KEYBOARD TABLATURES OF THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN:

EDITION AND COMMENTARY

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Graduate Council of the
North Texas State University in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

Alis Dickinson, B.A., M.M.

Denton, Texas

December 1973

In the history of seventeenth-century European music the court of Christian IV (r. 1588-1648) occupies a position of prominence. Christian, eager for fame as a patron of the arts, drew to Denmark many of the musical giants of the age, among them the lutenist John Dowland and the composer Heinrich Schütz. Sadly, except for financial records and occasional letters still in the archives, few traces remain of these brilliant years in Denmark. The music composed and played during this half century has largely disappeared, most of it probably in the tragic fire of 1794 that destroyed the old Christiansborg Castle in Copenhagen and with it the court music archives.

Except for the recently-discovered Clausholm Fragments, only three specimens of keyboard music from the period remain: *Ny kgl. Saml. 1997 fol.* (Obmaus Tablature), *Gl. kgl. Saml. 376 fol.* (Copenhagen Tablature), and *mu 8703.2131/6* (Voigtländer Tablature). It has generally been assumed that the manuscripts were of German origin. The present study, however, demonstrates a probable Danish origin for the third, possible Danish connections for the second, and establishes that the first is of Austrian provenance.

The Obmaus Tablature is an amateur's preservation of a German keyboard style already outdated. This slender manuscript, dated 1637, contains a
total of ten "archaic" pieces exhibiting the peculiarities of keyboard dances and song settings from the late sixteenth century. The awkward style of the pieces leads to the conclusion that they were transcribed for keyboard—more literally than imaginatively—from lute originals.

The Copenhagen Tablature, consisting of thirty-four folios, is of primary importance for its evidence of the spread of the French clavecin style and the development of the keyboard suite. Of the sixty-nine pieces the majority are French dance forms, several with doubles; also included are preludes, German dances, and settings of chorales, psalms, and secular songs. In this study the dating of the various portions of the manuscript is discussed, and conjectures as to the compilers are presented.

The six extended dance and song settings appended to a 1642 copy of Gabriel Voigtländer's Oden und Lieder provide a significant addition to the small body of secular works from the Sweelinck school. The first two pieces are the only surviving secular works of Melchior Schildt. The tablature also contains a work attributed to Heinrich Scheidemann; one possibly arranged from an original by Samuel Scheidt; and two bearing the signature J. R. R., identified as the Copenhagen organist Johann Rudolph Radeck, who may have been connected with the tablature.

Since there is no demonstrable connection between the tablatures other than their common period of origin, each is the subject of an independent study covering the description and history of the manuscript, its notation, the style and significance of the music, and comments on the individual pieces. The eighty-five transcriptions from the three tablatures are gathered into a separate volume, both to facilitate reference during reading of the commentary and to make the music easily accessible for performance.
In Danish music history the age of Christian IV [reigned 1588-1648] occupies a singular position, at once advanced and isolated. During this period the art of music made quite extraordinary progress, so considerable that it can be said without exaggeration that in this regard the King of Denmark's court stood in the forefront, or at any rate ranked among the best. In those times Denmark was a well-known and hospitable refuge for musicians and exerted an active attraction for musical celebrities of the time; indeed, it even seemed as if under Christian IV's rule, so beneficent toward art, a national school of musicians would develop here. However, all this came to an end at about the same time as did Christian himself. What he began, none of his successors has continued; in particular, there is no question of any national development until we come all the way down to our own time. The age of Christian IV stands in our music history like a smiling oasis in the middle of a large and rather barren desert.

—Angul Hammerich, Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof.

With this picturesque simile Hammerich opens his account of two generations of musical activity largely unsuspected by most musicians today. Christian, eager for fame as a patron of the arts, drew to Denmark many of the musical giants of the age: the lutenist John Dowland, violists William Brade, Thomas Simpson, and Johann Schop, organists Melchior Schildt and Matthias Weckmann, and composers Heinrich Schütz and Heinrich Albert. Sadly, except for occasional letters and records of wages and expenditures still in the archives, few traces remain of these brilliant years in Denmark. The music these men played—still more, what many of them composed during their sojourns—has largely disappeared, most of it probably in the tragic fire of 1794 that destroyed the old Christiansborg Castle in Copenhagen, and with it the court music archives.
Of keyboard music of the period only four specimens remain. One fragmentary manuscript discovered a decade ago at Clausholm Castle in Jutland is presently being prepared for publication by Henrik Glahn and Søren Sørensen. Of the remaining three tablatures—Ny kgl. Saml. 1997 fol., Gl. kgl. Saml. 376 fol., and mu 6703.2131/6—at least the first two have generally been assumed to have come from outside Denmark.

The present study was undertaken with the hope that it might be possible to show definite Danish connections for these three manuscripts and thus make a small contribution to the history of music in that country where I spent two pleasant and profitable years of study. Although this original intention has been only partially successful, an edition of the music seems nonetheless justified. In most of Europe keyboard publications were sparse during the troubled times of the Thirty Years' War, and the few manuscripts remaining deserve to be preserved in playable form. Moreover, aside from the question of its origin, each manuscript reveals a personality of its own. The first has proved to be an amateur's preservation of a German keyboard style already outdated; the second, a "working" tablature by musicians, primarily of interest because of its evidence for the spread of French clavecin style and the development of the suite; and the third, a significant addition to the small body of secular works from the Sweelinck school. Also, the search for concordances has frequently shown that a given melody has a long and interesting history, of which the particular setting is but a single link. In light of this, the remarks on the individual pieces are less analytical than illuminative.

Since there is no demonstrable connection between the tablatures other than their common period of origin, each is the subject of an independent
study covering the description and history of the manuscript, its notation, the style and significance of the music, and comments on the individual pieces. The specific editorial procedures followed for each manuscript are explained in the section covering its notation. In general, obvious omissions (such as rests) have been added in brackets without further comment, but more serious alterations in the texts of the manuscripts are documented in the Critical Notes. The eighty-five transcriptions from the three tablatures are gathered into a separate volume, both to facilitate reference during reading of the commentary and to make the music easily accessible for performance.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE .......................................................... iii
LIST OF EXAMPLES ................................................. ix
LIST OF FIGURES .................................................. xi
LIST OF PLATES .................................................... xi

PART I. COMMENTARY

Chapter

I. THE OBMAUS TABLATURE ....................................... 1
   Facsimiles
   Survey of the Manuscript
   Notation and Editorial Procedures
   Style and Significance of the Music
   Remarks on the Pieces

II. THE COPENHAGEN TABLATURE ................................. 22
   Facsimiles
   Survey of the Manuscript
   Notation and Editorial Procedures
   Style and Significance of the Music
   Remarks on the Pieces

III. THE VOIGTLÄNDER TABLATURE ............................... 108
   Facsimiles
   Survey of the Manuscript
   Notation and Editorial Procedures
   Style and Significance of the Music
   Remarks on the Pieces

BIBLIOGRAPHY ....................................................... 134

PART II. TRANSCRIPTIONS AND CRITICAL NOTES

TABLE OF CONTENTS ............................................... ii
THE OBMAUS TABLATURE ........................................... 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>THE COPENHAGEN TABLATURE</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE VOIGTLÄNDER TABLATURE</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRITICAL NOTES</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. &quot;Ein guter Neyer danncz,&quot; Löffelholtz Tablature, No. 5, f. 7v</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. &quot;Ballet,&quot; Regina Clara Tablature, No. 45, f. 18r</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. &quot;More palatino,&quot; Clodius Liederbuch (1669), No. 19 p. 22</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &quot;Ein dantz,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 88, f. 58v-59r</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Theme of Samuel Scheidt's variations on &quot;Ach du feiner Reiter&quot;</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. &quot;Ei du feiner Reiter&quot; from the folk-song collection Deutscher Liederhort</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. &quot;Sarabanda,&quot; Regina Clara Tablature, No. 22, f. 9r</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Psalm 103, Susanne van Soldt Manuscript, No. 6, f. 5v</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. &quot;Sarabande Pinel,&quot; Vincentius de la Faille Manuscript</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. &quot;Sarabande en Canon&quot; of Louis Couperin</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. &quot;Allemande&quot; of Louis Couperin</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. &quot;Allemande La Rare&quot; of Chambonnières</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. &quot;Courante de Madame&quot; of Chambonnières</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17a. &quot;Sarabande 0 beau jardin&quot; of Chambonnières</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17b. Arrangement of &quot;Sarabande 0 beau jardin&quot; attributed to D'Anglebert</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>18. &quot;Sarabande,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 94, f. 60v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>20. &quot;Schwedischer Tanz,&quot; Regina Clara Tablature, No. 70, f. 27v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>21. No. 18, Dublin Virginal Manuscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>22. &quot;Hör Himmel,&quot; Regina Clara Tablature, No. 81, f. 32r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>24. &quot;Courant,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 166, f. 119v-120r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>25. &quot;Saraband,&quot; Regina Clara Tablature, No. 58, f. 23v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>26. &quot;Serband,&quot; Anna Maria van Eyll Manuscript, No. 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>27. &quot;Courant All modo,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 33, f. 22v-24r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>28. Goudimel melody for Psalm 103, &quot;Nun preß mein Seeß&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>30. &quot;The Nightingale,&quot; Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. 1886, f. 13r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>31. Melody of dance No. XXXII from Brade collection of 1621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>32. &quot;Courant,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 34, f. 23v-24r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>33. &quot;La Viona&quot;—&quot;La Double&quot; of Johann Lerenz, Uppsala, Univ.-bibl., Ihre 887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>34. &quot;Courante à la Reyna&quot; from the Harmonie universelle of Mersenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>35. &quot;Almande,&quot; attributed to L. B., Gresse Manuscript, f. 13v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. Melody of dance No. XXIV from Brade collection of 1621</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Shifting rhythmic patterns in the double to &quot;Courrante La Bourbino&quot;</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. &quot;Saraband,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 128, f. 81v-82r</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. &quot;Curant,&quot; Leningrad Manuscript, f. 8r-8v</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Incipit of &quot;Allmayne,&quot; Lady Jean Campbell's Book, No. 5, f. 5v</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Melody of &quot;'Twas a youthful Knight, which loved a galjant lady&quot; from Jan Starter's Friesche Lust-Hof, p. 40</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44. &quot;De tweede schuylen vinkje,&quot; Oude en Nieuwe Hollantse Boeren-Lieties en Contredansen, No. 884, XII, 10</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45. Setting of &quot;Rundadinella&quot; by Daniel Friderici from the Hilarodicon</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46. &quot;Runda Rundadinella,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 97, f. 63v-64r</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47. &quot;A Maske by Mr. Orlando Gibbons,&quot; Brit. Mus., Add. 36661, f. 60v</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48. Melody of &quot;The fairest Nymph&quot; from Jan Starter's Friesche Lust-Hof (1624), p. 194</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49. &quot;Mascarada,&quot; Leningrad Manuscript, f. 7r</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50. &quot;Juden Tantz,&quot; Drallius Tablature, No. 63, f. 41v-42r</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51. &quot;Air de Lampons&quot; with mid-17th-century text</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. A Kremsmünster watermark from Vienna city hospital records of 1655</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Foliation of the Copenhagen Tablature</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Watermark from the Copenhagen Tablature</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Letters appearing on the final folio of the Copenhagen Tablature</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Handwriting of members of the Strungk family</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LIST OF PLATES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plate</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Table of contents of the Obmaus Tablature, f. 1r</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Watermark from the Obmaus Tablature, f. 8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Obmaus Tablature, f. 2v</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Instructional material on the inner flyleaf of the Copenhagen Tablature</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 2r</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 12v</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 26v</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 27v</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 30v</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 34r</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Voigtländer Tablature, f. 1v</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Voigtländer Tablature, f. 7v</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE OBMAUS TABLATURE

