 Prelude** (excluding the initial chords) employs only one long phrase whose syncopated rhythm and rich chromaticism emphasises its anticipatory role in the suite (ending on the Dominant major; see 2.1.1).

In the **S1 Allemande** we encounter not only a theme representative of the extended phrase-building of the baroque, but also a musical quotation from Weiss.<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 2.20 - S1 Allemande; mss. 1-2.

After this opening phrase, mss. 5-7 offer a sequence functioning as a coda. Ms. 8 introduces a new motif, repeated in ms. 9 and then intensified through an ascending figure reaching the highest note of the strain in ms. 11, whereafter the phrase is extended to ms. 16. Thus mss. 8-16 constitute one musical phrase, each part of which leads inexorably to the next.

<u>PHRASE</u>	<u>MEASURE</u>
Phrase I:	mss. 1-4
Coda:	mss. 5-7
Phrase II:	mss. 8-16

Table VI - Phrases I/II

As previously mentioned, the initial theme of the movement also occurs in Weiss; in the Allemande of the D min suite we encounter the same opening;<sup>2</sup> moreover, Weiss is quoting himself in the Allemande of the F min suite.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Offering five main interpretations: i) Weiss being the composer of 20:13; ii) quoted from Weiss; iii) quoted by Weiss; iv) quoted by both Weiss and the creator of 20:13 from a third source; v) the resemblance is purely coincidental.

<sup>2</sup>Weiss; Dresden MS, p. 26 (see Sources - Manuscripts).

<sup>3</sup>ibid; p. 235.



Fig. 2.21 - Weiss: Sonata D minor; Allemande, mss. 1-2.



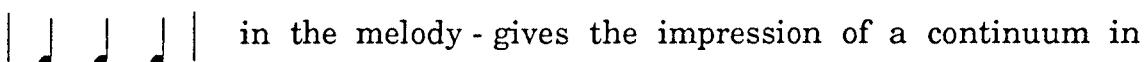
Fig. 2.22 - Weiss: Sonata F minor; Allemande, ms. 1.

The similarity is striking but conclusions are hard to draw. There is as yet no thematic index of 18th century lute sources,<sup>1</sup> and thus it is difficult to verify whether further concordances exist. The Weiss Dresden MS is considered a late source of Weiss' music, and might even have been continued after his death by students,<sup>2</sup> but the thematic similarity is here regarded more as a source of inspiration concerning musical style, than as a means of dating 20:13.

In the **S1 Courante** changes of harmony, reinforced by arpeggiation, are emphasised at the expense of melody. The phrases are nevertheless extended (although less so than in the S1 Allemande), and repetitions of diatonically transposed motifs abound, e.g. mss. 1-2; 5-6 + 7-8; 51-53; 83-84 and 85-86.

Although the phrases/motifs are more clearly delineated in the S1 Courante than in the S1 Allemande, points of rests are rare, and the melody drives inexorably forward.

The **S1 Menuet**, with its static rhythm - there is an almost unbroken use of



<sup>1</sup>Thanks to Arthur J. Ness for providing this information (see Sources - Letters).

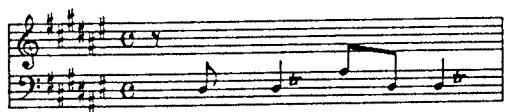
<sup>2</sup>See Wolfgang Reich's article in the facsimile edition of Dresden MS mus. 2841-V-1; 34 *Suiten...* (see Sources - Manuscripts).

which no rest is to be found, and where all measures are a consequence of the preceding ones, and lead inevitably into the subsequent motifs (with the exception of mss. 5 and 6, which are identical). The melody is not easily sung, partly due to its alternating disposition between the treble and the bass, but also due to wide leaps; e.g. mss. 22-23 has a compass of almost two octaves, falling short by only a semi-tone.

The **S1 Gavotte** has, like the Menuet, a predominantly two-part texture and a rather jagged and unsingable melody. The rhythm is bouncy, and the phrases extremely elongated; indeed, the two strains more or less correspond to two main phrases. The impetus of the movements is reminiscent of some of the variations that can be heard in Handelian chaconae or passacagliae.

The **S1 Gigue** reiterates the plan of the Courante, using clear-cut motifs of shorter length, although the ends of these do not represent points of rest. Arpeggiation of chords, and employment of rhythmic motifs are more important, and the role of

the motif  in the S1 Courante corresponds to

that of the motif  in the S1 Gigue.

The **S1 Siciliana** differs from the rest of the movements (see also 2.1.1) in that the different motifs are more segregated and clearly marked. The exact repetition of melodic strophes slows down the melodic pace, and is hence very different from the momentum found in the other movements. However, although different in other respects, there is a *prima facie* resemblance between mss. 41-45 in the S1 Siciliana and mss. 12-15 in the following Menuet. The difference is, though, that the passage in the Menuet is integrated into the whole, whereas it occurs independently in the Siciliana.

**S2** shows the same traits as **S1**; the texture of the **S2 Preludio** is more chordally based, and the melody less chromatic, but the same kind of syncopation is found.

The **S2 Allemande** starts with a phrase which is used reiterated until ms. 10, after which subsequent motifs lead into others, rather than bringing the phrase to a close.

The **S2 Courante** has even longer phrasing, and the entire first strain consists of one major phrase, and the few cadences that occur are acknowledged only momentarily by the melody line.



Fig. 2.23 - S2 Courante; mss. 3-6.

The D-T cadenza here carried out constitutes no point of rest, since the immediate interpolation of the flattened 7th in the melody extends the phrase further.

In the second strain the same theme is repeated (in C min; see 2.1.1), as is the insertion of chromatic notes in order to enfeeble the melodic and harmonic phrase closures, and thus provide impetus.



Fig. 2.24 - S2 Courante; mss. 38-40.

The end of the movement provides an example of a typical baroque climax with its diatonically transposed sequence (mss. 51-55) preparing the final cadence.

The **S2 Sarabande** with its slower tempo and narrower compass, has shorter phrases and more clearly defined melodic pauses. However, the phrases never end on Tonic chords, and in this way an impression is conveyed of each phrase being a mere preparation for that which follows.



Fig. 2.25 - S2 Sarabande; mss. 4-5.

The **S2 Menuet** has a typical 'menuet' theme with its main motif |  $\text{J} \text{ J} \text{ J}$  |

Even though this clear rhythmic treatment renders clear the different units of the phrase, forward momentum is nevertheless discernible; the cadence in mss. 17-18 is weakened by the triplets in the melody, extending the melody beyond the confines of the harmonic phrase.



Fig. 2.26 - S2 Menuet; mss. 17-18.

The **S2 Giga** conforms to the S2 Allemande and Courante in that it commences with a melody of lesser importance superimposed above a descending bass line, and thus providing the suite with stylistic homogeneity. Unlike the other movements, though, the S2 Giga repeats melodic motifs, often transposed by an octave (e.g. mss. 3-6). As is also the case with the S1 Gigue, this movement is less 'cantabile' and more chordal, exemplified by purely 'vertical' measures as mss. 15-18 and passages of purely harmonic material as in mss. 39-43. The second strain repeats the material of the first strain; the same main theme, chordal passages, octave transposition of melodic-rhythmic motifs. The movement has less rhythmic uniformity than the other movements, the different sections are more segregated, and the links between them more obvious than is the case in the other movements. In this way the S2 Giga diverges to a certain extent from the spun-out baroque phrases/melody characteristics of the rest of the suite.

To sum up, the melodic phrasing of 20:13 is continuous, and points of rest are either avoided completely or enfeebled by progressive harmony when they occur in the melody, or forward-moving melodies when they occur harmonically.

The melodies are often shared between the treble and the bass, and are thus rendered hard to grasp. The major exception to this is - as was also the case with the harmony - the S1 Siciliana, which contrasts with the baroque practice of the other movements as regards melodic and rhythmic conception.

## 2.2 S1 AND S2: THE SAME COMPOSER?

Before continuing the study of the suites, the unavoidable question of whether the two suites have the same composer should be considered. Although nothing in the MS suggests anything else - the same hand, no ascription (which the Affettuoso has), both suites bearing marks of changes in the tablature et cetera - some compositional features common to both will be highlighted here.

Before this is done, it must be pointed out that a comparison with the RM would have been desirable here in order to detect potential similarities of compositional technique between 20:13 and other lute composers. As mentioned above, however, the lacunae in this field are major, and to study all the music of RM to establish individual characteristics is evidently not a subject for one paper within the discipline, but many; indeed, several could surely be devoted to each individual composer.

Consequently, this paragraph will deal with traits common to S1 and S2 only.

As already mentioned in 2.1.1 and 2.1.2, some musical connections are found: both the S1 and S2 preludes make use of chromatically ascending, syncopated lines over pedals:



Fig. 2.27 - S1 Prelude.



Fig. 2.28 - S2 Preludio.

Moreover, both suites employ moving bass lines beneath a first-degree note (according to the tonality employed):<sup>1</sup>



Fig. 2.29 - S1 Siciliana; mss. 16-18.



Fig. 2.30 - S1 Siciliana; mss. 47-49.

<sup>1</sup>Here an exception will be made, and a concordant passage will be pointed out: in Warsaw MS Mf. 2003 passages are found which strongly resemble the concluding measures of the two strains of the S1 Siciliana; they occur in a Presto. Regrettably, however, the foliation of the microfilm used here (kindly provided by Joël Dugot) was corrupt, and films differ from MSS in that it is more difficult to count folios, especially if the film is semi-inverted, which the author suspects is the case with the film in question. Warsaw MS Mf. 2003 contains anonymous music as well as music by Weiss, to whom this Presto could possibly be ascribed. The hand is quite different from 20:13.

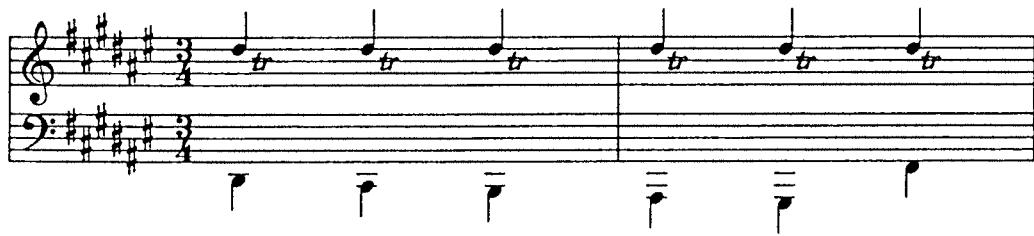


Fig. 2.31 - S1 Menuet; mss. 44-45.

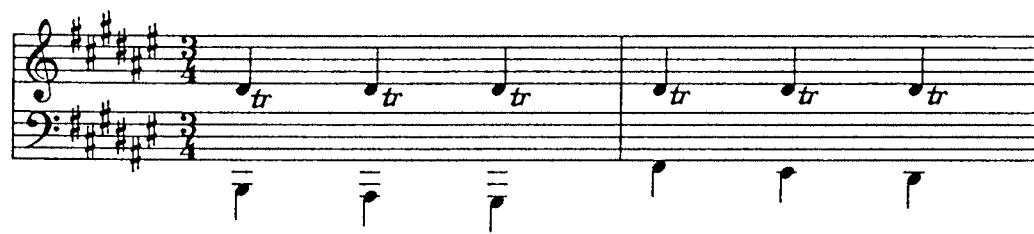


Fig. 2.32 - S1 Menuet; mss. 47-48.

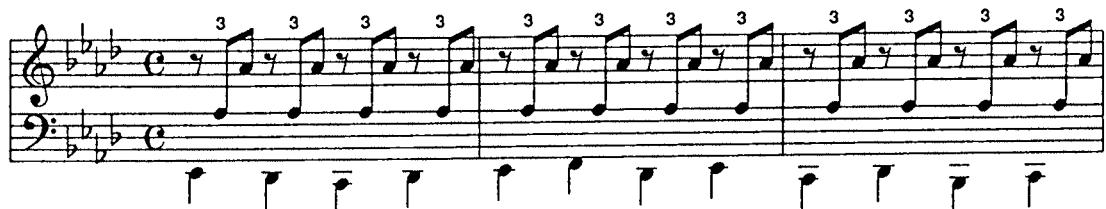


Fig. 2.33 - S2 Preludio.

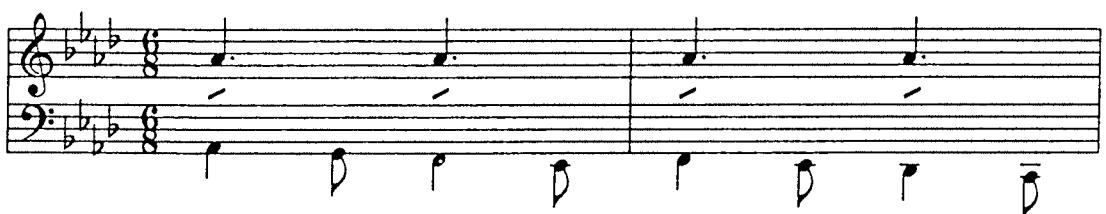


Fig. 2.34 - S2 Giga; mss. 72-73.

Passages stressing the relation Tonic-Dominant are transposed one octave:



Fig. 2.35 - S1 Siciliana; mss. 7-10.



Fig. 2.36 - S2 Giga; mss. 24-25.

Yet another motif in common is found in the S1 Prelude and the S2 Allemande:



Fig. 2.37 - S1 Prelude.



Fig. 2.38 - S2 Allemande; mss. 21-22.

One of the main features suggesting a common composer, though, is the occurrence of modulation by means of sudden chromatic alteration in cadences, all examples of which are given in 2.1.1.

The conclusion drawn from these examples is that there is no obvious reason to assume that S1 and S2 have different composers, since several common features are found.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.3 FORM

S1 and S2 belong to the tradition of suites which emanated from French lutenists of the early 17th century and was later adopted by the *clavecinist* school. The prelude, the allemande, the courante, the sarabande and the gigue are generally considered to be standard movements. After 1700 the sarabande was occasionally replaced by a siciliana.

The disposition of S1 and S2 is shown in the following table:

MOVEMENT	NUMBER OF MSS	MSS IN FIRST STRAIN
Prelude	unmeasured	
Allemande	48	16
Courante	94	41
Siciliana	50	19
Menuet	50	20
Gavotte	40	20
Gigue	63	28
<hr/>		
Preludio	unmeasured	
Allemande	66	28
Courante	59	21
Sarabande	20	8
Menuet	21	8
Giga	77	30

Table VII - S1/S2: Movement lengths in measures.

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<sup>1</sup>The most unusual trait common to the two suites is perhaps the lack of stopped lower courses (cf. 2.6.1).

As shown above, both S1 and S2 demonstrate the typical collection of dances, all of which have a binary design (with the exception of the two preludes).

During the period concerned, not only the ideals of harmonic treatment changed, but also the conception of form (the two being closely inter-related, of course).

Thus, the 'suite' was abandoned for other, new forms, such as the 'parthie' (or 'partita'), and the 'sonata', eventually arriving at the classical sonata of Mozart and Haydn. The above terms, however, were used in a confusing, inconsistent and interchangeable way; e.g. Weiss, pertaining to the old tradition, labels his suites 'Sonata'. Disregarding the somewhat arbitrary application of the aforementioned terms, two main groups can be discerned in solo lute music of the period: one group mainly using dance forms, and another, more 'experimental' group, using what are now considered as tempo indications, such as allegro, andante, presto and the like.<sup>1</sup> It must be borne in mind, though, that during the period in question, tempo indications also implied different moods, as pointed out by Quantz as late as in 1759.<sup>2</sup>

The following table shows the predominance in the RM:

<u>MAINLY DANCES</u>	<u>MAINLY TIME-WORDS</u>
20:13	Falckenhagen
Weiss	Hagen
Weichenberger	Straube
Lauffensteiner	Daube
Baron	Kropffgangss
	Kohaut
	Durant

Table VIII - Composers' respective form predilections.

