Journal

of the Lute Society of America

DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH
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A Possible Likeness of John Dowland

DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH & MIRCO CAFFAGNI
Autobiography of Pietro Bertacchini

GEORGE TORRES
French Lyricism in 17th century 'pièces de luth'

PER KJTEIL FARSTAD
Life & Works of Ernst Gottlieb Baron

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The *Journal* welcomes contributions of scholarly merit and correspondence dealing with issues raised within its pages. Authors should submit two double-spaced hard copies of their typescripts. Electronic submission is particularly encouraged, and authors are urged to contact the Editor for formatting guidelines. Musical examples should be submitted on separate pages with captions exactly as they are to appear in the article. Camera-ready musical examples are also encouraged, but authors should consult with the editors in order to ensure uniformity throughout the volume. Professionally produced, high quality photographs should be submitted for all plates. For matters of style, the Journal generally follows the Chicago Manual of Style, 13th edition (1982). Articles, correspondence, or queries should be addressed to Michael Miranda, Dept. of Music, Loyola Marymount University, One LMU Dr., MS 8347, Los Angeles, CA, 90045-2659; phone: (310) 338-5158.

FROM THE EDITOR

This issue marks a changing of the guard at JLSA. Victor Coelho has stepped down after nearly two decades as editor. We thank him cordially for many fine articles and issues over the years, and for the acquisition and initial editing of the four articles in this issue.

Since assuming editorial responsibilities in the winter of 2002, the new associate editor, Michael Miranda, and I have finished the editing and formatting of the articles printed here. We also undertook a revision of the physical appearance of the Journal that we hope will find favor with Society members.

At the time of this writing, in May of 2002, we have in hand more than a dozen articles on aspects of the life and works of the late German Baroque lutenist Silvius Leopold Weiss. These will constitute a series of Journals that will appear in the course of the year 2002.

We cordially invite lutenists and scholars who are pursuing original research on lute topics to send us the results of their studies for future Journals.

Douglas Alton Smith

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Lutenist and early guitarist OLAV CHRIS HENRIKSEN performs as a soloist, and with many well-known ensembles in Europe and North America. A specialist in historic stringing, he has advised several American musical instrument museums including Boston's Museum of Fine Arts. He teaches at the Boston Conservatory and the University of Southern Maine

Guitarist, lutenist, and musicologist GEORGE TORRES is Assistant Professor of Music at Grinnell College, Iowa. His doctoral dissertation at Cornell University was devoted to 17th-century French music for lute.

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Musicologist DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH, who served from 1974 to 1982 as associate editor of JLSA, is a freelance writer in the San Francisco Bay Area, California. His latest book is a history of the lute from antiquity to the Renaissance, published by the LSA.

Lutenist, guitarist, and lute scholar MIRCO CAFFAGNI lives in Modena, Italy, and on his nearby farm where he grows fruit and makes lambrusco wine and balsamic vinegar. He has published editions of the lute music of Alessandro Piccinini and Perino Fiorentino as well as an earlier article in JLSA on the Modena tiorba manuscript.

The prominent American-born cornettist DORON DAVID SHERWIN has been a member of, or collaborator with, many early music ensembles including Concerto Palatino, Hesperion XX, the Clemencic consort, Tragicomedia, and La Reverdie. He lives in Modena, Italy.

A Possible Likeness of John Dowland

BY OLAV CHRIS HENRIKSEN

RECENTLY I WAS STUDYING THE MUSIC and musicians at the court of the Danish-Norwegian King Christian IV while preparing for a lecture, concerts and workshop. In the process, I came across an anthology of five-part madrigals, *Giardino novo bellissimo*,[1] published in 1605 by Melchior Borchgrevinck, organist and (at that time) head of the instrumentalists at the Danish court. The collection is dedicated to King Christian IV, and has a wonderfully engraved title page (plate 1), including an ensemble of two singers and players of bass viol, bass lute and tenor lute (plate 2).

In his major study of music at the court of Christian IV, Angul Hammerich states his belief that the player of the bass viol is the composer himself, Melchior Borchgrevinck.[2] If this is true, then the picture probably shows actual court musicians at the Danish court.

This leads to the next question: who are the remaining musicians? The singers, being boys, are, at best, difficult to identify. However, in 1605 the pride of Christian IV's court chapel was the lutenist John Dowland. Dowland's duties as royal lutenist had begun November 18, 1598,[3] and sure enough, this picture has a well-groomed lutenist placed prominently in the center.

A fact which supports this theory is that due to its success, this volume went into a second edition in 1606, when also a second volume was published. In the new edition, the fancy title page was replaced with a plain one, without the picture of the musicians. The reason for this may be that since John Dowland had been dismissed from court on March 10, 1606, it would have been an embarrassment to have a portrait of him reprinted in a book still dedicated to Christian IV.

If John Dowland is the tenor lutenist, then who played the bass lute? Luckily, the Royal payroll still exists.[4] From this, we know of only two lutenists at court during Dowland's stay in Denmark. The first lutenist was John Maynard, who was hired as a bass singer from October 12, 1599 until he fled during the summer

[1] Melchior Borchgrevinck, *Giardino novo bellissimo di varii fiori musicali scieltissimi* (Copenhagen: Henrico Waltkirck, 1605).
[2] Angul Hammerich, *Musiken ved Christian den fjerdes hof* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1892).
[3] See Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).
[4] Angul Hammerich published the parts relevant to music in his study, see Footnote 2.

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of 1601. After his flight, he was no longer welcome in Denmark, and would certainly not have been included in an engraving from 1605. Later he published *The XII Wonders of the World* (London: Thomas Snodham, 1611), a collection of lute songs, duets and solos for lute and viol in lyra tuning.

The second lutenist was Hans Nielsen (c. 1580–c. 1626), who entered royal service as a lutenist in 1600. He was a student of Melchior Borchgrevinck and twice (1599–1600; 1602–1604) was sponsored by Christian IV to travel to Venice for further studies with Giovanni Gabrieli. Between 1606 and 1608 he went to study lute with Gregory Huet in Wolfenbuttel. Under the Italianized name Giovanni Fonteio, he published *Il primo libro de madrigali a 5 voci* (Venice, 1606). Hans Nielsen was at court from May 5, 1604 until 1606. Since he was still somewhat of an apprentice, it seems appropriate that he would be shown from behind with his face in silhouette and playing the bass lute.

Portraits of musicians from the court chapel were not uncommon in the Renaissance. See, for instance, the miniature by Hans Mielich, portraying the musicians of the Bavarian court chapel, where Orlando di Lasso is said to be the figure standing to the extreme left.[5] The picture comes from the choir book of Penitential Psalms, copied between 1563 and 1570. Since Duke Albrecht I, standing prominently on the left, had hired a large group of musicians, including several players of most instruments,[6] it is difficult to identify with certainty other musicians in the picture.[7] This is further reflected on the title page of Orlando di Lasso, *Patrocinium Musices, Prima Pars* (Munich: Adam Berg, 1573), where the court chapel is engraved in detail by Johannes Nelt (Plates 3 and 4).

In conclusion, it is not unreasonable to believe that the musicians shown on the title page of *Giardino novo bellissimo di varii fiori musicali scieltissimi* are actual musicians at the court of Christian IV. If so, this may well be the only known portrait of John Dowland.

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[5] Color reproduction in H.C. Robbins Landon and John Julius Norwich, *Five Centuries of Music in Venice* (London: Thames and Hudson Ltd., 1991), p. 21.

[6] There is more about the Bavarian court chapel in James Haar, "Munich at the Time of Orlande de Lassus" in *Man & Music: The Renaissance*, ed. Iain Fenlon (London: The Macmillan Press Limited, 1989), pp. 243-262.

[7] Some modern sources, including Luciano Alberti, *Music of the Western World* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1974), claim the harpsichord player to be Orlando di Lasso, but the person to the far left looks exactly like a separate portrait of Lasso, also by Mielich, in the same choir book.

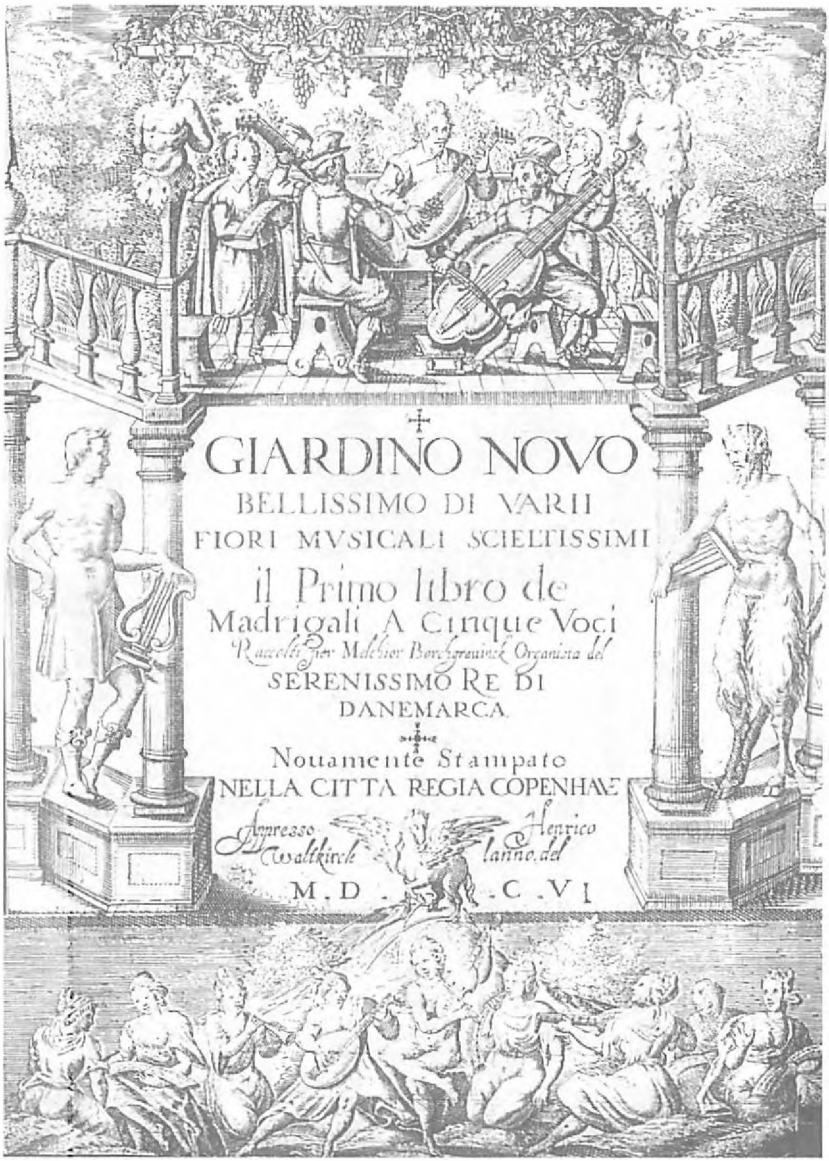

Plate 1
Title page of Melchior Borchgrevinck,
Giardino novo bellissimo di varii fiori musicali scieltissimi
(Copenhagen: Henrico Waltkirch 1605).

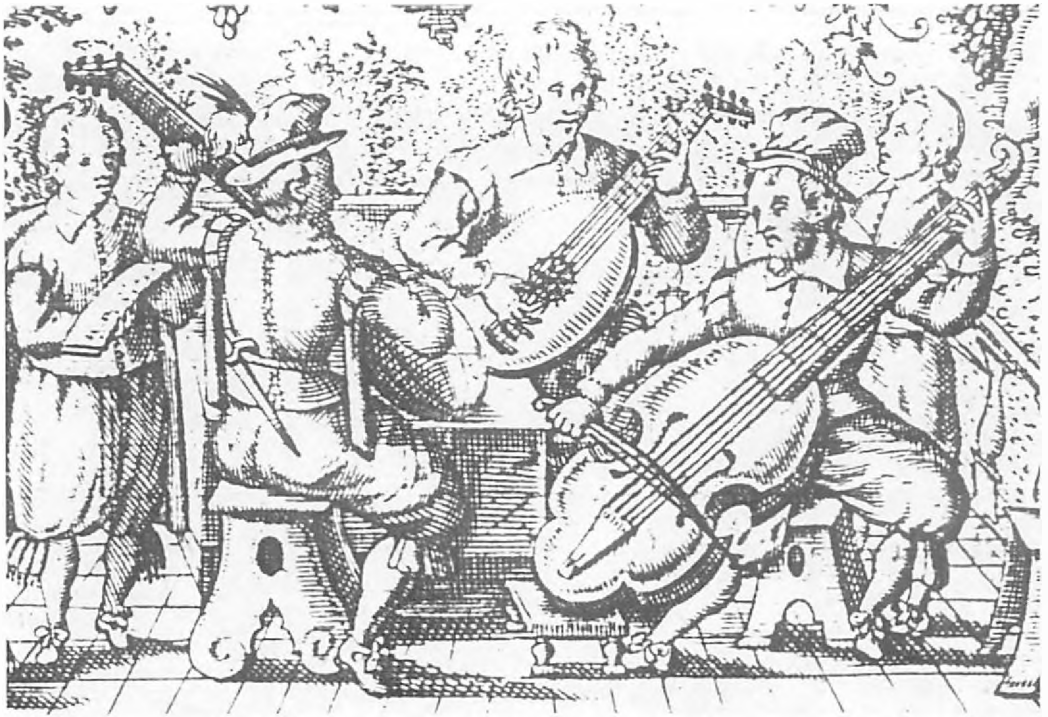

Plate 2

Detail of Danish court musicians from the title page to Melchior Borchgrevinck, *Giardino novo bellissimo di varii fiori musicali scieltissimi* (Copenhagen: Henrico Waltkirch, 1605)

Plate 3
Title page of Orlando di Lasso, *Patrocinium Musices, Prima Pars*
(Munich: Adam Berg, 1573)

Plate 4
Detail of Munich court musicians from the title page to Orlando di Lasso,
Patrocinium Musices, Prima Pars (Munich: Adam Berg, 1573)

A Musician's Life in Seventeenth-Century Italy: The Autobiography of Pietro Bertacchini

BY DOUGLAS ALTON SMITH AND MIRCO CAFFAGNI
with Doron Sherwin

MOST OF THE BIOGRAPHICAL and contextual details about early instrumentalists are hidden from us for sheer lack of information. With few exceptions, we see their perspective of the world only through the medium of their works and the chronology of their sources. Therefore it is felicitous when archival documents allow for detailed personal observations about the life, affairs, thoughts, patronage, and instruments of musicians in former times. The autobiography translated here is just such a document. In the extent and the early date of its reflections on the author's own life, it has scarcely a peer among surviving documents of early musicians.

Pietro Bertacchini was a seventeenth-century singer, theorbist, guitarist, and lutenist. He was born and probably ended his life in Carpi, a small town just north of Modena, but he traveled widely and lived for extended periods in other towns or cities in northern Italy.[1] He played mostly chamber music, though on a few occasions he served as continuo player in opera performances in Genoa and Venice. In later life he supported his family through his father's trade as a dyer. As a skilled musician and teacher, Bertacchini enjoyed the esteem of aristocrats, many of whom engaged him as an instructor. He tells his children of his relations with the nobility with obvious pride. He was not sufficiently virtuosic to become famous or wealthy, but he seems to have maintained a level of income that freed him from want. Bertacchini does not seem to have been a composer: he mentions no compositions of his own, and none attributed to him survive. However, there is a remarkable manuscript in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena that may stem from his hand.

In approximately his fiftieth year, Bertacchini wrote a manuscript of forty chapters on the craft of dyeing cloth, including trade secrets he allegedly developed. To this treatise he appended a chapter containing his autobiography. He writes that he compiled

[1] See Plate 1. A moat surrounds the town walls. A canal in the upper center of the map flows in front of the palace, turns behind a church at the left edge of the palace square, and proceeds down the left side between some houses. Bertacchini's house is behind the church.

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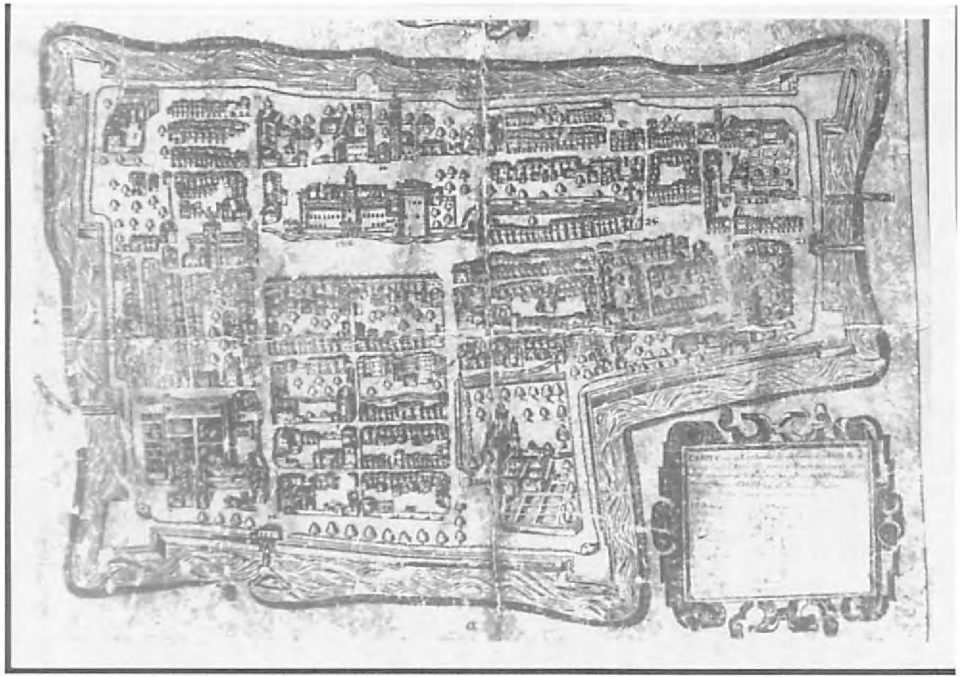

Plate 1 - Map of the town of Carpi, ca 1670. Archivio comunale di Carpi.

the entire manuscript for the personal and economic benefit of his children. The original is lost, but the text of the autobiography has survived in copies. Below is a translation of the part of Bertacchini's autobiography that pertains to music. An introductory section about his ancestors and the dyer's trade is summarized briefly. We have preserved the original terms he uses for musical instruments and some other technical terms in italics.

Bertacchini's written language is influenced by his native Modenese dialect, and while the theorbist had some formal education, his writing style is often rambling, awkward, and sometimes difficult to interpret. This translation attempts to clarify the author's meaning but not to polish the prose.

Translation[2]

Opera by me, Pietro Bertacchini, to impart all the knowledge and precepts, precautions, and whatever else is necessary for dyeing in a vat with woad[3] and indigo, or at his [the reader's] pleasure, whether the desired dyeing job be large or small or hot or cold at any time.

My reader, the present opus contained in this book is made by me, Pietro Bertacchini, with the sole intention of passing on this knowledge and instruction to my children. If I should fail [i.e., die] and not be able to give them the virtue of music and of playing in order to embellish their lives and activities, they cannot otherwise find out either about their ancestors or the method of earning their living with total freedom in the profession of dyeing cloth, especially in vats of woad and indigo. Therefore I will first treat our ancestors, beginning with my great-grandfather, knowledge that my mother gathered and related to me many times.

[*Translator's summary:* Bertacchini tells of his great-grandfather Domenico, who left his wife and son to travel to the Holy Land, and of his grandfather Pietro, who apprenticed as a dyer in Ferrara and then opened the first dyer's shop in Carpi in 1598. The musician's father Giovanni Battista (1600-1654) became a dyer and married the daughter of his landlord. Bertacchini names many other members of the family in several generations so his children will know them. He then explains how he came to be a dyer at age 49. His mother had run the shop for years after her husband's death, but the business gradually declined. Pietro had to seek out and pay an expert dyer to teach him the craft, regretting that his father had

[2] Bertacchini's original text appears in *Memorie storiche e documenti sulla città e sull'antico principato di Carpi*, vol. 5 (Carpi, 1900), 9-21.

[3] A dark blue dye can be extracted from the leaves of the woad plant.

not committed his trade secrets to paper. Resolving not to repeat his father's mistake, he wrote a manual to ensure that his children would always know a trade. The autobiography becomes more interesting for musicians when it reaches the year of Pietro's birth.]

I, Pietro Bertacchini, was born on November 26 in the Year of our Lord 1641. When I was nine my father, who played the *arcilauto*, *chitarra*, and *mandola* and who had studied them for two years in Rome, began to give me lessons on the *arcilauto*. The following year he had Signor Don Claudio Zucchi, *Maestro di Capella* of the Cathedral of Carpi, give me lessons in *canto figurato* while I continued studying Latin until I was thirteen.