Plate 1. Table of contents of the Obmaus Tablature, f. 1r.
Plate 2. Watermark from the Obmaus Tablature, f. 8.
CHAPTER I

THE ORMMAUS TABLATURE

Survey of the Manuscript

_Ny kgl. Saml. 1997 fol._ is a comparatively recent acquisition of the Royal Library. According to the director of the manuscript division, it came to the library in 1929 as part of a bequest from S. A. E. Hagen, a Danish collector and music historian who died in that year. Nothing more is known of the history of the slender manuscript, and it has awakened little attention among musicologists. Only Epstein, in his study of French influence on the development of the keyboard suite, remarked briefly on the contents of the manuscript and the style of the music.¹

Nevertheless, the manuscript is not without interest, and some clues as to its origin can be found within the manuscript itself. It consists of eight rather tattered folios (20 x 32 cm.), of which only six are used for the music. The first folio is devoted to a list of contents under the heading "Acht Stük auf mein Spinet Instrument," followed by the date and signature, "den 16 May 1637 / Geörg Oßmauß" (Plate 1). Since neither musical reference works nor Danish biographical sources yielded any immediate information about such a person, attention was turned to the paper itself in an effort to determine the area of its origin. The watermark was so faint and marred by fold lines in the paper as to be almost unidentifiable (Plate 2), but an extensive search at length proved fruitful. The mark

was one of a number of variants employed by a paper mill connected with the monastery of Kremsmünster in Upper Austria. The mill, which operated continuously from 1542 to 1860, is discussed by Eineder in his study of paper mills of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, and several of its watermarks are reproduced (see example in Fig. 1). Eineder offers the following interpretation of the figures depicted in the watermarks:

The Monastery or Charitable Institution of Kremsmünster was founded in the year 777 by Tassilo II, Duke of Bavaria. While his son, Gunther by name, was hunting in the immense forests of this border territory, he succeeded in killing a huge wild boar. He himself, however, was also killed by the furious, charging beast. Gunther had been separated from his fellow-huntsmen, and when they were unable to find his body, Duke Tassilo made a vow to build a monastery on the spot where it would be found. At last, after three days of searching, a hound struck the scent, followed it up, and was found baying over the corpse.

---


3 Ibid., Plate 101, No. 351.
The monastery was built and the grateful monks thenceforth for hundreds of years offered free meals to everybody on the foundation day. It appears that in the Middle Ages there were frequently as many as 30,000 people to be fed! These events were depicted in the arms of the monastery, making their appearance in numerous variants in the watermarks of the monastery paper-mill.4

A renewed search for the mysterious Georg Obmaus, this time in the area of Austria, led to one family by the name Obenaus or Obmaus. According to the Deutsches Adels-Lexicon, the founder of the family fortunes was one Georg Obenaus, who in 1610 was awarded a coat of arms and other privileges for his services under Emperors Maximilian II (1564-76) and Rudolph II (1576-1612) in the wars against the Turks. Then in 1666 a nephew, Hans Georg von Obenaus, was raised to the nobility as reward for his many years of service at the courts of Ferdinand III (1637-57) and Leopold I (1658-1705).5 Although it has not been possible at this distance to acquire more information about the family, it is not inconsistent with the physical evidence of the manuscript to assume that one of these men was responsible for the tablature. The antiquated style of the music would suggest the older Georg as the original owner. Yet, if he did indeed see service under Maximilian II, even as a youth, he would have been near eighty years of age in 1637. In light of this, the younger Georg or another relative of similar name might be a more likely identification.

Beginning on folio 2, the pieces themselves are inscribed in a bold, round hand noticeably different from that of Obmaus (Plate 3). A clue to the identity of this second person can be found on the inner side of the

4Ibid., p. 63.
5Ernst Heinrich Kneschke, Deutsches Adels-Lexicon (Leipzig, 1865), VI, 549.
flyleaf, where a very faint pencil notation appears to read:

H Obmaus . . .
H Stein Hauses Stuke

On the final folio of the manuscript, at the head of another list of contents written in pencil by a third hand, is again found H Stein Hauses. Although no such person has been located, the family name itself is not unknown. From this sketchy evidence we can at least outline the origins of the manuscript. It was compiled in Austria in the late 1630's for Georg Obmaus (Obenaus) of pieces arranged, and perhaps also inscribed, for him by one Steinhaus; a third person later made a notation to this effect and added to the tablature occasional comments and corrections of his own.

The list of contents on the initial page was apparently written down before the pieces themselves were entered into the manuscript, for the eight pieces projected by Obmaus do not correspond with the ten actually inscribed.

List of contents on the title page

1. daß Madrigal am Spinrädl
2. daß Balet auf laudorth per organiș
3. daß Balet am Spinrädl
4. der Keiserin Balet
5. Mora Palatino
6. Amor thuet Tyrannisien [deleted and franscöish added in pencil]
7. Passamezo der gassenhauer mit einem Zinkbaș [cinq pas]
8. Strauß

Actual contents of the manuscript

1. Balet der Keißerin
2. More palatino
3. O du / E du Edler Reiter
4. Alomodo
5. Clanck her Sodat
6. Schwedish Coránta

Several variants (Steinhaus, Steinhäuslin, Steinhäusser, etc.) can be found in Max Gottschald, *Deutsche Namenkunde* (Munich, 1932), p. 374.
7. Mein Balet [Nicodemus added in pencil]
8. Amor duet Thieranisien
9. die Nej shäfferin
10. die schwartz farb

Besides some random notes and repetitions of titles, the final page contains yet another list of contents, written by the third person in a pencil hand so exceedingly faint that an interpretation is often conjectural. The pieces are grouped under two headings:

**List of contents on the final folio**

In der ersten Reihe mit dem kurtzen Clavir

1. Amor duet Tiranisien
2. More palatino
3. die schwartz farb
4. Neu shefferin

In der anderen Reihe

1. der Kaiserin Balet
2. Nicodemus Balet
3. Madrigall Spin Redtl
4. Balet Spin Redtl

Epstein sees in this arrangement an indication for performance on two manuals; an alternate suggestion might be that the pieces in the first group were playable on a short-octave keyboard. However, there are no discernible differences in style or range between the pieces of the two groups, so the matter remains a mystery.

**Notation and Editorial Procedures**

In contrast to the titles, the pieces are quite legibly inscribed on facing folios in typical new German keyboard tablature with octave beginning at h. The manuscript is evidently a copy and not a working version, for such errors as are found are mainly errors of misplacement. Some problems

---

7Epstein, op. cit., p. 61.

8For example, m. 7–9 of No. 7 are deleted and rewritten, because the alto and tenor lines of m. 8–10 were erroneously placed one measure early.
of transcription arise where the scribe failed to differentiate sufficiently between upper- and lower-case letters in the bass line, but such passages can be untangled by reference to the direction of the line. The rhythmic signs have been transcribed literally: $\text{I} = \times$, $\text{f} = \|$, $\text{f} = \uparrow$, $\text{F} = \downarrow$. The 1:2 reduction of note values advocated by Apel for this period\(^9\) seems unnecessary for a clear presentation of the music in the three tablatures under discussion, still more the 1:4 reduction employed by earlier editors on the basis of the external resemblance of the smaller rhythmic signs (for example, $\text{F}$ and $\text{j}$).\(^{10}\) Only two metric signs are used in the tablature: $\text{c}$ and $\text{c}$. The first has been retained and the second transcribed as $\text{\frac{3}{2}}$.

Although the tablature has no bar lines, the scribe indicated measures clearly with blank spaces between groupings of notes.

**Style and Significance of the Music**

After playing through these little pieces, the reader might well echo Epstein's judgment, "careless and primitive."\(^{11}\) Actually, a more precise evaluation would be "archaic," for they exhibit—a harsher critic might say parody—the peculiarities of keyboard dances and song settings from the late sixteenth century, that is, from half a century earlier. The following characteristics of the Obmaus pieces would equally well describe the dances and songs of the tablature of the Nuremberg patrician Christoph Löffelholtz (1585) or the tablature book prepared for Princess Sophie of

---


\(^{10}\) See, for example, Wilhelm Merian's transcriptions in *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern* (Leipzig, 1927).

\(^{11}\) Epstein, *loc. cit.*
Saxony by her music master, August Nörmiger (1598):

1. Basically four-voice texture

2. Great distances between the voices, particularly between the top voice and the remaining three

3. Consistent use of parallel fifths and octaves

4. Frequent occurrence of open fifths

5. Modal-tonal ambiguity

6. No signs of ornamentation

These characteristics (with the exception of No. 2) appear most clearly in the Löffelholtz Tablature (Ex. 1). The spread between the voices is more pronounced in the Nörmiger Tablature. There is seemingly a conscious attempt to avoid literal parallel fifths and octaves through ingenious leaps and voice crossings, but the ear is scarcely deceived (Ex. 2).