This clearly reveals a stronger predilection for time-words among the late composers, which is of course in agreement with contemporary composers other than lutenists, e.g. the early piano sonatas by Haydn.

This shows 20:13 to be more akin to the practice of Weiss, than to that of Falckenhagen, Hagen or Straube. Moreover, another trait in common with Weiss is the number of dances in S1 and S2 - 7 and 6 respectively Weiss rarely employed fewer than 6 movements.

Yet another 'old-fashioned' trait of S1/S2 is that among the later composers in the RM, one rarely finds a lone menuet, these normally being accompanied by either a 'Menuetto alternativo' or a 'Trio'.

<sup>1</sup>This discrepancy is not of course without its exceptions; e.g. Weiss often includes an allegro and/or a presto in his suites.

<sup>2</sup>'The principal character of the Allegro is one of gaiety and liveliness, just as that of the Adagio, on the contrary, is one of tenderness and melancholy.' Quantz, p. 129.

However, one modern trait is to be found in 20:13: the recapitulation of the main theme in the Tonic, giving the movements in which it occurs a quasi-ternary design, and thus anticipating what was to become the sonata form.

A Tonic recapitulation is found in the S1 Courante (ms. 72), and a full recapitulation is found in the S2 Allemande (ms. 48).<sup>1</sup>

Reiterations of the main theme are rarely found in the music of Weichenberger or Lauffensteiner, and no full recapitulation has been found at all.<sup>2</sup>

In Weiss recantations, and even the occasional recapitulation, are found in the earlier London MS,<sup>3</sup> and become more common in the later Dresden MS.<sup>4</sup>

In Kellner's book no recantations are found, with the sole exception of the Giga,<sup>5</sup> much less recapitulations.

In Baron the occasional recapitulation has been found.<sup>6</sup> Recapitulations are ubiquitous in Hagen,<sup>7</sup> and in the sonatas of Falckenhagen,<sup>8</sup> albeit slightly less common in the partitas, where recantations predominate.<sup>9</sup>

In Straube a recapitulation is found in the *Sonata I*,<sup>10</sup> and a quasi-recapitulation in the *Sonata II*.<sup>11</sup> Recantations are the norm in Daube, and the occasional recapitulation is also encountered.<sup>12</sup>

The general tendency is, not surprisingly, that the later the composer, the more common are recantations and recapitulations. The infrequent usage of recantations and recapitulations in 20:13 is another feature reminiscent of the works of Weiss.

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<sup>1</sup>See also 2.1 - 2.1.2.

<sup>2</sup>With the proviso that not all music of the said period has been available for examination.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. Allegro, f. 19v and Bourée, f. 9v.

<sup>4</sup>e.g. Courant, p. 35; Menuet, p. 50; Presto, pp. 130-131; Bourée, p. 164.

<sup>5</sup>N. 46-47.

<sup>6</sup>e.g. Brussels MS 4087/2, *Sonata Dis*: Allemande and Capriccio; Brussels MS 4087/9, *Liuto Solo*: Bourée, f. 2r.

<sup>7</sup>*Sonata B<sup>b</sup> maj*: Allegretto; *Sonata C min*: Andante; *Sonata Dis maj*: Maestoso and Allegretto; *Sonata F maj*: Allegro and Gustoso.

<sup>8</sup>*Sonata I*: Largo, Allegro and Tempo giusto; *Sonata II*: Allegro; *Sonata III*: Moderato; *Sonata IV*: Allegro and Tempo giusto; *Sonata V*: Allegro and Vivace,

<sup>9</sup>*Partie I*: recapitulation in Entrée, recantation in Menuet; *Partie II*: recantation in Polonoise, recapitulation in Scherzo; *Partie III*: recantation in Gaiement; *Partie IV*: recantation in Polonoise.

<sup>10</sup>Vivace, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup>Allegro, p. 8.

<sup>12</sup>*Sonata A maj*: Entrée; *Sonata F maj*: Allegro.

## 2.4 THE KEYS

The keys of S1 and S2 are quite remarkable: D<sup>#</sup> minor and G<sup>#</sup> major. Naturally, these might be considered the enharmonic equivalents of E<sup>b</sup> min and A<sup>b</sup> major,<sup>1</sup> but a choice of keys having six (D<sup>#</sup> min; E<sup>b</sup> min) and eight (G<sup>#</sup> maj; four in A<sup>b</sup> maj) accidentals respectively in the key signature, on an instrument with an open-string tuning of D minor/F major still raises some questions, such as:

- What were the prevalent theoretical concerning tonalities/terminology during the period in question?
- Can the choice of keys be explained in terms of *Affekten*, i.e. the 'moods' considered to be inherent in the keys?

### 2.4.1 GENERAL THEORY AND 'AFFEKTEN'

Several theorists at the beginning of the 18th century discuss the so-called *Affekten-Lehre*, the theory concerning the expression of moods by certain keys.

First of all, however, a general difference between lutes and keyboards of the period has to be pointed out. Whereas keyboards were still tuned in mean-tone temperament in the mid-18th century,<sup>2</sup> lutes had been tuned in equal temperament from at least the mid-16th century.<sup>3</sup> This means that whilst on keyboards actually did sound different from one another due to the tuning, and consequently the unequal disposition of the intervals, this was not a problem on lutes where all keys could be used equally well.<sup>4</sup> However, on lutes the disposition of the open courses in different keys give each key its own character in another sense.

Returning to the moods, Rameau discusses the subject in 1722.<sup>5</sup> In the 24th chapter - *De la propriété des Modes et des Tons* - we read:

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<sup>1</sup>The transcription of S2 has been done in A<sup>b</sup> maj for practical reasons.

<sup>2</sup>Although the situation was beginning to change, and one finds occasional examples of equal-tuned keyboards from the early 17th century onwards.

<sup>3</sup>The gamut of temperaments is both an advanced and extensive subject, and an account hereof is beyond the scope of this paper; for those wanting to broaden their knowledge, the article in NG (s.v.) is recommended, as well as Mark Lindley's book *Lutes, Viols and Temperaments* (see Bibliography).

<sup>4</sup>Pointed out by several writers, including e.g. Alessandro Piccinini in 1623: 'Poiche con esso perfettamente si può suonare vna compositione meza voce, vna voce, e due più alte, e più basso, per hauer esso li semituoni in ogni loco'. Piccinini; p. 1, *Del Liuto, Cap. 1.* (see Bibliography); Mersenne in 1636: '...le Luth /.../ son Temperament /.../ cōsiste en 12 demitons égaux, esquels l'Octave est diuisée,...'. Mersenne; *Harmonie Universelle, Liure Second*, p. 48.

<sup>5</sup>*Traité de l'Harmonie*, Paris 1722 (see Bibliography).

Le Mode majeur pris dans l'Octave des Nottes, *Ut, Ré ou La*, convient aux Chants d'allegresse & de rejoüissance; dans l'Octave des Nottes *Fa ou Si b*, il convient aux tempêtes, aux furies & autres sujets de cette espece. Dans l'Octave des Nottes *Sol ou Mi*, il convient également aux Chants tendres & gais; le grand & le magnifique ont encore lieu dans l'Octave des Nottes *Ré, La ou Mi*. Le Mode mineur pris dans l'Octave des Nottes *Ré, Sol, Si ou Mi*, convient à la douceur & à la tendresse; dans l'Octave des Nottes *Ut ou Fa*, il convient à la tendresse & aux plaintes; dans l'Octave des Nottes *Fa ou Si b*, il convient aux Chants lugubres.<sup>1</sup>

After having listed these keys and their respective effects, he mentions the remaining keys:

'Les autres Tons ne sont pas d'un grand usage, & l'expérience est le plus sûr moyen d'en connoître la propriété.'<sup>2</sup>

As shown, neither D<sup>#</sup> min nor G<sup>#</sup> maj are accredited with any effects at all, owing to their sparse usage.

This opinion is also advocated by Mattheson in 1713.<sup>3</sup> After having listed eight minor keys (D, G, A, E, C, F, F<sup>#</sup>, B) and eight major keys (C, F, D, G, B<sup>b</sup>, D<sup>#</sup>, A, E),<sup>4</sup> he states that:

'Der effect/den die noch übrigen/.../specificirte 8. Tohne thun/ist noch wenigen bekandt/und muß der Posterität übergelassen werden/...'<sup>5</sup>

In his treatise of 1717<sup>6</sup> he touches upon the subject again:

'...der Effectus, welchen die daselbst vorhin specificirte 8. Thone/nemlich H dur, Fis dur, Gis moll, B moll, Gis dur, Cis moll, Cis dur und Dis moll, machen/noch wenigen bekannt sey/...'<sup>7</sup>

Quantz<sup>8</sup> has a more cautious attitude, when, a few decades later, he discusses the subject:

'There is no agreement as to whether certain keys, either major or minor, have particular individual effects. The

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<sup>1</sup>ibid; p. 157.

<sup>2</sup>ibid; loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup>*Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre*, Hamburg 1713.

<sup>4</sup>ibid; pp. 236-251.

<sup>5</sup>ibid; p. 251.

<sup>6</sup>*Das Beschützte Orchestre*, Hamburg 1717.

<sup>7</sup>ibid; p. 246.

<sup>8</sup>*Versuch einer Anweisung...*, Berlin 1752. See Bibliography for English translation: *On Playing the Flute*, translated by Edward R. Reilly.

ancients were of the opinion that each key had its own particular quality, and its particular emotional expression. /.../ Some still accede to the opinion of the ancients; others repudiate it, and assert that each passions can be expressed as well in one key as in the others, provided that the composer possesses sufficient capacity. /.../ As for myself, until I can be convinced of the contrary, I will trust to my experience, which assures me of the different effects of different keys'<sup>1</sup>

This agrees with the opinions of Rameau and Mattheson that keys actually have different effects, although Quantz refrains from listing their specific characteristics.

Other sources consulted, such as C. P. E. Bach<sup>2</sup> and F. W. Marpurg<sup>3</sup> do not mention any effects at all when discussing keys.

In these circumstances it is hard to explain the choice of keys used in S1 and S2 in terms of *Affekten*. Nevertheless, perhaps just the 'breaking of fresh ground' key-wise, might have been intended as an 'effect'.

Concerning the 'enharmonic keys', where alternative names are in use, Marpurg writes:

'...weil drey dur un drey moll Töne unter einer zwiefachen Vorzeichnung erscheinen, als

- |                         |                          |
|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1) H dur und Ces dur.   | 1) Gis moll und As moll. |
| 2) Fis dur und Ges dur. | 2) Dis moll and Es moll. |
| 3) Cis dur und Des dur. | 3) Ais moll und B moll.  |

Man bedient sich aber nicht der Vorzeichnung von Ces dur, As moll, und Ais moll, sondern nimmt die von H dur, gis moll und Be moll; Die Vorzeichnungen von fis dur und Ges dur und von Dis mol und Es moll sind beyde gebräuchlich. Hingegen ist Des dur gebräuchlicher als Cis dur.'<sup>4</sup>

According to Marpurg, it seems that D<sup>#</sup> min and E<sup>b</sup> min were equally common key signatures, whereas the preferred alternatives are given for the others, excepting F<sup>#</sup>/G<sup>b</sup> maj.

However, in perusing other treatises contemporary with Marpurg, one detects a clear predilection for sharp key signatures. In Beyer's instructions<sup>5</sup> D<sup>#</sup> maj is consistently used instead of E<sup>b</sup> maj.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, in Beyer's *General-Tabelle der Lauten-Stimmungen* both D<sup>#</sup> maj ('Dis dur'),

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<sup>1</sup>On Playing the Flute, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup>Versuch über die wahre Art..., Berlin 1759 (several editions). See Bibliography for English translation: *Essay On The True Art...*, translated by William J. Mitchell.

<sup>3</sup>Anleitung zum Clavierspielen..., Berlin 1765.

<sup>4</sup>ibid; p. 35.

<sup>5</sup>Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden und Lieder..., Leipzig 1760.

<sup>6</sup>ibid; plates II-V.

F<sup>#</sup> moll ('Fis moll'), and C<sup>#</sup> maj ('Cis dur') are preferred to the flat key signatures.

In his treatise of 1739,<sup>1</sup> Kellner uses sharp key signatures exclusively, never flat. Thus Kellner lists C<sup>#</sup>, D<sup>#</sup>, F<sup>#</sup> and G<sup>#</sup> major<sup>2</sup> and C<sup>#</sup>, D<sup>#</sup>, F<sup>#</sup> and G<sup>#</sup> minor.<sup>3</sup> This is repeated in the tables found in the treatise.<sup>4</sup>

The same is found in Mattheson's treatise of 1717,<sup>5</sup> where he lists - both as major and minor keys - C<sup>#</sup>, D<sup>#</sup>, F<sup>#</sup> and G<sup>#</sup>.<sup>6</sup> However, both Kellner and Mattheson actually write D<sup>#</sup> maj with three flat signs, in spite of its name.<sup>7</sup> This is also the case with G<sup>#</sup> major, which is written with four flats signs by both Kellner and Mattheson. All the other aforementioned keys are written according to modern practice.

Hence a clear bias in favour of sharp key names is shown,<sup>8</sup> at least in the 'German' hemisphere of Europe, although Marpurg proves that flat key names were used.

#### 2.4.2 KEYS IN TABLATURES

When discussing keys in lute music it is important to bear in mind that keys are not expressively indicated in tablatures as they are in staff notation, since the tablature merely indicates the positions of the fingers on the fretboard. 'Keys' are indicated in lute tablatures by giving the *accord* (= tuning) of the given piece, i.e. how to adjust the basses to suit the tonality employed; this accord was usually written on the first stave of the piece.

An interesting feature of 20:13 is that the bass courses adjustments are contrary to the normal practice, i.e. bass courses were habitually raised in sharp keys and lowered in flat keys; e.g. in B<sup>b</sup> maj, the 9th course's E natural was lowered to E flat, and in D maj the F and C naturals would have been raised to F<sup>#</sup> and C<sup>#</sup>. In 20:13, however, instead of raising the 10th course's natural D to obtain a D<sup>#</sup> in S1, the latter is obtained by lowering the 9th course's E natural. This method is employed consistently in S1 and S2. When neither a key name nor a tuning is given, one can only note the overall appearance of the tablature (or indeed play it through) to establish the key, a method which would surely have meant

<sup>1</sup>Trogen Underrättelse Uti General-Basen..., Stockholm 1739.

<sup>2</sup>ibid; p. 31.

<sup>3</sup>ibid; p. 34.

<sup>4</sup>ibid; pp.54-55.

<sup>5</sup>Das Beschützte Orchestre..., Hamburg 1717.

<sup>6</sup>ibid; tables at the end of the book.

<sup>7</sup>Quantz writes that 'E flat must be a comma higher than D sharp.' *On Playing the Flute*, p.46.

<sup>8</sup>This bias might be due to older organ tablature practice; however, this is beyond the scope of this paper.

that S1 would have been described as E<sup>b</sup> minor, in order to simplify the notation of the Siciliana, more easily written in E<sup>b</sup> minor than in D<sup>#</sup> minor; S2 would surely have been interpreted as Ab major<sup>1</sup> since this is suggested by the adjustment of the basses.

#### 2.4.3 OTHER LUTE COMPOSERS' EXPLOITATION OF KEYS

As mentioned above, establishing keys for intabulated pieces is a problematic exercise; however, there is little reason to believe that a suite apparently in F maj would have been labelled as E<sup>#</sup> maj. Examination of the RM reveals that the most popular keys are those closely related to the D min/F maj tuning, as one might expect. There are however a few interesting exceptions, which will be examined in more detail.

In the music of Hagen, Weiss and Baron we encounter 'Sonatas' in keys explicitly described as D<sup>#</sup> maj. However, this could probably be a result of the general predilection for sharp key names discussed in 2.4.1. It is also worthy of note that BS 5362 contains 8 pieces in D<sup>#</sup> maj.