Then my father died, and I continued studying music under the above-mentioned maestro, and the study of the *arcilauto* by myself, since my father had brought the carriage of my hands to the utmost perfection. In my fifteenth year Signor Benedetto Ferrari, *Maestro di Capella* of His Serene Highness Duke Francesco of Modena, asked me to come and serve His Highness as second soprano and promised to have me given instruction on the *tiorba*. So I went to Modena, where I served His Highness as second soprano, and served as first soprano in the Cathedral under Signor Don Marco Uccellini, *Maestro di Capella* of the Cathedral of San Geminiano and *Maestro di Capella* in the *concerto* of His Highness.

In my eighteenth year I lost my soprano voice, remaining a good contralto for only six months, during which time I undertook to return to Carpi, where my voice became a tenor. I continued always the study of the *tiorba* and *arcilauto*, singing as I could, and accompanying myself, until the age of twenty-three in the Year of our Lord 1664.

At that time I had the desire to apply myself to the study of playing the *chitarra*, since there was one of my father's instruments in my house. Because I had no one who could teach me even the barest rudiments of this instrument, I managed by tuning it like the *arcilauto* as well as like the *tiorba*. Then when I found a printed book of *chitarra* sonatas in *battute* [a strumming style] with its *alfabeto* [chord designation system], I learned all the letters [of the *alfabeto*], studying *Chiaccona* and *Passacagli* and other sonatas, so that after some practice I began to *passeggiare* [improvise divisions] a bit on this instrument. Performing ever better, I began to regard it as of little value to strum [*batterla*] the instrument and I gave up the strumming altogether and applied myself exclusively to playing from tablature as is customary on the *tiorba* and *arcilauto*. Then I transcribed many easy sonatas from the *arcilauto*, and I became

more strongly enamored of the *chitarra*, all the more because of its greater convenience and of the small trouble of carrying it.

In 1667 I went to Rome on February 4. Passing through Florence, I received the protection of Count Caprara Sargenti, gentleman of the court of the Grand Duke [Ferdinando II Medici], by a letter that I presented from the Signora Marchesa Montecuccoli, his sister, who was then Governess of Carpi.

Arriving in Rome on February 22, I stayed there until December 10, in which time Pope Alexander VII died and Clement IX [Giulio Rospigliosi] was elected Pope. I had a *chitarra* made with a level rather than a recessed rosette, which cost me five Italian *doppie*.[4] Passing again through Florence, I stopped towards the twenty-second of the month at the court and the house of Signor Giulio Cesare Gonzaga di Novellara, majordomo of His Serene Highness the Grand Duke. On the twenty-fourth [of December] I was in Bologna at the house of Signor Angiolo Antonio Vivaldi until February 24, 1668. Then I left for Mantua to the house of Signor Conte Marcantonio Berni, cupbearer of Her Highness the Archduchess, who, informed of the presence of my person, wished on August 16 that I go to Goito where she was staying with all her court, to string and tune her harp, which I did. She conceded me the courtesy of offering me a place at the table of her noblemen [*Cavalieri*], so that I stayed for all of September.

Then I returned to Mantua and continued on to Viadana with a letter from the Reverend Mother Strozzi to the Marchese Ferrante Agnelli Suardi Maffei, Governor of the town, to be given secure embarcation to Milan, since I carried letters of recommendation to the Signor Conte Bartolomeo Aresi, President of the Senate of Milan, and another for the Signor Count Vitaliano Borromeo. These letters I had carried from Rome, the first from the Most Eminent Signor Cardinal Homodei, brother-in-law of the President, and the other from the Most Eminent Signor, Cardinal Borromeo, his brother. But since I never went to Milan, these letters are still at my house. The Governor and his wife, Signora Marchesa Gridonia, coerced me with entreaties, and I was compelled to stay near Their Excellencies until January 2, 1669, when Signor Marchese Lodovico Gonzaga wished to take me with him to Mantua to enjoy the *Carnevale*. Until November 17 I could not leave, so that only on that day I left for Carpi. Thus repatriated again, and having my above-mentioned *chitarra* always close to me, I wished no other application than its study.

[4] The *doppia* is a gold coin, worth about two *scudi*, which are silver coins.

When I was at home again I continued [to study] the *chitarra*, but I also regained the skill I had lost on the *tiorba*, since I played daily at the home of the Signori Lazzari.[5]

Plate 2 - The Lazzari family making music, 1730, by an unknown painter. Museo comunale di Carpi.

I found myself totally secure in playing accompaniments on the *tiorba*, although I lacked the ability to play flourishes [*rifiorimento*] on it.

On the *chitarra* I had played by the [tablature] numbers, which sufficed for me, and therefore I wanted to go to Genoa to seek my fortune. I left with only my *chitarra* and arrived on 18 January 1671. On the twentieth, at the home of the most illustrious nobleman Signor Francesco Rebuffo, I was heard playing the *tiorba*. Then I was asked to accompany in *Argia*, an *opera in musica* by Padre Cesti under the direction of Signor Pietro Simone Augustini, who was then *Maestro di Capella* at the Jesuit Fathers in San Ambrogio.[6] The opera was played twenty-six times during *Carnevale*, whereby I had the fortune to be heard and become known. At once I not only found myself students but also the most illustrious nobleman Signor Stefano Lumellini, who wanted to bring me to his house and table to give singing lessons to his wife Signora Maria Geronima and instrumental lessons [*lectione di suonare*] to the most illustrious nobles: Signor Giovanni Giacomo Grimaldi, son of His Serene Highness Alessandro, the Doge at that

[5] A painting by Girolamo Martinelli of a later generation of the Lazzaris making music (dated 1730) hangs today in the Museo Civico, Carpi.

[6] Padre Antonio Cesti's *L'Argia* was first performed in Innsbruck in 1655 to honor the conversion of the Swedish Queen Christina to Catholicism. For more than two decades it was often revived in other cities. See the facsimile edition with introduction by Howard Mayer Brown (New York: Garland, 1978).

time, and Signora Maddalena, wife of His Highness and stepmother of Signor Giovanni Giacomo; Signor Giacomino Doria, Signor Don Federico Doria, uncle of the Prince Doria, Signora Maria Brigida Spinola, wife of Signor Giovanni Pietro, Signor Domenico Lercaro Imperiale, and Signor Domenico Doria di Lazaro Maria.

On 4 July 1673 I left Genoa and returned to Carpi with the thought of remaining. But at that time I was sought by the *Collegio* of the noblemen of Parma to give them lessons, so finally I was constrained to go there at the beginning of February, 1674. Because it did not please me to stay subject to a [certain] priest who was director of this college, I returned home on April 12, 1675.

On January 9, 1676 I left for Lucca at the behest of the nobleman Signor Bernardino, who had already been my student at the *Collegio*, for the accompaniment of an *opera in musica*, and then to give him lessons. On the twenty-second of that month I arrived in Lucca at the house of Signor Orsetti [and stayed with him] until the tenth of May when I rented a private room, in order to live alone and be able to give lessons.

In 1679 on March 28, the most excellent Council of the Republic of Lucca thanked and honored me with one of the eight positions in the musical establishment of the Palace in that city, suspending the law which reserved these positions for citizens of Lucca. I received a stipend of six silver *scudi* a month and the right to apply for an increase in pay once a year in the future until death.

On June 29, 1681, I left the private room and rented a house. And on 26 April 1682, I married Signorina Margherita, daughter of Signori Silvestro and Signora Chiara Gatti, and sister of Signori Salvatore and Stefano, and of Signore Elisabetta, Orsola, and Catterina. She, being approved and declared *maestra* in the profession of weaving silk cloth, with the privilege of working two looms, immediately started as a worker at a loom, with the useful net income of four and one-half *barboni* per day.

On 20 April 1683, at 5:45 a.m. my first son, Giovanni Battista, was born to me and was baptised in San Giovanni di Lucca on 21 April at 22 hours. His godmother was Princess Panfili Cibo, Princess of Carrara, and now Her Serene Highness Duchess of Massa. The godfather was Signor Abbot Giorgio Spinola, nobleman of Genoa, nephew of the most eminent Signor Cardinal Vescovo di Lucca and Signora Anna Maria Spada, noblewoman of Lucca, and niece of the most eminent Signor Cardinal, performed the function of proxy at the holy source in the name of the aforementioned Duchess.

On 31 October 1684, at 18:45 and a half Camilla was born to me, and was baptised in San Giovanni di Lucca on 1 November

at 22:30. The godfather was Prince Cibo di Carrara, who is now His Highness the Duke of Massa; the godmother was Marchesa Anna Maria Manzi, noblewoman of Lucca, and Signor Nicolao Santini performed the function by proxy in the name of the Duke.

On 1 April 1 1685, I resigned from the [service of the] most excellent elders and standard bearers of Lucca and went with all my family to Massa to enter the service of the Prince and Princess of Carrara. I received a stipend of two *doppie* per month, the house, twenty-four bushels of grain and twenty-four casks of wine per year which was more than sufficient, and a place at the entrance of Their Highnesses' table, clothing for all my children, with the sole obligation to sing and play at Their Highnesses' will and command.

Then by order and edict, His Highness the Duke of Modena commanded that each of his subjects must come and repatriate himself. After having pardoned me once for six months and the second time for two years, the third time the Marchese Giovanni Montecuccoli gave me to understand on the order of His Highness that I must immediately report for repatriation, without making further letters from Modena necessary, under pain of his displeasure and the confiscation of my belongings. I was required to leave at once, but to give me motivation and hope [he informed me] that His Highness wanted me in his service.

Hence I had to leave Massa, within four days, on December 20, 1686, with all my family. I arrived in Modena on the 25th, where I presented a letter of recommendation from the Prince and Princess to His Highness the Duke. I explained that they had been reluctant to see me leave their service, and presented him with a marble *chitarra.*[7] His Highness wanted me to play it for him in the chamber, and he was very pleased with this marvel, made by [the Carrara sculptor] Signor Michele Grandi who had accompanied us in person from Carrara to Modena. He received as his reward twenty-five *doppie* and a commission also to make a harpsichord of marble. In six months he brought it to His Highness with four *flauti* and a *cornetto* all of marble, which were most beautiful things.

[7] This marble guitar still exists today in the Galleria Estense, Modena.

Plate 3 - Guitar of marble by Michele Grandi. Galeria Estense, Modena.

His Highness had given me to understand that he wanted me in his service. Since on 30 October he had left for Rome, I went with all my family to Carpi and arrived there at 3:00 in the afternoon. His Highness returned from Rome with Signor Marchese Francesco Segrati, governor of Carpi. Since this nobleman was a dilettante flute player, and read music as well, as soon as he returned to his government I had to give him lessons at the *castello* [the seat of government] every day. These lessons continued throughout his governorship. When the Duke came with Prince Cesare Ignatio to Carpi, His Highness wished the first time to hear me play the *chitarra* and *tiorba* continuously for four hours. [They liked it so much] that whenever His Highness stopped in Carpi he always wanted to be entertained by me in this way in his chamber.

This continued for fourteen months, during which time I hoped that His Serene Highness desired to have me in his service. But as I received only promises and no results, I resolved earnestly

to go with only my instruments and luggage to Venice. This I did, leaving on 16 December 1687, going to Modena, where I stopped for two days and was offered the post of *aiutante di camera* to His Highness the Duke, which I did not accept. On the contrary, I wished to leave for Venice, and I arrived there on December 22 at the house of Signor Nicola Corradi. At that time Anna was born to me, and I had His Highness made godfather by letter of proxy to Signor Giuseppe Sacchelli, and Signora Ellena Sacchelli his wife was the godmother.

In Venice in the month of January, 1688, I had my first *chitarra* student in the person of Count Luigi dalla Torre, the sole grandson and chamberlain of the Ambassador of His Majesty the Emperor. The second was Count Antonio Vidiman, the third Signor Giovanni Loredani da San Steffano, and then other nobles such as German noblemen who stayed in Venice only for the period of *Carnevale*. Among these was Signor Giacomo Houblou, an Englishman, who had already had a *maestro* in Paris and Rome. For fifty-nine days of lessons on the *tiorba* he gave me fifteen *ongari*[8] as well as allowing me the use of his gondola for giving lessons.

In *Carnevale* of 1689 I accompanied on the *tiorba* the opera in the Teatro di San Luca[9] owned by the Signori Grimani, and increasingly received the friendship, knowledge [*pratica*], conversation, and greatest familiarity possible of Signor Don Giovanni Lagrenzi, *gran Maestro di Cappella* of the Serenissima Repubblica at San Marco.

At that time there were three concerts [*Accademie*] where they wanted me to accompany on the *chitarra*, and I indeed had that honor. This is shown by a book that I have in my house, printed by the Serenissima Repubblica, bound *alla francese*, and entitled *La Pallade Veneta*, dedicated to the Duke of Modena. [The entries are found in] the edition of March, 1688, on page 89 [*sic!* = 59], and in the edition of July on page 42.[10] I left Venice on 10 June 1689 and was in Mantua on the thirteenth of that month, at the house of Count Romualdo Vialardi, Prime Minister of His Serene Highness the Duke of Mantua. As a result of his letter [of invitation] I had come to Mantua. His Highness wanted me to enter his service and repeatedly offered conditions that satisfied both of us.

But thinking of my home and family nearby, I wanted to see them again, so I left Mantua on July 22 and arrived in Carpi on the twenty-third. There I found a certain Antonio Felice da Este, a

[8] "Hungarians," a unit of currency.

[9] *Alias* Teatro San Salvatore. The opera was probably *Il Pertinace*, with music by Paolo Biego. The authors are grateful to Eleanor Selfridge-Field for this reference.

[10] See Eleanor Selfridge-Field, *Pallade Veneta: Writings on Music in Venetian Society 1650-1750* (Venice, 1985). Bertacchini is indeed mentioned in the March issue, but no July issue survives.

dyer on the Passo della Pioppa. This man went to every market on the *piazza* of Carpi to take and return things to be dyed, and to sell dyes, and his business was brisk. He came to me asking to rent my shop, and we established that I would divide my shop in half with him, which indeed happened, although I wanted to conduct the business under my guidance and care. At the end of four months he went bankrupt and left Modena on 15 February 1690, never to return either to the State of Modena nor other locations [in it]. I applied myself vigorously to the work of my shop, and esteemed it above all other things. This would be for the benefit of sustaining my family and my house.

For my greater diversion I continued my musical activity by giving lessons and laying the foundations of the technique of all my instruments and the voice, that they may facilitate learning through practice.

I would assert that in this profession no one, not even princes, could have instruments of greater beauty and especially of greater quality than mine. [Nor do they have better] collections of *Cantate* [written] by the premier *virtuosi*, like the sonatas collected by me and of my copying with the greatest possible diligence, written without errors just as if they were printed. All is adorned in books well-bound with letters figured with much esteem and [at great] cost to me. Musicians and *Professori*, wherever they be, have no collection of such value, because besides the diligence [with which I have assembled it], all of my collection is rare and will always be new and never old, particularly to one who has a genuine foundation [of knowledge].

The reason why I never wished to give copies of these copying efforts of mine, those of the books I collected in Genoa and the others in Lucca, which I received from the ladies and cavaliers and nobility, is that they were thus rendered more rare and valuable and increased in esteem in my hands. And I never wished to lend my instruments, even to one who had greater nobility and power.

I had gotten them at very advantageous prices. For the large *tiorba* I paid ten *doppie*, and for the other of snakewood [*serpentino*], ivory, and ebony, fifteen *doppie*. For the psaltery [*saltero*] I paid seventy-four Genoese *lire* altogether. For the *chitarra* with the recessed rosette and without the chiseled medallions on the tuning pegs, nine *doppie*, and for the four medallions two *doppie*. The *pandora* was given to me by His Serene Highness Duke Carlo, now of Massa; His Highness had paid sixteen *doppie* for it in Bologna. For the *tiorba* without a case I paid half a *doppia*. The *arcilauti* were given to me.

> Thus may my children also do so, and they shall be assured of having rare and valuable things if they know how to conserve these efforts [i.e., possessions] of mine in their trunk, and always keep it locked with its key. I had the trunk made in Genoa for this purpose and it cost me four Spanish *doppie*, all fortified with plates and bands of iron, as well as this book which I made with much industry, effort, and expense, as you will see below. This book, the fruit of my experience written in my own hand, will surely prove itself useful for your livelihood and that of your family, the more you succeed in applying its teachings together with [your] experience.

* * *

The Modena Tiorba Manuscript

With these pieces of advice to his children, Pietro Bertacchini's story of his life closes. His date of death is unknown. Though he was no composer, Bertacchini may have left a very important collection of his own cadential realizations among his effects. It is likely that the manuscript Mus. G. 239 in the Biblioteca Estense of Modena is one of the books that Bertacchini describes "with letters figured with much esteem and [at great] cost to me."[11] The manuscript's calligrapher is anonymous, but several pieces of evidence point to Bertacchini. The manuscript stems from Bertacchini's lifetime, features prominently a Modenese composer, and corresponds visually to the manner in which Bertacchini says he decorated his books. Further, it contains exercises that reveal an analytical mind of the same sort that was responsible for compiling a 40-chapter treatise on dyeing. To verify the attribution hypothesis, however, one would need to find a document in Bertacchini's handwriting, but as yet none has been identified.

The Modena *tiorba* manuscript contains twenty-seven compositions for soprano and continuo as well as a series of cadential realizations in theorbo tablature. Half of the *cantate* and *canzonette* in the Modena *tiorba* manuscript are by Bellerofonte Castaldi, the eccentric Modenese theorbist who published two books of theorbo and vocal music in the early 1620s. The rest are unattributed, except for one by Monteverdi *(Lasciatemi morire).*

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[11] For studies of this manuscript, see, Mirco Caffagni, "The Modena *tiorba* continuo manuscript," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 12 (1979), 25-42; Victor Coelho, *The Manuscript Sources of Seventeenth-Century Italian Lute Music* (New York: Garland, 1995), 101-104; Kevin Mason, *The Chitarrone and its Repertoire in Early Seventeenth-Century Italy* (Aberystwyth: Boethius Press, 1989), 75-76, incl. facsimiles.
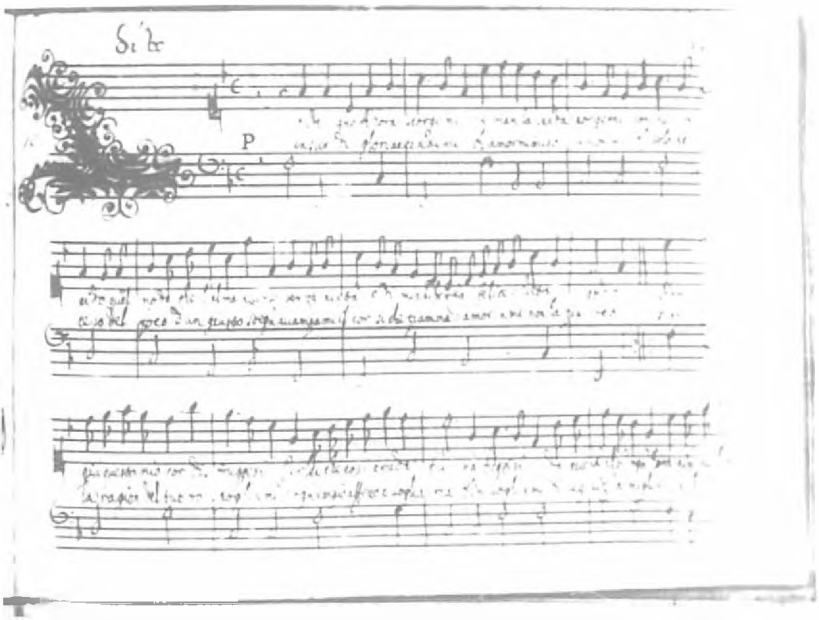
Plate 4 - Beginning of the Lamento di Arianna, "Lasciatemi morire," by Claudio Monteverdi. Page 1 of the Modena *tiorba* manuscript, Biblioteca Estense, Mus. G. 239 (copied and calligraphed by Pietro Bertacchini?)