Apart from these parallels with late sixteenth-century tablatures, the Obmaus pieces display some marked peculiarities. Although the texture is basically four-part, voices are dropped and added so arbitrarily that a
very uneven texture results. The procedure seems unrelated to keyboard technique. At cadences there is a sudden thickening to seven-, eight-, even nine-note chords, frequently with several notes added above the melody note (as in No. 5) and with unnecessary duplications of pitch (as in No. 7, m. 2 and 6). Moreover, the spread of the voices goes far beyond anything encountered in other tablatures. Even the use of a short-octave keyboard could not explain chords of three-octave range for one hand (see Nos. 6 and 7); such chords can only be performed as long, awkward arpeggios. Epstein's suggestion that the pieces were intended for an instrument with pedal is untenable in view of the explicit title of the manuscript. A

12See, for example, No. 1, m. 3, where a chord on the second beat could easily be played by the left hand, yet is omitted.

13Epstein, loc. cit.
more likely explanation for these peculiarities would be that the pieces were transcribed for keyboard—more literally than imaginatively—from lute originals.

Remarks on the Pieces

1. "Ballet der Keiserin" (f. 2r). One other keyboard setting of this dance tune is known, a "Ballet" from a Viennese source, the Regina Clara Tablature of 1649. Although the two versions are quite similar in general melodic line and harmony, the later setting is noticeably more idiomatic to the keyboard (Ex. 3).

Ex. 3. "Ballet," Regina Clara Tablature, No. 45, f. 18r.

2. "More palatino" (f. 2v-3r). This famous students' song appeared in numerous songbooks and instrumental settings throughout the seventeenth century. The song itself, with its text praising the carefree student
life, is quoted by Niessen from the Liederbuch compiled by Leipzig student Christian Clodius about 1669 (Ex. 4). Clodius also included in his Liederbuch a three-voice setting of a more ornamented form of the popular melody, joined to a text which Niessen declares to be, regrettably, unprintable.\(^{15}\) Niessen lists as other textual sources several student comedies and a manuscript Liederbuch of the 1670's from Westphalia that gives the text in a slightly varied version.\(^{16}\) To this list Schiørring adds two sources from Sweden: the songbooks of Bröms Gyllenmår and Pär Brahe (about 1620).\(^{17}\)

---

\(^{14}\)Taken from Wilhelm Niessen, "Das Liederbuch des Leipziger Studenten Clodius," Vierteljahresschrift für Musikwissenschaft VII (1891), Ex. 23, p. 656.

\(^{15}\)Ibid., Ex. 25, pp. 657-58.

\(^{16}\)Ibid., pp. 586-87, 636.

\(^{17}\)Nils Schiørring, Det 16. og 17. århundrædes verdelige danske visesang (Copenhagen, 1950), I, 272.
In spite of its secular associations the tune was adapted in at least one instance to sacred use; Schiørring records that Laurids Sommer's manuscript collection of Danish hymns (1688) contained one to be sung to "More palatino"!\(^{18}\)

The tune in various forms was evidently popular in the Netherlands. In a collection of melodies for flute from 1646, Der Fluyten Lust-Hof I, it appeared with one variation under the title "Van de Lombart" (f. 36v). As late as the early eighteenth century Roger included two versions in his collection Oude en Nieuwe Hollantse Boeren-Lieties en Contredansen: "de Lommert" (No. 132, II, 12) is easily recognizable, while the "More palatino" (No. 441, VI, 15) preserves a more distant form of the melody.

From the early seventeenth century several settings for lute have survived: a "More palatino" with lightly-figured melody in a Dresden manuscript begun in 1603\(^{19}\) and no fewer than six different lute settings of the tune in the fascinating notebook (Brit. Mus., Sloane 1021, f. 65r-66v) kept by Johann Stobaeus, Kapellmeister in Königsberg. Breslau, Stadtbibl., Mus. ms. 114 contains settings for both violin and viola bastarda which are so richly figured that the melody nearly disappears.\(^{20}\)

The vigorous, appealing melody has been preserved in keyboard settings by some of the most eminent composers of the period: Jan P. Sweelinck,\(^{21}\)

\(^{18}\)Ibid.

\(^{19}\)Niessen, op. cit., Ex. 23\(^1\), pp. 656-57; discussed on pp. 635-36.

\(^{20}\)Ibid., p. 635.

\(^{21}\)In Vienna, Minoritenkonvent, Ms. XIV/714 (f. 217r) are four variations on the melody in Sweelinck style, but without title or attribution. Seiffert included them in his edition of Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Werken voor Orgel en Clavecimbel (Amsterdam, 1943), pp. 223-35, primarily on stylistic grounds.
John Bull,22 Orlando Gibbons,23 Girolamo Frescobaldi,24 and Dietrich Buxtehude.25 From tablature books of dances and songs come several more modest settings. In the Regina Clara Tablature we find in No. 16 (f. 6v) a simple, mainly four-voice setting of the melody masquerading as "Alamanda."26 Under the similar title "Ein dantz" the Drallius Tablature (1650) has a setting in the more usual three-voice style of the period (Ex. 5). Earlier in the tablature is another "More palatino" in a version marked by a variation in which the melody is completely obscured by diminutions (Ex. 6). In the late 1650's Franciscus Witzendorff also included a modest three-voice version in his tablature book (Ex. 7). A setting of

Ex. 5. "Ein dantz," Drallius Tablature, No. 88, f. 58v-59r.

22 Under the title "Revenant" six variations ascribed to Bull are included in a tablature book from the private library of Emperor Leopold I, Vienna, Nationalbibl., Ms. 17771 (f. 160v). They have been published in John Bull, Keyboard Works II, ed. by Thurston Dart, Vol. XIX of Musica Britannica (London, 1963), pp. 94-96.

23 A setting with added variation is found in six English manuscript sources. In most of these it is called an "Allmaine," but in two, "The Italian Grounde," under which title it has been published in Orlando Gibbons, Keyboard Music, ed. by Gerald Hendrie (London, 1962), p. 56-57.


26 Published in Epstein, op. cit., Notenanhang No. 4a, p. 3.


The melody with three variations by the Arnhem organist Gisbert Steenwick is preserved in the manuscript book he prepared in the 1670's for his pupil Anna Maria van Eyl. Finally, adding one more testimonial to the popularity of "More palatino," there is the pedestrian little setting of Obmaus—one chiefly notable for its determined use of parallel fifths and octaves. The Obmaus piece follows the form of the original song, rather than repeating both halves after the fashion of a dance, as do many other versions.

---

27 Published in the Klavierboek Anna Maria van Eyl, ed. by Frits Noske (Amsterdam, 1959), pp. 5-7.
3. "E du Edler Reiter" (f. 2v-3r). Beneath the figuration of this little setting is the melody of the *cantio belgica* used by Samuel Scheidt as the basis for seven variations, "Ach du feiner Reiter" (Ex. 8). The

Ex. 8. Theme of Samuel Scheidt's variations on "Ach du feiner Reiter."

```
Ach du feiner Reiter, edler Herre mein,
sage mir, wo hast du doch die Wohnung dein?
```

```
Im grünen Wali sehr wohl-ge-stalt, da singen die Vogel man-reg-falt, und
```

```
Laub und Gras ist mein ge-spaß, du wackers Mbg-de-lein!
```

form of the tune known to Obmaus must have varied somewhat from the Scheidt version, particularly in the second phrase. Still farther removed is the

---

form preserved in a collection of German folk melodies, where a quite different tune (Ex. 9) is inexplicably—and obviously erroneously—attributed to Scheidt. That some form of the melody was also well known in Denmark can be seen from its use as a melody reference in an anonymous seventeenth-century collection of old epics recast in contemporary forms.  

In the Obmaus Tablature the title actually reads: "O du / E du Edler Reiter"—apparently a false start by the scribe. The setting preserves none of the original repetition patterns in the song.

4. "Alomodo" (f. 3v-4r). This title is probably a corruption of alio modo, a term often used to designate a variation (as in No. 43 of the Copenhagen Tablature, "Allamande" with an "Alio modo"). By extension, the term sometimes appears as part of a title to indicate variations. In the Drallius Tablature there is a series of eight variations on a simple eight-measure melody titled "Courant Allmodo" (No. 33, f. 22v-24r); the same series appears in the Witzendorff Tablature as "Frantzosish Allemode" (No. 2).

---

29 Ludwig Erk and Franz Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort* (Leipzig, 1893), No. 1298, III, 185.

Although no other source for the Obmaus "Alomodo" has been found, it may be an arrangement of the theme of such a series of variations.

5. "Clanck her Sodat (?)" (f. 3v-4r). Here seventeenth-century German orthography and handwriting combine to confound the researcher. Epstein, in his list of the contents of the tablature, says of this title only "unleserlich". Unfortunately, no other version of the melody has been found, nor any title resembling this one.

6. "Schwedish Corânte" (f. 4v-5r). This dance tune is found in the Regina Clara Tablature under the title "Sarabanda" (Ex. 10). Such a

Ex. 10. "Sarabanda," Regina Clara Tablature, No. 22, f. 9r.

31 Epstein, op. cit., p. 61.
designation of a dance as "courante" in one source and as "sarabande" elsewhere is not at all uncommon. In some cases the music was probably adaptable to the steps of either dance, although there is always the possibility of confusion on the part of the scribe. Here the Obmaus title seems preferable, judging both from the rhythmic motion of the melody and from the specific reference to a Swedish origin. The regular phrasing of the Obmaus dance tune contrasts with the irregular seven-measure second half of the Regina Clara setting. The Obmaus version has a more archaic effect as a result of the frequent use of c-natural; since this occurs four times, it is apparently intentional.

7-10. No information.