A far more interesting piece is to be found in Falckenhagen's output; he has composed a Prelude - *Preludio Nel quale contenuti tutti i Tuoni Musicale* - modulating through all the keys, which is also, as the foreword to the Trekel facsimile edition<sup>2</sup> tells us: '...das unfangsreichste Werk Falckenhagens.' The names of the keys are given in the piece as they appear, and it is interesting to note that no flat key names occur. The keys are here listed in the order in which they appear in the piece:<sup>3</sup>

'C.mol.i.  
G,mol.2.  
B.dur.3.  
B.mol.4.  
Dis.mol.5.  
Dis dur.6.  
F.mol.7.  
F.dur.8.  
D.mol.9.  
A.mol.10.  
A.dur.11.  
Fis.mol.12.  
Fis.dur.13.  
Cis.dur.14.  
Gis.dur.15  
Cis.mol.16.  
Gis.mol.17.

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<sup>1</sup>Which is also the case concerning the transcription, as previously mentioned.

<sup>2</sup>Domning; foreword to the Trekel edition, Hamburg 1981. (See Bibliography)

<sup>3</sup>NOTA BENE: C maj is missing, which is probably due to the fact that the piece begins in and returns to C min, which is considered to be the basic key of the piece.

H.dur.18.  
H.mol.19.  
E.dur.20.  
E.mol.21.  
D.dur.22.  
G.dur.23.  
C.mol.24.'

As shown, both D<sup>#</sup> min and G<sup>#</sup> maj are employed by Falckenhagen. However, this piece is the only one which employs both keys, and they appear for relatively short passages which do not use the basses, since these are tuned for C minor.

Thus, it is clear that 20:13 presents us with an exceptional choice of keys which cannot be fully explained either in terms of *Affekten*, or by a general predilection for sharp key names.

## 2.5 SIGNS AND ORNAMENTS

The following paragraphs will study the usage of the signs and symbols employed in 20:13 which convey information such as graces, not otherwise conveyed by the tablature.

'Signs' are defined here as features in the tablature which are neither tablature letters, nor symbols for graces' i.e. signs indicating' for example' whether a chord is to be played broken, a note is to be sustained and the like.

'Ornaments' are defined as signs for embellishments, such as trills, appoggiaturas and the like.

As Diana Poulton pointed out in the NG article<sup>1</sup> signs and ornaments were never standardized, and quite often a usage is specific to one composer.

Instructions and tables originating from the 'German' part of Europe after 1695<sup>2</sup> will be consulted, in order to establish the meaning of the signs encountered. These are:

- i) Philipp Franz Le Sage de Richée's instructions of 1695.<sup>3</sup>
- ii) Wenzel Ludwig von Radolt's instructions of 1701.<sup>4</sup>
- iii) Ernst Gottlieb Baron's treatise of 1727.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>NG; article: 'Lute', § 6: Ornamentation.

<sup>2</sup>Instructions are rare, hence the choice of an early cut-off date.

<sup>3</sup>Cabinet der Lauten, Breslau 1695.

<sup>4</sup>Die Aller Treuste Verschwigneste..., Vienna 1701.

<sup>5</sup>Untersuchung des Instrument der Lauten, Nuremberg 1727.

- iv) The ornaments tables in the Nuremberg Germanisches Museum MS 274 (*olim* Mus. Ms. 25461), of c.1750-60).
- v) Johann Christian Beyer's instructions of 1760.<sup>1</sup>

The signs and ornaments of 20:13 will be compared to those of the RM in order to detect variations and similarities of occurrence and application. This will be done with reference to composers in the RM, although a grouping by scribes would perhaps have been more appropriate, since sources are rarely autograph. However, some scribes are hard to distinguish from each other, and although careful studies have been made of, for example, scribes in the works of Weiss, this is not the case with all of the composers of the RM, and naturally this is too large a task to be undertaken here. Consequently, no note will be made as to whether or not a MS contains a composer's autograph, a known scribe other than the composer or an unidentified scribe. However, it is important to point out that no hand identical to the one in 20:13 has been encountered.

As regards the following description of the ornaments and signs, it must be noted that their exact methods of execution have not been conclusively established, and more research is necessary in this field.

Sources of rare ornaments in the RM will be specified exactly, but those containing standard signs will not be listed in full for reasons of space.

### 2.5.1 THE ARPEGGIO

In the S1 Prelude there are eight initial six-part chords. It is impossible to pluck all of these simultaneously, since only three fingers and the thumb of the right hand are employed in standard lute technique.

A technical device to overcome this, frequently used during the heyday of the French baroque lute, was the strumming of chords, which also produces a very special sound, which was much appreciated by the French. However, this method was more or less abandoned at the turn of the century when the centre of lute playing moved from France to Bohemia and what is now Germany. The Bohemians and Germans favoured the arpeggiation of chords, and consequently, of the sources consulted above, only Radolt includes a sign for strumming.

Beyer has a sign for arpeggio playing, which is a dash below the chord in question.<sup>2</sup> When the bass is played on one of the lower courses, though, the tablature letter will take the space on the paper where the dash would otherwise be found; this may account for the absence of this sign in 20:13.

Baron mentions the arpeggio when discussing the performances of preludes and fantasias. The examples in Baron are all four-part chordal

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<sup>1</sup>Herrn Professor Gellerts..., Leipzig 1760.

<sup>2</sup>Beyer; plate VII.

passages,<sup>1</sup> idiomatically written and intended as a basis for extemporisation, and cannot really be compared to the opening of the S1 Prelude.

In RM, one encounters four main methods of indicating arpeggios: first, no signs whatsoever, allowing the player to devise his own arpeggiation; second, the dash found in Beyer; third, the word 'arpeggio'<sup>2</sup> written into the text, and fourth, the arpeggios 'realised', i.e. written out in full. The following table shows the main methods favoured by composers in RM.

<u>COMPOSER</u>	<u>NO SIGN</u>	<u>A DASH</u>	<u>'ARPEGGIO'</u>	<u>REALISED</u>
20:13 .....	X.....			(X)
Baron.....	X.....			X
Weichenberger....	X.....			(X)
Kellner.....			X	
Weiss.....			(X).....	X
Hagen.....			(X)	
Fackenhagen.....			X	
Beyer .....	X			
Daube.....				X

Table IX - methods indicating arpeggios.

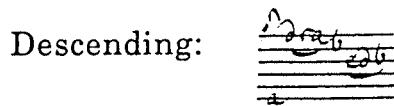
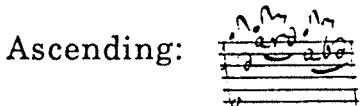
In the music of Straube there is nothing that indicate that arpeggios should be added. Finally mention must be made of what Beyer calls *Sincopierte Noten*,<sup>3</sup> which is signed thus:

Since Beyer gives it a specific sign, and thus makes a distinction between it and the arpeggio, it is not to be confused with the arpeggio proper, and the word 'syncopated' hints at what the difference might be.

## 2.5.2 THE SLUR

During the Renaissance every note of a run or scale was plucked by the right hand. However, a new technical device emerged at the beginning of the 17th century; this was the legato playing of runs, i.e. plucking only the first note on each course, and playing subsequent notes with the left hand only. This device was used initially in music for the chittarone, and became the normal way of playing scales on the lute during the baroque.

In 20:13 the slur is signed thus:

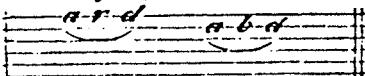


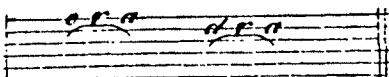
<sup>1</sup>Study of the Lute; pp. 150-153.

<sup>2</sup>Or 'arp.', 'ap.', 'harp.' et cetera.

<sup>3</sup>Beyer; plate VII.

As shown, the same sign is used for both ascending and descending slurs, a usage which corresponds with the earlier 17th century practice rather than the contemporary habit of using separate signs for ascending and descending slurs. Beyer, Baron and MS 274 agree on the slur:

Ascending: 

Descending: 

In Radolt's instructions, no slur sign is found, but his music shows that he adheres to the earlier tradition using one sign only. In RM, only Kellner and Weiss<sup>1</sup> use just one sign to indicate slurred notes; all other composers - disregarding a few odd scribes appearing at various places in RM - employ separate signs to indicate ascending/descending slurs, i.e. in agreement with Beyer, Baron and MS 274.

It might be appropriate to point out that the slur is of course impossible to distinguish from the accented appoggiatura,<sup>2</sup> and in repeated passages, they are occasionally used interchangeably.

### 2.5.2.1 THE DOUBLE SLUR

In the S1 Siciliana we encounter a sign which can only be interpreted as a double slur - or *Doppelter Abzug /Einfall* as Beyer calls it<sup>3</sup> - indicated thus: 

In Beyer it is indicated thus:

Ascending: 

Descending: 

In the S1 Siciliana we find one instance of ascending double slurs (ms. 9), and two instances of descending double slurs (mss. 13-14). These are all indicated by a single slur sign only, which could possibly refer to only one of the notes above the sign; however, this does not make musical sense,

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<sup>1</sup>Except Moscow MS, where  is consistently used for descending slurs. In her article "Moskovskij Manuskript" Leopolda Silviusa Vaisa ("Московский манускрипт" Леопольда Сильвиуса Вайса), Olga Arnautova shows that the paper of Moscow MS was manufactured in Russia after 1760, and consequently Moscow MS cannot have been written under Weiss's supervision (see Bibliography). Thanks to Tatiana Baranova for providing the author with a copy of the article.

<sup>2</sup>See 2.5.4.

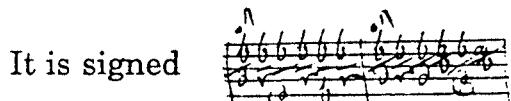
<sup>3</sup>Beyer; plate VII.

and judging from the context -long passages of consecutive thirds - it is more likely that both of the notes are to be played slurred.

In RM, only Daube and Kohaut use one slur sign for the double slur; all other composers use two slur signs.

### 2.5.3 THE SEPARÉE

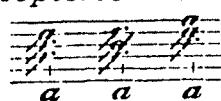
The *Separée* sign is used frequently throughout 20:13. The most striking place, though, is in the final measures of each strain of the S1 Siciliana.



Here - as with the slur/appoggiatura - the employment of the sign is somewhat inconsistent; at certain places in the text the sign is used, whereas at other places the execution is written out in the tablature. This can be seen in the measures prefixing the antepenultimate measures of each of the strains in the S1 Siciliana; in the first strain no sign is used, in the second strain the sign is used, giving the same ringing result.

The *separée* sign is found in Beyer as well as in MS 274. Beyer refers to it by its French name and its German translation, *gebrochen*. In MS 274, it is only called *gebrochen*.

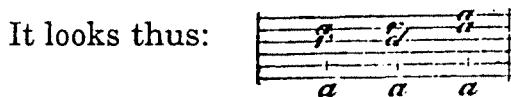
The *separée* sign is distinct from what is called *Sincopierte Noten* in Beyer, and *Sincupirt* in MS 274;<sup>1</sup> these are signed thus:



The *separée* sign is found in all music of RM, with the exception of Kellner and Hagen; however, the latter makes frequent use of the Beyer sign *Sincopierte Noten*.

#### 2.5.3.1 THE ZUGLEICH GESCHLAGEN

This is the sign most frequently found in lute tablatures, irrespective of the period, and is related to the *separée* sign above. This sign - called *zugleich geschlagen* by Beyer - indicates the opposite, i.e. that two (or more) notes are to be played together.



This sign had two main functions; first, in polyphonic and chordal music of all periods, chords were undoubtedly played broken in an *ex tempore*

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<sup>1</sup>cf. 2.5.1.

manner, and the composer had to make his intentions clear lest chords (or two voices) intended to be played together, be played broken. Second, the vertical dash served as a visual aid to the performer, especially in *inmesurée* pieces such as the preludes of 20:13.

The sign is found in all sources - instructions and music alike.

#### 2.5.4 THE APPOGGIATURA

The first ornament signs to appear in 20:13 are the two signs denoting appoggiaturas, whereof one indicates the appoggiatura from above, and the other the appoggiatura from below. In 20:13 its symbols are:

The upper appoggiatura: δ)

The lower appoggiatura: δ

These signs refer to both accented and unaccented appoggiaturas.<sup>1</sup>

The sources consulted vary in their usage of the signs. Beyer and MS 274 agree with regard to both signs and names - in German the upper appoggiatura is valued *Abzug*, the lower *Einfall*.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the signs are said to be tantamount to ordinary slurred notes (ascending and descending).

Baron has no sign for appoggiaturas, but writes them all as slurred notes. Furthermore, the sign that denotes the upper appoggiatura in 20:13, Beyer and MS 274, is used by Baron for the trill, which adheres to the earlier French tradition whereby δ) was used both for the upper appoggiatura and trills, and even 'all types of ornaments', as pointed out by Mersenne in 1636.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>For detailed information concerning the difference between the two, see Quantz; p. 90 and pp. 92-95 and Bach; p. 80.

<sup>2</sup>In the instructions found in Warsaw MS Mf. 2004, the names are respectively *Abzug von oben* and *Abzug von unten*.

<sup>3</sup>'Or celuy qui est formé en cette façon ↗ s'appele vulgairement *tremblement*, & la plus part ne se seruent point d'autre charactere pour en exprimer toutes les différentes especes;...' Mersenne; *Harmonie Universelle, Livre Second des Instruments*, p. 79 (vol. 3 in the facsimile edition; see Bibliography).

The table below shows the main usage in RM.

COMPOSER	(δ	‿δ	δ)	slurs	δ) = trill
20:13 .....	X .....	X			
Baron.....			X .....	X	X .....
Weiss.....	X .....	X .....	X .....		X .....
Lauffensteiner.....	X .....	X .....	X .....		X .....
Kellner.....		X .....	X .....		X .....
Hagen.....	X .....		X .....		
Falckenhagen.....	X .....		X .....		X .....
Straube.....		X .....	X .....		
Daube.....		X .....	X .....		X .....

Table X - Appoggiatura sign usage.

In the cases where δ) probably refers to both an upper appoggiatura and a trill, this conclusion was drawn from the context. In some places there is no time to execute anything other than an appoggiatura, and if the same source has no specific sign for a trill, it is quite reasonable to posit that the same sign also indicates the trill. This is further implied when the signs appears on the dotted antepenultimate note of melodic phrases or musical strains.

In the *empfindsam* style, appoggiaturas are often chromatic; in order to indicate these chromatic auxiliary notes, the composers writing in this style - Hagen, Straube and Falckenhagen - used small tablature letters.

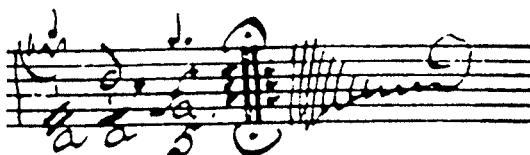


Fig. 2.39 - Hagen: chromatic appoggituras.

## 2.5.5 THE TRILL

In 20 :13 the trill is indicated thus: δx

As mentioned in 2.5.4, a factor in the consideration of x as a trill sign is its occurrence on the antepenultimate (or penultimate) note of a melodic phrase (depending on whether there are one or two auxiliary notes).

The usage of the signs in RM is somewhat ambivalent. As mentioned in 2.5.4 the sign δ) can, apart from indicating an upper appoggiatura, also refer to the trill in music lacking a specific sign for shakes. However, in

most music of the period  $\delta x$  indicates some kind of trill, but according to Baron this sign refers to a vibrato. Baron differentiates between two vibratos, one that is produced by pulling the string lengthways to and from the nut and bridge of the instrument; this is favoured in high positions and is, according to Baron, indicated thus:  $h\#$ . The other vibrato is produced by pulling the string along the fret and is best used in first position playing; it is indicated thus:  $\delta x$ . He also mentions that the first of these is performed with a loose hand, the second with the thumb of the left hand still kept on the back of the neck as a support.<sup>1</sup>

Notably, the latter of these signs is the same as the trill sign in 20:13. In the other sources of RM, though,  $h\#$  is used to indicate both types of vibratos. The vibrato was frequently employed by composers of this period, and it is striking to find that it is not exploited in 20:13, an inevitable conclusion since it appears on open courses, where a vibrato cannot be executed. The vibrato is frequently used by Lauffensteiner, Weichenberger, Hagen, Straube and Falckenhagen.