The final twenty-five pages consist of a series of cadential formulas with written-out embellishments in tablature for the theorbo. Perhaps these are the same exercises in *rifiorimento* that Bertacchini developed for himself after participating in the chamber music events at the Lazzari home in Carpi. The cadence realizations were clearly intended as exercises to practice and as formulas to use during an improvised accompaniment. They constitute a catalog of the most frequent cadences and bass progressions a theorbist would encounter, with bass motion by step and skip, ascending and descending, and combinations of these, in all the most common keys.[12]

[12] The whole-note C in the mensural bass line of example 2, measure one of Bertacchini's (or the intabulator's) manuscript is a mistake purged in our transcription.
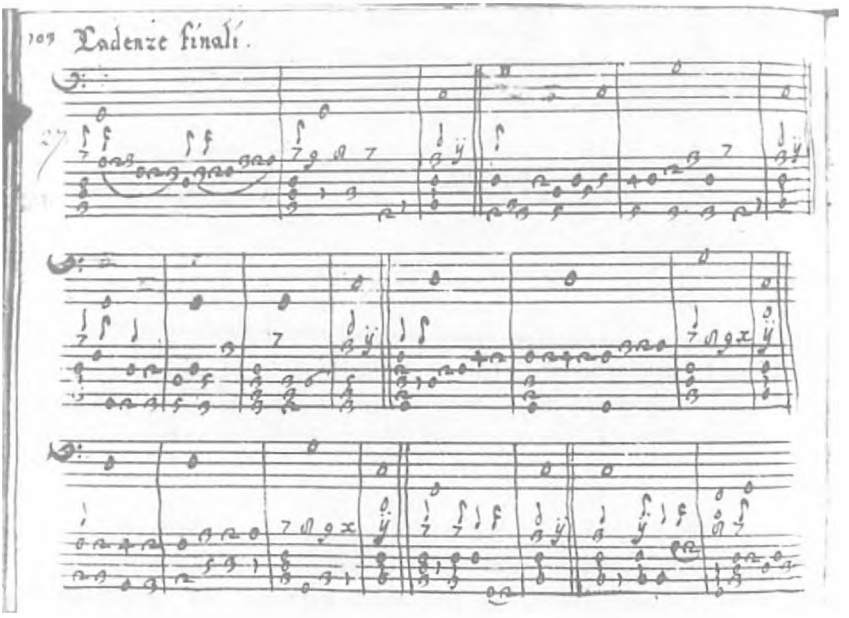
Plate 5 - Final cadences from the Modena *tiorba* manuscript. Facimile of p. 103, Mus. Ms. G. 230, Biblioteca Estense, Modena.
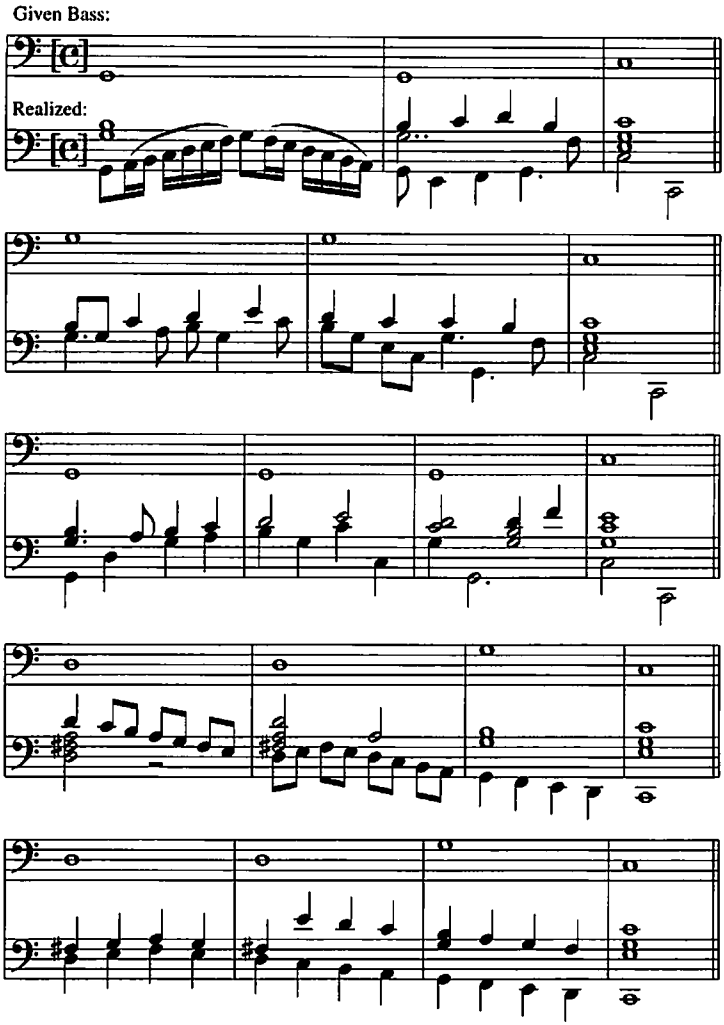
Plate 6 - Transcription of five cadences on p. 103, Modena *tiorba* manuscript.

It is notable, even remarkable, in what a *cantabile* manner the compiler treats both the upper and lower accompaniment parts. The upper part is not a sequence of chords but rather horizontally conceived. Even the bass could here better be described as a *basso diminuito*, a part as *cantabile* as the part above it, not merely a simple harmonic support. Since continuo lines in prints that specify *tiorba* or *chitarrone* as preferred or possible accompaniment instrument tend to look no different than any other bass, these exercises offer priceless insight into how a creative accompanist used the theorbo's

contrabasses. If this musician was indeed Bertacchini, it is no wonder that he was in great demand as a teacher.

Transmission of the Text

The somewhat convoluted story of how Bertacchini's words came down to us is itself an intriguing tale that reminds one of Umberto Eco's tongue-in-cheek, fictional account of the transmission of *The Name of the Rose.* Anyone who wishes to compare our translation with any of the Italian versions should understand the history of this transmission. More than half a century after Bertacchini's death his dyer's manual came into the hands of Eustachio Cabassi of Carpi. Cabassi (1730-1796), a member of the old nobility, who had a great interest in the history of his home town, his *patria.* He collected a large quantity of materials pertaining to Carpi's past, among them documents, pictures, works of art, and other objects to make a kind of historical library and museum. Cabassi himself wrote a long manuscript on Carpi's artistic history, the *Notizie degli artisti Carpigiani*, an encyclopedia of artists and musicians from Carpi and Modena. Under the heading *Bertacchini* he reproduced the theorbist's autobiography, but not the treatise on the dyer's craft.

In the year of Cabassi's death another preserver of Carpi history was born – the priest Don Paolo Guaitoli (1796-1871). Like Cabassi, Guaitoli assiduously collected or copied historical documents. In the Carpi home of the Benetti family, from whom Cabassi's mother stemmed, he found and copied Cabassi's *Notizie* manuscript with its Bertacchini excerpt. Guaitoli's large library, including his transcript of the *Notizie*, today rests in the Museo Civico in Carpi.[13] Cabassi's and Bertacchini's originals are lost, as is the treatise on dyeing cloth.

At some point Guaitoli made an abbreviated copy of the Bertacchini autobiography for yet another historian of Carpi, A. G. Spinelli, omitting the part about the theorbist's ancestors. This copy is also in Carpi's Museo Civico.[14] In 1900 Spinelli used this copy as one of the sources for his book *Notizie spettanti alla storia della musica in Carpi.*[15]

Bertacchini's story was summarized in an article by Luigi-Francesco Valdrighi in 1881,[16] but it received virtually no attention from other musicologists for a century, until Mirco Caffagni commented on it in his article on the Modena *tiorba* manuscript.

[13] The *Notizie* MS bears the call number A. G. Ca. 237-IV.
[14] Call number A. G. Ca. 111-2.
[15] See footnote 1, above.
[16] Luigi-Francesco Valdrighi, "Pietro Bertacchini e altri musicisti del Sec. XVII" (Modena, 1881), reprinted in Valdrighi, *Musurgiana* (Bologna, 1970).

Subsequently the complete transcript of the autobiography, gleaned not from Spinelli's short copy but from Guaitoli's full copy of the Cabassi *Notizie*, has twice appeared in print.[17]

For the present publication, the authors have consulted both the Spinelli and Garuti publications, and Mirco Caffagni also compared the text with Guaitoli's two manuscript copies, making corrections where necessary.[18]

TIMELINE

1641: Pietro is born.
1650: Young Pietro begins to receive lessons on archlute from his father.
1651: Pietro begins study of *canto figurato* with Claudio Zucchi in Modena.
1654: Pietro's father dies.
1656: Pietro sings soprano in choruses of the Duke of Modena and the Cathedral of San Geminiano (Modena), and begins to learn the theorbo.
1659: Pietro's voice changes and he returns to Carpi.
1664: Pietro teaches himself the guitar.
1667: To Rome via Florence. Later visits to Bologna, Mantua, Goito, and finally Viadana.
1669: November 17, returns from Viadana to Carpi. Plays daily with the Lazzari family.
1671: (January) To Genoa. Plays theorbo in Cesti's *l'Argia.* Gives singing and instrumental lessons to the Genoese nobility.
1673: To Carpi.
1674: To Parma, music instructor at the *Collegio.* Returned to Carpi in 1675.
1676: To Lucca, serving Signor Orsetti and the city.
1682: Marries Margherita Silvestro.
1683: Son Giovanni Battista is born.
1684: Daughter Camilla is born.
1685: To Massa, to serve the Prince and Princess of Carrara.

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[17] Eustachio Cabassi, *Notizie degli Artisti Carpigiani con le aggiunte di tutto ciò che ritrovasi d'altri Artisti dello Stato di Modena*, vol. 7 of Materiali per la storia di Modena medievale e moderna, ed. Alfonso Garuti, (Modena, 1986). Mirco Caffagni, "L'autobiografia di Pietro Betacchini," *Bollettino della Società Italiana del Liuto* 3/2 (April, 1993), 9-16.

[18] *I wish to thank Patrizia Tomain and the lutenist Dr. Maurizio da Col of the Veneto for checking an early version of this translation and clarifying obscure phrases. Dr. Mirco Caffagni of Modena kindly provided me with copies of both published versions of Bertacchini's story and of the Guaitoli manuscript and delved into the transmission history of the text. He and Mr. Sherwin corrected and commented on the final version of the translation, helping particularly with Modenese dialect terms.*
— D.A.S.

1686: (December) The Duke of Modena orders Bertacchini back to Modena. The theorbist presents the Duke with a marble guitar. In October he moves to Carpi.
1687: To Venice. Daughter Anna is born in Carpi.
1688: Pietro teaches guitar and theorbo to nobles in Venice; plays theorbo in opera performances; associates with the composer and San Marco organist Legrenzi.
1689: Return to Carpi via the court of Mantua.
1690: Pietro decides to become a dyer.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA AND MODENA, ITALY

Some Manifestations of French Lyricism in Seventeenth-Century *pièces de luth* Repertoire

BY GEORGE TORRES

FRENCH BAROQUE MUSIC IS OFTEN COMPARED with music of other nations of the period when, in fact, it ought to be confronted on its own terms. One aspect of the French style most commonly criticized is the nature of the melodic line. This criticism is particularly leveled at French lute music of the seventeenth century. Applying the same criteria to the music of diverse repertories, nations and traditions can produce misleading results. The purpose of the present study is to examine the nature of French melody to see how it is manifested in the melodic style of French Baroque lutenists.

What a routine comparison of seventeenth-century French music to contemporary Italian or German repertories does not show is how the French themselves viewed melody. In other words, what did they consider good melody and how might it be recognized in their airs? Because versification plays a large role in the setting of words to music, it is important to analyze the problem from the perspective of French versification in order to demonstrate how these conventions were employed to produce vocal melodies. The relationship between text and music produces irregular groupings of melodic units or phrases. These groupings bear a resemblance to the types of melodies found in lute music of the period.

The next logical step is to analyze lute melodies and find the correspondence between these and the vocal models. By isolating the ends of melodic units and their coincidence with harmonic and technical division, it becomes possible to see how lute melodies are related to sung melodies. Not surprisingly, lute melodies share stylistic traits with contemporary airs. From this correspondence, we can infer that the players of instrumental music imagined vocal models as a basis for these instrumental pieces: This hypothesis not only explains the intrinsic quality of lute melodies, but also supports the notion that the technical indications found in so many manuscripts, provided a basis for musical interpretation as well as supplying an aid to performance.[1] But before turning to a

[1] With so much attention given to performance indications it is surprising that their treatment has been undermined not only by scholars, but by performers as well. Even with our present "historical awareness" some of the most renowned instrumentalists ignore the indications designated in the

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discussion of some aspects of French melody, it is important to settle the score with one of the more troublesome terms used to describe the genre of *pièces de luth*: *style brisé*. Because the term *style brisé* has been so closely associated with melodic texture in this repertoire, it is in our best interests to at least acknowledge its use, and misuse, in previous discussions of French lute music.[2]

Style brisé

Style brisé in its most restricted usage, refers to the "broken style," the technique of separating simultaneous notes. The more the term is used to describe many different traits (melodic ambiguity, ornamentation and other such effects that are not necessarily dependent on the breaking of chords) the less specific the definition becomes. But scholars have not hesitated to use the term to refer to more than just the separating of notes. This broad application of the term is used by lute scholars including David Ledbetter who writes:

> On a purely technical level this [*style brisé*] denotes the process of playing the notes of music in two or more parts successively rather than simultaneously. But in the context of the repertoire as a whole, it has much broader and deeper implications.[3]

Should the term be restricted to refer to the texture of separated notes? Or should it have a broader implication and work as a coverall term for the entire genre? As a restricted term, it maintains a specificity that denotes a legitimate technique of the period. A broader definition runs the risk of confusing the style issue. Also, while coverall terms for entire genres are sometimes created out of convenience, their perpetual use in scholarship is not always subjected to criticism, and therefore makes any analysis that

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sources for what is sometimes referred to as a more "practical" approach. This point is discussed by Paul O'Dette in his article "Some Observations About the Tone of Early Lutenists," *in Proceedings of the International Lute Symposium:* Utrecht, 1986, p. 86-89.

[2] Lionel de La Laurencie was the first to use the term in *Les Luthistes* (Paris: Laurens) 1928, p. 109. David Buch's article on *style brisé*, in *Musical Quarterly* 71 (1986): pp. 52-67, was the first detailed attempt to show the provenance of the term. However, Buch does not credit La Laurencie as the first to use the term. Instead he quotes the 1928 publication from an earlier page where La Laurencie states "Ce style «brisé» des luthistes français recontre encore un important imatateur en la personne de l'Autrichien J.-G. Peyer qui, de 1672 à 1678 était au service de l'emporeur Leopold Ier, à Vienne," (p.82). Buch further comments that La Laurencie only uses the word "brisé" and that it was not until Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York: Norton) 1947, that the term was first used. David Ledbetter was also capable of straightening out the *style brisé* issue by restricting its usage but instead has fully incorporated its broader implications in his text and has even come up with new derivations of the word (*brisure*) to further complicate the situation.

[3] David Ledbetter, *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press) 1987, p. 33.

uses such terms potentially dogmatic. The study of this repertoire is not dependent on a single term that describes the overall stylistic effect, nor is one needed, and it is my intention to conduct an analysis without using this problematic term, which has no period significance anyway. If we are looking for terminology to aid in our understanding of the repertoire, two terms from the period do have an historical significance and offer a partial solution to the problem.

Seventeenth-century writers did not use the term *brisé*, but rather had their own terms for the breaking of notes: *arpègement* and *notes separées*.[4] In the case of *separé*, it may be used interchangeably with the word *brisé* in discussions involving the restricted use of the term. But as a replacement for the broad term used to refer to the entire genre, *separé* would cause as much trouble as the term *style brisé*. The term that is most often used to refer to collections of lute music is *pièces de luth*.[5] This is the lute's counterpart to viol and harpsichord literatures that are referred to as *pièces de viole* and *pièces de clavecin*, respectively. The best alternative then is to use *separé* or *notes separées* for textural description, and to refer to the genre – without referring to specific style traits – as *pièces de luth*.

To summarize, the term *style brisé* issue needs to be addressed for two reasons. First, scholars have used the term rather loosely, perhaps as a method of simplification, to describe the style traits of an entire repertoire. Second, in its restricted sense, the term describes an important technique that composers of the period used to decorate the melodic line.

French Lyricism

Discussions of seventeenth-century lute style have criticized the French for their treatment of melodic style. This can be seen not only in recent musicological studies but in period descriptions as well. In his book *The Study of the Lute* (1727), Ernst Gottlieb Baron sharply criticizes the French style.

> With regard to the characteristics of the French, they too often change voices, so that one cannot even recognize distinguish the melody, and, as already mentioned, there is little *cantabile* to be found, particularly because they regard it fashionable to brush back chords on the lute with the right hand, just as one would on the guitar; a constant hopping around is required to give spirit and life to the pieces. I have

[4] The term *notes separées* should not be mistaken for Sebastian de Brossard's meaning of notes without ligatures or as he also describes them, *notes sciolte*, in *Dictionaire de la Musique*, Paris 1703.

[5] This is the term most commonly found in printed sources of lute music. The seventeenth century practice of naming manuscript anthologies is less uniform. However, one sometimes encounters the term *pièces de luth* or *recueil de pièces de luth* on title pages for collections of lute works as in *Monin* and *Prague 84*, to name two.

> also observed that they also consider it delicate to avoid the deep basses and prefer the middle register.[6]

Baron's criticism is actually an accurate description of French lute music of the period. His observation regarding voice leading could be applied to the *separé* technique. But it also could refer to the fact that, compared to the soprano dominated *cantabile* style, French lute melodies appear in different tessituras in the same piece, and the number of voices may change rapidly, as is also the case in French harpsichord literature. French melodies do not employ the *cantabile* style of composers Baron favors, like Sylvius Leopold Weiss, and the absence of *cantabile* is one of the grounds on which he attacks the French style.

A similar reception of French style is even found in more recent scholarship. Wallace Rave's dissertation on lute sources is the most thorough treatment of the style. Embedded in his discussion, however, is a tone that implies a deficiency in compositional technique. Several of his statements, such as, "melody hardly exists at all as such" and "nothing is consistent except ambiguity", suggest that the composers have not fulfilled some expectation.[7]

On the whole, French music is generally thought to be distinct from music of neighboring countries. David Tunley writes:

> Few would deny that much French music of the 17th and 18th centuries -- and a considerable amount before and after -- exhibits a style distinct from music of the same time written by composers of other nationalities, even though they all shared a musical language.[8]

Scholars often describe French music in negative terms, and in the musicological literature, it is often subject to "indifference and even hostility on the part of musicians" that were raised on an Italian and German repertory.[9] It is no surprise then that French

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[6] Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nuremberg: Rüdiger) 1727, reprinted as *Study of the Lute*, translated by Douglas Alton Smith (Redondo Beach, Ca: Instrumenta Antiqua) 1976, p. 77.

[7] Wallace Rave, "Some Manuscripts of French Lute Music 1630-1700: An Introductory Study," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois), 1972, pp. 58-61. Buch took Rave to task for this analysis in his *style brisé* article. He extrapolated a twelve point system from Rave's text in order to prove that Rave was wrong in his analysis of French style stating that Rave's observations were faulty and that the style traits that Rave cited as being absent in the music were actually present in a some pieces by Gaultier. Rave's analysis is one of the most detailed discussions of lute style from the period and offers more than Buch was willing to credit him. The present study does not intend to speak negatively of Rave's analysis but merely points to the fact that even the best work on the subject can at times view the French style as lacking, perhaps as a result of comparison with the music of other genres.

[8] David Tunley, "Couperin and French Lyricism," *The Musical Times,* (1983): p. 543.

[9] Ibid.

music and especially lute music, has been misunderstood by scholars from Baron to the present.

It would now seem appropriate to pose the question: How did the French themselves view the concept of melody? Recently, David Tunley has provided insight on the matter of Baïf's influence in the seventeen and eighteenth centuries. In his article, "The Union of Words and Music in Seventeenth-Century French Song: The Long and the Short of It," Tunley argues for an analysis of French vocal music that must proceed from an understanding of the text. His premise is that, based on the principles of quantitative prosody, composers of airs created text-based melodies in which melodic structure is based on the rhythmic nuances of the text declamation.

Composers of the period were familiar with the subtleties of French verse and used this knowledge to their advantage in producing melodies that fit their language. In his article "Couperin and French Lyricism," Tunley shows how the French were dependent on the rhythm of the poetry to create their melodies. If we are to understand the melodies of the French Baroque lute school, we must look at the types of melodies that were employed in airs at the beginning of the period. Wallace Rave puts the beginning of the so-called *style brisé* between 1600-1630.[10] Tunley maintains that the differences between the *air* of the 1630's and the later *airs* of Michel de Lambert consist mainly of details in performance practice and that the melodies themselves remain similar in style throughout much of the period.[11] An examination of some early *airs* from the first quarter of the seventeenth century shows how the composers who were contemporary with the earliest manifestations of seventeenth-century French lute style set their poetry to music.[12]

One might expect to discern the influence of dance songs that were published by Ballard between 1627 and 1669 in the anonymous collections of *Chansons pour dancer et pour boire.* Melodies based on dance rhythms would seem to have a direct bearing on the study of the relationship between vocal *airs* and dance-based lute

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[10] Rave, p. 58.

[11] David Tunley, "Solo Song and Vocal Duet: France," in *New Oxford History of Music. Volume VI: Concert Music 1630-1750*, edited by Gerald Abraham, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1986, p. 156.