32 See below the discussion of the Voigtländer Tablature, notes to No. 4.
THE COPENHAGEN TABLATURE

Copenhagen, Royal Library, Gl. kgl. Saml. 378 fol.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scala h. linalis</th>
<th>Scala b. mollis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G. sol. ut:</td>
<td>G. sol. re.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. fa -</td>
<td>F. fa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. la - mi.</td>
<td>E. e mi -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. e sol. re.</td>
<td>D. la - re.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. mi -</td>
<td>B. fa -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. la - re.</td>
<td>A. la - mi.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plate 4. Instructional material on the inner flyleaf of the Copenhagen Tablature.
Plate 5. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 2r.
Plate 7. Copenhagen Tablature, f. 26v.
CHAPTER II

THE COPENHAGEN TABLATURE

Survey of the Manuscript

The Copenhagen Tablature is the name used in this study for the manuscript Gl. kgl. Saml. 376 fol., because it is the largest tablature from the period in the Royal Library, and because it contains no name of scribe or owner by which it might be identified. Of the three tablatures covered here, it is this manuscript which aroused the most interest among earlier musicologists. The first was Tobias Norlind, who pointed out the arrangement of some of the pieces in the manuscript as evidence for his argument concerning the development of the suite.\(^1\) The Norlind article prompted Poul Hamburger to publish a survey of the manuscript and a sampling of seven transcriptions.\(^2\) In a book continuing the pioneer work of Norlind on the development of the suite, Ernesto Epstein discussed this as one of twenty-six pertinent manuscripts and included portions of six transcriptions.\(^3\) Lydia Schierning provided a list of contents and a summary of earlier references to the tablature in her bibliographic study on the sources

\(^1\) Tobias Norlind, "Zur Geschichte der Suite," Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft VII (1905/6), 172-203.


\(^3\) Ernesto Epstein, Der französische Einfluß auf die deutsche Klavier-suite im 17. Jahrhundert (Würzburg-Aumühle, 1940), pp. 58-60, Anhang Nos. 16-19, pp. 8-10.
of early seventeenth-century keyboard music. In various writings on the history of keyboard music, Willi Apel has briefly referred to the tablature and has quoted portions of two allemandes as examples of the developing French clavecin style. An Apel student, Jaroslav Mráček, transcribed and discussed in his thesis dances of French origin from the tablature.

The tablature with which these researchers have dealt for their various purposes is a manuscript presently consisting of thirty-four folios (32 x 20 cm.) gathered into four fascicles as shown in Figure 2. When the

Fig. 2. Foliation of the Copenhagen Tablature.

---


5The most extensive discussion is in Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700* (Bloomington, 1972), pp. 372, 382, 505.

manuscript was bound, the fascicles were apparently in some disarray, for one loose folio was glued to the reverse side of the flyleaf, and another was stubbed in as folio 34. One folio had been lost from around the outside of the second fascicle, producing lacunae between the present folios 4 and 6, 13 and 14. The collator seems to have noticed the lack of connection between folios 4 and 6 (which was first numbered 5 and then renumbered), but he failed to observe the corresponding fault between 13 and 14 and continued the foliation without a break.

These lacunae are of some interest in regard to the dating of the manuscript. At the end of piece No. 3 (f. 2v) is found the inscription Anno 1626, 3. Jan. Fecit. A few folios later (f. 7v), a psalm setting is introduced with the heading Angefangen 1639. 3. Januar. It is perhaps unnecessary to speculate on the reason for this lapse of time in the writing down of the tablature, for the lapse may be more apparent than real. The dates fall on the two sides of the missing folio 5; moreover, the dances found in the first fascicle give way immediately after the lacuna to psalm settings. It may well be that another fascicle (or fascicles?) originally lay between the present folios 4 and 6.

There are unfortunately no dates in the latter part of the manuscript to help establish the time of its completion, and the indirect evidence of attributions and concordances is not at all conclusive. One allemande (No. 50) bears the name of René Mézangeau, a lutenist who died between 1636 and 1638; the following allemande (No. 51) is attributed to one of the next

According to the director of the manuscript division, the tablature was bound between 1915 and 1930, at which time there was no trace of an earlier binding.
generation of lutenists, Germain Pinel, who was active until about 1660. One song setting (No. 56) was published by Heinrich Albert in 1640, while an allemande much earlier in the tablature (No. 39) has been found elsewhere only in manuscripts from 1678 and the 1680's. However, since the majority of concordances for later portions of the manuscript cluster around 1650, we might assume that most of the tablature was written down through the 1640's and may not have been completed until after 1650.

Physical evidence for the area of the manuscript's origin is lacking. The paper's watermark (Fig. 3), so frequently a useful tool, proves disappointingly in this case. The type of the mark is readily identifiable—a representation of the arms of Ravensburg. Through the sixteenth and much of the seventeenth century the products of this papermaking center were disseminated throughout central Europe. Archives abound with paper marked with the two towers of Ravensburg in a bewildering variety of forms, frequently with the identifying initial of the maker placed in the console.

Fig. 3. Watermark from the Copenhagen Tablature.
supporting the towers. So many variations on the Ravensburg watermark have been found that it seems probable the well-known symbol was imitated by papermakers in other areas. Some watermarks identical with that in the Copenhagen Tablature have been catalogued, but they come from the far corners of German-speaking lands and from a period too early to be helpful in this study: Constance (1569-70), Münnerstadt (1571), Rostock (1572), and Görlitz (1581-86). Although there is no definite evidence as to the manuscript's place of origin, there is one hint that it reached Denmark at least before its completion—a title written in corrupt Danish on the next-to-last folio of the manuscript.

According to Hamburger: "Obviously all is the work of one scribe. At first the script is very clear and neat; gradually it becomes more hasty and coarse." That the manuscript is the work of one person may seem not at all "obvious" to one glancing through the folios. A closer study of the shapes of letters and numbers on a single folio such as 26v (Plate 7) confirms the suspicion that quite different hands are at work here. In fact, the manuscript as a whole appears to be the work of several persons. The various hands do not appear successively, as when a

---


9Briquet, op. cit., p. 802, No. 15927.

10See the notes to No. 68.

11Hamburger, op. cit., pp. 133-34.
manuscript has been passed from person to person, but rather in casual alternation, as if various members of a family, perhaps, had written in it.

The question of who these persons might have been is a particularly vexing one. The only clue offered by the manuscript itself is a cluster of letters in the lower corner of folio 34 (Plate 10), which, when isolated from the ink smudge obscuring them, appear as seen in Figure 4. It should

Fig. 4. Letters appearing on the final folio of the Copenhagen Tablature.

be mentioned at this point that many manuscripts contain a certain amount of extraneous writing, particularly on first and last folios. Scribes often tried out their pens with scraps of phrases, practice of capital letters, or even "doodles." The inscription in the Copenhagen Tablature may be no more than such scribbling; it may even have been written by a later user of the tablature. Still, in an anonymous manuscript such a grouping of letters naturally assumes possible significance. Hamburger interpreted the letters as the signature S. D., but made no attempt to identify the scribe except as "a German dilettante." Mráček derived from the complex the letters S. D. St. and interpreted them as Scrips. Delphin Strungk. Supported by the evidence of the title of one of the

---

12 Hamburger, op. cit., p. 134.
pieces, "Courante de Delphin," he then declared this to be a Strungk autograph.\textsuperscript{13} Faced with the possibility of the significant discovery of a number of lighter secular pieces from the hand of an organist whose only known works are formal ones for the church,\textsuperscript{14} we should examine the evidence more closely. First, the fourth element of the letter group is almost certainly not a t, but more likely an ornamental bracket. The first figure may well not be an S, since it is made differently from the third; it may be another letter or merely a bit of decoration. In the latter case, however, we still would have the initials D. S. and the possibility of a connection with Strungk. In regard to the dance title "Courante de Delphin," if it does indeed refer to Strungk,\textsuperscript{15} it is something of an oddity, for in tablatures of the period the titles of the few dances with attributions included either last names or initials,\textsuperscript{16} never first names.

\textsuperscript{13}Mracek, op. cit., p. 89.

\textsuperscript{14}For a list of extant compositions, see Dieter Härtwig, "Strungk," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel-Basel, 1965), XII, 1618. Delphin Strungk is first mentioned in 1631 in the archives of St. Mary's Church, Wolfenbüttel, as successor to Melchior Schildt (1623-26) and his brother Ludolph (1626-30), who may have been Strungk's teachers. From 1634 to 1637 he served as court organist at Celle and then moved to St. Mary's Church, Braunschweig, where he remained until his death. He was a close friend of Heinrich Schütz, who visited him many times in Braunschweig and served as godfather to one of his children. According to Walther's Musicalisches Lexicon (p. 583), Strungk was eventually entrusted with five organ positions, in which he was assisted by his youngest son, his daughter, and two students. As Walther further informs us, Strungk played the organ so well that he not only drew many students from foreign lands, but Duke Rudolph August frequently journeyed from Wolfenbüttel to Braunschweig to hear his performances at Sunday evening Vespers.

\textsuperscript{15}For other possible explanations, see the notes to No. 55.

\textsuperscript{16}For example, in the Drallius Tablature are a "Ballet Hammerschmidt" (No. 220, f. 176v) and a "Courant H. S. M." (No. 195, f. 149v).
The most direct solution would seem to be an examination of the handwriting of the various members of the Strungk family. It has been possible to secure samples—mainly only signatures, unfortunately—of the father Joachim, of Delphin himself, and of his son Nicolaus Adam, the most renowned musician of the family (Fig. 5). The striking differences in the

Fig. 5. Handwriting of members of the Strungk family.17

a.

Johann Strungk

b.

Delphin Strungk Org. St. Martin

c.

Delphin Strungk Org. St. Martin

d.

Nicolaus Adam Strungk

e.