#### 2.5.5.1 THE EXTENDED TRILL

In the final measures of the first strain of the S1 Gigue we encounter the extended trill, indicated thus:  $b x x x x$

It is to be performed with the left hand only, after the initial pluck has been made by the right hand, without any iteration by the right hand.

Both Beyer and MS 274 agree with 20:13 concerning its indication - in Beyer it is called *Fortgehendes Trillo* - and the same usage is to be found in Hagen, Kohaut and Falckenhagen. In Weiss, Kropffgangs and Straube, the extended trill is indicated in another way that is coherent with the sign used for the ordinary trill; the extended trill is here indicated thus:

$\delta ) ) ) )$

The extended trill is only occasionally found in other sources, and consequently a certain affinity with Hagen and Falckenhagen can be detected.

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<sup>1</sup>Baron: pp. 142-143 (in the translation).

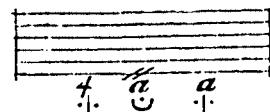
## 2.5.6 THE GEBROCHNER BASS

The so-called *Gebrochner Bass* is included in Beyer, albeit in a slightly different guise;

In 20:13 it looks thus:



In Beyer it looks thus:



It is also found in MS 274, exactly as in Beyer.

Since it appears in the bass, there are but a few alternatives as to its actual meaning. It could indicate what was previously designated *etoufement*, mentioned by among others Radolt,<sup>1</sup> which indicates that the note should be damped immediately after having been plucked, i.e. a form of staccato. This hypothesis is supported by the way in which it is indicated in Beyer.

As it appears twice with a fermata sign in between, this seems to indicate that the middle note is to be sustained, which differentiates it (?) from the two other notes with the *Gebrochner Bass* signs, and 'broken bass' would consequently mean 'broken bass line'. This method of execution works quite well in the S2 Allemande (mss. 11-18, 38 and 41-47). When the sign appears in the music in Beyer, it is on words prefixed with commas (in the lyrics), which could also be taken as supporting this interpretation.

There is, however, a more likely interpretation of the sign.

The name itself - *Gebrochner Bass* - seems to indicate, having the same wording as the German translation of *separée*,<sup>2</sup> that the division of the two strings of the course concerned is what is actually meant, i.e. that the two strings are to be played one after the other. This is also suggested by the way the actual appearance, with two dots (= strings?) separated by a vertical dash. The separation of the two strings of a course is a device used by for example Mouton<sup>3</sup> and Radolt. It is indicated in different ways by the two:

Mouton:

Radolt:

<sup>1</sup>Radolt, however, only uses the *etoufement* in the upper register of the lute, and indicates it thus:

<sup>2</sup>In Beyer, the *separée* is called 'separée oder gebrochen'; Beyer; plate VII.

<sup>3</sup>Charles Mouton; *Pieces de luth...*, Paris 1699 (see Sources - Printed).

Whereas Mouton uses letters of different sizes, Radolt uses capitals and lower-case letters to indicate exactly where the octave string is to be played. If the signs in 20:13 and Beyer mean a splitting-up of the string, one can assume that the separation is done in a similar way to the ordinary *separée* (cf. 2.5.3), i.e. each of the notes taking half the time-value of notes divisible by two. Judging from the musical context in which it appears in Beyer - rather than the lyrics - this seems a plausible interpretation. When this sign appears in the *Erstes Lied*<sup>1</sup> it is on the quarter notes, leaving the time required for the separation of the string. The second time it occurs, it is on the only quarter note in a long passage otherwise comprised exclusively of eighth notes. This suggests that it is to be performed in the same way as the *separée*, i.e. a quarter note is turned into two eighth notes.

In 20:13, however, it appears on dotted quarter notes, and it is hard to tell whether the octave should be given one-third or two-thirds of the time available. In the RM, the sign - identical to that in Beyer and MS 274 - is found in *Rosani* MS,<sup>2</sup> which, like Beyer and MS 274, is also a Leipzig source. The sign is found in a *Sonata* by Kropffgansss:



Fig. 2.40 - Kropffgansss: *Sonata I ma*; Vivace, Rosani MS; pp. 26-27.

Rosani MS is probably a later source than Beyer, since some of the songs in Beyer are copied out in detail in Rosani MS.<sup>3</sup> Similar signs are also found in Harrach MS;<sup>4</sup> in Baron the following passage is encountered:



Fig. 2.41 - Baron: Allemande.

<sup>1</sup>Beyer; p.1

<sup>2</sup>Leipzig MS.III.11.64.

<sup>3</sup>The songs in Beyer are in turn transcriptions/intabulations of songs appearing in the collection *Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden und Lieder, nebst...* (see Bibliography), set to music by anonymous composers and published by Breitkopf at Leipzig in 1759. For further information, see the article by the author and Thiel, Mathias (see Bibliography: Eklund, Robert and/or Thiel, Mathias).

<sup>4</sup>Harrach MS; vol. 13, f. 1v: *Suite à 2 luth par Baron*.

In Kühnll yet another sign is found:<sup>1</sup>

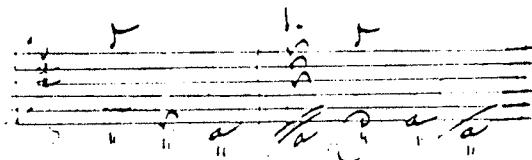


Fig. 2.42 - Kühnll: Sarabande.

The above signs probably also refer to a *Gebrochner Bass* execution, a conclusion drawn because of the absence of alternatives.

The *Gebrochner Bass* has not been found elsewhere, and it is intriguing that all sources in which it appears date from the period 1750 to around 1760, which implies a late date for 20:13.

## 2.5.7 REST SIGNS

Explicit rest signs are rare in tablatures, for several reasons; largely because the rapidly fading notes produce by the lute make rest signs superfluous; the opposite problem of how to sustain voices is mentioned in several instruction.<sup>2</sup> Another reason is that 'rests' can be indicated by the time symbols ordinarily present above the tablature stave, something which is found in the S1 Siciliana:



Fig. 2.43 - S1 Siciliana, ms. 23.

This, however, does not explicitly call for a rest, i.e. silence, but rather a sustained note.

Rest signs in lute music appear most commonly in the music of the galant composers, putting more emphasis on the performance of music employing shorter, more segregated units. Consequently, it is not surprising that the only rest signs found in 20:13 occur in the S1 Siciliana:

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<sup>1</sup>ibid; vol. 14, f. 3: *Suite avec Le Luth Violino et Basso Sig.<sup>re</sup> Kühnll.*

<sup>2</sup>E.g. in the Capirola Lute Book (c.1517); by Newsiedler in 1536 and by Piccinini in 1623 (see Sources - Printed).

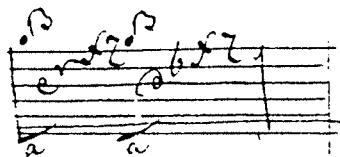


Fig. 2.44 - S1 Siciliana; ms 15.

Rest signs are found in most music in the RM, but are most frequent in the works of Falckenhagen, Hagen and Straube.

## 2.6 TECHNICAL TRAITS AND IDIOMS

Each period in the history of lute music has had its specific characteristics concerning the actual 'treatment' of the instrument; hence the technique one has to use to play Italian 16th century music differs in many respects from that required for French 17th century or German 18th century lute music. These changes are naturally caused by general changes in taste and the fact that the instrument itself evolved.

This paragraph will deal with devices specific to the period concerned, and the extent to which idiomatic treatment can be found in 20:13. Idiomatic treatment is defined as including features that cannot be performed on another instrument without losing some effect of significant musical importance, or features of a lesser musical significance, which use technical devices 'tailor-made' for the lute, thus facilitating a given passage in a conspicuous manner.

### 2.6.1 GENERAL EXPLOITATION OF THE FRET BOARD

A striking feature of 20:13 is the absence of any fretted notes below the 6th course. Naturally, it is possible to find the occasional movement in the RM with only 6 courses stopped, but not a single entire suite or sonata has been found that does not stop at least the 7th course, much less two long suites and an intabulation (i.e. 20:13). Indeed, in the RM stopped 8th, 9th or even 10th courses are often found.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that only six courses are stopped in 20:13 is a quaint feature, which is all the more puzzling considering the chromaticism in S1. One could surmise that the composer of 20:13 had an instrument with only six courses on the fretboard, the other seven (courses 7-13) running alongside and off the neck. This, however, must remain mere speculation.

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<sup>1</sup>The 10th course is stopped in Weiss: *Sonate IV: Allegro*, ms. 106, p. 75 in *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik* (see Sources - Printed).

## 2.6.2 SCALES AND RUNS

During the Renaissance, runs in lute music were almost always played in obeyance of two unwritten rules: first, rather than playing in one position, employing two or more courses, one changed the position of the left hand, employing only one course (this is of course true only in high registers). This implies running up and down the first course. Second, descending scales are played in course-order, i.e. one goes from the first course to the second, the third and so forth. In ascending scales the reverse is true.

During the baroque a new technique was developed which combined high left hand position with the playing of all the appropriate open courses in scale passages, both ascending and descending. This artifice allows adjacent tones to ring at the same time, and produces a very special, 'bell-like' sound, referred to as *campanella* playing.

This kind of idiomatic treatment is found in several places in 20:13, e.g. in the S1 Prelude, in the S2 Courante (mss. 13 and 32) and in the S2 Giga (mss. 64-71) where a high left hand position is combined with open strings in order to produce diatonic passages.

However, although these passages show a profound understanding of the instrument, there are some passages of a less idiomatic nature. In mss. 4-6 of the S1 Siciliana we find three very rapid slurs. Slurs are normal baroque practice; however, these run up and down the first course, necessitating fast changes of hand position, which are more typical of the Renaissance lute. The practice of using just one arc to indicate that a passage is to be slurred throughout is common (e.g. in Kellner), but these runs rarely - if ever - imply changes of hand position.

Another extraordinary feature concerns odd numbers of notes slurred together. The run in ms. 4 is given the value of an eighth note, and includes nine notes. In ms. 5 eleven notes are to be played in the time of two quarter notes, as are thirteen notes in ms. 6. This feature is also encountered in the S1 Allemande (ms. 20), although other interpretations are possible, if one assumes that some rhythm signs are missing. This run is not slurred.<sup>1</sup>

In RM non-metrical passages are found (aside from *preludes in-mesurées*) in Weiss.<sup>2</sup>

Where runs are found elsewhere in 20:13 (e.g. in the S1 Courante, mss. 32-34, or in the Affettuoso) they adhere to the normal baroque practice.

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<sup>1</sup>One could of course assume that the scribe has forgotten to put the slur in, but since one slur is actually found in the middle of this passage, it seems more likely that the composer has intended an un-slurred execution of this run.

<sup>2</sup>Weiss: *Das Erbe Deutscher Musik*; Sarabande B<sup>b</sup> maj, p. 105; Capriccio, p. 111; Adagio, p. 43.

### 2.6.3 'PULL-OFF' AND 'HAMMER-ON' TECHNIQUES

A technical device typical of the baroque period is the 'pull-off/hammer-on'-technique, mainly represented by the galant lutenist Falckenhagen. This technique means that the left hand alone plays passages besides slurs. Occasionally a combination of pull-off and hammer-on techniques is applied.

In the S1 Courante (mss. 61-65) all notes but the first of each measure are to be played with the left hand only. This requires great control and strength, and this passage is clearly the work of a virtuoso lutenist, as well as being extremely idiomatic; the effect here is completely lost in the keyboard transcription.

It is interesting to note that in ms. 61 it seems that the scribe initially slurred just the first four notes, later amending this to include all notes of the measure; in mss. 62 and 63 the arcs cover the entire measures. In mss. 64 and 65 no symbols are found, but it is obvious that they are to be performed like the previous measures. From ms. 66 onwards it is no longer possible to maintain this technique since the bottom note of the motif is no longer an open course, and the arcs are adjusted accordingly. As mentioned above, this artifice is mainly found in Falckenhagen. In Falckenhagen's *Sonata I* he uses a similar technique in the first movement, the Largo:

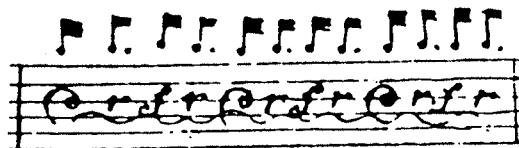


Fig. 2.45 - Falckenhagen: Sonata I; Largo, ms. 40.

As can be seen, Falckenhagen does not use it exclusively on open strings; in the first example the left hand index finger is kept in the second fret (tablature letter *c*). In the Largo of the *Sonata V* there is a passage reminiscent of the S1 Courante:

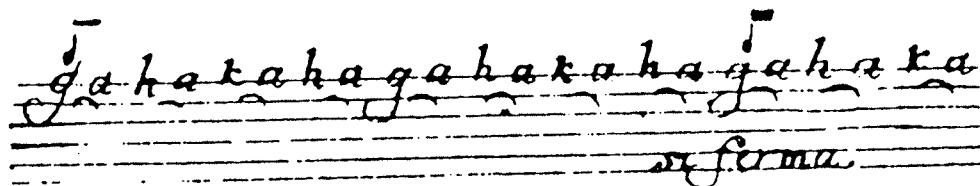


Fig. 2.46 - Falckenhagen: Sonata V; Largo, first strain.

The plucking of every second note distinguishes this passage from the corresponding one in the S1 Courante, and renders it much easier to play. Falckenhagen's passage is also technically straightforward, though the effect is very striking.

Similar passages are also found in the '24-key Prelude' by Falckenhagen (cf. 2.4.3):



Fig. 2.47 - Falckenhagen: 24-key Prelude, G minor.

These kinds of technical devices have not been found in the music of the other composers in RM, and hence a striking similarity between 20:13 and Falckenhagen can be noted.

### 3 THE AFFETTUOSO

The last piece in 20:13, on folio 4r, is titled *Affettuoso del Sigre Chelleri*. However knowing the identity of a composer raises problems of a different kind; *viz.* whether Chelleri might have composed S1 and S2, and whether he might be connected with 20:13 in any other way.

However, before these questions are discussed, a closer examination of the piece is appropriate.

#### 3.1 STYLE

The Affettuoso is a 30-measure piece of binary design; its first strain is 10 measures long, the second 20. The piece is in F maj (although, as will be shown later, the original key is most likely D maj).

The actual term 'affettuoso' is described by Sebastian de Brossard in 1703:

'AFFETTO, ou *con Affetto*. C'est le même que *Affettuosò* ou *Affettuosamente*, qui veut dire, *AFFECTUESEMENT, tendrement, &c.* & par consequent presque toujours *Lentement*'.<sup>1</sup>

A few decades later, Quantz groups the affettuoso with the Cantabile, Arioso, Andante, Largo and points out that it must be distinguished from a 'pathetic Adagio'.<sup>2</sup>

The style of the Affettuoso found in 20:13 is quite different from that of S1/S2, something which endorses the assumption that the piece is an intabulation of another composer's work, in this case: Chelleri.

Several of the 'trademarks' representative of the 'modernist' - or 'galant' - school (cf. 2.1) are immediately apparent: a slow harmonic rhythm, a thin, two-part texture, shorter and more easily perceived melodic phrases, simpler harmonic treatment and a less ambiguous usage as regards the functions of the chords and their respective role within the tonalities. One also finds the persistent sixteenth-note triplets and frequent syncopations, both of which are characteristic galant traits.

The Affettuoso is clearly a modern work (the more so since it seems to have been composed during the period 1732-34, as will be shown in the following paragraphs).