[12] When referring to the French *air* it is important to bear in mind that a number of different song types fall under the rubric *air.* French solo song of the seventeenth century can be divided into the following four main groups: (1) *airs de cour*, that is to say, serious secular songs (though sometimes these also include drinking songs); (2) The more light hearted chanson with its squarer rhythms and catchier tunes (also including *chansons à dancer*); (3) sacred solo songs (for example, Psalm settings by Guédron) and (4) *recits* which formed an integral part of the *ballet de cour.* Here I will only focus on the first category of *airs de cour.* For a discussion of the various types of *airs* see Nigel Fortune, "Solo Song and Cantata," in *New Oxford History of Music. Volume IV: The Age of Humanism 1540-1630*, edited by Gerald Abraham, (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 1968, p. 189.

pieces. A closer examination reveals, however, that although many of these tunes are unbarred, they nevertheless retain the square repetitive rhythms that actually look back to the Renaissance rather than look forward to the Baroque period. "At the beginning of the Baroque period" Bukofzer writes, "the airs lost their popular features, notably their square rhythm and melodic simplicity. Merged with the sophisticated tradition of *vers mesuré* they were stylized to what Parran called in his *Traité de la musique* (1646), *le style d'air.*"[13]

In his treatise on singing, Bacilly spends over one hundred pages discussing the concepts behind quantitative prosody.[14] The basic idea is that the treatment of a word is based on whether it is a short, semi-long or long monosyllable, or whether it is a two or more syllable word having either a masculine or feminine ending. For example, if the word has a feminine ending, the penultimate syllable receives the stress, and if the word has a masculine ending, the stress is on the final syllable. Monosyllabic words are more complicated, and Bénigne de Bacilly spends much of his discussion on the various ways they should be treated.[15] Let us then examine a typical French *air* in order to see how the composers set the poetry to music. The following *air* by Pierre Guédron serves as an example of the relationship between poetry and music.[16]

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[13] Bukofzer (p. 145.) is referring to Antoine Parran's four styles of composition that he uses as an introduction to his discussion of the rules of counterpoint in *Traité de la musique* (Paris: Ballard), 1639, pp. 85-6. Bukofzer cites the second edition of 1646 without giving the exact location within Parran's *Traité.*

[14] Bénigne de Bacilly, *L'art de bien chanter* (Paris, 1679), p. 327-428.

[15] For a summary of Bacilly's preferences see the appendix to David Tunley's article, "The Union of Words and Music in Seventeenth-Century French Song: The Long and the Short of it," *Australian Journal of French Studies* 21/3 (1984): pp. 295-6.

[16] Originally from Jean Baptiste Besard, *Thesaurus Harmonicus*, (Cologne, 1603), fo. 80 vo. A modern edition is in André Verchaly, *Airs de cour pour voix et luth (1603-43)*, (Paris, 1961) p. 8. The Besard is an embellished version of a Guédron polyphonic setting for voices. There is another, more readable version for lute and voice arranged by Bataille in *Airs de differents autheurs mis en tablature de luth*, Vol. 3 (Paris, 1611) p. 45, which is closer in melody to the earlier Guédron version, and has a much clearer reading of the text underlay than the Besard version. However, the melodic and rhythmic liberty common in airs from the period is more apparent in the Besard version than the latter Bataille version. In some cases the two versions differ in phrase lengths, which results in different metric settings of the poetic scansion. Nevertheless, in an effort to make a connection between solo voice and solo lute melodies, this analysis proceeds from the more decorative Besard version, as edited by Verchaly. Also, the Besard predates the Bataille by eight years, and therefore may be considered an *erste fassung* of the version for voice and lute.

Example 1

1 Si jamais//mon ame blessée
8 (3+5) a

2 Loge ailleurs qu'en vous//sa pensée,
8 (5+3) a

3 Puissé-je estre//pour chastiment
8 (4+4) b

4 Privé de tout//contentement.
8 (4+4) b

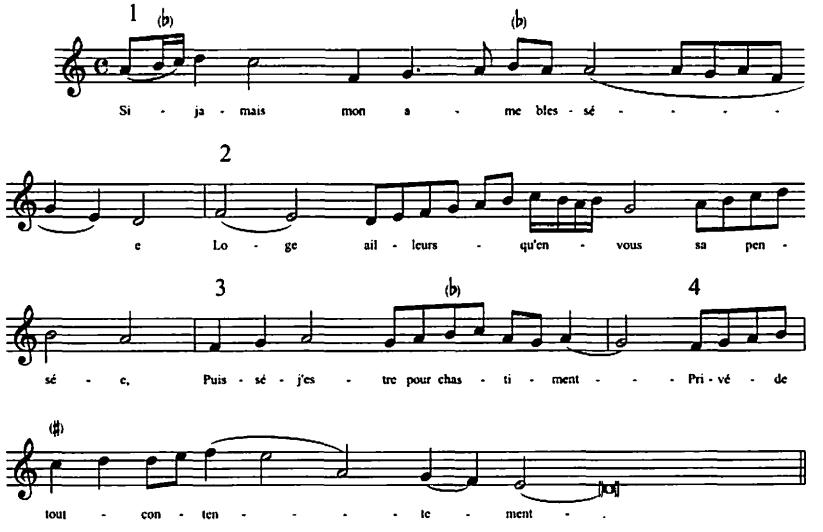


Figure 1 - *Si jamais mon ame blessée.* (Pierre Guédron)

This strophe is rich in the sorts of details one would expect to find in French classical verse. The rhyme scheme of *aabb* alternates two feminine and two masculine lines. The *"ment"* ending of lines three and four are treated here as masculine endings. A comparison of the words that would be considered long according to Bacilly's preferences are virtually the same as those set long by the composer. But within the regularity of four consecutive lines there is disagreement on the placement of their caesuras. The first line has a three-plus-five division while the second line displays a five-plus-three scansion. The remaining two lines each have a four-plus-four structure. The musical setting of *Si jamais* results in four independent phrases of varying length, producing an overall structure that is different from what might be expected from an octosyllabic quatrain. Consider for example the treatment of the last

two lines. As far as the poetry is concerned, they are both eight syllables long, but the fourth line is developed over nearly twice as much musical time as the third (Figure 2).[17]

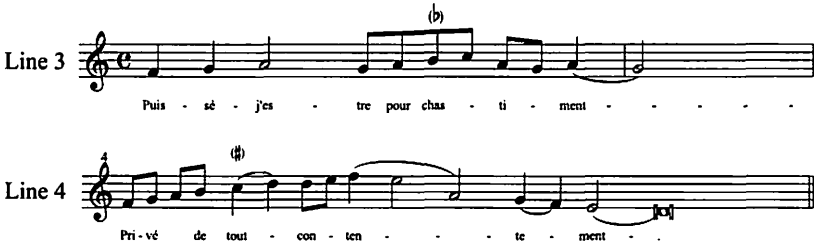


Figure 2 - Comparison of lines 3 and 4 of *Si jamais mon ame blessée.*

The third line is internally weaker than the fourth. Take for example the caesuras in both. The third line, if divided after the fourth syllable (the only real place to put a caesura in this line), results in a feminine caesura. This is not only rarer than a hemistich with a masculine caesura, but also considered weaker in French versification of the period. Instead of showing any sort of musical pause after this fourth syllable, Guédron has delayed the long note value to the end of the line on the word *chastiment.* On the other hand, the masculine caesura of the fourth line not only receives a long note value, but is also ornamented with an *port de voix* from below (Figure 3).

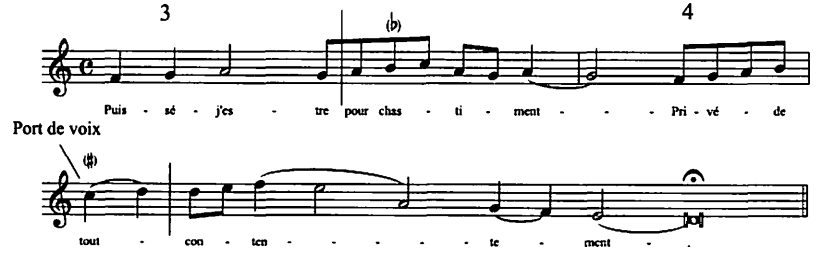


Figure 3 - Placement of caesuras in *lines 3* and 4 of *Si jamais mon ame blessée.*

The placement of ornaments is often over the long note value within a line or half line. According to traditional versification, the "ent" ending at the ends of lines three and four

[17] The third line is developed over the equivalent of eight quarter beats while the fourth line is developed over twenty quarter beats.

should be considered feminine. In most of the *airs* examined for this study, the "ent" endings are treated as masculine endings with regard to syllable count. But with regard to their musical setting they often receive special treatment. Both the third and fourth lines of *Si jamais* end with a *port de voix* from above on the last syllable, and the sequence is a short note followed by a long one (Figure 4).

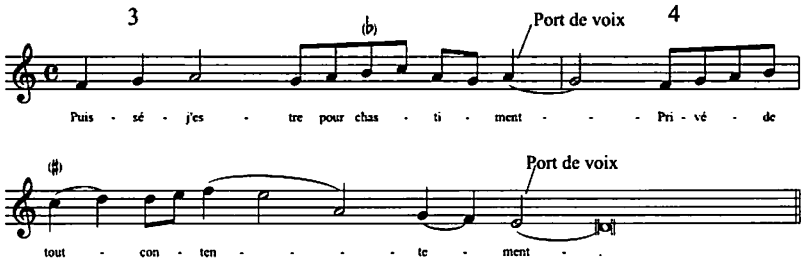


Figure 4 - *Port de voix* concluding lines 3 and 4 of *Si jamais mon ame blessée.*

A similar technique can be seen in the endings for the first two verses, but as those are considered true feminine endings, their treatment is slightly different. In these cases, the shorter penultimate note is placed on the strong penultimate syllable (Figure 5).

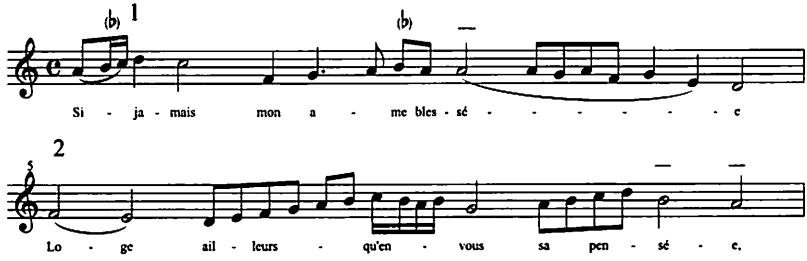


Figure 5 - treatment of feminine endings in lines 1 and 2 of *Si jamais mon ame blessée.*

This sort of attention to details of the poetry suggests why *airs serieux* were constructed by independent means in order to create individual lines that do not appear to share common musical traits with one another.

Lyricism in Lute Melodies

Having examined an example of French melody from the *airs de cour* repertoire, we can now look to see if any of the traits

exemplified may be found in lute music of the period. Examining some of these pieces will show what aspects of French lyricism, if any, are manifest in the most common lute pieces. One way to go about this would be to scan some lute pieces just as was shown with the *airs*. The important difference, of course, is the absence of a text, which obliges one to approach the task from another direction. In order to find a parallel with text-based vocal music, a relationship analogous to that between syllables and line lengths must be established. Thus, if the syllable is the fundamental unit of structure in a poetic line, then the individual notes should be counted to see how they constitute larger punctuations. There are several parameters involved in determining the length of the line: (1) the placement of longer notes; (2) the placement of ornaments (especially if they coincide with the longer notes of the line or half line; (3) harmonic agreement (placing the end of a line at an unresolved harmony would be similar to placing a caesura in the middle of word) and (4) the technical implications of performance indications in the tablature.

The following example is a sarabande by Dufaut taken from the *Barbe* manuscript.[18] The first two measures can be thought of as a four-plus-four, eight-syllable line. Both the division of the half line and the end of the line are determined by the two long note values; the dotted quarter g in the first measure and the half note a in the second measure (Figure 6).

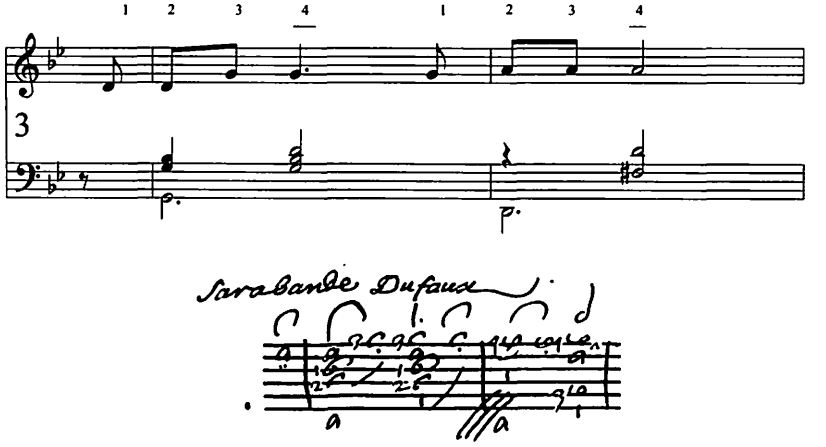


Figure 6 - The first line of the Dufaut sarabande.

[18] I am grateful to Éditions Minkoff for allowing me to reproduce examples from the facsimile *Manuscrit Barbe*, (Geneva: Minkoff) 1985. The Dufaut sarabande is from p. 217.

The next two measures constitute the second line resulting in a three-plus-five, eight-syllable line, again distinguished by the placement of longer notes. The first three syllables present no problems but the second half of the line must take into account the harmonic relationship between the E-flat and B-flat harmonies.

In order to have the harmony and melody coincide we must think of the f in measure four as a slur over one syllable (Figure 7).

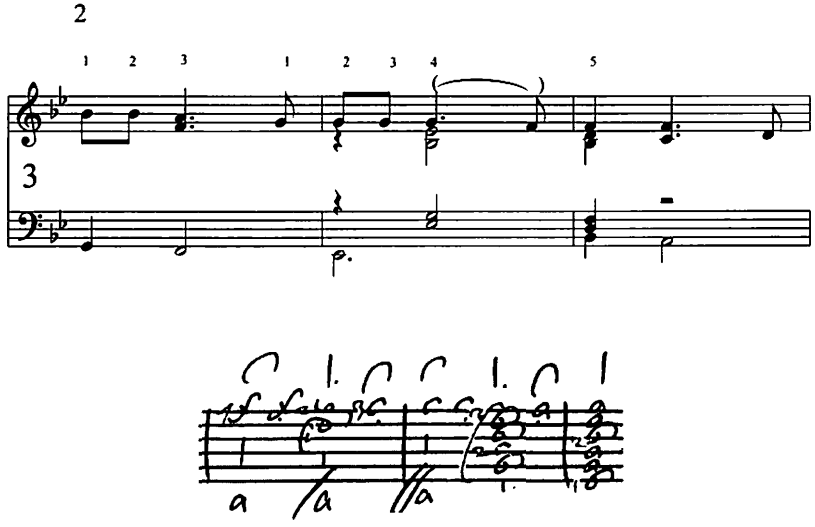



Figure 7 – The second line of the Dufaut sarabande.

This places the beginning of the next phrase on the second beat of the fifth measure. This last phrase of the first half of the sarabande is another eight-syllable line of four-plus-four, with the final syllable of the line on the first beat and the remaining two pulses being an instrumental termination (Figure 8).

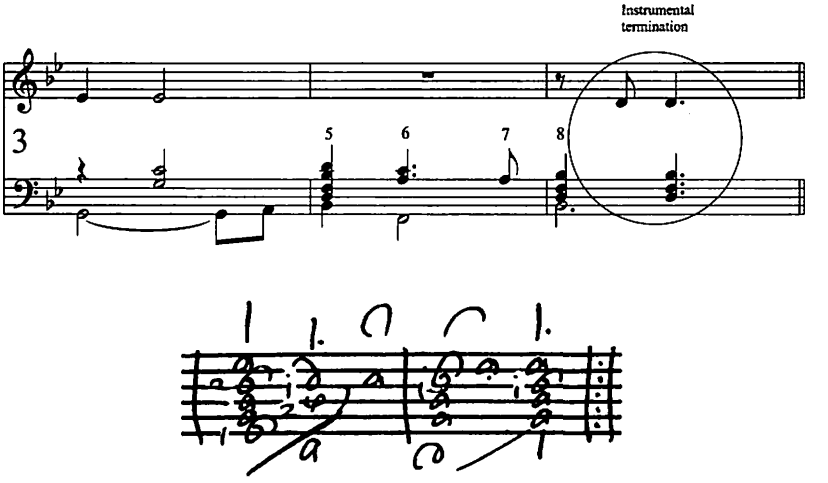
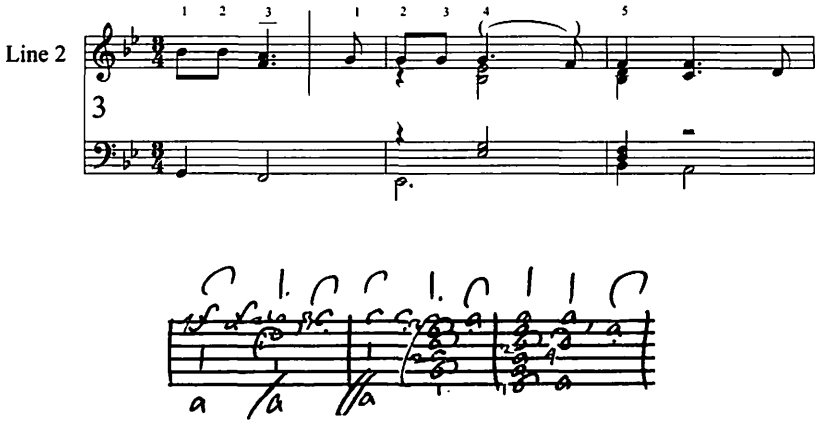
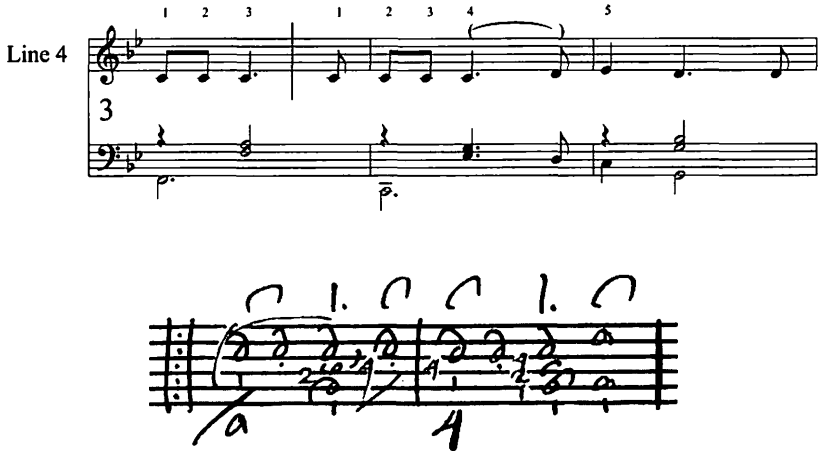


Figure 8 - Last four pulses of Line 3 with instrumental termination.

What is revealed in the first half of the piece can be thought of as a kind of octosyllabic tercet, (four plus four); (three plus five); (four plus four). More important, however, is that none of the phrases is exactly like any other. At first, it seems that the rhythm of the first four notes is going to be developed into a unifying motive. But in broader analysis, not only is the anacrusis absent from the beginning of the second line, but also the three plus five scansion of the second line further keeps the line from resembling that of the first line. This scansion of the second line not only pushes the cadence to the first beat of measure five, but also begins a new phrase with barely a pause to account for the phrase extension. What results is a four-plus-four syllable line that is quite different from the first line, which had a similar syllable distribution. Also, any sort of motivic development is undermined by the inner scansion that is produced by the octosyllabic structure.

The second half of the piece consists of two additional lines with line four consisting of three-plus-five scansion. In fact, not only is the scansion of this fourth line identical to the scansion of line two, but their rhythmic setting is virtually identical as can be seen in the first two measures of the second half of the piece (Figures 9a and 9b).

Example 9a

Example 9b

Figures 9a and 9b – Comparison of lines 2 and 4.

The last four measures of the piece constitute the *petite reprise* (very common in sarabandes of the period) and form a unified structural entity. By assigning eight syllables to the musical pulses in that section, the resulting scansion is very similar to the last four bars of the first half of the piece. A problem occurs, however, in accounting for the gap between the end of line four (second beat of the first measure of the last system) and the beginning of the fifth line (third measure of the last system). These four pulses that remain "uncounted" can be thought of as an instrumental interlude (Figure 10).

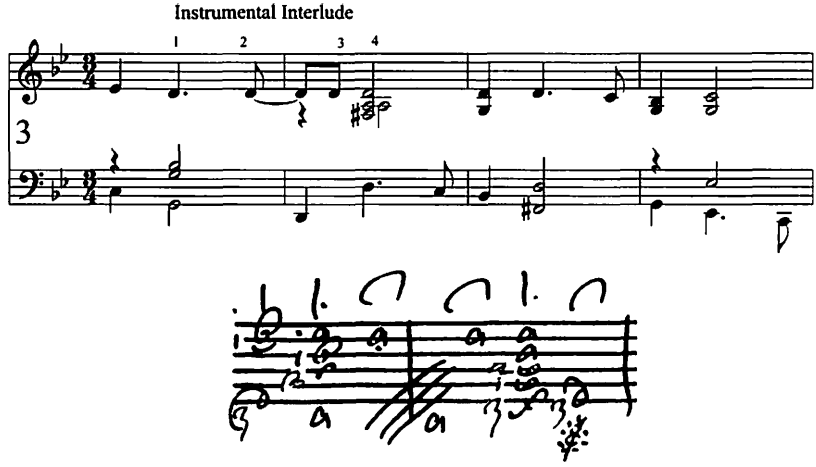


Figure 10 - Instrumental interlude.