Nicolaus Adam Strungk

17 Figs. 5a and d are reproduced from Georg Linnemann, Celler Musikgeschichte bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts (Celle, 1935), p. 18, and Fig. 5e from Härtwig, op. cit., col. 1619. Figs. 5b and c are taken from the archives in Braunschweig, the first from a contract between Strungk and the city council concerning his position at St. Martin's, dated July 31, 1650 (Stadtarchiv, No. 140), the second from a letter complaining that his salary was in arrears, dated May 5, 1683 (Stadtarchiv, No. 145).
pairs of signatures demonstrate the difficulty of positive identification of seventeenth-century German handwriting. Given the differences in these samples known to be by the same persons, it is perhaps not inconceivable that the manuscript could stem from the Strungk family circle. Another possibility is that Strungk used the tablature in instructing some of the "many students from foreign lands" of whom Walther speaks, and that one of them returned with it to Denmark. Still, all evidence connecting Delphin Strungk with the Copenhagen Tablature is circumstantial: the initials on the last folio may be D. S.; signatures of members of the family are not entirely unlike some of the hands found in the tablature; the curious title "Courante de Delphin" may refer to Strungk; and as we shall see below, he

18 Compare the delicate signature of Joachim Strungk with the facsimile of folio 2r (Plate 5), the signatures of Delphin with the courante on folio 26v (Plate 7), and those of Nicolaus Adam with the bold hand of folio 27v (Plate 8). A handwriting sample more promising than those of the Strungk family is one from the Rostock organist David Ebel, who may have composed the first two pieces intabulated (see the notes to Nos. 2 and 3). Although there is no marked correlation with any of the writing in the tablature itself, David Ebel's hand (see the sample below from a letter to the city council of Rostock, dated June 29, 1630 [Rat, Acta betreffend Organisten, 1551-1741, No. 93e]) is quite similar to that found on the inner flyleaf, which contains instructions on solmization syllables, mutation, and time-beating (Plate 4).
was active in an area whose courts were inebriated with all things French, including clavecin music similar to that found in the largest section of the tablature.

In all equity it should be noted that similar evidence, more or less convincing, could be built up to support an attribution to a number of contemporary musicians with initials D. S. Among them are David Schedlich, Nuremberg organist, represented in at least two manuscripts\(^19\) by dance and song settings signed D. S.; Daniel Schröder, son of the Danish organist and builder Lorentz Schröder and brother of Danish court organist Johann Schröder, himself organist at the important post of St. Mary's in Stralsund, where his work was praised by Mattheson;\(^20\) even a minor figure such as Daniel Sellner (or Zellner), who like Strunck came from Braunschweig, was trained by Michael Praetorius in Wolfenbüttel, and was an active member of the Danish court chapel from 1613 to 1664.\(^21\)

**Notation and Editorial Procedures**

The manuscript is written across facing folios\(^22\) in new German tablature with the octave beginning at $h$. The tablature system shows one significant departure from normal usage: the symbol $\text{dis (\text{c)}}$, which in most

---

\(^{19}\)The Regina Clara Tablature and Berlin, Staatsbibl., Ms. 40147 (lost in World War II); transcriptions can be found in Epstein, *op. cit.* Anhang Nos. 8, 26a and b, pp. 4, 14-15.

\(^{20}\)"Both by his organ playing as well as by the performance of his pleasing compositions the hearts of his listeners were not a little moved."—Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte* (Hamburg, 1740), p. 319.


\(^{22}\)The only exceptions are pieces No. 1 (f. 1r), No. 2 (originally the first piece, f. 2r), and the short pieces on the last two folios.
tablatures does service for both d-sharp and e-flat, is here altered to when d-sharp is intended. This may indicate that the intabulator had an instrument with a divided key for the d-sharp. Such instruments, while not common, were certainly not unknown, as can be seen from references such as the following one by Praetorius:

The harpsichord, symphony, and the like . . . are somewhat imperfect in that chromatic tones cannot be produced on them as on lutes and viols. Thus, in accordance with the specifications of competent organists, some harpsichords have been made with two different keys for the d-sharp, so that when the Aeolian mode is transposed a fourth downward, one can have the third between the b-natural and f-sharp pure and correct.23

As in the preceding tablature, all rhythmic signs are transcribed without reduction. Of the pieces in duple meter, only the earliest one intabulated (No. 2) bears a metric indication, the usual of the period; this sign is used in the transcriptions of all duple examples. In contrast, all pieces in triple meter are preceded by a metric sign; the generally employed (except for the simple 3 in No. 48) is used indiscriminately for modern 2 and 3.

An occasional question arises concerning the scribe's intention as to the repetition of sections of a piece. In general, the free forms and psalm settings have no double bars at all; dance forms with written-out repeats close with a simple double bar; and most dance forms have the expected double bar with dots for repeats at the end of each section. The few pieces presenting special problems are:

No. 27. "Engeldishe Nachtigall"—No repeats for the second half, although most concordances have them.

No. 37. "Courrante La Reyn"—No repeats for the second half.

23 Michael Praetorius, De organographia, Part II of Syntagma musicum (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), p. 63.
No. 44. "Ich füle lauter angst undt Schmerzen"—No repeats for the second half. (It is possible that the model for this song setting has the shape a a b.)

Nos. 47, 61. "Courrante La Bourbon"—The first setting has repeats for the second half, but the second setting does not.

Since these deviations from the expected may stem from flexibility in the performance of repetitions rather than carelessness on the part of the scribe, the notation has been honored in the transcriptions.

First and second endings are indicated for the first halves of only two of the dances (Nos. 35b and 53). In the remaining pieces transcriptional problems occasionally arise at the end of those sections where either the preceding or following section has an anacrusis (for example, Nos. 37 and 43). In such cases the scribe generally notated the problematic measure as if it were a second ending, apparently expecting the player to make the necessary adjustments for repeats, and this procedure has been followed in the transcriptions. Rhythmic signs are often sketchily indicated or even omitted from the final measure of pieces, but the vertical alignment of the letters generally makes the rhythmic intent clear. These measures are adjusted in the transcriptions without further comment, except for the few cadences with special problems, which are duly recorded in the Critical Notes.

The Copenhagen Tablature contains no trace of the differentiated symbols coming into use in France for the notation of varied and complex ornaments. Only one ornament is used, a small cross with dot ($\cdot$) placed below the applicable letter. As Donington has indicated in his index of

24 That scribes were not overly concerned with mathematical precision in this regard can be seen in other tablatures, such as that prepared by the organist Joachim Drallius, in which such measures frequently are not correctly notated to serve as either first or second endings.
ornaments, symbols similar to this were in widespread use in the seventeenth century for slides, appoggiaturas, trills, mordents, and even for unspecified hints as to ornaments. It is apparently the last usage (which Donington declares "unfortunately not uncommon") that is intended here, for the symbol appears in ascending and descending lines, on both strong and weak beats, and below both melodic lines and two- or three-note chords. The present edition reproduces the marks as found, leaving it to the discretion of the player—as does the manuscript itself—to introduce ornaments appropriate to the line.

This manuscript should prove a delightful discovery for those players interested in the authentic reproduction of early keyboard music, for it contains the most extensive fingering indications of any source of the period. Certainly suggestions for fingering can be found in treatises and keyboard collections of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but there is so much discrepancy between them that none can be considered standard. Moreover, most of these sources run to tables of fingerings for scales and simple figures which are often of small help to the bewildered player faced with a piece seemingly composed of everything but those particular scales

---


26 Some readers may find discussions of various fingering systems less interesting than Praetorius' airy dismissal of the entire fingering problem:

Many persons have special opinions about such things and accordingly scorn some organists who do not use this or that method of fingering, which in my opinion is not worth discussing. For let a player run up or down with the first, middle, or last fingers, indeed, even with his nose if that could help; so long as he performs everything clearly, correctly, and gracefully, then it is not of much importance by what means he accomplishes it.—Praetorius, op. cit., p. 44.
and figures. Here then is a collection of specific examples of fingering principles applied in practice. Most of the passagework is supplied with fingering, as are many of the chordal passages.\(^{27}\) The fingering appears to have been carefully considered, written over in several passages and added later with pencil in others. The figures found in the transcriptions represent the latest versions insofar as these can be determined. A study of the fingerings yields a number of interesting observations:

1. The person(s) responsible for the fingering preferred to perform scale passages for the right hand with 3 over 4 ascending and 3 over 2 descending, for the left hand, 2 over 3 descending and 2 over 1 ascending.

2. The player did not hold exclusively to the usual practice of performing right-hand ornaments on the third finger; a goodly number were played on the second.

3. The \(\frac{4}{2} - \frac{5}{3}\) fingering for consecutive thirds, which François Couperin later advocated as a new style,\(^{28}\) was already employed here in the earliest piece of the tablature (No. 2, m. 18). On the other hand, consecutive sixths were performed without change of fingers (No. 2, m. 34), as were many of the consecutive thirds.

4. The thumb was occasionally used on black notes (No. 35b, m. 25 and No. 47, m. 13).

5. The fingerings were intended for an instrument with short-octave keyboard, as can be seen from the use of a twelfth in the left hand (No. 51, m. 12). Moreover, the keys of the lower octave of the instrument were

\(^{27}\)The reader is particularly referred to Nos. 1, 2, 27, 35b, 43b, 47b, and 53, in which the fingering is nearly complete.

\(^{28}\)François Couperin, \textit{L'Art de toucher le clavecin} (Paris, 1716), p. 29.
arranged:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
& D & E & B \flat & C & F & G \\ \\
& F & A & B & c & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

This can be determined from the fact that octaves are fingered $\frac{1}{5}$ throughout the manuscript except for the octaves $e-E$ (No. 27, m. 13 and 19), $d-D$ (No. 35b, m. 8 and 19), and $e-C$ (No. 27, m. 14), which are fingered $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{2}{5}$ as sixths.