The harmony stresses more the Tonic-Dominant polarization, and the ostinato pedal is used in a way which simplifies the understanding of the harmonic progression, rather than obscuring it, as is most often the case

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<sup>1</sup>de Brossard: *Dictionnaire de musique*, s.v., Paris 1703.

<sup>2</sup>Quantz, p. 164-165.

when pedals occur in S1 and S2. This is simply achieved by a frequent use of root-position chords:

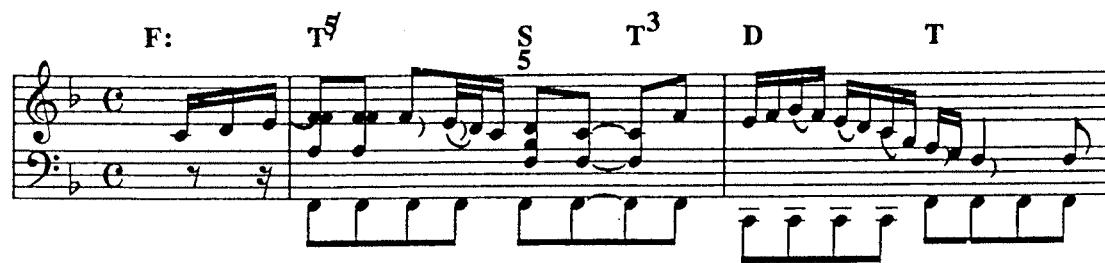


Fig. 3.1 - Affettuoso: ms. 1-2.

When the piece modulates into a new key in ms. 7, it is the Dominant maj, in which key the first strain ends. The second strain recants the main theme in the Dominant maj, modulates into D min (relative min/Tp) in ms. 14, returns to F maj in ms. 18, where the main theme is given a recapitulation. In ms. 21 a new motif is introduced, emphasized by the piece's only excursion into the Subdominant B<sup>b</sup> maj (S), a spell of merely one measure's duration. The newly introduced triplet motif is quickly transposed to the Dominant maj.

In ms. 25 an added 7th gives a strong Dominant feel to the C maj (Tonic) chord, which leads back to F maj in ms. 26.



Fig. 3.2 - Affettuoso: mss. 25-26.

As shown, the harmonic progression is clear and easily perceived. The functions of the chords are clarified by the frequent use of root-position chords, often over a persistent bass line. Four keys are employed:

KEY RELATIONSHIP (to F maj)

F maj	Tonic maj (T)
C maj	Dominant maj (D)
D min	Relative min (Tp)
B <sup>b</sup> maj	Subdominant maj (S)

Table XI - Key relationships.

The last of these - as mentioned above - is employed for only one measure, in connection with the introduction of a new motif.

The melodic phrases are short, clear-cut and 'cantabile'. Stepwise motion is used in established keys, whereas wider intervals are employed whilst preparing modulation (e.g. mss. 6/7).

The treatment of rhythm, as with the melody, deals with small, easily recognized units repeated over and over again.

Hence the Affettuoso is to be regarded as a typical modern, galant piece.

### 3.2 FORTUNATO CHELLERI

Chelleri's life and activities as a composer are well documented; he is listed in all major encyclopaediae, and furthermore there exists a dissertation on Chelleri by Wilhelm Eckert.<sup>1</sup> This is regrettably unpublished, though, and the author has been unable to obtain a copy of it. However, Krister Hede's paper *Fortunato Chelleri och Sverige*,<sup>2</sup> whose main emphasis is on Chelleri's connection with Sweden has been of great help. Hede also provides a full listing of all works by Chelleri preserved in Sweden.

The following short biography of Chelleri and details of his Swedish connections is mainly based upon Hede.

#### 3.2.1 BIOGRAPHY

Fortunato Chelleri was born around 1688 in Parma, Italy, though neither the place nor the year can be established with any degree of certainty. Chelleri's father was German, but migrated to Italy at a fairly early age, and once there italianised his name - Keller - to Chelleri. Chelleri's father died when Chelleri was quite young and he was therefore raised by his uncle Francesco Maria Bazzani, who, apart from being a church musician, was also an opera and oratorio composer of renown.

During the first decade of the 18th century Chelleri distinguished himself as an opera composer in northern Italy, and after a visit to Spain he was called to the Würzburg court by the 'Fürstbischof Franz von Schönborn, where he was appointed conductor of the chamber orchestra. After von Schönborn's death in 1724, Chelleri went to the court of the landgrave Carl of Hessen-Kassel in 1725, where he held a similar post. Landgrave Carl was a devoted lover of music and played the viola da gamba.

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<sup>1</sup>Eckert: *Fortunato Chelleri, sein Leben und Wirken...*, Heidelberg 1922.

<sup>2</sup>Hede: *Fortunato Chelleri och Sverige*, Uppsala University 1976.

Chelleri probably made his first Swedish contacts here since the Swedish King, Friedrich (Fredrik) I, was the successor of landgrave Carl. In 1726 Chelleri's opera *L'innocenza difesa* was performed on the birthday of the Swedish Queen Ulrika Eleonora. That year Chelleri went to London where he was made a member of the Royal Academy of Music, which included George Frederick Handel amongst its most prolific members.

Chelleri returned to Germany after almost a year in London. Little is known of his life after this point; his journey to Sweden is also shrouded in obscurity.

There are no references to Chelleri as a lutenist, although many praise his skill at the keyboard.

### 3.2.2 CHELLERI IN SWEDEN

The first article on Chelleri is in Gerber's encyclopaedia of 1790.<sup>1</sup> Hede remarks that this article seems to have been copied in most of the later works.<sup>2</sup> Gerber says:

'Der folgende Landgraf von Hessen-Kassel, welcher zugleich König von Schweden war, /.../ berief ihn auch 1731 nach Stockholm. Da aber das dasige Klima seiner Gesundheit nicht zuträglich war; so erbat er sich die Erlaubnis, wiederum zurück nach Cassel gehen zu dürfen: welche er auch 1734 auf die gnädigste Weise, nebst dem Character und Titel eines Hofrats, erhielt.'<sup>3</sup>

This information is repeated elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> but a few works give additional information concerning Chelleri's years in Sweden; for instance Norlind who gives the years 1729-1731.<sup>5</sup> However, Norlind gives no clue as to the source of this information.

In order to confirm Chelleri's stay in Sweden, Hede has checked payrolls, tax registers, parish registers and letters from the period concerned. However, he has found no evidence to support the theory that Chelleri spent some time in Sweden.

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<sup>1</sup>Gerber: *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler*, Leipzig 1790.

<sup>2</sup>Hede; p. 9.

<sup>3</sup>Gerber; p. 274.

<sup>4</sup>For instance we read in NG that Chelleri: '...served as musical director in Stockholm for two years but returned to Kassel in 1734...', NG; s.v. In ES we read: 'Il successore del langravio Carlo a Kassel, Federico I, salito fin dal 1720 al trono di Svezia, nel 1732 invito C. a Stoccolma, /.../ ma appena due anni dopo, vamente a Kassel...', ES; vol. III, p. 582. The text in the *Bernsdorf Neues Universal-Lexicon der Tonkunst* not only agrees with the aforementioned sources, but repeats the text in Gerber almost word for word (Bernsdorf Neues...; p. 543.).

<sup>5</sup>Norlind: *Allmänt Musiklexikon*, Stockholm 1927-28; vol. I, p.211.

However, one printed source states that Chelleri visited Sweden early in the 18th century; in Abraham Abrahamsson Hülphers' treatise from 1773<sup>1</sup> we read:

'Ibland dem som på någon tid wistades i Riket, må nämnas /.../ Fortunat. Kellerii som whar /.../ Capell-Mästare wid Kongl. hofwet men /.../ åter bortreste, /.../ til Tyska orter.'<sup>2</sup>

Hede thinks that Hülphers obtained this information from a letter by the 'Director Musices' Johan Miklin; Hede describes this as the only first-hand source supporting that Chelleri in Sweden. However, there is another contemporary source which mentions that Chelleri's visit. MAB preserves a listing by names of *Musicalisce Dilettanter och Professionister*.<sup>3</sup> This MS - as its title indicates - is a list of musicians of all categories. We read:

'Chelleri Fortunat: Cap.M /.../ i Stockholm circa 1726.  
Componist.'<sup>4</sup>

This source seems to give a completely erroneous date, which reduces its reliability. Hallardt's works are dated the decade after 1773,<sup>5</sup> and it is consequently a later source than both Hülphers (1773) and Miklin's letter, dated 1771. Hallardt was born in 1726 and probably had no personal memory of Chelleri. If we assume that Chelleri returned to Germany in 1734, Hallardt was then eight years old, and was probably neither informed nor concerned about an Italian composer's return to Germany.

Hede concludes that there is no reason to doubt that Chelleri was actually in Sweden - the difficulty of proving it notwithstanding - probably between 1732 and 1734.<sup>6</sup>

Chelleri's music is richly represented in Swedish libraries; this in turn might be regarded as indirect evidence that he actually spent some time in Sweden. The *Affettuoso* - which was the cause of this discussion on Chelleri - exists in nine versions, including 20:13.

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<sup>1</sup>Hülphers: *Historisk Afhandling om Musik och Instrumenter*, Västerås 1773.

<sup>2</sup>'Among those who spent some time in the country [Sweden] can be mentioned Fortunat. Kellerii who was Conductor at the Royal Court, but went back to Germany.'; ibid; p. 103-104.

<sup>3</sup>Hallardt; *Namnregister öfwer Musicalisce Dilettanter och Professionister*; MAB Hskr. 35.

<sup>4</sup>ibid; letter C, entry 55.

<sup>5</sup>Norlind, Tobias; *Johan Fredrik Hallardt och svensk musiklexikografi*; STM 1938, pp. 99-130.

<sup>6</sup>These are also the dates given in the most recent Italian encyclopedia, *Dizionario Encicopedico Universale della Musica e dei Musicisti*, (diretto da Alberto Basso) Torino 1983-1988: 'Chelleri, Fortunato /.../ ...e dal 1724 fu maestro di capp. alla corte di Kassel, presso Federico II. Soggiorno par alcuni mesi (1726) a Londra e dal 1732 al'34 fu ospite alla corte di Stoccolma.'; ibid; vol. 2, p. 202.

### 3.3 THE CONCORDANCES

As mentioned above, several concordances for the Affettuoso are found in Swedish libraries. This raises the question of whether other concordances exist elsewhere. According to the article in NG<sup>1</sup> MSS containing instrumental music by Chelleri are preserved in the following libraries:

- Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris
- Landesbibliothek und Murdsche Bibliothek der Stadt Kassel
- Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität, Münster
- Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin
- The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge
- Royal College of Music, London
- Conservatorio di Musica Benedetto Marcello, Venice

However, the Affettuoso in question is not to be found in any of the above collections.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it is not listed in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek MS catalogue.<sup>3</sup> There is no record of a printed version, and the British Library catalogue of printed music does not include it.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that nine versions of the Affettuoso exist in Sweden, and apparently none elsewhere, suggests that Chelleri composed it during his sojourn in Sweden, which in turns implies a Swedish origin for 20:13.

The 20:13 version of the Affettuoso is very idiomatic. First, the key F maj is the basic tuning of a 13-course baroque lute; second, in the very first measure we encounter a typical lute device: in the F maj chord in the first beat in ms. 1 the note *f'* is plucked on two adjacent courses: the first, open, course, and the second course's stopped third fret. An appoggiatura from below is played on the second course, whilst the *f'* on the first course is played on the beat, which means that for half of the value of the first chord a clear dissonance is heard (a diminished second), since both the *f'* and its leading note are played simultaneously - a typical lute device.



Fig. 3.3 -Affettuoso: ms. 1.

<sup>1</sup>NG; article 'Chelleri'.

<sup>2</sup>Kassel, Münster, Berlin, London and Cambridge: see Sources - Letters; Venice: see Sources - Oral (telephone call); Paris checked by the author.

<sup>3</sup>See Sources - Letters.

<sup>4</sup>Catalogue of...; vol. 32, p. 273. Only lists the holdings of the British Library.

The lute version is liberally ornamented with appoggiaturas, which are used in a particularly striking way in mss. 21-22, as will be shown henceforth. In the places where the melody is repeated in two subsequent measures, the repeat is consistently transposed one octave down.

The text is immaculate, apart from two superfluous bars in mss. 28 and 29.

### 3.3.1 UUB Imhs 20:8 - *Affettuoso / del Sig: Kelleri*

UUB Imhs 20:8 contains a suite in D maj, and could be close to what might constitute the original composition.

20:8 dates from the first half of the 18th century. Its provenance is unknown. It is written for a small chamber ensemble using two oboes, one violin,<sup>1</sup> one flute and a bass. One of the oboe players probably swapped instruments and played the flute and the oboe interchangeably, since 'oboe secundo' and 'flauto traversa' parts are never used together. The violin and oboe parts double each other.

The three up-beat notes of 20:13 are notated differently here; the up-beat is just an eighth note, and the two linking notes are written in small script. An upper appoggiatura in 20:13 on the second beat of the ms. 1, is written here a trill (*tr*); apart from this, 20:8 is devoid of ornaments.

The movements are as follows:

*Ouverture*  
*Rondeaux Premier*  
*Rondeaux Second*  
*Affettuoso*  
*Presto*  
*Affettuoso*  
*Allegro*

20:8 contains a few notational errors.

### 3.3.2 UUB Imhs 134:12

This MS in quires can be dated, since its cover has 'anno 1752' written on it. The cover paper - containing no music - has the same watermark as the actual MS; one can therefore conclude that this MS dates from 1752.

Apart from the Affettuoso, this MS contains a piece by Handel: the ouverture of *Arianna* which is untitled in the MS.

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<sup>1</sup>Actually, *violiono secundo*; no part for a first violin seems to be extant

This version is completely devoid of ornaments, and the upbeat/first measures are different again. It agrees with 20:8 insofar as it also has the 'link' to the repetition of the first strain.

It contains a few mistakes.

### 3.3.3 UUB Imhs 134:24 - *Afectuoso del Sign: Kellery*

This MS is a small piece of parchment measuring only c20 by c23 centimeters. The provenance is unknown. Once again, a piece by Handel ('Hendel' in the MS) is also found. Both pieces lack bass lines, and one piece is inverted. The verso side is blank.

The beginning of the Affettuoso corresponds with 20:8 - the most frequent opening of the piece.

It is incomplete, including just the first strain, but none the less the notation of these measures gives a general impression of proficiency. It also agrees with 20:8 concerning ornamentation.

### 3.3.4 MAB P-R Anon. *Réjouissance* - *Affectuoso del Singr: Kelleri*

This MS is a small book of oblong shape containing just four pieces of music; these pieces are found as follows:

FOLIO	PIECE
1	blank
1v	blank
2	<i>Réjouissance</i>
2v	<i>Aria dell Signr Hendell</i>
3	"
3	<i>Menuette del Sign. Kelleri</i>
3v	<i>Affectuoso dell Singr Kelleri</i>
4	"
4v	<i>Sonata dell Signr Hasse</i>

Table XII - Contents of MAB P-R Anon. Réjouissance

The rest of the book contains only blank folios and mathematical tables. Both these tables and the technical standard of the music suggest that this book was compiled for - and perhaps by - a novice.

This version of the Affettuoso is clearly the most corrupt one of all the concordances; first, it is rendered in alla breve time; second, mistakes abound, and third, it contains just one ornament (a *tr.* in ms. 34). It also contains a large number of mistakes.

It is tentatively dated late 18th century on the register card.

### **3.3.5 MAB C1B / Sv.-R MÜLLERS NOTBOK - *Affectuoso dell Sing<sup>r</sup> Kelleri***

This MS is a compilation of music by various composers including Agrell, Alberti, Albinoni, Chelleri, Corelli, Hasse, Händel, Locatelli and Roman. Compilations of this type of repertoire were very common during the 1740's, and the MS can consequently be dated to that decade. The book also contains some fifty chorales, though without words.