The next piece, by Dubut, is also taken from the *Barbe* manuscript.[19] This sarabande offers several different interpretations with regard to its scansion. The piece consists of two eight-measure halves. Thus, on the surface there may appear to be some regularity, but an examination of the internal phrases show that they remain distinct. The first line consists of a four-plus-four distribution, but as with the earlier example, it will be demonstrated that four plus four can yield uneven results. The first half of the first line is clear enough: four pulses ending with the long note on the downbeat of measure two and coinciding with the harmony. The second line begins on the third beat of measure two with the second and third beats of the second measure slurred together to produce one syllable pulse. The end of the line occurs in the fourth measure with a falling fifth from b to e. This ending resembles the feminine endings of lines one and two in the previous *air, Si jamais, mon ame blessée.* The second line offers us the possibility of more than one interpretation. The *port de voix* from below on the second beat of measure five coincides with a harmonic point of arrival. The c on beat two of the measure can be considered the long note of the line, which would result in a two plus six scansion. On the next measure, however, there is a struck suspension on the downbeat. The suspension could be prepared by placing the *coupe* of the line after the third beat of the fifth measure, thereby softening the dissonance produced on the downbeat of measure six. This would then result in a three-plus-five scansion with a much different

[19] Barbe, p. 39.

articulation than the previous two-plus-six scansion (Figure 11).

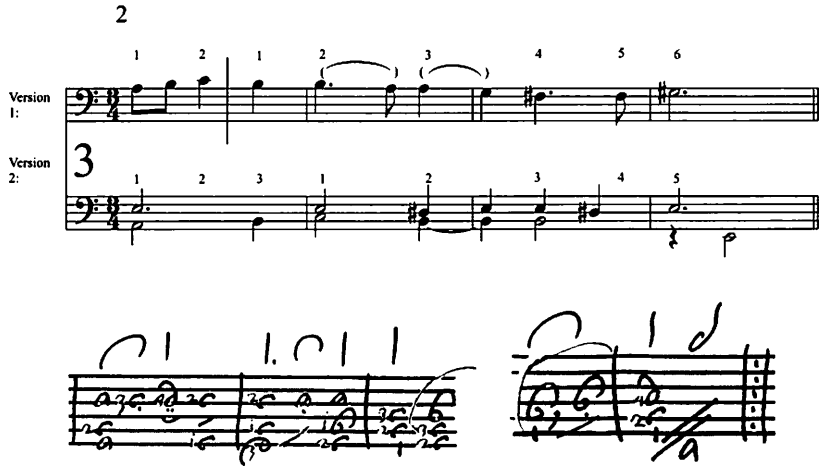


Figure 11 - The Dubut sarabande illustrating two possible scansions for line 2.

The second half of the piece is virtually identical to the first half and requires no further explanation. The point to this piece is that phrases or "lines" may be divided in more than one way in order to arrive at a reasonable solution for determining its scansion.

Another aspect to be considered is the segmentation of the melodic lines. One of the reasons the present study focuses on the *Barbe* manuscript is because out of all the manuscripts from the period, it is the richest in performance indications. Not just decorative indications such as those used to describe ornamentation, but also technical indications. The following example will serve to illustrate this point. In the first sarabande analyzed, the second line demonstrated a three plus five scansion. By examining the tablature, a left-hand shift is apparent between the second and third beats (Figure 12).

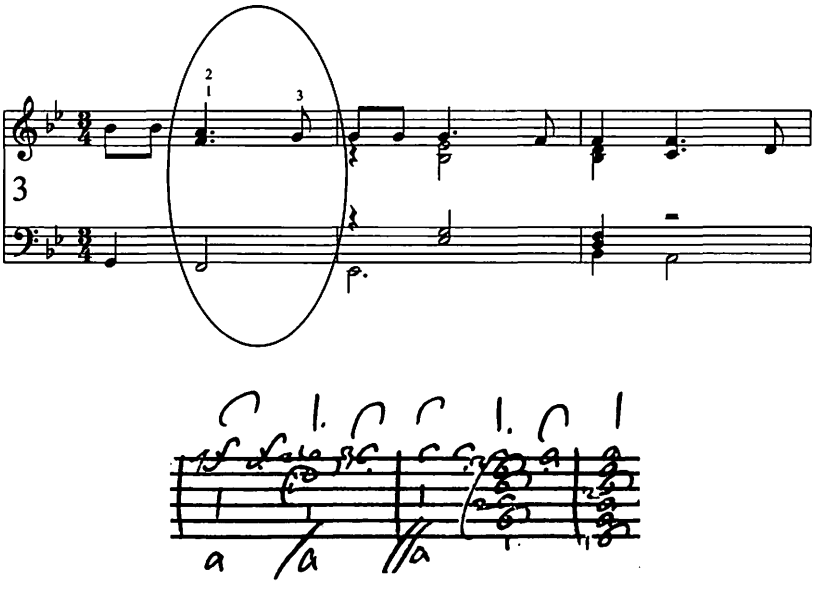



Figure 12 - The Dufaut sarabande illustrating the left-hand shift with numbers above the staff representing left-hand fingers.

The scribe could have re-fingered the passage in order to avoid the shift. But in all likelihood, the fingering prescribed is not just a technical aid, but a musical one as well that is responsible for distinguishing the internal structure of the phrase. Without understanding that aspect of performance indications in manuscript of the period, a fundamental guide in the notation of the period is being neglected.

Conclusions

The two preceding analyses show different ways of interpreting a melodic line within the context of seventeenth-century French lute music. It has been shown that the various sections of a piece can be scanned in more than one way and that there may be more than one solution for any given piece. What is important is the process and, if French melodies are to be convincingly interpreted, one must proceed from an understanding of the principles on which they are based. Previous discussions of French music, and especially French instrumental music, criticize the absence of melody. The problem is that the comparison of two vastly different stylistic traditions does not accurately yield results pertaining to the questions raised by the repertory as a whole. If melody does not exist in the French repertoire it is because it is not

melody as defined by the expectations set up in comparing parallel repertories. Rather, we must accept melody on its own terms and, in order to understand the concept of seventeenth-century French melody, we must proceed from an understanding of contemporary French "lyricism."

It has been shown that the composers of *pièces de luth* were influenced by vocal practice, in which the sense of phrase declamation was based on French versification. This led to an idiomatic adaptation in playing style in which lutenist composers developed new principles of phrase structure and, ultimately, a uniquely French style of instrumental writing.

Portrait engraving of E.G. Baron by Stör, 1727.

The Life and Works of Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760)

BY PER KJETIL FARSTAD

ERNST GOTTLIEB (THEOPHIL) BARON was born on 16 February, 1696 in Breslau. He was the son of Michael Baron (d. 1717), a haberdasher (*Posamentirer),* policeman-lieutenant, and later a sexton at St. Barbara church in Breslau. Though Ernst Gottlieb was destined to undertake his father's occupation, he decided instead to study the lute at the age of fourteen (ca. 1710).[1]

His first teacher was probably the Bohemian lute player Jacob Kohaut[2] (1678-1762), father of the lutenist Karl Kohaut (1726-82). Baron studied at the St. Elizabeth Gymnasium in Breslau until 1715, when he moved to Leipzig in order to study philosophy and law at the university from 1715-19.[3] Leipzig did possess a court, but was also regarded as an important center of learning because of the University and its *collegium musicum* In addition, Leipzig was growing as a financial center in the extended Germany together with towns like Breslau, Danzig, Königsberg, Frankfurt/Main, and Hamburg. Other lutenists who studied at the University in Leipzig included Adam Falckenhagen (1697-1754), who was there from 1719 to 1720; Anton Gleitsmann (1698-after 1750) who studied law and music in Leipzig in 1716 or 1717;[4] and Johann Pfeiffer (1697-1761), who was enrolled as a student at the University of Leipzig from 1717 to 1719, and later *Kapellmeister* at the Bayreuth court and the composer of a lute concerto.[5] Baron states that Meusel (1688-1728) also studied in Leipzig, "applying himself, aside from music, for several years to

[1] The standard studies of Baron are Boetticher (1949-51); Andreas Schlegel (1999); Per Kjetil Farstad (1999); E. Reilly (1980), and D.A. Smith (1973); an excellent English translation of Baron's *Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nuremberg, 1727) is in Baron (1976); Baron's philosophical views are examined in Boomgarden (1987). Source studies of Baron's music are in J. Klima (1988), L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht (1989), and H. Luer (1995).

[2] "... und insonderheit dem Lauten-Spielen, welches er ums Jahr 1710, bey einem Böhmen, Nahmens Kohott, zu erlernen angefangen...." J. G. Walther (1732), 73.

[3] See Lüer (1995), 87-105.

[4] Baron (1976), 74.

[5] Concerto B-Dur für Laute und Streich-Quartett, Augsburg, Tonk. fasc.III, listed in Herbert Küffner (1969), 103-96.

JLSA, XXX (1997)
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study of law."[6] After his education in Leipzig, Baron traveled to other cities and courts in order to earn money and perhaps secure a position as a lutenist. Baron visited many cities between 1719 and 1728.[7] First he went to Halle, then made an tour to the courts of Cöthen, Schleiz, Saalfield and Rudolstadt,[8] ending up in Jena, where he enrolled at the university on 16 April 1720.[9] Baron remained in Jena until 1723-24, studying under Jacob Adlung, a German organist and scholar who taught him to play keyboard and expanded his general musical knowledge:

> He [Baron] studied with me in Jena and already then he tried to get his book [*Untersuchung*] printed; but when no one would pay him money for his books, because nobody was satisfied with his far too inflamed writing against Mattheson, it was cancelled.[10]

After departing Jena, Baron stayed in Kassel for eight weeks, where he played for the Landgrave, and then continued on to Fulda and Würtzburg, before passing via Nuremberg to Regensburg. In Regensburg he met Lord von Reck, who recommended him to his brother-in-law Hrn. Christiani, the high-princely court-council at Mecklenburg court. From there, Baron returned to Nuremberg. In 1727 he published his famous *Historisch- Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten,* dedicated to Lord Ernst August, Duke of Saxony.[11] On 12 May 1728, Baron succeeded Meusel as lutenist at the Saxon-Gotha court.[12]

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[6] Baron (1976), 72.

[7] We know from the life of other lutenists, like Adam Falckenhagen that traveling to different courts and towns was the best way to get exposure. Falckenhagen traveled to Leipzig, Merseburg, Weissenfels, Dresden, and Weimar, finally ending up in Bayreuth. In addition, Johann Walther mentions him as playing at different courts, even staying in Jena for two years.

[8] Lüer (1995), 90.

[9] Jacob Adlung, *Anleitung zur musikalischen Gelahrtheit* (Erfurt, 1758), quoted in Peter Päffgen (1985), 48-55.

[10] Ibid., 49: "Er [Baron] studirte mit mir in Jena und wollte sein Buch [Untersuchung] allda drucken lassen; aber da man ihm keinen Ducaten vor jeden Bogen bezahlen wolte, überdies auch niemand zufrieden war, dass er allzu hitzig wieder Mattheson geschrieben, so unterblieb es damals." Adlung arrived in Jena after 1723, where he studied organ with Johann Nikolaus Bach and wrote several theoretical treatises. Given his statement that Baron studied with him, it is likely that Baron must have stayed in Jena for at least three or four years, beginning ca. 1723-24.

[11] It is interesting to note from Adlung's letter, above, that Baron's *Untersuchung* was probably finished about 1723-24.

[12] Quoted from Marpurg, vol. I (1755), 544-46, where we are given a brief history of Baron from 1728 after he succeeded Meusel as court-lutenist.

Following the death of the Duke in 1732, changes at the court led to Baron's resignation and he moved on to Eisenach.[13] According to Marpurg, probably the most reliable source, he stayed there until 1737, when he requested dismissal to try his luck in Berlin, hoping to capitalize on the lucrative musical situation in the Brandenburg states. Before Baron left Eisenach, the Duke presented him with a letter of recommendation addressed to the Crown Prince, and later King, Frederick II of Prussia. Baron was also assured that if he was not satisfied with his station in Berlin, he could return to his position in Eisenach. On his way to Berlin, Baron visited Merseburg and played for the Duke. He then traveled to the court of Prince Leopold of Cöthen to visit his old friends (his last visit had been in 1719-20), who included the violinist and viol player Christian Ferdinand Abel (1683-1737), a close friend of J. S. Bach. After a successful performance at the Court in Cöthen, Baron postponed further travels until the autumn. He thus became well acquainted with "Capellmeister" Fasch, "Concertmeister" Höck and the oboe player Fröde.

At the end of 1737 Baron arrived in Rheinsberg, Berlin. He now took advantage of the recommendation-letter he had received from the Duke of Saxony at Eisenach. After delivering the letter to His Majesty The Crown Prince, Baron was immediately employed as a theorbist at the Court and, upon the founding of the court's own Royal Chamber and Chapel Orchestra, he was formally appointed From 1742 until his death, Baron's salary was 300 *taler* per year. Since Baron did not bring a theorbo to Berlin, he was permitted to visit Dresden to have one made to his own taste. Upon arriving in Dresden, however, he purchased a theorbo from Silvius Leopold Weiss (1686-1750).[14] Baron also renewed acquaintances with many of his friends and pupils there, including von Hoffer,[15] and Johann Kropffganss Jr. (1708-ca. 1770). Kropffganss had studied lute with Weiss, among others. Another acquaintance was the Russian

[13] Ibid., 544: "allwo er sofort des Glück hatte, bey der Hochfürstl. Kammer- und Capellmusik aufgenommen zu werden."

[14] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik*, in 5 Vol.s, Berlin: G.A. Lange, Vol I, chapter VIII, p. 546.

[15] Wolffgang Adam Anton Hoffer (d. 1757 in Mainz). In September 1740, the Viennese Hoffer was employed as Chamberlain and lutenist at the court in Mainz. Hoffer was employed as Chamber servant, at a salary of "400 fl. Bestallung nebst einem Quartier auf der Cantzley," see (Marpurg, [1755], vol. I, 546); Schweickert (1937), vol. 11, 28; H. Radke (1972), 320-21.

Belgratzky (Bellagradszky, Beligratzky, Pelegrazki),[16] a pupil of Weiss, who stayed in Dresden from 1733 in the service of Count Keyserlingk, and in Berlin for some time from 1737.[17] Baron's duties at the Berlin Court included giving recitals and also chamber concerts with two violins, one viol (*Armgeige*) and cello but his primary duty was to play theorbo in the Royal Chamber and Court Chapel Orchestra. Baron remained in Berlin until his death on 12 April 1760.[18]

Baron and Weiss

Although Baron's presence in Berlin suggests a thriving lute tradition in the city, not much is known about the culture of the lute in eighteenth-century Berlin, and it seems that Baron was not as influential there as Weiss had been in Dresden-Leipzig. It could be that a declining interest in the lute in the 1740s, especially as a solo instrument, somewhat hindered Baron's career. It was primarily through the orchestral music of such musicians as the two Grauns, Quantz and Carl Philip Emanuel Bach that Frederick the Great put Berlin on the map. Opera dominated the musical scene, and taste at the court was mostly oriented towards Italy.

Baron probably gave lessons as well. Many of his suites demand only an intermediate level of technique, which could mean that he wrote music for his students and other amateurs. In general, his compositions reflect the Italian style of the time with a strong predilection for melody and simple harmonic patterns. He was not entirely *galant* in his compositions even if his music contains obvious *galant* characteristics. Baron also demonstrated a strong interest in theoretical pursuits, which was probably encouraged during the four years he studied philosophy and law at the university of Leipzig. Moreover, in Berlin he lived among the most important theorists of the time: Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-

[16] Bielogradsky, Timofei went to Berlin in 1737, where he became the teacher of Johann Reichardt. From 1739 to 1767 he was in Royal Russian service. He was employed in Dresden in 1741 because of political instability in Russia, and stayed in the service of Count Brühl (1700-1763). According to Eitner, Bielogradsky's playing and singing was praised. Baron met Bielogradsky in Dresden about 1737 and he may have persuaded Bielogradsky to come to Berlin on this occasion. See F. W. Marpurg (1755), "Lebensnachrichten," 546; see also T. Crawford (1995), Preface; Eitner, vol. 1, 420-21.

[17] Crawford, op. cit., the Preface.

[18] Marpurg op.cit., 545.

95), Christoph Nichelmann (1717-62), Johann Friedrich Agricola (1720-74), Johann Philip Kirnberger (1721-83), Johann Quantz (1697-1773), and C. P. E. Bach, (1714-88). After 1740, Berlin was, after Dresden, one of the most important musical centers in Germany, and we must assume that Baron played a significant role as court lutenist, teacher, and theoretican.

Baron's main theoretical work is, of course, the *Historich-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instrumentes der Lauten,* which was printed in Nuremberg in 1727. It is the most important German lute treatise of the eighteenth century, and Baron further claims it to be the first comprehensive book about the lute and lute playing. His goal was to write a pedagogical book for amateur lutenists combining history, interpretation, and philosophy.[19] To justify the writing of his book, Baron criticized those lutenists who "...distinguished themselves more with musical compositions than with other writings that lead to true understanding."[20] Baron names Mouton, Gallot, Gaultier, Saint Luc, and Philip Franz Le Sage de Richée as having accomplished no more for the lute than leaving their compositions to posterity. Even if the book appears superficial in its treatment of diverse topics, it is still important for its comprehensive historical view of playing technique, ornaments, interpretation, and information about lutenists around 1727.

In his *Untersuchung,* Baron praises the compositions and playing of Weiss, and from this we can deduce that Baron had heard him play first hand and had also studied several of his compositions.[21] Baron came to the Berlin court in 1737 and remained there until his death in 1760. In the hundreds of letters between Frederick the Great in Berlin and his sister Wilhelmine in Bayreuth from 1728 to 1758, nothing is mentioned about Baron. These letters contain many conversations about music and musicians at the courts in Berlin and Bayreuth but the only lutenists mentioned are Weiss, who impressed Frederick during his visit to Dresden in 1728[22] and was thereafter the teacher of Wilhelmine,[23]

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[19] Baron (1976), 15-16.
[20] Ibid., 15.
[21] "Because I have seen several pieces by the elder Herr Weiss and have heard him play. . .," ibid., 70.
[22] Ibid., 65.
[23] Gustav Berthold Volz (1728-1758), vol. 1, 23.

and Falckenhagen, who is alluded to by Wilhelmine in a letter to Frederick 18 Oct. 1732.[24]

On one hand, the absence of reference to Baron in the letters could imply that his role at court was quite anonymous. On the other hand, Lorenz Christoph Mizler named Baron among the most famous musicians in Germany (1747):

> Among the Germans the most famous are Mattheson, Reih, Kaiser, Telemann, Bach, Hasse, both Grauns [Graune], both Weiss [Weise], Baron, Stölzel, Bümler, Pfeiffer, together with many others, partly mentioned by *Herr* Rector, but partly however, for the most part, omitted.[25]

Baron's position as being among the most famous musicians in Germany could be based on three factors:

1. *His impact as a theoretician,* arising from his main work, the *Untersuchung* of 1727. Here Baron was no coward, criticizing one of the leading music theorists of the century, Johann Mattheson, for his attack on the lute. Baron's theoretical background in music, philosophy and law, acquired through his study in Leipzig, also enabled him to enter into philosophical discussions about music, law, and other matters popular in aristocratic circles. Among the subjects taught at Leipzig University were grammar, dialectic, algebra, rhetoric, geometry, astronomy, and music.

2. *Exposure from frequent travel.* Between 1717 and 1737, Baron appeared in Leipzig, Jena, Gotha, Eisenach, Merseburg, Cöthen, Dresden, Breslau, Halle, Schleiz, Saalfeld, Würzburg, Rudolstadt, Fulda, Kassel, Nuremberg and Regensburg. Baron's presence at these courts and chapels was important in his evolving reputation as a leading lute player. His popularity and sagacity are underlined by Gustav Schilling's remark: "... Baron was regarded in Jena, as well as

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[24] Ibid., 105.

[25] Lorenz Christoph Mizler (Leipzig 1747), vol. III, 571, cited in Neumann & Schulze (1969), 446: "Unter den Deutschen sind die berühmtesten Mattheson, Reinhard Kaiser, Telemann, Bach, Hasse, die beyden Graune, die beyden Weise, Baron, Stölzel, Bümler, Pfeifer, nebst gar vielen andern, die der Herr Rector zum Theil genennet, zum Theil aber, u. zwar die meisten, ausgelassen."

elsewhere, as an artist of broad education and as the best lutenist of his time."[26]

3. *Baron's influence as a theorbo-player at the Berlin Court.* In addition to his role as an accompanist, Baron also must have given both solo recitals and mixed concerts, judging by his surviving compositions of solo and ensemble music.