**Style and Significance of the Music**

The Copenhagen Tablature contains the following repertory:

1. Praeludium C \( f. 1r \)
2. Praeludium ex clave G& A, Org. \( f. 2r-3r \)
4. Allamande [d] \( f. 2v-3r \)
5. Courrante [C] \( f. 3v-4r \)
6. Sarabande [g] \( f. 3v-4r \)
7a. Tantz \( f. 3v-4r \)
   b. Der nach Tantz [fragment] \( f. 4v \)
8. Mascharad [fragment] [c] \( f. 4v \)
9. Sarabande [fragment] [d] \( f. 4v \)
    [Missing folio]
10. [untitled fragment] [g] \( f. 6r \)
11. [untitled fragment] [F] \( f. 6r \)
12. [untitled fragment] [G] \( f. 6r \)
13. Von Himmel Hoch da kom ich her [C] \( f. 6v-7r \)
14. Nun kom der Heyden Heyland [g] \( f. 6v-7r \)
15. Sarabande [g] \( f. 6v-7r \)
    (Angefangen 1639. 3. Januar.)
17. Der 5. Psalmen. O Herr dein Ohren zu mir [g] f. 8v-9r
18. Der 103. Psalmen. Nu Preß mein Seel [C] f. 8v-9r
20. Erstanden ist der Heilige Christ [G] f. 9v-10r
22. Der 91. Psalmen. Wer in des aller höchsten Hut [d] f. 10v-11r
23. Intonation [d] f. 10v-11r
24. In dulci Jubilo [F] f. 10v-11r, 12r
25. Allamande [C] f. 11v-12r
26. Courrante [C] f. 11v-12r
27. Engelandische Nachtigall [C] f. 12v-13r
28. Sarabande [C] f. 12v-13r
29. Engelandischer Galliard [fragment] [D] f. 13v
30. Praeludium [fragment] [D] f. 13v
31. Intonation ex G [fragment] [g] f. 13v
[missing folio]
32. [untitled fragment—Allemande] [g] f. 14r
33. [untitled fragment—Sarabande] [g] f. 14r
34. 2. da Sarabande [fragment] [g] f. 14r
35a. Courrante Lavigon [g] f. 14v-15r
b. La Duble f. 14v-16r
36. Courrante simple [d] f. 15v-16r
37. Courrante La Reyn [g] f. 15v-16r
38. Sarabande [g] f. 16v-17r
39. Allamande [a] f. 16v-17r
40. Sarabande [a] f. 16v-17r
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Piece</th>
<th>Folio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Praeludium ex A [a]</td>
<td>f. 16v-17r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Courrante La Boudate [G]</td>
<td>f. 17v-18r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43a</td>
<td>Allamande [C]</td>
<td>f. 17v-18r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alio modo</td>
<td>f. 18v-19r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>Ich filei lauter angst undt Schmerzen [d]</td>
<td>f. 18v-19r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Courrande [D]</td>
<td>f. 19v-20r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>Sarabande [C]</td>
<td>f. 19v-20r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47a</td>
<td>Courrante La Bourbono [d]</td>
<td>f. 20v-21r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Devisyon</td>
<td>f. 20v-22r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48a</td>
<td>Sarabande [d]</td>
<td>f. 21v-22r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Duoble</td>
<td>f. 22v-23r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>Courrante La Chabotte [D]</td>
<td>f. 22v-23r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Allamande de Mr. Meschanson [a]</td>
<td>f. 23v-24r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Allamande de Mr. Pinell [g]</td>
<td>f. 24v-25r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Sarabande [g]</td>
<td>f. 24v-25r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Allamande [a]</td>
<td>f. 25v-26r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Sarabande [D]</td>
<td>f. 25v-26r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Courrante de Delphin [d]</td>
<td>f. 26v-27r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Als Damon Lang Geplaget [d]</td>
<td>f. 26v-27r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>Le Vulcan [D]</td>
<td>f. 27v-28r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Sarabande [G]</td>
<td>f. 27v-28r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[blank folio]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59a</td>
<td>Tantz [g]</td>
<td>f. 29v-30r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sprunckg</td>
<td>f. 29v-30r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Niederlendish Liedtgen [g]</td>
<td>f. 30v-31r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Courrante La Bourbon [d]</td>
<td>f. 30v-31r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Tantz [G]</td>
<td>f. 31v-32r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Engellendisches Liedtgen [g]</td>
<td>f. 32v-33r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The dance type occurring most frequently in this manuscript is not the courante, as is the case with most mixed tablatures of the period, but rather the sarabande, of which thirteen are included. The courantes are, however, next in number (12), followed by allemandes (8), song settings (7), preludes (6), German chorales and sacred songs (5), psalm settings (5), and German dances (4). On the basis of the physical make-up of the manuscript and the arrangement of the pieces, four general groupings can be discerned:

1. Nos. 2-9 (f. 2r-4v): An opening prelude followed by a group of dances in a simple style. (The prelude No. 1 was added later, probably during the same period as the third group below.)

2. Nos. 10-24 (f. 6r [following lacuna]-llr): A series of settings of chorales and psalm tunes. (The sarabande No. 15 and the "In dulci jubilo" setting were added later.)

3. Nos. 25-58 (f. llv-28r): The largest group, composed primarily of French dance forms, several of which have doubles.

4. Nos. 59-69 (f. 29v [following a blank folio]-34r): With one exception (No. 61), settings of songs and German dances.

Of least musical interest are those pieces in the fourth group intabulated on the last two folios (Nos. 67-69), apparently teaching pieces...
for the veriest beginner. The German dances and song settings on the folios just preceding are on a higher level of difficulty, but with the exception of Nos. 60 and 61, their block harmonies show little influence of the French clavecin style which predominates in the tablature. The influence of this style can be seen to some extent in the chorale and psalm settings of the second section. It is instructive to compare the Copenhagen setting of the 103rd Psalm (No. 18), with its three-voice texture and numerous ornaments, with the stiff chordal progressions of an earlier Dutch setting of the same melody in the Susanne van Soldt Manuscript.

Ex. 11. Psalm 103, Susanne van Soldt Manuscript, No. 6, f. 5v.29

It is in the dance pieces of the first and third sections that the striking changes taking place within the French style itself can best be seen. Compare, for example, the allemande No. 4, with its lightly ornamented melody above two simple supporting voices, with the more extended melodic lines and freely-voiced, broken textures of allemandes later in the tablature (Nos. 25, 39, 50, 51, 53). The pervasive influence of the

29Published in Alan Curtis, Dutch Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries (Amsterdam, 1961), p. 9.
lute on clavecin style of the period can be seen here indirectly in these beginnings of the *style brisé* and more directly in the titles of the allemandes Nos. 50 and 51, which are attributed to the celebrated French lutenists Mézangeau and Pinel. This section of the tablature contains at least one other piece adapted from a lute original: the sarabande No. 48, which appears in the keyboard manuscript of Vincentius de la Faille as "Sarabande Pinel" (Ex. 12). Although the two settings are almost identical in melody and frequently similar in their harmonic progressions, the arranger of the Copenhagen version has preserved more of the texture of lute music in his setting, particularly in the characteristic broken style of the cadences.


³⁰ Printed in a communication from Charles van den Borren in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* XIII (1930/31), pp. 556-58.
The question arises: Are the pieces of this section actually of French origin, or are they assimilations of French style? The question assumes some importance because so few French keyboard sources from this transitional period have survived. Unhappily for researchers such as Hamburger, who would like to see in this tablature a fruitful new source of works from the "lost" decades of French keyboard music, there is no concrete evidence that this is the case. Not a single one of these pieces has been found among the published works of Chambonnières or in the principal manuscript source for Chambonnières, Louis Couperin, and others active around the mid-century. It does not seem likely that a person collecting French keyboard music would have failed to include in his manuscript at least a few of the best-known pieces by the most famous French composers of the day. The available evidence indicates, rather, that the

31 The Pièces de Clavessin of Jacques Champion de Chambonnières were the fruit of several decades of work, although they were not published until 1670, and then only because of the composer's dissatisfaction with the many faulty copies of his works being circulated in "toutes les villes du monde, ou l'on a la connoissance du Clavessin." Forty-two of these printed pieces are among the 123 of his works preserved in the Bauyn Manuscript, which contains a similar number by Louis Couperin and several by La Barre, Du Mont, and other less well-known figures.
person who prepared this section of the tablature was working independ-
ently, setting popular French dance melodies and adapting lute pieces to
the keyboard.

Even if the pieces are not of truly French origin, this in no way
negates their importance as examples of French style and, still more, as
evidence of the spread of that style. The different aspects of French
keyboard style at the mid-century are best represented by the works of
Chambonnières and Louis Couperin. The more "modern" style of Couperin,
marked by the integration of polyphonic techniques into the dance forms
(Ex. 13) and a bolder use of dissonance (Ex. 14), finds no echo in the

Ex. 13. "Sarabande en Canon" of Louis Couperin. 33

32 According to the Abbé Le Gallois, Couperin's music was "held in
esteem by knowledgeable persons because it was rich in harmony and em-
bellished with beautiful dissonances, arrangement, and imitations." The
original passage is quoted in Wilfrid Mellers, "Couperin," Grove's Dia-
II, 483.

33 Louis Couperin, Oeuvres complètes de Louis Couperin, ed. by Paul
Ex. 14. "Allemande" of Louis Couperin.\(^{34}\)

```
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcopyright}\end{array}
\end{array}
```

dances of the tablature, which may well have been completed before Couperin's works were widely known. The person who wrote this portion of the tablature was comfortably at home in the earlier refined and subtle style shown at its best in the works of Chambonnieres, with their smooth harmonies, delicate ornamentation, and often folk-like melodies. The reader may compare Example 15 with the allemande No. 39 of the tablature, Example

Ex. 15. "Allemande La Rare" of Chambonnieres.\(^{35}\)

```
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{array}{c}
\text{\textcopyright}\end{array}
\end{array}
```

\(^{34}\)Couperin, op. cit., p. 90.

Ex. 16. "Courante de Madame" of Chambonnières.  

Ex. 17a. "Sarabande 0 beau jardin" of Chambonnières.

16 with the courante No. 47, and Example 17a with the sarabande No. 48. Example 17b, an embellishment of the Chambonnières sarabande attributed to his student D'Anglebert, is included to show the distance separating the simpler style of the Copenhagen Tablature from that of the post-Chambonnières generation.

36Chambonnières, op. cit., p. 12.
Ex. 17b. Arrangement of "Sarabande O beau jardin" attributed to D'Anglebert.

We might return to the question of the manuscript's origin in light of its musical style. It was not until about 1670 that French musicians arrived in Germany in significant numbers, that French ballets and operas found widespread performance, and that young German musicians began to aspire to Studienreisen to Paris, returning to publish instrumental suites in the French manner. Earlier in the century such interest in French music was far from general. The lighter French style won little foothold in the great free cities, where sacred music was assiduously cultivated. It was in the aristocratic atmosphere of some of the princely courts that French music was enthusiastically received, particularly in those near the border of France and in those whose rulers were tied to the court of Versailles through marriage or friendship. It was to just such a select audience that Michael Praetorius, Kapellmeister in Wolfenbüttel, appealed with his arrangements of over three hundred dances brought from Paris by the French dancing master to the Duke. Praetorius commended his Terpsichore

37Chambonnières, op. cit., pp. 88, 119.
"not only to instrumentalists, but especially to distinguished persons of the nobility and others who in France have become skilled in such dances."\textsuperscript{38} Courts under strong French influence were marked not only by their enthusiasm for French dances, but also by their early presentation of French ballets, for example, Stuttgart (1616), Dresden (1622), Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1640), and Celle (1653).\textsuperscript{39} In such a courtly milieu the writer of this portion of the manuscript could have learned the latest styles in French music. We might look to a circle such as the related courts of Celle, Hannover, and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel, variously praised by the French traveler Samuel Chappuzeau as the gayest, the best regulated, and the most \textit{galante} in Germany,\textsuperscript{40} and closely bound by marriage to the Danish court.\textsuperscript{41}

The several indications of English influence in the manuscript, however, should also be taken into consideration. English songs and dances were little known in the interior of Europe;\textsuperscript{42} only in manuscripts from

\textsuperscript{38}Michael Praetorius, \textit{Terpsichore} (Wolfenbüttel, 1612), p. vii.