This version of the Affettuoso appears on pages 4-5 and adheres to UUB 134:12 as to the upbeat; the link into the repeat is once again found, and a couple of trills (*tr.*) are found. A new feature of this version is the inclusion of dynamics - the words *piano* and *forte* are found in mss. 3/5 and 4 respectively.

### **3.3.6 MAB T/Sv.-R HERDESPEL - *Pantomime (Afettuoso )***

*Herdespel* (Shepherd's Play or Pastoral) is a medley of arias, songs and instrumental music by several composers. On page 27 is a march which is said to be from *Le malade imaginaire*, which was performed in Stockholm on December 7th, 1769, and thus the date must be 1770 or later, making this version of the Affettuoso the latest that can be dated.

The Affettuoso is described here as *Pantomime* and is found on folios 20v-21v. This version resembles 20:13 in many respects; the upbeat measure contains all the linking notes between the *a'* and the first beat *d''* of ms. 1; there is no linking passage prefixing the repeat of the first strain, and it has appoggiaturas added in the triplet section in mss. 21 and 22.

### **3.3.7 KB-S 177 - *Affettuoso del S<sup>r</sup> Kelleri***

This MS is a collection of music in an oblong hardbacked book. It is clearly for keyboard and contains music by Swedish composers such as Zellbell, Naumann and Roman, and also pieces by Locatelli, Geminiani (Giminiani in MS), Süs and Alberti, among others. Chelleri - in this MS Kelleri - is represented with several pieces.

The Affettuoso is found on folio 16r and bears a strong resemblance to the versions encountered in 20:13 and MAB HERDESPEL. For instance, the added appoggiaturas in the triplet section and the octave transpositions of repeated passages are encountered again.

Of great interest is the provision of both a name and a date; on the inside of the cover is written: *Carl Leuhusen Anno MDCCXL*. This shows that the appoggiaturas in the triplet section were already written out by 1740, and were still in use after 1769 (see 3.3.6). This means that if we assume that the lute version was copied from another source, this could have been

done as early as 1740. There are of course other alternatives; first, the original version by Chelleri might not have survived, and perhaps it contained all the characteristics of 20:13, MAB HERDESPEL and KB-S 177. Second, there might have been an intermediate source - now lost - from which all the other versions have been copied.

As in the case of Chelleri, we are confronted with some questions:

- i) Who was Carl Leuhusen?
- ii) Did he play the lute, and might he be the scribe of 20:13?
- iii) Might he be connected to 20:13 in any other way?

First of all, a study of Leuhusen is required to ascertain who he was and whether there is any evidence to answer the above questions.

### 3.3.7.1 CARL LEUHUSEN

Carl Leuhusen was born in 1724 on the Säby estate in Ingårö outside Stockholm. In 1741 he became a student in Uppsala, where he studied, among other things, languages. On completion of his studies he was made Secretary of Commission and spent the years 1752 - 1755 in Spain as *chargé d'affaires*. During the latter part of his life he held several political posts and published several essays on different political matters, mainly agrarian politics.

Apart from these publications, Leuhusen's diaries are preserved, covering the years 1750 - 1762, as well as a large register covering the years 1744 - 1760.<sup>1</sup> The diaries of Carl Leuhusen consist of 61 folios and are written in Swedish, French, Latin and Spanish. Frequent remarks are found about travels, architecture, women, weather et cetera, but comments on music are rare. However, in May 1753 he has listed the names of some dances, time-words et cetera, which make it possible to compare Leuhusen's handwriting with that of 20:13.

LEUHUSEN

20:13

*affettuoso*

*affetuoso*

*Allemanda*

*Allemance* *allemande.*

*Gavotta*

*Gavotte*

<sup>1</sup>See Sources - Manuscripts.

Siciliana

Siciliana.

Corrente

Courante.



Sarabanda

Saraband

giga

Giga

Table XIII - Handwriting comparison between Leuhusen and 20:13.

If one disregards the differences of French and Italian spellings, the words 'Sarabanda', 'Siciliana' and 'Allemande' look a little similar, although some divergent features are found: the capital G's are different, as are the lower-case s's; moreover, the dots over the i's are higher than in 20:13. However, it is quite impossible to draw any definite conclusions on the basis of seven words.

In 'August 1753' Leuhusen has written the names of some composers - Hasse, Pergolesi, Galuppi, Lampugniani, Hendel, Porpora, Conforto, Jomelli, Terradella, David Perez, St. Martino. Chelleri are not among these, though. A similar lists of operas is found in February 1752, and one might posit that these lists were mnemonic aids.

In April 1758 one finds:

'Amusements de la Campagne pendant l'hiver. 1. Lecture & Bibliotheque. 2. Musique. 3. Billard, Trictrac p: 4. Orangerie. 5. Promenades & Visites entrein. 6 des Filets faire.'

In August 1754:

'...förde jag Poretti på Bassfiolen...'<sup>1</sup>

In June 1754:

'...förde jag Christian på fiolen...'<sup>2</sup>

These remarks are the only ones mentioning music, of which the two latter show that Leuhusen did actually perform music himself. He does not specify what instrument he played, but one might assume that he was

<sup>1</sup>I accompanied ('led') Poretti on the double bass.

<sup>2</sup>I accompanied ('led') Christian on the violin.

playing the keyboard, since he was accompanying other people, and since KB-S 177 is for keyboard.

In his register - a folio of 142 sheets - there are no musical references at all.

In the inventory made at Leuhusen's death in 1795 no instruments are mentioned.<sup>1</sup> However, in the inventory of his wife<sup>2</sup> (Juliana Margareta) in 1771, four instruments are included: a 'Claver', a 'Bas Viol', a 'Viol' and a 'Fleut'. In the inventories of his mother<sup>3</sup> (Hedvig Eleonora), daughter<sup>4</sup> (Ebba Jacobina) and son<sup>5</sup> (Carl Anders) no instruments are found.

Consequently, one can deduce from the diaries that Leuhusen performed music occasionally, and that he had a general interest in the subject. Judging from the inventories of his family it is most likely that he played the keyboard, which is of course supported by the actual appearance of KB-S 177. No other potential connection with 20:13 has been found.

### 3.3.8 LUB ENGELHARDT 488 - *Affettuoso*

Once again we encounter the full suite in D maj, this time scored for two violins, a viola, two oboes and a bass. Neither provenance nor date are known.

This version does not contain many notational errors, and one gains the impression that LUB ENGELHARDT 488 was copied out for professional use.

In the measure where the different MSS most often vary, this MS has a simple eighth-note upbeat, with the linking notes written in small script. The *d''* in ms. 1 is adorned with a trill (*tr.*) and the violin parts are consistently slurred. No appoggiaturas are added in the triplet section (mss. 21/22).

Several dynamics - *piano*, *forte* and *f.* - are indicated in the violin parts, however.

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<sup>1</sup>Carl Leuhusen Sterbhus/Bouppeteckning, 8/2 1796, Bouppeteckningar 1796, Svea Hovrätts Arkiv, Huvudarkivet E1Xb:147, RA, Stockholm.

<sup>2</sup>Bouppeteckningar 1771, Svea Hovrätts Arkiv, Huvudarkivet E1Xb:94, RA, Stockholm.

<sup>3</sup>Bouppeteckningar 1765, Svea Hovrätts Arkiv, Huvudarkivet E1Xb:79, RA, Stockholm.

<sup>4</sup>Bouppeteckningar 1803, Svea Hovrätts Arkiv, Huvudarkivet E1Xb:167, RA, Stockholm.

<sup>5</sup>Bouppeteckningar 1794, Svea Hovrätts Arkiv, Huvudarkivet E1Xb:144, RA, Stockholm.

A survey of the concordances is provided in the following table:

SOURCE	SIZE (cm)	INSTRUMENT	DATING
UUB 20:13	c.20.5 x 32.4	Lute	-
UUB 20:8	c. 21 x 32.5	Chamber Ensemble	1700 - 1750
UUB 134:12	c.21 x 33.5	-	1752
UUB 134:24	-	-	-
MAB P-R Réjouissance	22.5 x 23	Keyboard	1750 - 1800
MAB C1B/Sv.-R	c. 22.5 x c.30.2	Keyboard	1740 - 1750
MAB T/Sv.-R	c. 21 x 28	-	Post-1769
KB-S 177	23.5 x c. 36	Keyboard	1740
LUB Engelhardt 488	23 x 30.4	Chamber Ensemble	-

Table XIV - Concordances.



## 4 OTHER SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This last chapter will deal with two points:

- i) Other Swedish Lute MSS, contemporary with 20:13, will be examined.
- ii) Literature describing the general musical situation in 18th century Stockholm will be studied, in order to identify a potential author of 20:13.

### 4.1 CONTEMPORARY SWEDISH LUTE TABLATURES

There are several tablatures dating from the years 1700 - 1725 to be found in Sweden, but since these contain music in the French style - very often by the French masters of the 17th century - these have not been taken into consideration. There are only three tablatures dated after 1725,<sup>1</sup> and these will be described in the following paragraphs.

As Lowe points out,<sup>2</sup> 13-course lutes did exist in Sweden, e.g. those by the luthier Jonas Elg, 1690 - 1732,<sup>3</sup> by whom instruments are preserved.

#### 4.1.1 KB-S 176

KB-S 176 is a small book containing keyboard tablature. It includes two loose folios of lute tablature. Rudén dates it to the first half of the 18th century.<sup>4</sup>

The lute music is anonymous; however, the keyboard music, is by some of the most prolific French lutenists of the 17th century, such as 'Vieux' Gaultier, Mouton and Dubut.<sup>5</sup> The two lute sheets contain only three extremely short pieces in addition to something that might be considered as some kind of 'intonation'. The first piece is a short, unbarred prelude in D minor. It occupies less than one stave, and it is consequently rather hard to describe; however, it appears to be more in the style of the latter part of the 17th century than the first part of the 18th. The second piece is a *Menuet* in two strains, both of which are eight measures long. Whilst the prelude employs ten courses, the Menuet makes use of eleven. The 'separée' sign is found, as are the same trill and appoggiatura signs

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<sup>1</sup>Rudén's *Music in tablature* has been most helpful in locating these tablatures.

<sup>2</sup>See Sources - Oral.

<sup>3</sup>W. von Lütgendorff; *Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher von Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart*, vol. 2, pp. 120-121.

<sup>4</sup>Rudén; pp. 43 and 70.

<sup>5</sup>Du But, Du Butt and other spellings occur.

found in 20:13. The last piece is an eight measure sarabande in two strains, the first of which is six measures long, the second two (sic!). It employs ten courses. Both the menuet and the sarabande are musically reminiscent of the mid-17th century, as is the keyboard music of KB-S 176. The idiomatic conception of the lute music for an instrument with eleven courses also suggests this period.

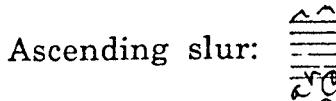
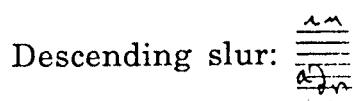
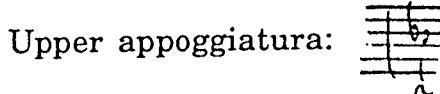
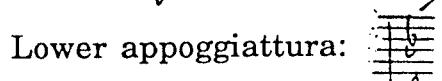
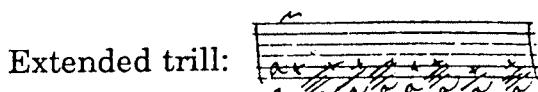
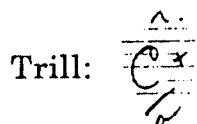
#### 4.1.2 SLBS - KATEDRALSSKOLAN MS 493 (NR 30)

In the Diocesan and Regional Library<sup>1</sup> in Skara there is a 21-folio MS for a 13-course baroque lute. Its provenance is unknown, but it is clearly contemporary with 20:13; it is written for a 13-course instrument and consequently must be later than 1720, and contains music by Baron.

However, this MS provides only the second parts for what are obviously lute duets.<sup>2</sup>

The music consists of 'Sonatas' and 'Concertos', and although a few dances are included such as the allemande, the courante, the sarabande and the gigue, the majority part of the titles are time-words (e.g. allegro, adagio, vivace and so forth).

The ornaments are:



In addition to ornaments, dynamics are also indicated in the tablature - a characteristic feature of duet parts -as well as changes of tempo. The seventh and the eighth courses are frequently stopped.

With regard to the tablature letters the hand is not unlike that of 20:13, but the time symbols above the stave are altogether different.

No obvious similarity between 20:13 and SLBS MS 493 No 30 can be discerned.

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<sup>1</sup>Stifts- och Landsbiblioteket.

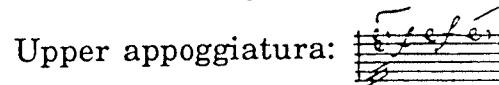
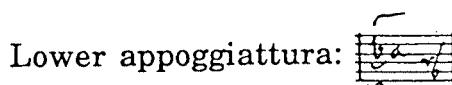
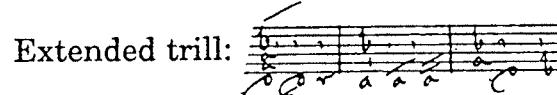
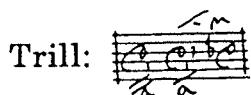
<sup>2</sup>Some of the first parts are to be found in the New York Public Library *Harrach MS* (see Sources - Manuscripts), dated c. 1750.

#### 4.1.3 STIFTELSEN MUSIKKULTURENS FRÄMJANDE, STOCKHOLM

Stiftelsen musikkulturens främjande (Foundation for Furthering of Musical Culture) in Stockholm has in its possession a tablature MS<sup>1</sup> dated 1750 by Rudén.<sup>2</sup> It is for an 11-course lute and contains music of lesser known composers such as Thieeli, Finger, Rumpelnik, Smigelsky, Weiland, Prantl and Pichler. None of these composers is listed by Amos or Zuth.

The frequent usage of the words *bas* (piano) and *haut* (forte), typical of duet parts, suggests that this is music for two lutes. However, only one part appears in this MS. Several of the pieces also appear in Warsaw MS Mf. 2001 a/b,<sup>3</sup> where they are described as lute parts for ensemble pieces, which also include violins, horns and other instruments. Warsaw MS Mf. 2001 a/b is dated to the early 18th century by Boetticher.<sup>4</sup>

The ornaments are:



The hand is altogether different from that of 20:13. The seventh and eighth courses are frequently stopped. The music is arranged in 'Parties', with a predominance of dances.

No relationship between this MS and 20:13 can be found.

#### 4.2 SWEDISH LUTENISTS

The 18th century was a period during which the lute began to lose its pre-eminent position, as mentioned in the introduction. Naturally, this was also the case in Sweden, and this is clearly illustrated by the fact that Hallardt's lists of different categories of musicians<sup>5</sup> include no lutenists, although he is quite specific and included even *Dilettanter*. This clearly suggests that lutenists were rare at this time.

<sup>1</sup>No shelf mark.

<sup>2</sup>Rudén; p. 39.

<sup>3</sup>These concordances were overlooked by Rudén (p. 39) and Sparr (SGLS xi/1, pp. 32-36).

<sup>4</sup>Boetticher; p. 367.

<sup>5</sup>MAB Hskr 35.