Baron and the Affekt of the Lute

In his *Untersuchung,* Baron describes the story of King Eric III of Denmark who was driven to commit murder by the power of a lute's sound.[27] Baron disassociates himself from such things, but does not deny that music can be impressive, striking, and may cause an emotional change in the listener.

He explains how the sound of each string affects the eardrum through vibrations and further communicates to the nerves and life spirits. For instance, chromaticism can be used to calm the life spirits[28] whereas "where the air is driven faster by the sound, a person feels more liveliness than usual...."[29] Later in his book, Baron states, "the practice or execution of music occurs in two ways."[30] The first is to follow the score as written "with no concern for *galant* additions that will press upon the emotions." He calls this method "simple, noisy, and affecting only common and uncultivated temperaments, thus it is out of place at court." He believes that the second manner of playing — "properly called oratory" — is the most correct:

> I call it this [oratory] because it agrees with the chief goal of rhetoric. If we observe the qualities of a good orator we will find that his achievement consists of the following: the elegance of his words; the loftiness and merit of his thoughts and subjects; and the persuasion and emotion of the affects. A virtuoso musician must possess all these qualities.[31]

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[26] Schilling, Gustav, *Encyclopädie der gesamten musikalischen Wissenschaften,* Vol I. Stuttgart 1835, p. 446.

[27] Baron (1976), 48: After listening to the lute, King Eric II of Denmark "...was driven by its power to such frenzy that he committed many murders. The artist responsible for this is not named, but it is recalled that he actually accomplished everything that he claimed he could. He claimed he wanted to make the cheerful sad, the sad merry, the angry meek, and the meek mad.... For my part I doubt seriously whether art could have risen to the point where it could move the passions there in the cold north, especially with this instrument and at that time, since everything was periodically in a bad state of affairs. However, I do not wish to deny that music can occasionally effect something extraordinary."

[28] Ibid., 48-49.

[29] Ibid., 50.

[30] Ibid., 117.

[31] Ibid.

The oratorical ideal, inspired from Greek rhetoric, found its way into music through the elegance and affects of *galant* expression. This was what was demanded of a court musician, not "simple" and "noisy" execution, but music performed with elegance, and with an innate power to both still and arouse passions.

The following anecdote illustrates how lutenists of the time might have evoked affects and passions in the listener, and provides valuable information about the techniques they used to produce such affects:

> The former Royal Prussian chamber musician and lutenist, Mr. Ernst Gottlieb Baron resided in Jena during 1720 or 1721. He was popular and loved by the students for both his skillful lute playing and for his jovial spirit. One evening, when he was joining a large party together with the famous and unhappy poet [Johann Christian] Günther, one of the topics of conversation was the effect of the old Greek music, and the question was if the present music could be able to produce the same [effect]. "And why not?" Baron answered. "Well, my dear countryman and brother," Günther said, "fetch your instrument and show us what art can be capable of." Soon the lute was in place. Baron started with different ascending and descending runs built on scales, he broke the triads often through every sort of artful arpeggios, from time to time he took the audience, who was sitting in a circle around him, by surprise doing unexpected enharmonic changes; fled through the most difficult passages with melting pathetic melodies, varied his playing through all graduations from *forte* to *piano*, changed the measure of time frequently; suddenly he animated his playing by caressing the tones; then by being aggressive; then by being graceful, and then again by rage, in short Baron surpassed himself this evening, and in future he possibly never played so beautifully and with such affect as this evening.
>
> As he often looked around on the audience, he noticed that they became restless and started to twist their faces when he played certain passages. He doubled and tripled these passages, and the more restless movements by the audience, the more Baron got inflamed, to show all his tricks to the audience.
>
> He decided to evoke the passion of anger in them up to a certain degree, and as soon as they would begin acting too strange and restless, he wanted to soothe their rage through softer modulations. In fact it happened on a certain place when he played some loud dissonances, when also the same dissonances were sounding, and when they were repeated with strong attacks, that the listeners popped up from their places, knocked down chairs and

tables, smashed the tobacco pipes, crushed a mirror, demolished a coffee service and windows, and suddenly the swords flew out of their scabbards and rattled against each other in the air. Now, Baron thought that it was time to soothe the exasperated tempers, and bring the peace back. But, he had barely started modulating softer tones, when some of his devilish fellows attacked this Arion[32] from Jena; Luckily, he found the opportunity to withdraw from the crowd, and he left the room with his smashed lute. However, he had not removed himself more than ten steps from the battleground, when suddenly he heard laughter and joy. Baron listened and noticed that all were in good mood, he returned of pure curiosity, and discovered—that a conspiracy behind his back had been taking place, and all that happened, was prepared by the mischievous students. Everyone laughed, and he could not resist from chuckling, and was comforted by the fact that he, for this joke, was to receive at his house the next day a far better lute than his old one."[33]

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[32] Gustav Schilling, in his *Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften*, vol. I (Stuttgart, 1835), 446, has the following comment to this anecdote and the word Arion: "In Jena, Baron found the most favorable reception, not only because of his excellent lute playing, but also on account of his admirable demeanor. One thing that often gave the students there the opportunity for all kinds of pranks was his infinitely high conception of the beauty and power of his art. He wanted all the fabulous little tales about Arion, Amphion, and so forth to be considered quite true events, and he was never made more angry than when someone denied that more recent music had the power and effect that earlier music could produce," cited by Smith (1973), 55.

[33] Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Legende einiger Musikheiligen* (Cologne, 1786), 158-161: "Der ehemalige Königl. Preuss. Kammermusiker und Lautenist, Herr Ernst Gottlieb Baron, hielte sich in den Jahren 1720 und 1721 in Jena auf, und machte sich sowohl wegen seiner Geschicklichkeit auf der Laute, als wegen seiner jovialischen Laune unter den daselbst studirenden beliebt. Als er sich an einem Abend in einer zahlreichen Gesellschaft befand, bey welcher auch der berühmte und unglückliche Dichter Günther zugegen war, so wurde unter andern vieles von den Würkungen der alten griechischen Music geredet, und die Frage aufgeworfen, ob die heutige Musik wohl dergleichen hervorzubringen vermögend wäre. "Und warum nicht?" fragte Baron dagegen. "Wohlan, mein lieber Landsmann und Bruder, sagte Günther, so lass dein Instrument hohlen, und zeige uns was die Kunst vermag." Es währte nicht lange, so war die Laute da. Baron fieng an verschiedne Tonleitern auf- und absteigend durchzulaufen, unterbrach die Tiraden öfters durch allehand kunstliche Arpeggios; überraschte von Zeit zu Zeit die in einem Zirkel um ihn herum gelagerten Zuhörer durch unerwartete enharmonische Übergänge; durchflochte die schwersten Passagen mit schmelzenden pathetischen Melodien, nuanzierte sein Spiel durch alle ihm mögliche Gradationen von forte und piano, veränderte öfters die Tactart; bald schien er die Töne zu liebkosen, bald zu brüsquiren; bald von den Grazien und bald von den Furien beseelet zu werden, kurz Baron übertraf sich diesen Abend, und spielte vielleicht in der Folge der Zeit niemals so schön und mit solchem Affect. Da er sich öfters nach seinem Zuhörern umsah, so bemerkte er, dass sie bey gewissen Passagen unter sich unruhig zu werden, und verdrießliche Gesichter zu machen anfiengen. Er verdoppelte und verdreyfachte diese Passagen, und je mehr die unruhigen Bewegungen seiner Zuhörer zunahmen, desto mehr wurde Baron angefeuert, alle seine Künste auf seine Zuhörer zu versuchen. Er hatte es sich vorgenommen, die Leidenschaft des Zorns bis zu einem gewissen Grad nach und nach in ihnen zu erregen, und sobald sich solcher durch gewisse Unordnungen äussern sollte, ihren Unmuth durch sanftere Modulationen wieder herabzustimmen. In der That. geschah es bey einem gewissen Orte, da er bald mit lauter scharfen Dissonanzen fortlief, bald in eben derselben Dissonanz stille lag, und sie sehr vielmal hintereinander mit starken Griffen wiederhohlte, dass alle Zuhörer nach einander von ihren Sitzen aufsprangen, Stühle und Tische umwarfen, die Tobackspfeiffen zerschmitten, einen Spiegel zerschlugen, in einige Caffegeräthschaften und die Fensterscheiben hineinarbeiteten, und ehe man es sich versah, so

Aesthetics, philosophy, and the galant style

In the first three decades of the eighteenth century, Johann Mattheson and Johann Adolph Scheibe were the principal German writers on music. Like Baron, Mizler and Johann David Heinichen, Mattheson's writings, *Das forschende Orchestre* and *Critica musica*, dealt with contemporary aesthetics.[34] The rationalistic philosophy of the German Johann Christian Wolff (1679-1754), inspired by British writers such as Locke and Bacon, was new to the Germans and exerted a distinct influence on writers such as Baron and Mizler.[35]

The *galant* style in Germany was current from about 1720 to 1750 and manifested itself in composition, art, architecture, poetry, behavior, and fashion. It was a result of an aesthetic developed out of a new social ideal in the first part of seventeenth century—namely that of the *galant homme,* who aspired to act, live, think, write, read, and speak in emulation of the aristocracy. The German *galant* style in lute music was expressed in the works of Baron, Falckenhagen, and Bernhard Joachim Hagen (1720-87), through features such as slow harmonic rhythm, short melodic motifs, sudden rests, quick changes in dynamics and tempo, extensive use of triads and triadic melodies, the use of sixths, tenths, double trills in thirds, appoggiaturas, turnarounds, slides, and triplets. Italian influences, primarily operatic, were incorporated through the use of cantabile melodies and brilliant passage work, while French influences included a cheerful, lively spirit, expressive tonal language (derived from Gaultier), profuse ornamentation, and stylized refinement.

The *galant* artist was expected to have "taste," and be knowledgeable about the newest Italian styles of playing and singing. "A *galant* artist must not be narrow," Baron states, "but rather should be able to change himself like a chameleon."[36]

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fuhren die Degen aus den Scheiden und klirrten gegen einander in der Luft. Nun glaubte Baron, dass es Zeit wäre die aufgebrachten Gemüther wieder herzustellen. Aber kaum hatte er mit gelindern Tönen zu moduliren angefangen, als einige von den Teufelskindern über den jenaischen Arion selbst herfielen; glücklich, dass er annoch Gelegenheit fand, sich aus dem allgemein gewordnen Treffen herauszuziehen, und sich mit seiner zerschmetterten Laute aus dem Staube zu machen. Er war aber noch nicht zehn Schritte von dem musikalischen Kampfplatze entfernt, als sich auf selbigem ein gewaltiges Lachen und Jauchzen erhob. Baron horchte und merkte, dass alle wieder bey guter Laune waren, gieng aus mehrer Cüriosität zurücke, und erfuhr—dass er hintergangen, und alles was geschehen, unter den leichtfertigen Musenkindern, die den leichtgläubigen Baron gerne einmal zum besten haben wollten, so verabredet gewesen. Sie lachten alle, er konnte sich nicht enthalten, wenigstens mit zu schmunzeln, und tröstete sich in der Folge damit, dass ihm für den Spaass eine ungleich bessere Laute, als er nicht gehabt hatte, den Tag darauf ins Haus geschicket worden."

[34] Boomgaarden (1986), v.

[35] Ibid., 16-19.

[36] Ibid., 148

Mattheson's *Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* of 1739 stresses the importance of composing a good melody. Contrary to Rousseau, he suggests beginning with the melody, adding the harmony second.[37] Baron makes the same point in his *Abriss einer Abhandlung von der Melodie, Eine Materie der Zeit* (1755): [38]

> If one wished to establish the harmonic triad as the main source and derive the melody from it, one would be putting the cart before the horse, for a hundred passages could be drawn out of frequent inversion of a chord, but never a melody, which must have an orderly sequence.[39]

Baron provides concrete examples of how to create good melodies.

> The creation of a good melody requires a good natural disposition which exists in a good understanding, namely, in the capacity to clearly imagine all things possible in music, also in wit, which is the readiness to realize similarities, and whoever has this is sensitive and capable of remarkable innovation, also imagination, which is a strength of the soul to imagine melodies and their accompaniments with ease, also critical ability, through which one differentiates, what belongs to a thing and what does not, and how it differs from other things.
>
> Cultivation, which must happen via the keyboard, because all harmony is found therein, at which one must begin with small melodies and then gradually build up to longer melodies and to get ideas from melodies, and then the thoroughbass will be set as the basis, through which one learns consonances and dissonances, also their use and then complete harmony.
>
> Practice. For if one begins to create small melodies, then one should try first with small *galant* pieces, until he reaches by and by a higher science, where he has to take into consideration the recognition of key, their typical semitones, their modulations, the art of subtly returning to a key [40]

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[37] Johann Mattheson, 305.

[38] Published by A.. Haude and J.C. Spener in Berlin in 1756.

[39] "Und wollte man gleich Triadem harmonicam vor die hauptquelle fest setzen, und die Melodie daraus herleiten, so würde man nur die Pferde hinter den Wagen spannen: Weil man wohl durch öfteres Versetzen eines Accords einige hundert passagen; niemals aber eine Melodie, die eine ordentliche Folge haben soll, herausbringen wird." Baron; Abriss, 11-12, cited in Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 223.

[40] Baron, Abriss, cited from Boomgaarden, op. cit., 69.

It is interesting to see how Baron, who published his book in 1727, deals with the notion of *galant.* Douglas Alton Smith observes:

> For Baron, *galant* seems to have primarily a social and secondarily a musical significance. To be a *galant homme* was to be a man of refined manners, with the well-bred nobleman as the ideal to be emulated, and to be conversant on a wide range of topics in the arts and sciences—in other words, to be a man of the Enlightenment.[41]

Baron suggests that Esaias Reusner, the Younger (1636-1679) "was more *galant* in composition than his father [d. after 1660]... and strove to practice cantabile...,"[42] and that Jakob Büttner:

> "... came even closer to the goal in 1682 when he published one hundred seven 'extremely charming and beautiful' (to use his words) lute pieces in Nuremberg, according to the latest and most *galant* method of playing the lute at that time.[43]

In speaking about Weiss, Baron also uses the word *galant*: "Because the Weissian manner of playing the lute is considered the best, most sound, *galant*, and perfect of all, many have striven to attain this new method."[44] By referring to Weiss as the most *galant* of all, Baron was most likely alluding to the *ease* of his playing, his apparently effortless execution, which "astonished all the Italians in Rome."[45] Mattheson's musical understanding of *galant* was that it represented the modern and the new. Thus, Baron may have derived his ideas on the subject from Mattheson's *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* of 1713. Here, Mattheson claims that "The very most famous *galant* composers in Europe" were, among others, Caldara, Vivaldi, Scarlatti, Handel and Telemann.[46]

Since the word *galant* was used in the second decade of eighteenth century to designate a new or modern musical style consisting of light textures, simple harmony, standardized cadences and periodic melodies, composers who wrote music in this style called such pieces *Galanterie* pieces. *Galanterie* is thus a German term for an up-to-date piece and was used by many composers of the time. J. S. Bach employs the term in *Die Clavierübung* ("bestehend in Praeludien, Allemanden, Couranten, Sarabanden, Giguen,

[41] Baron (1976), v.
[42] Ibid., 66.
[43] Ibid.
[44] D.A. Smith (1980), 48.
[45] Ibid.
[46] From Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713).

Menuetten, und andere Galanterien"), and the word is also used by Baron when he mentions the partitas of the Weiss family: "Their lute concerti, trios, and *Galanterie* partitas are so filled with such ingenious, charming, well-connected ideas that one beautiful and exceptional thought accompanies another, as it were."[47]

In a letter dated 21 March 1723, cited by Mattheson in his *Ephorus* (1727), Weiss uses the term this way:

> ... I have the firm opinion that next to the keyboard there is no other perfect instrument than this [the lute], especially for *Galanterie*. The theorbo and archlute, which are quite different, are not usable for *Galanterie* pieces..."[48]

These statements suggest that the theorbo and archlute, which were tuned in A and G, respectively, were strictly continuo instruments, and were not used for playing *Galanterie* pieces or other solos. *Galanterie* partitas were played on the 11- and 13-course baroque lute in d-minor tuning. Baron's use of the term *Galanterie* pieces includes partitas, suites and even concertos.[49] In the concertos of the period the lute part was written out in tablature and not as a figured bass line.[50]

Baron and French Lute Music

Baron draws a picture of French lute music of the time, a description which seems typical of the way many Germans experienced it:

> "With regard to the characteristics of the French, they too often change voices, so that one cannot even recognize the melody, and as already mentioned, there is little *cantabile* to be found, particularly because they regard it as very fashionable to brush back chords on the lute with the right hand, just as on the guitar; a constant hopping around is required to give spirit and life to the pieces. I have also observed that they consider it delicate to use the deep basses very little, preferring instead the middle range. This is to say nothing of the

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[47] Baron (1976), 70: "Ihre Lauten Concerten, Trio, und Gallanterie-Partien, haben sie mit so Sinnreichen, anmuthigen wohl connectirende Einfällen angefüllet, dass gleichsam ein schöner und besonderer Gedanken den anderen begleitet." Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nürnberg 1727), 78.

[48] Johann Mattheson, *Der neue Göttingsche aber viel schlechter, als Die alten Lacedämonischen, urtheilende Ephorus wegen der Kirchen Music* (Hamburg, 1727), 118: "...sondern ich bin der festen Meinung, das, nach dem Clavier, kein vollkommeners Instrument als dieses, absonderlich zur Galanterie. Theorbe und Arciliuto, welche unter sich selbst wieder ganz differiren, sind zu Galanterie-Stücken gar nicht gebraucht...."

[49] Baron, *Untersuchung*, 148.

[50] See the concertos of Baron, Falckenhagen and Hagen.

> simple melodies I often hear. But one does find a few pieces that are rather well composed."[51]

The French preference for the middle ranges is very interesting, stemming from the fact that the tradition of playing chords on 4th, 5th and 6th courses was inherited from Renaissance lute playing. This technique was adopted by Reusner who played the 11-course lute. Weiss adopted the technique as well. He played the 11-course up to 1718, at least, and brought the technique to the 13-course lute. This may be why Weiss frequently used the "8-foot bass" area (around the 6th course). Falckenhagen, Kohaut and Hagen, who played 13-course lutes, used the "16-foot bass" area much more (10th to 13th courses) when accompanying melody, which is mostly played on courses 1-3. Compared to Weiss, their bass lines thus tend to be situated an octave lower. Weiss was familiar with large stretches in the right hand when playing arpeggios, having played such patterns from boyhood. Since the spacing between the first to the eleventh course on an 11-course lute, and between the first to the thirteenth course on a 13-course lute, remained the same over time, Weiss could still play with the same right hand ease.[52]

Baron's complaint that there was little *cantabile* in French lute music indicates that he favored singable melodies. As for harmony, the Italians only used mild dissonance while the French were not adverse to harsher clashes. Baron, in his *Untersuchung,* confirms the co-mingled French and Italian influence on German music:

> Whereas the Italian manner is grave and the French taste diverting, we in Germany have adopted both, since our nation loves change and jumps from one thing or extreme to another.... Merry Italy... has something "very melancholy, excellent, singing, serious, flowing, and ingenious in its music... *Galant* and complacent France... has a free and lively nature and makes music more facetious, indifferent, and frivolous than all other civilized nations....[53]

Baron lists the lutenists who contributed to the German lute style of the eighteenth century, among them father and son Esaias Reusner (the younger, mentioned above as writing in a more *galant* style than the elder). The younger Reusner was consciously French in his compositions, but his harmonic approach betrayed his German heritage.[54] Baron notes that "he strove to practice *cantabile*

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[51] Baron (1976), 77.

[52] I wish to thank Anthony Bailes for providing me with this information.

[53] Baron (1976), 148-149.