\textsuperscript{39}For more detailed information on the spread of the French style in Germany, see Ernesto Epstein, \textit{Der französische Einfluss auf die deutsche Klaviersonate im 17. Jahrhundert} (Würzburg-Aumühle, 1940), pp. 16–46.


\textsuperscript{41}The famous Compenius organ, for example, came to Denmark as a gift to Christian IV from his sister, the wife of Duke Heinrich Julius of Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. Christian's second son, who later succeeded his father as Frederik III, was wed to Sophia Amalia, sister of the ducal trio in Celle, Hannover, and Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel. There was a good deal of intercourse between the courts; for great festivities musicians were frequently dispatched from one court to another to augment the resident chapels.

\textsuperscript{42}In the Regina Clara Tablature, for example, among the 117 pieces is found only one "Galliarda Englesa," and that with Italianate title.
the Baltic area, where visits from English comedy troupes were frequent and where numerous English instrumentalists were employed, do English pieces appear in significant numbers. Yet, included in the Copenhagen Tablature are an "Engelendishe Nachtigall," an "Engelendiesher Galliard," an "Engellendishes Liedtgen," and a courante whose variation is marked not "double," but "devision."

Since there were so few areas where French and English musical influences overlapped, it should be noted that the court of Christian IV had long welcomed both English comedy troupes and instrumentalists, yet was also one of the earliest Germanic courts to present a court ballet (in 1634 for the festivities surrounding the wedding of the Crown Prince). It was only, however, upon the accession of Christian's son Frederik III in 1648 that the French style triumphed under the patronage of the new, pleasure-loving Queen. Every state event was celebrated with a ballet in

\textsuperscript{43}It is from such troupes of actor-musicians that Shakespeare is thought to have heard of the new Kronborg Castle at Helsingør (Elsinore), which served as the setting for \textit{Hamlet} (1600). The activities of these troupes in northern Europe, including examples of music used, have been discussed in Johannes Bolte, \textit{Die Singspiele der englischen Komödianten und ihrer Nachfolger in Deutschland, Holland und Skandinavien} (Hamburg-Leipzig, 1893); and V. C. Ravn, "English Instrumentalists at the Danish Court in the Time of Shakespeare," \textit{Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft VII} (1905/6), 550-63.

\textsuperscript{44}Besides John Dowland, William Brade, and Thomas Simpson already mentioned, more than a dozen other instrumentalists are listed in the archives as being from England (Angul Hammerich, \textit{Musiken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof} [Copenhagen, 1892], pp. 201-16). With the English court also there was a tie of marriage—that of Christian's sister Anna with King James I—which encouraged English musicians to seek employment in Denmark. In the case of the lutenist Thomas Cuttings, the English Queen is known to have requested that he be released from service by his patroness, Arabella Stuart, in order that he might attend her brother, which he did from 1608 to 1610 (Hammerich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 40). Musical traffic seems to have flowed in both directions; in 1611 four of the most promising young men of Christian's chapel were dispatched to England, where they remained for three years (Hammerich, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 38).
which members of the royal family took part, as was the custom at Versailles. In 1654 Anne de La Barre, member of the celebrated Parisian family of musicians, paid an extended visit to the Danish court, which was charmed by her performances as lutenist and claveciniste and as singer and dancer in court ballets. The following year Pascal Bence was called from Paris to organize and direct a band of eight strings frankly patterned after the Vingt-quatre Violons du Roi. In such an atmosphere as this prevailing at the Danish court around the mid-century, the "French" portions of the Copenhagen Tablature could well have been written. As with the claim for Delphin Strungk as writer of the tablature, all evidence for a Danish origin is circumstantial. Yet, nowhere else did quite the same stylistic elements coincide around 1650: a basically Germanic tradition, a historically strong English influence, and a fascination with French music and culture.

The final point of consideration concerning this manuscript is that which first drew the attention of researchers—its place in the history of the suite. When Norlind published his article "Zur Geschichte der Suite" in 1905, he was attempting to counter the current claims of German musicologists for the German origin of the Baroque suite. He pressed a

---

45 These events are minutely chronicled in Torben Krogh, Hofballetten under Christian IV og Frederik III (Copenhagen, 1939).
46 See the notes to No. 39.
48 Hammerich, Dansk musikhistorie, p. 199.
claim for precedence on behalf of the Parisian lute school of 1630 to 1660, whose choice and grouping of dances were soon imitated in the keyboard suite. Norlind seized eagerly on the Copenhagen Tablature as an early example of suite-grouping:

A manuscript keyboard book from the Copenhagen Library demonstrates how early this combination [allemande—courante—sarabande] was already employed. Several dances are recorded on January 3, 1626 (f. 2-3). With these there is the arrangement allemande—courante—sarabande. On January 3, 1639, are inscribed the following dances, which are placed side by side and introduced by a prelude: f. 13-15, intonation—sarabande—three courantes; f. 16-19, prelude—courante—allemande (with \textit{alto modo})—courante—sarabande. However, we can only style these successions of dances as \textit{Vorstudien} to a new suite, for they are all only loosely bound together and are lacking in any cyclical arrangement.\textsuperscript{50}

However praiseworthy his efforts to call attention to the Copenhagen Tablature, Norlind here completely misrepresented its contents. The 1626 date accompanies piece No. 3 in the tablature, not the allemande, courante, and sarabande to which he referred (Nos. 4-6). Moreover, the three dances are not even in the same key, the only common characteristic of the diverse forms of the seventeenth-century suite.\textsuperscript{51} Similarly, the date 1639 occurs with a psalm setting from the second part of the tablature (No. 16) and has no connection with the pieces mentioned by Norlind from folios 13-15 of the third section (Nos. 31, 34-37). Here he failed to take into account the presence of fragments Nos. 32 and 33 and also the fact that the courante No. 36 is in a different key from the others. The same problems are found in Norlind's grouping from folios 16-19: a prelude in a (No. 41), a courante in G (No. 42), an allemande in C (No. 43), (No. 44?), a courante in D (No. 45), and a sarabande in C (No. 46). It can only be said that Norlind,

\textsuperscript{50} Norlind, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 186.

\textsuperscript{51} Reimann, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 20.
in spite of his efforts to counter German claims for the origin of the suite, was still extracting from his various French sources those items which would fit in with the German concept of the suite as a balanced succession of certain dances with contrasting meters, tempos, and characters.

This misconstruction of the material in the Copenhagen Tablature confused later writers. Hamburger in his survey pointed out the basic problem of key dissimilarity and concluded that here was a "disordered collection of dance forms without connection to the suite" with the exception of an "incomplete suite" in Nos. 39-41. Epstein resifted the material and found two groupings which seemed to him possible suites (Nos. 25-28 and 39-41) along with three other groupings which fitted less neatly into the classic order of the suite, prompting the judgment: "Whether there is an intentional arrangement in these sequences is indeed doubtful." He then complicated the issue with the unfortunate assertion that in this manuscript are preserved "two keyboard suites certainly produced in France [!], from the time around 1630 [!]".

Working with the suite problem at the same time as was Epstein, Margarete Reimann referred to Norlind's early statements, but did not evaluate them because she had been unable to see the Copenhagen Tablature. That is unfortunate, because it contains interesting evidence to support her basic thesis. Like Norlind, she was attempting to reassess the whole German viewpoint on the nature and origin of the suite. In the course of studying all the lute and keyboard material available to her, both printed and manuscript, she was able to determine three types of suites, all sharing the


53 Epstein, op. cit., p. 133.
common characteristic of a conscious grouping of dances in the same key.

Type I: Arrangement by groups, normal for lute publications early in the century, such as Besard's *Thesaurus harmonicus* (1603), and still found in the Bauyn Manuscript (1660's), where a keyboard suite in C by Louis Couperin is ordered: four allemandes—eleven courantes—four sarabandes—two gigues—five courantes—one chaconne.

Type II: Arrangements of different single dances, the type of the "classic" suite of allemande—courante—sarabande—gigue, but unknown among the works of the clavecinists.

Type III: Arrangements of both single dances and groups, normal for French lute and clavecin sources from about 1670, as in a suite in a in the *Pièces de luth* of Denis Gaultier: prelude—pavanne—three courantes—allemande—two sarabandes; or in the last suite from the second volume of *Pièces de clavessin* of Chambonnieres: allemande—gigue—three courantes—sarabande—menuet.

Reimann concluded that the "classic" suite could not be considered the norm for French composers, either in regard to its outward order or its inward sense (the balance of contrasting elements). Therefore, the French suites should be viewed neither as inferior because of their lack of "order," nor even praiseworthy as predecessors of the classic suite, but rather as examples of a quite different mode of thinking. Whereas the Germanic mind, in Reimann's opinion, must build, must force individual elements into a higher metaphysical unity, the French mind prizes the separate elements and delights in the freedom to choose and mold them at will under no compunction from above.

At about the time when the middle portion of the Copenhagen Tablature was being written, Johann Jakob Froberger was already applying this
Germanic thinking to the reshaping of the suite.\textsuperscript{54} Like the French examples of the time, Froberger's early suites were usually without gigue, and they were marked by a closed form (slow movements at beginning and end) which generally placed the sarabande last. However, in contrast to French suites the number of dances was significantly reduced; the individual dances began to assume constant positions; groups of a single type no longer appeared; and there was frequently motivic connection between the dances.