#### 4.2.1 DAVID KELLNER

When one starts looking for lutenists in Sweden during this period, one immediately encounters David Kellner, the only 'Swedish' lutenist of international renown. He was born in Leipzig c.1670 and died on the 6th of April 1748 in Stockholm. Little is known of his life prior to 1711, when he was employed in the Jakob's church in Stockholm.<sup>1</sup>

In 1747 he published a collection of lute pieces called *David Kellners XVI Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...* which contains 17 (sic!) pieces for an 11-course baroque lute.<sup>2</sup> He is more famous for his continuo manual, however, entitled *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass*, first published in Hamburg in 1732 and later translated into several languages. No other music by Kellner is known.<sup>3</sup>

There is little evidence to suggest that Kellner might be the composer of 20:13. First, apart from the aforementioned lute book, there is no evidence that Kellner actually played the lute. When Hallardt mentions Kellner,<sup>4</sup> he does not mention the lute. Second, Kellner's lute book is for an 11-course instrument, which, in 1747 was a rather outdated instrument, at least among professionals. No lute is found in Kellner's inventory, although one appears in that of his wife.<sup>5</sup>

However, one is immediately struck by the fact that a musical quotation from Kellner's lute book is found in 20:13<sup>6</sup> (or vice versa). MSS. 72-73 in the S2 Giga use the same motif as the end of Kellner's D major Giga:<sup>7</sup>



Fig. 4.1 - S2: Giga; mss. 72-74.

<sup>1</sup>Kenneth Sparr is currently working on a biography of Kellner which will not be pre-empted here. (Kellner is included in Fétis, pp. 9-10.)

<sup>2</sup>Published by Christian Wilhelm Brandt in Hamburg.

<sup>3</sup>The *Campanella* and the *Ciaconne* (*Chaconne* in the 1747 book) appear in Wrocław Mus. Ms. Mf. 2002, and the *Campanella* appears in BS 5362 (where it is attributed Weiss); the versions do not diverge in any significant way (although there is a differentiation between ascending and descending slurs in Wrocław MS). No other music by Kellner is known to have survived (thanks to Kenneth Sparr for this information).

<sup>4</sup>MAB Hskr. 35, letter K, entry 25.

<sup>5</sup>Thanks to Kenneth Sparr for providing this information.

<sup>6</sup>Thanks to Theodor Holmer for pointing this out.

<sup>7</sup>Kellner; *David Kellners Auserlesende...*, p. 47.



Fig. 4.2 - Kellner: Giga; mss.47-49.

This is interesting since both sources have a connection with Sweden, although Kellner's book was published at Hamburg. However, as a musical motif it is not of major significance and the correspondance could perhaps be coincidental.

Kellner's lute book shows a good understanding of the instrument, and might possibly have been written for an 11-course lute in order to reach a wider audience, something which is further suggested by the low technical standard it requires. If one compares Kellner's lute book with 20:13, the former is simpler from most points of view. Apart from the aforementioned differences, Kellner uses almost no ornaments, the music is written in a predominantly two-part texture, and its treatment of harmony is simpler; it seems unlikely that Kellner could be the author of 20:13.

A comparison of Kellner's handwriting and the hand of 20:13 was inconclusive.<sup>1</sup> Once again, the range of material is far too narrow to allow final conclusions to be drawn.

Fig. 4.3 - David Kellner: autograph.

#### 4.2.2 CARL GUSTAV VON DÜBEN

One line in Hülphers treatise of 1773 is of great interest; in the *Augmentation och Correction* part of the book we read:

'Camarh. Baron Carl G. Düben som dog 1758, war Directeur  
öfwer Kongl. Capellet och stor Lutenist.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Thanks to Kenneth Sparr for providing a letter by Kellner.

<sup>2</sup>The chamberlain and Baron Carl G. Düben who died in 1758, was 'Directeur' [an administrative title] of the Royal Chapel and a great lutenist.' Hülphers; p. 322.

This is repeated by Hallardt,<sup>1</sup> who quotes Hülphers as his source, and later in Norlind's and Trobäck's book about the Royal Chapel,<sup>2</sup> but no further information is provided.

As for the role of the lute during the period in question (see also 4.2), we read in Norlind/Trobäck:

'Av de äldre instrumenten hade lutan upphört att vara för orkestern av större betydelse. Dock odlades den ännu gärna i hemmen,...'<sup>3</sup>

Since Hülphers explicitly mentions von Düben's skill on the lute, this raises the question of whether or not von Düben could be connected with 20:13 in any way. The date of von Düben's passing corresponds well with the dating of the MS, and there were probably not too many 'great' lutenists active in Stockholm at that time. The plausibility of the issue is strengthened by the fact that von Düben's father, Gustav von Düben Jr. (1660 - 1726), was a lutenist<sup>4</sup> as well as the conductor of the Royal Chapel. Gustav von Düben Jr. studied the lute in Paris in the 1680's<sup>5</sup> and should have been a knowledgeable teacher to his son.<sup>6</sup> No music by Gustav von Düben Jr. is preserved.<sup>7</sup>

No substantiating references to Carl Gustav (von) Düben's skill on the lute have been found. In his other MSS, Hallardt does not refer to von Düben as a lutenist.<sup>8</sup>

The inventory of Carl Gustav von Düben's estate should be kept in RA if he was noble, but it is not to be found there. Furthermore, von Düben is not

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<sup>1</sup>MAB Hskr 33, p. 246, letter D, entry 23.

<sup>2</sup>Norlind and Trobäck: *Kungl. Hovkapellets Historia*; p. 69.

<sup>3</sup>'Of the older instruments, the lute had ceased to be of great importance to the orchestra. It was still gladly cultivated privately, though,...' ibid; loc' cit. A passage in Forsstrand's essay (see Bibliography) illustrates the preceding statement: 'Från slutet av 1730- och början av 1740-talet omtalas emellertid även musikaliska underhållningar, ... De hölls nämligen, i Löwens hus vid Stora Nygatan, av ett antal unga herrar tillhörande ridderskapet och adeln, nämligen ... Karl Gustaf von Düben ... med biträde av medlemmar av hovkapellet.' ('From the end of the 1730's and the beginning of the 1740's musical entertainments are also mentioned ... They were given, in Löwen's house at Stora Nygatan, by a number of young gentlemen belonging to the knighthood and the nobility, such as ... Karl Gustaf von Düben ... with the assistance of members of the Royal Chapel.') Forsstrand; p. 395. (This passage is quoted - in German translation - in Walin's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Schwedischen Sinfonik*; p. 134; see Bibliography) The 'von Düben' referred to here is said to have lived between 1707 and 1733 in the register (Forsstrand; p. 583), which raises the question of how a person who died in 1733 could possibly have participated in musical entertainments that commenced in the late 1730's; consequently the suspicion is raised that Forsstrand might have confused the two von Dübens. More research is necessary, however.

<sup>4</sup>Kjellberg; *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden*; p. 405.

<sup>5</sup>ibid; pp' 405-406.

<sup>6</sup>No von Düben is mentioned in Fétis.

<sup>7</sup>Sohlmans; p. 374.

<sup>8</sup>MAB Hskr 35, letter D, entry 45 and MAB Hskr 36, s.v.

listed as a nobleman in the genealogical tables consulted,<sup>1</sup> nor is he listed in contemporary rolls of noblemen in Sweden.<sup>2</sup> He is not listed in the register of people employed at the court,<sup>3</sup> nor is his name found in the Registers of the Deceased of Stockholm 1758.<sup>4</sup> In the Register of taxpayers of 1758,<sup>5</sup> he is mentioned as living in the parish of Jakob (kvarteret Stormhatten):

'Kammarherren o. direktören vid Kongl. Kapellet baron  
Carl Gustav Düben 1 dr 1 pi'<sup>6</sup>

Other documents in SSA<sup>7</sup> do not mention to von Düben, which is also the case with the Uppsala City Archives.<sup>8</sup> A Carl Gustav von Düben is mentioned in von Henzel's listing of official persons<sup>9</sup> in 1729:

'Registrar hos Hennes Maj:t Drottningen Frhr. Carl  
Gustav von Düben.'<sup>10</sup>

In MAB a letter by von Düben is preserved, dated March 15th, 1725.<sup>11</sup> It is a loose sheet measuring 20.5 by 32 centimeters, with text on both recto and verso sides; a modern hand has added information about von Düben with a pencil. The letter treats financial matters, and sheds no light on the issue in question. This is also true of another letter by von Düben preserved in RA<sup>12</sup> dated May 8th, 1734, and the *Memorial* from October 22nd, 1744, which is reproduced in Nyblom.<sup>13</sup>

It is difficult to compare the MAB letter - unquestionably by von Düben - with 20:13, as the former is written in Gothic script and the latter in Roman. Only a few French words are written in Roman script (this was normal practice during the period), and again it is hard to draw definite conclusions from so little evidence. Naturally, just a few letters, derived

<sup>1</sup>Svenska adelns ättartavlor; pp.364-365.

<sup>2</sup>Matrikel öfwer Sveriges Rikes Ridderskap och Adel; Stockholm 1731 and 1754 (vol. I), 1755 (vol. II).

<sup>3</sup>Register över Nedre Borgrättens Bouppteckningar 1688-1844; SSA.

<sup>4</sup>Dödlista 1758, E II e 1:11, SSA, Stockholm.

<sup>5</sup>Taxeringslängd 1758, Jakobs församling, 10:21; Carl Gustav Düben.

<sup>6</sup>Chamberlain and director at the Royal Chapel Carl Gustav Düben 1 male servant 1 female servant'. ibid; loc. cit.

<sup>7</sup>Död och begravningsbok 1721-1884 C-F, Jakob och Johannes församling, Register; SSA; Död och begravningsbok 1748-1860 A-G, Klara församling; SSA; Dödböcker 1725-1874 A-H, Nikolai församling, Register; SSA; Död och begravningsböcker 1710-1868 D-F, Hedvig Eleonora församling, Register; SSA; Boutredningar och förmynndarräkningar 1650-1862 , Personregister A-K, SSA.

<sup>8</sup>Telephone conversation with Pia Book (see Sources - Oral).

<sup>9</sup>Henzel, Andreas Joachim von: *Det Anno MDCCXXIX florerande Sverige, eller...,* Christophorus Zunkel, Leipzig 1730 (see Bibliography).

<sup>10</sup>Registrar at Her Majesty the Queen baron[et] Carl Gustav von Düben.' ibid; p. 152.

<sup>11</sup>MAB Brevsamling (letter collection) A6:63.

<sup>12</sup>RA: *Skrivelser till Kgl. Maj:t sammansatta kollegier 1733-1754*; vol. 131. The authorship can be questioned, since the letter does not contain von Düben's signature.

<sup>13</sup>Nyblom: *Per Brant och frihetstidens musikliv*; STM 1921; pp. 96-97.

from a few different words, have been examined, as was the case with Leuhusen (see 3.3.7.1), but rather than obvious similarities there are obvious differences; the general impression of von Düben's style is 'rounder', smoother, and the letters are more jointed.

The image shows a handwritten signature in black ink. It reads "Carl Gustaf von Düben" in a cursive, flowing script. The signature is somewhat fluid and personal, with variations in letter height and stroke thickness.

Fig. 4.4 - Carl Gustav von Düben: autograph.

At any rate, Carl Gustav von Düben probably merits further study. The (von) Düben family is among the most influential in Swedish musical history, and several studies have been made of its its different members, but Carl Gustav von Düben appears to be one generation 'too late' and no research has yet been devoted to him.<sup>1</sup>

#### 4.2.3 CHRISTIAN LUDVIG KUHLAU

One further lutenist remains to be mentioned. In Vretblad's work on the concert activity in Stockholm during the 18th century<sup>2</sup> there is an extensive listing of concerts given, compiled from adverts in contemporary newspapers. In addition Vretblad has specified what music and what instruments were played on these occasions where possible.

On April the 3rd, the following announcement appeared in *Stockholms Post-Tidningar*:

'...nästk. Söndag den 9 Apr. /.../ en fullstämmig Concert upförd, hwarwid /.../ Kongl. Hof-Trumpetaren Christian L. Kuhlau, för hwilkens räkning denna Concerten upföres, at accompagnera med Luhta en Air som Mad. Dulondell siunger, och at låta höra sig Solo på Lutha och en stor och fullkomlig Konung Davids Harpa, huartil denna, som ock en del af den öfvrige Musiquen af honom nyl. är Componerad.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See e.g. Norlind: *Familjen Düben*; STM 1942; pp. 5-46.

<sup>2</sup>Vretblad: *Konsertlivet i Stockholm under 1700-talet*; Stockholm 1918.

<sup>3</sup>'...forthcoming Sunday the 9th of April /.../ a full-voiced concert given, where /.../ the Royal Chapel Trumpetist Christian L. Kuhlau, for the benefit of whom this concert is given, will accompany on the lute an Air sung by Mad. Dulondell [famous singer in Stockholm during the period concerned] and be heard solo on the lute and a big and perfect King David's Harp, for which, as is also the case with other parts of the music, is recently composed by him.'; *Stockholm Post-Tidningar № 26 Af den 3 Aprilis År 1769* and Vretblad; p. 179, entry 306. Vretblad has here missed out the key-words 'af honom nyl.' (by him recently), and thus Vretblad makes it unclear whether Kuhlau is the composer of the music referred to.

In the same newspaper, on October the 2nd, 1769, we read:

'...nästk. Söndag d. 8 Oct. en fullstämmig Concert upförd /.../  
Kongl. Hof-Trumpetaren Christ. Ludv. Kuhlau, för hwars  
räkning denna Concert upföres, och hwartil han componerar  
någon del af denna Musique, at låta höra sig med 2:ne Solos på  
Lutha och Konung Davids Harpa.'<sup>1</sup>

A concert given on November 27th 1768, corroborates that Kuhlau was a composer:

'...blifwer /.../ nästa Söndag d. 27 Nov., med en talrik Orchester,  
så wäl Vocal- som Instrumental-Musique upförd /.../ Auctorn  
til större delen af denna Musique K. Håf-Trumpetaren Christ.  
L. Kuhlau...'<sup>2</sup>

Two conclusions can be drawn from the above quotations:

- i) The lute was used for solos as well as for accompaniments as late as 1769 by a certain Christian Ludvig Kuhlau.<sup>3</sup>
- ii) The music played on the lute on these occasions might have been composed by Kuhlau himself, who also composed vocal and instrumental music.

Regrettably, though, the phrasing 'hwartil denna' could possibly refer to the harp only, and not necessarily include the lute (or vice versa, of course!).

Who then was this Kuhlau? In the register of musicians in Vretblad his full name is given as Christian Ludvig Kuhlau, and the dates of birth and death as 1733 and 1796 respectively. He is said to have played the trumpet in the Royal Chapel, as well as the flute, the harp and 'other instruments'.<sup>4</sup> In Kjellberg more detailed information is found: first the dates of birth - June 14th - and death - November 11th - are provided; second, Kuhlau is said to have been a flute and timpani player in the Royal Chapel from 1774 until his death in 1796.<sup>5</sup> This is endorsed in Norlind/Trobäck.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>'...forthcoming Sunday the 8th of October a full-voiced concert given /.../Royal Chapel Trumpetist Christ- Ludv. Kuhlau, for the benefit of whom this concert is given, and whereto he composes some parts of this [sic!] music, to be heard with two solos on the lute and the King David's Harp.' *Stockholm Post-Tidningar № 77 Af den 2 October År 1769* and Vretblad; p. 180, entry 310.

<sup>2</sup>'...will be given, next Sunday the 27th of November, with a sizeable orchestra, vocal as well as instrumental music /.../ the author of the greater part of this music the Royal Chapel Trumpetist Christ. L. Kuhlau.' *Stockholm Post-Tidningar № 91 Af den 21 November År 1768* and Vretblad; p. 178, entry 299.

<sup>3</sup>Vretblad also mentions a group of Italian singers/instrumentalists who, among other instruments such as the 'viola inglese', the 'cittra', the 'guitarr' et cetera, also played the lute. This, however, was in 1798, and the music must by then have been in a different idiom. Vretblad; p. 127 and pp. 272-273, entries 791 and 792.

<sup>4</sup>Vretblad; p. 290.

<sup>5</sup>Kjellberg; p. 450.