[54] I am grateful to Anthony Bailes for information about the style of Reusner.

on the instrument and to bring a better, pure harmonious essence into his pieces."[55] With regard to Weiss, Baron affirms as well the Italian *cantabile* influence: "In arpeggios he (Weiss) has an extraordinary full-voiced texture, in expression of emotions he is incomparable, he has a stupendous technique and an unheard-of delicacy and *cantabile* charm."[56]

One of the first "French" lutenists, according to Baron, was Laurent (Jacques-Alexandre) de Saint-Luc, (1663-after 1700), a lutenist, theorbist, guitarist, and composer active in Vienna. Baron observes that

> Saint-Luc is one of the best, for he always allows something lyrical to flow into his pieces, and he is praised by Herr von Besser in the description of the nuptials of the Most Serene Crown Prince Frederick of Kassel with Princess Louise Dorothee Sophie of the Electorate of Brandenburg, which took place in 1700.[57]

Besser also mentions that St. Luc performed a solo "Tafelconcert" for the household at the Brandenburg court using the theorbo, lute, and guitar. He was highly praised for the event:

> At noon on June 6, food was served at the table in the *Oraniensaal*, regaled by soft music on the theorbo, lute, and guitar, which the great French artist de St. Luc stroked with an almost entrancing gracefulness. And thereby he easily brought to pass the belief that His Royal Majesty of France, as the rumor holds, found him worthy before others occasionally to entertain him at royal meals with the sound of his strings.[58]

Jacques-Alexandre was in service as lutenist at the *chambre du roi* of Louis XIV in France for some time before the turn of the century. He journeyed to Vienna around 1700 and entered the service of Prince Eugène of Savoy, who praised him, and gave him the needed freedom and opportunity to both compose and

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[55] Baron (1976), 66.

[56] Baron (1976), 70.

[57] He says: "And because it just then happened that the splendid French theorbist and lutenist Monsieur de St. Luc was passing through Berlin on his way to Vienna, he was detained here until the nuptials to increase the forces of the sinfonie, together with the well-known artists in our service-Ricks, Attilio, Volumnier, and others." Quoted from Baron (1976), 76.

[58] A. Koczirz (1918), 88: "Den 6. Junii zu Mittage ward die Tafel in dem Oraniensaal gedecket, und bei derselben nur mit einer stillen' Musik aufgewartet: nemlich mit der Theorbe, Laute, und Gitarre, die der französische grosse Künstler de St. Luc mit einer fast entzückenden Lieblichkeit rührte, und sich dadurch den Glauben gar leicht zu wege brachte, dass S. königliche Majestät von Frankreich, wie das Gerüchte von ihm gehet, ihn vor andern würdig befunden, Sie bisweilen mit dem Klange seiner Saiten bey Ihren Mahlzeiten zu ergetzen,"

perform. Emil Vogl characterizes the lute music of Saint Luc as a typical example of the polished French style, but his music also encompasses inconsistencies in style common among German lutenists.[59] Rottmann claims that St Luc's influence on the Berlin school is tangible, and that Baron owes much to St Luc, which reinforces Baron's opinion that St Luc was one of the finest lutenists.

Theoretical works:

Apart from Baron's main work, the *Untersuchung,* he was also the author of many articles published in the 1750s. They are as follows:

- "Herrn Barons Fortsetzung seiner in dem Walterischen Lexico befindlichen Lebensumstände," in Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik,* vol. I (Berlin, 1755), 544-46.

- "Herrn Ernst Gottlieb Barons Beytrag zur historisch-theoretisch-und practischen Untersuchung der Laute," in Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische,* vol. 2, 65-83.

- "Herrn Barons Abhandlung von dem Notensystem der Laute und der Theorbe," in Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge,* vol. II, 119-23.

- "Herrn Barons zufällige Gedanken über verschiedene musikalische Materien," in Marpurg *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge,* vol. II, 124-128.

- *Abriss einer Abhandlung von der Melodie* (Berlin, 1756), 12 pages.

- *Versuch über das Schöne* (Altenburg, 1757), [trans. of P. Yves/Marie Andrè: *Essai sur le beau,* 1741]; suppl. *Des Herrn Gresset* [...] *Rede von dem uralten Adel und Nutzen der Musik im Jahr 1751 gehalten* [trans. of Gresset: *Discours sur l'harmonie*], also published separately (Berlin, 1757).

A Catalogue of Baron's Music

Few of Baron's musical works contain information regarding the circumstances of their composition. However, the titles of the movements, the form of the music, and, of course, the compositional style itself can provide valuable information.

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[59] Josef Klima (1984), 18.

A cursory glance at Baron's lute music preserved in manuscript suggests that most of it can be played on a 12-course lute. There are some movements in his suites that require a 13th course, but they are rare. There are two possible reasons for this: 1) Baron played the 13-course lute, but avoided the lowest course because it was the weakest; 2) Baron's "main" lute was most likely the 12-course lute. He is portrayed with a 12-course lute in the *Untersuchung*.[60] A closer look at the picture suggests that the first ten courses can be stopped on the fingerboard, and the two lowest courses go outside the neck. They are not tied to an extra bass rider, but to the regular pegbox, and the nut has been accordingly lengthened outside the neck for courses 11 and 12. The spacing between courses 10 and 11 is wider than between the other courses, which is a practical solution for the right hand.

Another possibility is that he wrote for 12 courses, but when his music was intabulated by other copyists, a 13th course was added. It is interesting that when Baron mentions the range of the 11-course lute in his *Untersuchung,* he adds: "There is also one with thirteen courses, whereby the eleventh course still lies over the fingerboard...."[61] Baron thus was aware of the 13th course, but evidently did not play it. Although he wrote his instruction book for the 11-course lute, he himself seems to have preferred the 12-course instrument.[62]

It is, however, difficult to date Baron's music according to the number of courses. The lute parts in the Harrach collection in the New York Public Library are for 11-course lute, and the collection is believed to date from about 1740-1750.[63] But the suite in *Der getreue Musikmeister,* edited by Telemann in 1728, requires a 13-course lute.[64]

The movements in Baron's solo music for lute are relatively short, regardless of whether they are early or late works. The compositional style is *galant*, mixed up with typical baroque sequences. The music tends toward the Italian style, but it is especially in his two late solo partitas, and in his chamber music, that the *galant* style fully asserts itself.

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[60] See Baron's portrait at the beginning of this article.

[61] Baron (1976), 102.

[62] From what I can deduce from the extant tablatures of Baron's music, it seems that he most often played the 12-course lute.

[63] RISM B/VII, 237-238; See also E.G.Baron, *Suite for 2 Lutes,* Lynda Sayce (ed.), introduction. Sul Tasto Publications, distributed by The Lute Society, England.

[64] G. Ph. Telemann (ed.): *Der getreue Musikmeister* (Hamburg, 1728), 50, 51, 55, 60, 63.

Leipzig, Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, Ms. III.11.6.a (formerly owned by the "Privatbibliothek Dr. Werner Wolffheim," Berlin-Grunewald):

- *Sonata á 2. Luthe è Flauto traversi d[i] S[ignor] Baron*

¢	Allemande
3/4	Courante
¢	March
3/4	Menuet avec Trio
6/4	Loure
12/8	Gigue

Both parts are intact. According to *MGG,* this work was composed around 1730-1740, while Meyer II suggests around 1730.[65] The lute part is written for 11-course baroque lute.[66] It could have been composed at the time Baron arrived in Berlin, and the intended flute player may have been Frederick the Great himself. The Allemande features imitation, sequences, parallel thirds, and notated broken chords as the main ingredients. The "Italian" courante has a light two-part character with imitation, sequences, parallel thirds, and the characteristic use of triplets. Baron uses the term Sonata even though the movements are typical of suite form.

- *Fantasie für die Laute,* 1757

In Leipzig, Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf published *Zwölf Menuetten für die Laute samt einer Fantasia von Herrn Baron, Königl. Preussischen Lautenisten.*[67] New lute tablature printing-types were tested in this volume. The *Fantasie* requires a 13-course lute.

Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique (Ms II 4087)[68]

Ms. II 4087/1: *Sonata á Liuto solo* in B-flat:

¢	Fantasia
3/4	Allegro
3/4	Bourrée
3/4	Aria
C	Rondeau
3/4	Tempo di Minuetto

This sonata and the fantasia in B-flat major are listed in the 1769 Breitkopf catalogue as works by Weiss (no. 6), and are also

[65] Meyer (1994), 190.
[66] RISM B/VII, 167.
[67] Now in the possession of Hessisches Musikarchiv der Philipps-Universität Marpurg.
[68] Schlegel (1992).

attributed to Weiss in the Haslemere manuscript, GB-HAdolmetsch, Ms. II. B. 2. Andreas Schlegel mentions that the attribution of the Sonata in Bb-major to Baron is extremely improbable.[69] The style, however, is unlike that of Weiss, so the composer must be a third person. The ascription to Weiss in Breitkopf and Haslemere seems to be wrong, or perhaps the composer could be another member of the Weiss family. [70] The first movement *Fantasia* is similar to the *Fantasia* we find in 4087/4.

- Ms. II 4087/2: *Sonata à Liuto solo* in E-flat:

C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
3/4	Bourrée
3/4	Aria
3/4	Menuet
2/4	Capriccio
3/8	Vivace e piano

This seven-movement suite in E-flat does not have Baron's name or initials. The extensive use of thirds in the melody in every movement and the use of double appoggiaturas are not seen in any other works of Baron. Schlegel does not believe the suite can be attributed to Baron:

> The attribution of fascicle 2 is problematic. The Breitkopf scribe, namely, specified no composer, while the initials L.A.V.G. suggest that this fascicle, with fascicles 1 and 3, was associated with Luise Adelgunde Victorie von Gottsched, wife of the famous professor of literature. The Leipzig connection, stylistic similarity with a suite in D-sharp major attributed to Jacobi in US-NYp, Vol. 12, and Baron's mention of Jacobi in the *Untersuchungen...*, p. 82, led lute researcher André Burguete to associate this sonata with Jacobi..[71]

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[69] Ibid., introduction.

[70] I am grateful to Tim Crawford for this information.

[71] Schlegel (1992), introduction. Jacobi, Gotlieb Siegmund (?-? /born in the second part of the 17th century, d. after 1726). Ulrich Siegele estimates that Jacobi was born in the 1680s (sometime between 1685 and 1690). He is found in Leipzig in 1705 and in Rostock in 1706, where he studied "Rechtswissenschaft." In the Studentmatrikkel his birthplace is cited as Grimma, which is outside Leipzig (Baron mentions Jacobi to be from Meissen, which is just outside Dresden. These places are not far from each other).

In 1723 Jacobi was recommended to the Leipzig Bürgermeister, Gottfried Lange, by August the Strong's Kabinettminister in Dresden. Jacobi served for a time as lutenist at the Dresden court. Siegele believes that Jacobi came to Leipzig in around 1723-24.

Siegele speculates that Jacobi came to move from Leipzig to Cöthen and mentions the possibility that Lange may have asked Bach to recommend him to the Cöthen court. According to *Die Köthener Kammerrechnungen*, Jacobi was stayed at the Cöthen court from about May to October of 1724, receiving 82 Reichstaler for the position. *Die Köthener Kammerrechnungen* also mention a payment

- Ms. II 4087/3: *Duetto á Liuto, e Traverso* in G:

¢	Allegro
C	Adagio
¢	Presto

Both parts are intact. According to *MGG*, this work may have been composed around 1740, probably after Baron assumed his position in Berlin. The lute part is written for a 13-course instrument. The notation in Ms. II 4087 is in three different hands. The initials "LAVG" on the front cover raise the possibility that Luise Adelgunde von Gottsched (1713-1762) was the copyist of the lute part.[72] She was a competent lutenist and a friend of Weiss. Ms. II 4087/4-8 is intabulated by another person while the suites in Ms. II 4087/9-10 seem to have been copied by a third person.

In the two concertos for four instruments by Meusel (1688-1728), preserved in Brussels Ms. II. 4089 (formerly in the private library of Fétis, no. 2914), we encounter the initials of Gottsched

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to Jacobi in 1726. From the level of salary Siegele calculates his stay in Cöthen to have taken place from about the 24th January to 6th April 1726.

His next journey took him to Blankenburg (Harz). In November he wrote a letter to Flemming, asking him for a certificate of recommendation to the popular Duke Ludwig Rudolf in Brauschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Whether Jacobi stayed in Blankenburg for a longer time, returned to Cöthen, stayed in Leipzig, or just traveled around visiting the many courts in Germany, is not known.

Zuth mentions that Jacobi was a pupil of Weiss, and it is likely that there was a close connection between the two lutenists. Baron also speaks well of him and his compositions. Monsieur Jacobi from Meissen has also shown all lovers of this beautiful instrument that he is very skilled at composing for the lute. His pieces, although they are somewhat pensive, sound good to the ear, and there is a pleasant spirit in them. Baron, who was very fond of the new Weissian manner of playing the lute, liked Jacobi's compositions, probably because they had the features of this new style.

In fact, Jacobi is one of the many people on Baron's list who had striven to attain this new method. The other names were Kühnel, Meusel, Gleim, Grave, and Gleitsmannn. All of these had earned special merit on this instrument, Note that all these musicians (except for Grave) are represented in the Harrach collection in New York. Moreover, the 1836 Breitkopf auction list contains all these names.

[72] Luise Adelgunde Victoria (Kulmus) Gottsched (b. Danzig 1713; d. 1762),. She came from a musical home where her father played the lute, her mother clavier and cyther, and concerts for amatuers were organized at their house. A certain secretary Klein on the violin and D. Rade on the lute are reported to have played. Luise began playing the lute in her childhood, and was mostly self-taught. In her biography her husband, the famous poet Johann Christoph Gottsched, writes that she played "... the most difficult pieces of Weiss perfectly, almost at sight; and she even earned the applause of this great master when he visited her in 1740, playing for her and hearing her play." She was a friend and pupil of S.L. Weiss. Together with a letter to her dated September 28, 1741, Weiss sent her a Partita. D.A. Smith mentions the possibility of a connection between Weiss and the Gottscheds.

From her biography we get the impression that she was a intellectual person, well acquainted with music, poetry, writing and reading books. It is probable that she copied much of the later lute tablatures herself. She also played basso continuo very well on the clavier, and when arriving in Leipzig in 1735 she studied composition with Bach's pupil Johann Ludwig Krebs who also was well acquainted with the lute and lutenists in Leipzig.

once more. The works in this manuscript are believed to have been composed between 1715-50.

There are at least three possibilities as to why these initials show up on the works in 4087 and 4089: 1) the intabulator was Luise Adelgunde, 2) the works were dedicated to her, or 3) she could be the owner of the works. In the Ms. II. 4087, Fs. I, II, and III, the copyist uses the symbol "**3**" to indicate the 10th course rather than the usual "**///a**." The same hand and idiosyncrasies appear in the works of Meusel in Ms. II. 4089 (2 and 3)[73] and in Ms. II. 4089 (15), a concerto by Lauffensteiner, although this time without the initials.

- Ms. II 4087/4: ¢ *Fantasia*

This is concordant to the *Fantasia* contained in the suite in B-flat (4087/1), but it is another handwritten copy (see the comments under 4087/1).

- Ms. II 4087/5 *Concerto, in C á Liuto obligato, Violino e Basso.*

C	Allegro
3/4	Largo
C	Presto

This contains the Violino and Basso parts. The lute part appears in Ms. II 4087/7 (see below):

- Ms. II 4087/6: *Concerto, in C á Liuto obligato, Violino e Basso:*
  Again, the lute part appears in Ms. II 4087/7 (see below):

C	Allegro
C	Adagio
3/4	Vivace

In the beginning of the eighteenth-century, lute trios appeared by Viennese composers such as Ferdinand Ignaz Hinterleithner (*Lauten-Concerte,* 1699), Johann Georg Weichenberger (ca. 1700), Wenzel Ludwig Freiherr von Radolt (1701), and Jacques de Saint Luc. The trios by these composers are very similar in structure: the upper voice (violin, flute, or another instrument) doubles the upper voice of the lute part, while the lower voice (cello) doubles the bass part of the lute.

In the trios of Philipp Martin and Baron from the 1730s there is greater independence of each instrument. The bass part of the lute acts more as harmonic support.[74] The two concertos in Ms. II 4087/5-6 are examples of such individual. The movements are

[73] These are the library's own designations.
[74] Neemann, "Philipp Martin" op. cit., 545-65.

short and are relatively easy to play. The style is melodious, the harmonic texture simple, and there is the use of short motifs and sequences. They were probably composed sometime between 1730 and 1740 and performed at the courts of Gotha, Eisenach, or Berlin.

- Ms. II 4087/7: (Contains the lute part of Ms.II 4087/6)

C	Allegro
C	Adagio
3/4	Vivace

(Contains the lute part of Ms.II 4087/5)

C	Allegro
3/4	Largo
C	Presto

Ms. II 4087/7 contains the lute parts to the concertos in Ms. II 4087/5 and 6. Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht wrongly suggests these lute parts to be a doubled *Sonata da camera.*[75]

- Ms. II 4087/8: *Liuto Solo in F del Sigr. Baron*

C	Allemande	
3/4	Courante	
3/4	Menuet	
3/4	Polonoise	(Not in II 4087/9)
3/4	Sarabande	
C	Bourrée	
3/4	Menuet	
3/4	Polonoise	(Not in. II 4087/9)
6/8	Gigue	

This suite is the same as the F suite in 4087/9. The differences between the suites are listed below:[76]

- Ms. II 4087/9: *Liuto Solo* (in C-minor):

C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
C	Bourrée
3/4	Sarabande
3/4	Menuet
C	Air
12/8	Gigue

[75] Hoffmann-Erbrecht (1989), 233.

[76] See *Chamber Music of the 18th Century*, Brussels Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. II 4089, Alamire, Belgium, 1990, author: G. Haenen.

Suite in G-minor:

C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
C	Aria
3/4	Menuet
C	Bourrée
3/4	Menuet
C	Gavotte
3/4	Sarabanda
6/8	Gigue

Suite in F: Except for the Air movement, all the movements are also found in the suite in F, Ms. II 4087/8:

C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
3/4	Menuet
3/4	Sarabande
C	Bourrée
3/4	Menuet
C	Air (Not in II 4087/8)
6/8	Gigue

Suite in D-minor:

C	Prelude
C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
C	Bourrée
3/4	Menuet
3/4	Sarabande
3/4	Menuet
C	Aria
3/4	Polonoise

- Ms. II 4087/10: *Liuto Solo in A minor:*

C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
3/4	Menuet
C	Aria
C	Bourrée
3/4	Menuet
12/8	Siciliano
12/8	Gigue

Suite in A-minor:

C	Prelude
C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
3/4	Menuet
C	Bourrée
3/4	Menuet
C	Gavotte
3/4	Sarabande
3/4	Menuet
12/8	Gigue

Suite in C-major:

C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
3/4	Menuet
C	Aria
3/4	Sarabande
C	Bourrée
6/8	Gigue

Suite in G-major:

C	Prelude
C	Allemande
3/4	Courante
3/4	Menuet
C	Bourrée
3/4	Polonoise
6/8	Gigue

The nine suites in Ms. 4087/8-10 are all built upon the conventional suite form: Allemande, Courante, Sarabande, and Gigue. As in most of the suites by contemporary lutenists in the first part of the eighteenth century, these movements were surrounded by other dance types such as Menuets, Bourrée, and Polonaise, which were more typical *galant* movements. Six of Baron's suites include an Aria, one has a Gavotte, and one has a Prelude. The movements are relatively short compared to the works of Weiss. Even the late partitas (see below) have relatively short movements; thus, brevity is characteristic of Baron. Many of these suites are of medium-level technical difficulty, and the harmonic structures are modest and simple.

Baron probably wrote lute music for both pedagogical needs and courtly chamber concerts and events. The easiest

movements of these nine suites would have been excellent teaching purposes. Most of these suites were probably written sometime between 1725 and 1745.

Königsberg (Kaliningrad), Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Ms. 3026 FascicleVI.

The following partitas have been missing since WWII, but a copy from the original manuscript has survived.[77]

• Ms. 3026, Fascicle. VI: *Partita in G, Galanterie G-Dur, composée par E. TH. Baron, le 17 de Fèvrier l'an 1755 per il Liuto.*[78]

Introductione
Poco Allegro
Aria
Menuetto
Polonoise
Gigue

• Ms. 3026, Fascicle. VII: *Partita in F avec la suite pour le luth F-Dur composée par Erneste Theophile Baron:*

Entrée
Poco Allegro
Gavotte Menuett
Menuett
Paisane
Sarabande Adagio
Menuett
Gigue

One of the contributors to the collection was the "Archiv Finckenstein-Garden" (Countess of Finckenstein-Garden), who donated these tablatures to the library as a permanent gift in 1932. The Ms. 3026 contained both solo and chamber music. In addition to two Partitas of Baron, the collection contains works of Adolf Faustinus Weiss (1741-1814),[79] Adam Falckenhagen (1697-1754), and

[77] The Partitas of Baron have survived through painstaking work by Erik Schütze, Josef Klima, and Joachim Domning. Schütze copied the manuscript, Klima preserved a copy of Schütze in his "Wiener-Lautenarchiv," and Joachim Domning republished the Partitas from Klima's copy in 1991.

[78] See the preface to Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Zwei Partiten für Laute Solo*, ed. J. Domning (1991).

[79] Most of what was believed to be J.A.F. Weiss' music, preserved in the National Library in Königsberg, is missing since WW II: (1) Signatur Ms. 2712 with the remark: "Noten von anno 1757 in 11 stücken, die zur Laute IV 35 antes No. 4068 Pruss. Mus. Gehören, welche pp Nithard viel gespielt hat."