Kuhlau is not included in the Gerber, the Fétis, the Norlind or the Sohlman encyclopedias, nor is he mentioned in the Hallardt MSS. No instruments are found in Kuhlau's inventory,<sup>1</sup> nor in the inventories of his wife Maria Christina,<sup>2</sup> his brother Fredrik,<sup>3</sup> his son Magnus,<sup>4</sup> his son Abraham<sup>5</sup> or Fredrik's wife Christina.<sup>6</sup> In the inventory of Christian Ludvig's father Conrad Casper a 'Claver' is found,<sup>7</sup> and in that of Christian Ludvig's son, Conrad Gottfried, a 'Violoncello'.<sup>8</sup>

A sample of Christian Ludvig's handwriting is preserved in the inventory of his mother-in-law, Christina Hanck, née Warg,<sup>9</sup> witnessed by Christian Ludvig, and consequently signed. The problem of Gothic script versus Roman occurs again. Moreover, it is hard to establish exactly which parts are written by Kuhlau. No French or Italian words are included which would have been written with Roman letters, which renders a comparison with 20:13 all the more difficult. There is, therefore, nothing to support a connection between Kuhlau and 20:13 on the basis of handwriting.

The image shows a handwritten signature in cursive script. The name 'Christian' is written first, followed by 'Kuhlau'. The signature is fluid and somewhat stylized, with some loops and variations in letter form.

Fig. 4.5 - Christain Ludvig Kuhlau: autograph.

The RISM listing of music in Swedish libraries, foundations and societies contains nothing that can be attributed to Kuhlau with any degree of certainty. The matter is further complicated by the fact that some of Christian Ludvig's close relatives were also composers, e.g. his brother Fredrik (or Friedrich, 1720 - 1785),<sup>10</sup> who also played the trumpet in the Royal Chapel, and his son Conrad Gottfried, also a member of the Royal

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<sup>6</sup>Norlind/Trobäck; p. 281 and p. 285.

<sup>1</sup>SSA; Nedre Borgrättens Bouppeteckningar 1797:410.

<sup>2</sup>ibid; 1786:204.

<sup>3</sup>ibid; 1786:200. (in the inventory of their father Conrad Casper Kuhlau, who died in 1754, both Christian Ludvig, Fredrik ('Friedrich') and another brother, Carl Hindrich, are referred to as 'Häf-Trumpetaren'. The name F. Kuhlau also appears in Vretblad (p. 192, entry 388) but Vretblad assumes that the reference is to Christian Ludvig, having only found evidence for a F. Kuhlau playing the alto violin (p. 192, footnote).

<sup>4</sup>SSA; Bouppeteckningar 1828-II-58.

<sup>5</sup>ibid; 1846-II-15.

<sup>6</sup>SSA; Nedre Borgrättens Bouppeteckningar 1807:398.

<sup>7</sup>ibid; 1754:556.

<sup>8</sup>SSA; Bouppeteckningar 1827-IV-622; p. 626.

<sup>9</sup>ibid; 1763/2:830. Since Christian Ludvig is referred to here as 'Hof-Trumpetaren' it is clear that he was already a member of the Royal Chapel by 1763, and most likely remained so until his death.

<sup>10</sup>Not to be confused with the Danish composer-pianist Daniel Frederik Kuhlau, 1786-1832; see NG, s.v.

Academy of Music.<sup>1</sup> MSS and printed music containing music ascribed to Fredrik<sup>2</sup> and Conrad Gottfried<sup>3</sup> are preserved in MAB. There are also two MSS<sup>4</sup> preserved in SLBS whose index cards mention an unspecified Kuhlau. However, comparison of the 'Kuhlau MSS', suggests Conrad Gottfried as that the composer of the Skara MSS, since the handwriting is similar, and since both the MAB MSS ascribed to Conrad Gottfried and the SLBS MSS are conceived for string instruments. It is noteworthy that a cello is mentioned in Conrad Gottfried's inventory.

As was the case with Carl Gustav von Düben, a more thorough study of the Kuhlau family is required. For the moment, one can only state that there is nothing implying a connection between Christian Ludvig Kuhlau and 20:13 - other than his mere presence.

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<sup>1</sup>Kungliga Musikaliska Akademins Matrikel 1771-1971; p. 62, entry 243.

<sup>2</sup>MAB Z/Sv, *Fyra Quartetter....*

<sup>3</sup>MAB W4/Sv.-R; E2/Sv.-R, *Tre Andanter med Variationer...*, Stockholms och Kungl. Priviligierade Not-Tryckeriet (music by Pleyel arranged for violin and zittra); VP/Sv.-R, *Tre Sonater för Claver med Accompagnement af en Violin...*, Stockholm och Kongl. Priviligierade Not-Tryckeriet, 1801; KB/Sv. 1035-36, Del I-II, *Musica Sacra. Sånger för kyrkan och skolan*, Abr. Hirsch, Stockholm (song number 11, p. 16, *Midsommardagen*, is by C. G. Kuhlau); Q/Sv, *Preludier och Utgångsstycken för Orgel af C. Kuhlau*; PB 215, *Andante med Variationer af C: Kuhlau*, p.35-38.

<sup>4</sup>SLBS 792a and 792b.



## CONCLUSIONS

This paper initially raised two major sets of questions: the extra-musical, concerning date, provenance etc, and those dealing with the style, ornaments and techniques of the music itself. Since these areas overlap, and in order to avoid summarising the actual paper, conclusions will be drawn from a few, major areas investigated.

As regards a possible date for UUB Imhs 20:13, a contradiction exists between the fairly early dating suggested by the musical style of the suites, with their very baroque idiom, and the more modern style of the S1 Siciliana. An early date is also suggested by the inclusion of dances, which became progressively more unfashionable in the early 18th century, and the relative paucity of ornaments signs employed. It must be borne in mind, however, that 'baroque' music was still being written in the mid-18th century by 'conservative' composers such as Johann Sebastian Bach, Handel and Vivaldi, alongside with the modern style; moreover, a similar situation existed regarding lute music in the person of Sylvius Leopold Weiss (acquainted with Bach) who by and large remained true to the ideals of the earlier tradition, though he lived until 1750.

A later date is suggested by some technical devices, similar to those found in the music of Falckenhagen, whose works were published in the 1740's and preserved in MSS dating from the 1740's to around 1755.

The presence of the S1 Siciliana, with its modern idiom and passages similar to those of Falckenhagen and Straube, suggests a post-1740 dating. This is further suggested by the watermark - an identical mark is found from 1745, and similar marks occur in MSS containing music by Roman, dating from the period 1749 to 1766.

The occurrence of the *Gebrochner Bass* sign implies an even later dating, since the other sources in which it occurs are Nuremberg MS 274, probably dating from 1755-60; Beyer, published in 1760; music by Kroppfganss in Leipzig MS.III.11.64, a source probably dating from after 1760 and probably also, albeit in a slightly deviant form, in Harrach MS, dated around 1750.

Such a late dating is not contradicted elsewhere; the Affettuoso was performed after 1769 in a form more or less identical with that in 20:13, and the technical artifices also suggest a date of around 1750. The main argument against such a late dating is that it is questionable whether the music of 20:13 could have been written after 1750. On the whole, however, it seems unlikely that 20:13 could have been created before 1745.

The numerous concordances for the Affettuoso preserved in Sweden strongly suggest a Swedish origin, a hypothesis strengthened by the fact that the piece is found nowhere else, and by the occurrence of two similar versions KB-S 177 and MAB T/Sv.-R in Stockholm, whose respective origins are clearly Swedish.

There are sufficient number of traits common to S1 and S2 to speculate that they may have a common composer, a deduction strengthened by the presence of an ascription for the Affettuoso. Moreover, the different style of the Affettuoso - showing Chelleri to be a very up-to-date composer - reduces the already faint possibility that Chelleri could composed the other items in 20:13.

The music, with its advanced harmony, chromaticism, extended phrasing and small experiments in a quasi-sonata form, is very reminiscent of Weiss, whose works exhibit similar features. This is further suggested by the theme quoted in the S1 Allemande, which is twice found in the Weiss Dresden MS. However, the ornament signs do not fully correspond, and the lack of stopped lower courses is uncharacteristic of Weiss, in whose music it is hard to find a single movement without stopped lower courses, and who even employs stopped 9th and 10th courses. Moreover, another Weissian trait, the relatively frequent use of consecutive octaves, is absent in 20:13.

Some technical devices resemble Falckenhagen's practice, despite the general differences of musical idiom.

No final conclusions can be drawn here, mainly because of the virtual absence of detailed studies of the composers under discussion - these were regrettably beyond the practical scope of this paper. For the moment one can only state that no definite indication in favour of any specific composer can be discerned.

Concerning the possible Swedish provenance of 20:13, the availability of Swedish composer candidates must be considered. As previously mentioned, Chelleri can be dismissed as a plausible possibility. The same must be said of David Kellner, whose handwriting, and the style and technical demands of whose music differ from 20:13 in most respects.

Two other possible candidates have been found: the 'great lutenist' Carl Gustav von Düben, and the concert-giving lutenist-composer Christian Ludvig Kuhlau, both of whom were active during the period concerned, but neither of whom has received the benefit of close study. Thus the main question must remain unanswered. Both von Düben and Kuhlau are certainly worthy of further study.

The general impression given by UUB Imhs 20:13 is that of proficiency; the technical level is sometimes very high, and both difficult and innovative passages are found. Moreover, despite the occasional consecutive 5ths encountered in the Sarabande, 20:13 contains fine music by and large, bearing the trademark of a competent composer-musician, an impression reinforced by the impeccable and idiomatic intabulation of the Affettuoso.

Although there are still several questions to be answered concerning UUB Imhs 20:13, and one is left with several, vague hypotheses - upon which one can only speculate - what can be established is that the creator of 20:13 must have been a deft and agile lutenist with a profound understanding of his instrument, as well as a fine composer.

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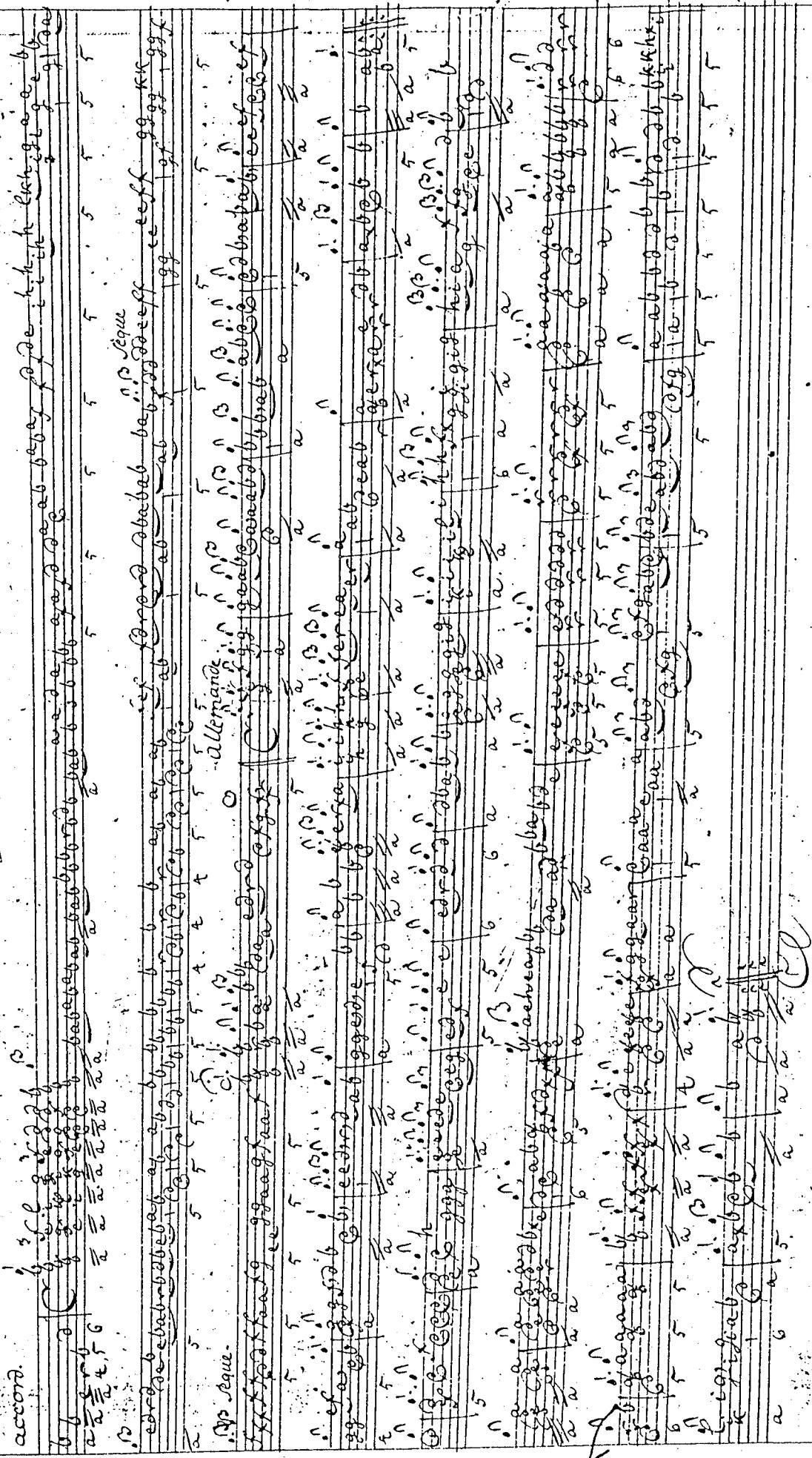
Prelude.

[Anonymous]

Dis. mth.

1 Instruments

20/13





Courante.

C. C. C. C.



This image shows a handwritten musical score for a band, likely a brass quintet or similar ensemble. The score consists of two staves of music, each with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The instruments listed next to the staves are: Flute, Clarinet, Bassoon, Trombone, Trumpet, Tuba, Percussion, and Drums. The music includes various dynamics like forte, piano, and mezzo-forte, as well as rests and specific performance instructions. There are several markings throughout the score, including 'C' (common time), 'F' (F major), 'G' (G major), and 'D' (D major). Some parts of the score are crossed out, and there are some illegible markings and signatures at the bottom right.



## Cliches

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Ch. 2  
Cross

[Anony]

July 23, 1911.

Dear Sirs,  
I am sending you a copy of the "Daily Mail" of London, which contains a full account of the recent meeting of the Royal Society of Medicine at which Dr. J. S. H. Jackson, of Boston, delivered a paper on the subject of "The Treatment of Syphilis by the Use of Salvarsan." I have also enclosed a copy of the "Medical Record" of New York, which contains a similar article. I hope you will find these documents of interest.  
Yours very truly,  
John S. H. Jackson  
Boston, Mass.



The image shows a single sheet of lined paper covered in dense handwritten mathematical notation. The handwriting is cursive and somewhat uniform. The page contains numerous occurrences of the letter 'a' in various forms (e.g., 'aa', 'at', 'aaat'). Other letters like 't' and 'x' are also present. Mathematical operators such as addition (+), subtraction (-), multiplication (\*), division (/), and modulus (%) are scattered throughout. There are also several instances of the Greek letter sigma (Σ) and other symbols like 'Δ'. The overall appearance is that of a page from a notebook or a personal collection of mathematical sketches.



affettuoso del Signor Bellini.

July 20, 1921.

The image shows a single page from a handwritten notebook. It contains five staves of musical notation. Each staff is a five-line staff with vertical stems. Horizontal dashes are used to indicate pitch and duration. The first four staves are full-length, while the fifth staff is partially cut off on the right side. The handwriting is in black ink on white paper.



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39	20	keyboards actually	keyboards keys actually
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50	5 fr. bott.	antepenultinmate	antepenultimate
54	10	produce	produced
54	12	instruction	instructions
64	7	Landesbiblithek	Landesbibliothek
64	27	diminshed	diminished
80	17	April the 3rd,	April the 3 <sup>rd</sup> , 1769,
86	5	could composed	could have composed
86	8 fr. bott.	large ,	large,
86	9 fr. bott.	Sarabande	S1 Courante and Sarabande