These works are considered to have been played by the lutenists surrounding Reichart in

two Arias with lute-accompaniment. The Partitas contain the following inscriptions:

Partie de Galanterie G-dur, composée par E.Th. Baron le 17 de Février l'an 1755 per il Liuto. (fascicle VI)

Partie avec la suite pour le luth f-dur composée par Erneste Theophile Baron (fascicle VII)

These two Partitas are among the finest of Baron's achievements.[80] However, as Domning points out in his edition, one cannot be certain about their authenticity since no original manuscript exists. The Partita in F contains eight movements, the *Entrée, Poco Allegro,* and the *Sarabande adagio* arguably being the most successful. The headings of a few movements *Poco Allegro* and *Sarabande Adagio* allude to sonata form, which is new to the solo music of Baron. The same could be said about the two first movements of the *Partita in G.*[81]

The Partita in Fascicle VII, seems to be for the 12-course lute, in contrast to the Partita in Fascicle VI which is intended for a 13-course instrument. It is not known when the Partita from fascicle VII was written. Judging from the use of mixed movements from both suite and sonata form, it could have been written about the same time as the other Partita in Fascicle VI. The *Galanterie* suite in G has a very *galant* touch, especially the introduction with its light character, tunefulness, and elegant use of triplets.

Königsberg. One of the pieces is a Menuet con Variazione de Mr. Reichardt. Pieces from the book could be connected to Weiss, but only one work indicates a Weiss, probably J.A.F. Weiss:

4.Canzonetten, Canto, Chitarra, Liuto übersetzt von Weiss:
Lagitation d'amore
Silencio che sento di Bianchi
Sul'Ara d'Esculapi
La Verita

Ms. 3026 - Archiv Finckenstein-Garden" (Countess of Finckenstein-Garden), who donated their tablatures to the Library in Königsberg as a permanent gift in 1932. The Ms. contains both solo and chamber music. Three works are connected to a Weiss, probably J.A.F. Weiss:

Weiss, Solo Liuto D moll;
Weiss, Concerto a 3 voci A moll, Liutho, Violino ed Basso, only lute part;
Weiss, Liuto solo c-dur und f dur;

All works are notated in French tablature for 13-course lute.

See: *The New Grove*, Vol. 20, 325-326, the Weiss articles by Edward R. Reilly and Douglas Alton Smith; Hans-Peter Kosack, *Geschichte der Laute und Lautenmusik in Preussen*, volume 17 of "Königsberger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft", Kassel, 1935, 91-96

[80] Josef Klima, Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760). "Partiten aus den verschollenen Handschriften Berlin, Mus. ms. 40633 und Königsberg 3026. Themenverzeichnis von Josef Klima," in *Gitarre und Laute* 1/88, 33-34; Kosack, op. cit., 58; Joachim Domning, *Ernst-Gottlieb Baron zwei Partiten für Laute Solo*, BL 02-1, Verlag die Barocklaute, Wuppertal, 1991; RISM B/VII, 1978, 153

[81] I have found numerous examples where the strict rules are neglected in the bass lines. It seems like Baron more or less gave up on the rules, and the music could be far better harmonized.

Cracow, Biblioteka Jagiellonska [formerly Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 40633:

Partie De Mr Baron

¢	Prelude (?)
¢	Allemande
3/4	Courante
¢	Gavotte
3/4	Menuett
¢	La Bassesse
3/4(¢)	Menuet

The manuscript is for 11-course lute. Friedrich Wilhelm Raschke, (ca. 1750) is mentioned by Koczirz as being "Electoral Saxon Minister of War" from 1739 and likely possessed this manuscript.[82] Raschke may have worked as a lutenist at the court chapel in Dresden and in the church after the death of Weiss, but he was not formally employed. From a Menuet by Raschke, the year of the manuscript is thought to be 1753. The manuscript also contains music by Raschke, Gautier, Gallot, Mouton, Baron, Weichmanberg, Fasch, and Bronikowsky. The partita by Baron was probably written during the 1740s.

New York Public Library: Archive Harrach, JOG 72-29, vol. xiii

- *Concerto à luth, oboe et Violoncello* (in C minor):

C	Concerto
C	Molto Adagio
3/4	Vivace

Baron may have written this work after having met the oboe player Fröde in Zerbst.[83]

- *Concerto à Liuto, Violino* (in D minor):

C	Concerto (no further name)
3/4	Largo
3/4	Vivace

The manuscript is for 11-course lute. It is possible that Baron wrote this concerto in the late 1730s, and the violinist may have been the young Franz Benda (1709-1786) who was engaged by

[82] It was in the private library of Dr. Werner Wolffheim, until 1932, then preserved in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Musikabteilung until the end of the WW II. It is now at the Jagiellonska Library in Cracow.

[83] F.W. Marpurg, *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* (Berlin, 1754), vol I, 545.

the Prussian crown prince in 1733, and remained in this service until his death.

- *Concerto à Liuto, Flaute Traverso, Violoncello* (in G):

C	Concerto
3/4	Largo
3/4	No title (vivace?)

This was written for 11-course lute, probably early in Baron's Berlin period, ca. 1737-45. The flute player for these concertos may have been the king himself, or even J.J. Quantz. These concertos, like those in Brussels Ms. II 4087/3, 4087/5, and 4087/6, are all cast in a slow-fast-slow three-movement form.

- *A Flauto Dolce, au Lüth, par é Mr. Ernst Gottlieb Baron* (in D minor):

C	Concerto: Adagio
3/4	Allegro
6/8	Siciliana
6/8	Gigue

The names of the movements indicate a mix between suite and sonata form. This is his only concerto work in four movements.

- *Suite à 2 Luth par Baron* [in B-flat]:

C	Allemande
3/4	Courente
3/4	Menuet
C	Bourrée

Baron met another lute player, Bielogradsky, in Dresden about 1737.[84] According to Eitner, Bielogradsky may have been in Berlin in 1737 for as long as two years,[85] and Baron's suite for two lutes may have been written in these years.

Mecklenburgische Landesbibliothek, Schwerin, D SWI: Mus. 966

- *TRJO. / Flauto=Traverso. / Violino./ Basson./ Composta Del:Sing!: / E.T.Baron./ J J B*

Andante
Allegro
Un poco allegro e quasi scherzando

[84] Ibid., 546
[85] Crawford, The Moscow "Weiss" Manuscript, preface.

The manuscript dates from between 1750–59, but the trio was probably written between 1730-50. The title is taken from the bassoon part. In the same collection we find the lute trios of Philip Martin.[86]

Music of Baron in other sources:

In *Der getreue Musikmeister, Hamburg* (*The Faithful Music Master*), edited by G. P. Telemann in 1728, we find another suite. The *Musikmeister* contains music for many different instruments such as harpsichord, lute, as well as ensemble and vocal music. Both Baron and Weiss are represented.[87]

Suite (Partie) in F
Allemande
Courante
Menuett
Sarabande
Le Drole
Bourrée
Gigue

The auction list from 1836 shows that Breitkopf published a remarkable number of lute works.[88] Some of the music was purchased by the Belgian musicologist, critic, teacher and composer, François-Joseph Fétis (25 March, 1784-26 March, 1871), who collected a library now preserved in the Brussels Bibliothèque Royale Albert I. The auction list describes 4 trios, 1 duet and 5 solos by Baron.[89]

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[86] Martin, Philipp (Philippo Martino; Pilippo Martini; Philippi Martini) (?-?), lived during the first part of the century, and is known through his Trio VI. His publisher in Augsburg, Johann Christian Leopold, was active from 1726. Neemann has shown that Martin's trios were published between 1730 and 1733. (Neemann, Philipp Martin, op. cit.,545-65.) It has, as yet, not been possible to establish whether Martin lived in Augsburg. Joachim Domning, Germany, mentions that the lutenist Philip Martini played a concert in Rostock on the 12th May 1738 in "Kaisersaal," and that both trio and soli were performed (personal communication with Joachim Domning).

Works: "Trio VI," published by Johann Christian Leopold in Augsburg around 1730; for 13-course lute in French tablature:

III. con Liuto, Flauto traversiere et Fondamento
III. con Liuto, Violino, et Fondamento

Libraries: Augsburg,; Bremen; Brüssel CR; Schwerin; Uppsala.

See Neeman (1926-7), 545-65; Pohlmann (1982), 90; Amos (1975), 213; Otto Kade (1893).

[87] G. Ph. Telemann (ed.): *Der getreue Musikmeister*, Hamburg, 1728, 50, 51, 55, 60, 63.

[88] Verzeichnis geschriebener... und gedruckter Musikalien aller Gattungen welche am 1.Juni 1836 und folgenden Tagen...von Breitkopf & Härtel in... Leipzig verkauft werden sollen, 59, quoted from H. J. Schulze, "Wer intavolierte Johann Sebastian Bachs Lautenkompositionen?," article in *Die Musikforschung* XIX, 1966/1, 32.

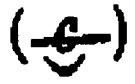
[89] I am grateful to Joachim Domning for giving me access to the list.

Before World War II, more works of Baron were known in the archives of Breitkopf & Härtel, but they are presumed lost.[90]

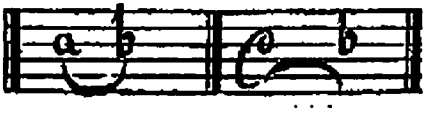
8. Ornaments in Baron's works

In his *Untersuchung* he states that "... all instruments must imitate the human voice."[91] He states that string and wind instruments are "... the most adroit at imitating cantabile, because the player can draw and sustain a tone on them for a long time.[92] Baron also refers to "... the most elegant ornaments that occur on the lute and that are peculiar to it in their execution."[93] Baron's *Untersuchung* is one of the most important lute sources in the eighteenth century, particularly of the first third.

Baron's ornamentation symbols are clearly inherited from Reusner, Wenzel von Radolt, and Le Sage de Richée. Reusner, however, used only a few ornament signs, a cross (+) and a comma (,).[94] The cross suggests a mordent in most contexts and not vibrato. The comma indicates a trill or an appoggiatura from above, depending on the context.[95] The appoggiatura from below is drawn with a bow under the tablature letter:



In his *Untersuchung,* Baron describes the following contemporary ornaments for the lute:

Appoggiatura from below "Einfallen"	*Appoggiatura from above* "Abziehen"

The slurs are inverted according to their direction (ascending or descending).

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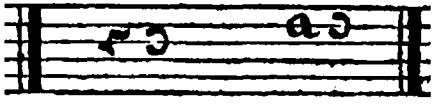
[90] Lothar Hoffmann-Erbrecht, "Ernst Gottlieb Barons Kompositionen für Laute Solo," in *Quaestiones in Musica*, Tutzing, 1989, 227-40.
[91] Baron (1976), 140.
[92] Ibid., 141
[93] Ibid., 140.
[94] Janet Dodge; "Ornamentation as indicated by Signs in Lute Tablature," in *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* IX, 1907/08, 332
[95] Thanks to Anthony Bailes for comments on this matter.

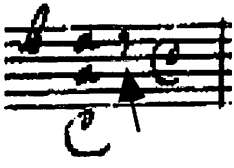
Trill. Baron uses this sign for a trill:



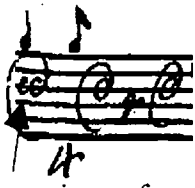
In the Bach and Weiss sources, this sign also stands for a trill, but Falckenhagen and Hagen interpret it as an appoggiatura.

Baron writes the *Abzug* and *Einfall* the same way as Le Sage de Richée in his collection *Cabinet der Lauten* from 1695.[96] Le Sage de Richée also uses a comma (or a crescent-moon sign) after the tablature letter to indicate the trill. Even in the middle of the eighteenth century we find the crescent-moon sign in some lute pieces by Bronikowsky and Raschke. [97]

In the *Suite à 2 Luth* by Baron (New York Public Library: Archiv Harrach), the intabulator uses a comma sign for the appoggiatura from above:



Allemande, lute part 2, m. 1

The sign for the appoggiatura from below also differs in the various manuscripts of Baron's music. In the Ms. II 4087 from the *Bibliotheque Royale de Belgique* in Brussels (hereinafter Brussels 4087) the following sign appears:

Appoggiatura from below:
Brussels 4087/9, *Courante,* m. 13

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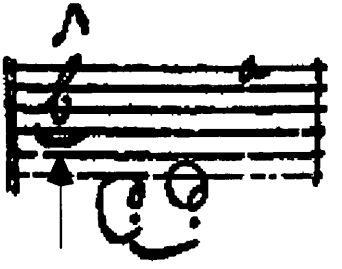
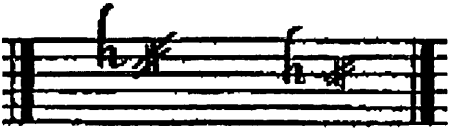
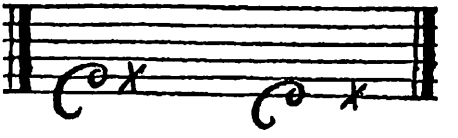
[96] Dodge, op.cit., 352.

[97] See Adolf Koczirz, "Verschollene neudeutsche Lautenisten," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft,* volume III, 1921, 276

But in the Harrach manuscript, *Suite à 2 Luth*, the bow under the tablature letter signals an appoggiatura from below:

Allemande, lute part 2, m. 8

In his book, Baron distinguishes between two kinds of *vibrato* (*Bebung*):

1. *Vibrato* executed with the left-hand thumb free:

2. *Vibrato* executed with the left-hand thumb placed on the neck:



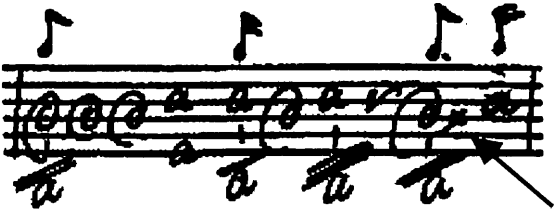
His description of the second kind of vibrato is less clear:

> It consists of placing the appropriate finger down and *pulling the string back and forth* with it, so that the same kind of *Bebung* or wavering tone is produced."[98] [emphasis added]

[98] "...das man seinen darzugehörigen Finger aufsetzt, und damit die Saiten hin und wieder ziehe, auf dass eben so eine Bebung oder schwebender Thon heraus komme" Baron, *Untersuchung*, 169. Translation here by D.A. Smith, Baron (1976), 143.

Of the expression "hin und wieder ziehe" (pulling back and forth), two interpretations are possible. I believe he is referring to the so-called *transversal vibrato*, which means that the player has to pull the string transversally on the neck (as opposed to). This vibrato is widely used on the guitar today when playing in the first position on the lowest strings.[99]

The cross-sign (♭×) stands for the trill in the music of Falckenhagen and Hagen, and in intabulations of J.S. Bach's lute music.[100] A similar cross sign is found in the tablature of Baron's two concertos for lute, violin and basso in C:



Brussels 4087/7, f 2v, *Adagio*

Again the same sign is found in the *Allegro* and *Presto* of the following concerto (Brussels 4087/7 ff. 4 and 4v):

Brussels 4087/7, f 2v, *Adagio*

This should not be confused with his sign for vibrato in lower positions on the lute, which he refers to in his book. In the same *Adagio* this sign is even used on an open string, which is impossible. We find more of the same in the *Sarabande* in Brussels 4087/8 (f. 3) of the first suite and the *Sarabande* in Brussels 4087/9 (f. 2). How should we interpret the cross (x) here? In Brussels 4087/8 it could mean a *pralltrill* or *trill*. In the 4087/9 *Sarabande*, it can be

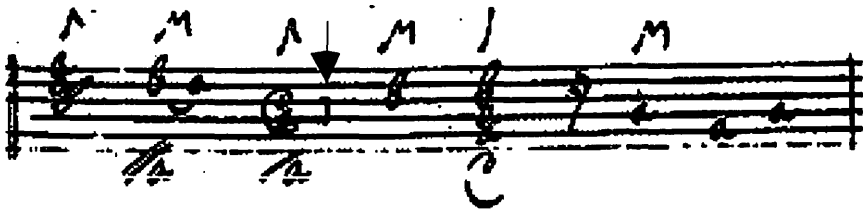
[99] Anthony Bailes shares this opinion because of Baron's use of the word "ziehe" which means "pull," and Bailes adds: Can one pull a string along its length?

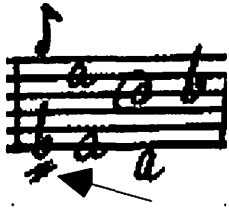
[100] Bach wrote his lute music on the standard grand staff: he did not write any lute tablature.

interpreted as a trill, *pralltrill* and mordent, but most likely a trill, and in the *Allemande* (f. 3) and the *Courante* (f. 4), as a *pralltrill* or trill. Weiss uses the same sign for a mordent, while in the tablatures of Bach, Falckenhagen and Hagen, it should be interpreted as a trill. The cross at the open string in the above example *cannot* be performed as a mordent. This sign seems to be an alternative to the most common trill sign:

For the most common trill sign in the intabulations of Baron's music, we can look again at the *Allemande* of the *Suite à 2 Luth*, from the Harrach Manuscript:

trill



In the *Polonoise* and *Sarabande* in Brussels 4087/8 (both on f. 2v) we find the intabulator using the double cross sign (#) for *vibrato* both in the treble and bass strings:

This differs from what Baron shows in his book where he uses the (#) in the treble in higher positions and (x) in the lower positions.

Why are there different ornament signs in all of Baron's works? One possible answer is that he wrote music for the lute during a period of about thirty years (1720/25-1760) and the ornament signs changed somewhat during this time, beginning with Baron's own instructions in his book and ending with Beyer's ornament table.[101] Another factor is the idiosyncratic nature of ornament symbols used by various intabulators, lutenists, copyists, and publishers over time.

[101] Johann Christian Beyer, *Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden, Lieder und Fabeln*, Leipzig, 1760

We cannot find a specific sign for the mordent in the works of Baron, but that does not mean that he did not use it. The signs for the *trill* and appoggiatura from above can sometimes be interpreted as a mordent. In addition, we should assume that Baron was acquainted with the signs used in the works of Radolt and Weiss,[102] who used the cross sign (x) for the mordent.

Baron's *Untersuchung* was published in 1727, and my hope when reading it was to discover the link between the German lute ornament tradition of the 17th century and the 18th century. But Baron unfortunately chose only a few ornaments for elaboration. He chose signs that were

> "... primarily designated in lute tablatures for beginners, until they learn how to apply them at the appropriate places in unornamented pieces themselves. Yet one must not think that all of them are indicated there, because many cannot be indicated as well as invented and executed."[103]

It is remarkable how little uniformity exists in the application and designation of ornament signs found in eighteenth-century tablatures. The inconsistent use of signs found in the music of contemporaries such as Weiss and Baron is most surprising. Both Baron's book and the tablatures of Baron's works contain relatively few ornament symbols. This peculiar discovery shows Baron to be rather unique among the lutenists in the eighteenth century; instead of being a creator of a trend, it is clear that Weiss was the one who carried on the seventeenth-century ornament tradition, not Baron.[104] In this article, I have tried to give a broad view of Baron's life, his contemporary status, and his solo music. Future research on Baron that concentrates on archival materials from the courts in the Gotha, Eisenach and Berlin areas will yield even more information, and there is much still to learn about his chamber music and theoretical works.

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[102] By the time Baron finished his *Untersuchung* (1727), Weiss already was a highly respected and famous lutenist at an age of 41.

[103] Baron (1976), 144.

[104] For a further introduction to ornaments in the 18th century German lute music, see Farstad (1998), 85-115.

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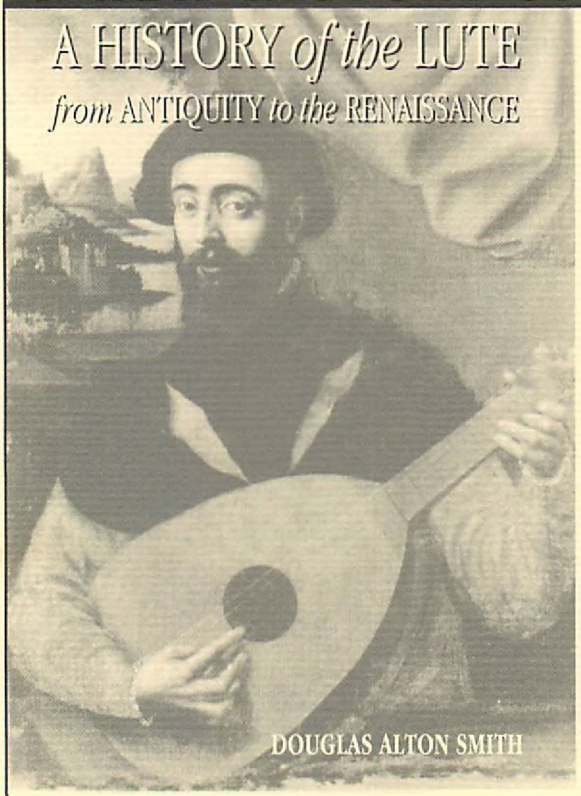

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