From the very beginning of the third section of the Copenhagen Tablature, an organizational process similar to that shown by Froberger, but on a more modest scale, can be observed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Dance</th>
<th>Nos.</th>
<th>Dance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Courante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Courante</td>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27.</td>
<td>English Dance</td>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29.</td>
<td>Galliard</td>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Prelude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>Prelude</td>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Courante-Double</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>[Allemande]</td>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Courante-Double</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Courante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Prelude</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Courante-Double</td>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Sarabande-Double</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Allemande</td>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The series of dances in C (Nos. 25-28), g (Nos. 31-35), and a (Nos. 39-41) certainly deserve to be called suites, for the arrangements could scarcely be fortuitous, particularly when two of the three are provided with preludes.\textsuperscript{55} As with early Froberger suites there are no gigues, and the number

\textsuperscript{54} Although publication of Froberger's suites did not begin until 1693, long after the composer's death, at least five were composed before 1649, the year of the oldest preserved manuscript source.

\textsuperscript{55} It is possible that the "Praeludium C" (No. 1), which was added to the tablature at about the same time as the third section, may have been intended to be played with the suite in C, as it is the only prelude not joined to other pieces.
of dances is small, primarily the three kernel dances of the suite. The suite in g does include a sarabande group in the French manner, but this in itself gives evidence of the writer's organizational intent, in that the second example is titled "Second Sarabande," which would be unnecessary were the two not part of a series. Except for the use of the courante as the last item of the suite in g, the kernel dances are in the same relative positions to one another as in the classic German suite. It should be noted that the same thing is true of the pairings Nos. 37-38, 47-48, and 51-52, and that again with the exception of the suite in g all suites and pairings end with a sarabande, as do early Froberger examples. There is also a motivic connection between the prelude and allemande of the suite in a in the Froberger manner.

Because of their connection with the suites, the various preludes in the tablature are worthy of comment. Lutenists had long made a practice of improvising preludes to test their instruments' tuning before beginning dance suites, and the practice was taken over by the claveginists along with so much else from the lute tradition. Louis Couperin was the first of the French composers to leave written examples of his preludes, but they are hardly more than frameworks for improvisation, with pitches specified, but with rhythm and other points of performance left to the discretion of the player. With later French composers the prelude retained something of this improvisatory quality and only a loose connection to the suite. All the preludes in the Copenhagen Tablature probably


57 Even as late as 1713 to 1730 François Couperin did not publish preludes with his suites, although he clearly expected them to be played.
antedate those by Louis Couperin, and the prelude No. 2, which is reminiscient of a Netherlandish toccata, is the earliest known recorded example of a prelude joined to a dance form (the courante No. 3). The remaining preludes are in the later improvisatory French style, and with the exception of No. 1, which may serve the function of an opening exercise,\textsuperscript{58} they are joined to dances in the same key.

Seldom are advances in musical forms or styles the work of a single person. When German musicologists of earlier years credited Froberger with the creation of the suite, they were not only ignoring the valid claims of the French suite as the expression of an independent mode of thinking, they were also overlooking the possibility that a similar absorption of French style and restructuring of French models was probably going on elsewhere in Germany around 1650. The Copenhagen Tablature seems to be an example of this process. The main body of the music is French in style, but the organizational principles show a Germanic mind at work in a direction surprisingly similar to that demonstrated by Froberger in his early suites.

In his \textit{L'Art de toucher le clavecin} (1716) he provided preludes in the keys of his published suites for the assistance of the inexperienced player and added some illuminating comments on the French concept of the prelude:

> Not only do the preludes announce pleasantly the key of the pieces to be played, but they help to loosen the fingers and often to try over instruments on which one has not yet practiced. . . . Although these preludes are written in measured time, there is nevertheless a customary style which must be observed. . . . Those who have recourse to these non-improvised preludes should play them in a free manner without holding too closely to the exact time.—pp. 51, 60.

\textsuperscript{58} But see Note 55 above.
Remarks on the Pieces

1. "Praeludium C" (f. 1r). Several of the keyboard tablatures of the period open with a prelude apparently intended as a warming-up exercise. The single prelude at the beginning of Lüneburg, K.N. 149, for example, has each note of passagework fingered and is entered under the title "Praelude oder Applicatio der rechten u. lincken Hand." The Copenhagen example must have been added to the tablature considerably later than the following pieces; the freer, homophonic keyboard style contrasts markedly with the prelude No. 2 from 1626, and the handwriting resembles that found in later portions of the manuscript. This prelude may also have been used with the group of dances in C opening the third section of the tablature, for that is the only suite-grouping without an accompanying prelude.

2. "Praeludium ex clave G & A. Org." (f. 2r-3r). This prelude, which was the first piece intabulated, is the most developed free composition in the tablature. In the contrast between chordal and figural sections, the strict polyphony, and the rather rigid figuration, we see the influence of the Netherlandish toccata. The prelude is followed by a courante in the same key, bearing the same attribution and the date 1626; this is the earliest known connection of a written prelude with a dance form.

Although the composer of the two pieces cannot be definitely identified, the apparent monogram in the attribution A. Org. suggests the family referred to as Ebel, Aebel, or Åbel in the records of the various Baltic cities where they served as organists. In 1614 Hermann Ebel was mentioned as organist of St. Mary's Church in Lübeck, and in 1617 his brother, David Ebel the elder, is known to have served at St. Peter's in
that city. The best-known member of the family during the 1620's was David Ebel the younger, who served briefly at St. Mary's in Wismar, then from 1619 to 1639 held the important post at St. Mary's in Rostock. Consideration should perhaps be given to Ernst and Clamor Heinrich Abell, both active in the Celle-Hannover area and friends of the Strungk family, who may have had some connection with this manuscript. However, it was as late as 1661 or 1662 that Clamor Heinrich first entered the ducal chapel at Celle, from which in 1665 the "engbefreundeten Hofmusikanten Strungk [Nikolaus Adam] und Abell" left to join the chapel at Hannover. The uncle, Ernst Abell, appears no earlier than 1636 in the records of the Hannover chapel, and neither there nor at Celle (1651-62) nor Bremen, where he died in 1680, is he specifically mentioned as an organist.

3. "Currant A." (f. 2v-3r). This piece bears one of the two dates inscribed in the manuscript: January 3, 1626. The possible identity of the A. to whom this and the preceding prelude are attributed is discussed in the notes to No. 2 above. This is one of the few pieces in the tablature with a written-out varied repeat for the first half.

4. No information.

5. "Courrante" (f. 3v-4r). This sprightly little tune is the only one in the tablature with written-out varied repeats for both sections of the melody.


6. "Sarabande" (f. 3v-4r). Of the various known versions of this popular dance tune, the setting in this first section of the Copenhagen Tablature is probably the earliest. The arranger seems to have been uncertain of the close of the melody, for he breaks abruptly into cadential material, compressing the second half into eight measures instead of the usual ten. A more typical form of the melody can be seen in the simple setting from the Drallius Tablature (1650) shown in Example 18. This setting reappears in the Witzendorff Tablature (1655-59) unchanged except for some slight rhythmic alterations ("Saraband," No. 54, f. 54v). In Paris,

Bibl. du Cons., Res. 1185², there is a setting by Benjamin Cosyn in a more broken style (Ex. 19). Like the Drallius version it may have been set down around 1650, since Cosyn's index at the end of the manuscript is dated 1652. A quite similar version is found in another English source, Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. 1236 (f. 8v-9r); there is no attribution, but it follows immediately after an "Ayre" and "Corant" in the same key by Jonas Treure.


In 1646 the popular melody was included in two Dutch instrumental collections. In Fluyten Lust-Hof I (f. 36v-38r) it appeared as "Philis schoone Harderinne," first unadorned, then in three variations. The version by Pieter de Vois for solo soprano instrument in 'T Uitnemen Kabinet I ("Je ne puis éviter," f. 9v-10r) is actually a composite one; individual phrases of the variation following the melody are attributed to Steven van Eyck and J. van Eyck as well as "Mr. Pieter." Nearly a century after the initial appearance of this sarabande melody, it was still well enough known in the Netherlands to find a place in Estienne Roger's Oude en Nieuwe Hollantse Boeren-Lieties en Contredansen ("Je ne puis éviter," No. 731, X, 8).

7. "Tantz" (f. 3v-4r)—"Der naech Tantz" [fragment] (f. 4v). This "Tantz" may be an expansion of the opening of a much older dance. In a version in the Regina Clara Tablature, for example, the dance has no true second half, only the repetition of material from the first section (Ex. 20). Similarly, the setting in the Copenhagen Tablature has only two

Ex. 20. "Schwedischer Tanz," Regina Clara Tablature, No. 70, f. 27v.
measures of new motivic material in the second section. The opening measures of the two versions are virtually identical to those of an unnamed tune set down more than half a century earlier by the scribe of the Dublin Virginal Manuscript (Ex. 21). In this source the first section is joined to quite another well-known dance tune, one which has similar rhythmic patterns, but no thematic connection with the later versions.

Ex. 21. No. 18, Dublin Virginal Manuscript, f. 19v

9. "Sarabande" [fragment] (f. 4v). Enough of this dance melody remains to identify it as a member of an interesting "tune family" found in a wide variety of shapes in mid-century sources. The nearest known keyboard relative of this sarabande is a spare little piece in the Regina Clara Tablature with the title "Hör Himmel" (Ex. 22). This title refers to a poem of the celebrated Johann Rist, "Hör Himmel was mein trauriges Leben," which he set to this sarabande melody in his Des edlen Daphnis aus

Cimbrien Galathee (1642). In the Liebes-Herzen Blümlein of 1645 Johann Christoph Gœring used "Hör Himmel" as a melody reference for some of his own poems. The tune appears with a somewhat different shape under the unusual title "Courant Saraband" in the Voigtländer Tablature (No. 4), where it serves as the theme for four variations by Johann Rudolph Radeck. A more distant form of the melody has been preserved in two well-known sources: a "Sarabande de l'onzième mode" in the Harmonie universelle of Mersenne\(^6\) and the "Aria gallica" used by Heinrich Albert for a poem

of Robert Roberthin, "Die Liebe lässt den harten Zaum nicht gehen."
In the Drallius Tablature this form of the melody is arranged as a sarabande (Ex. 23), while still another variant appears as a courante a few folios later (Ex. 24).


10, 11, 12. No information on these fragments

---

13, 14, 20, 21. Chorale settings (f. 6v-7r, 9v-10r). Virtually all mixed tablatures of the period included several simple settings of chorale melodies; thus a list of concordances seems unnecessary. Such settings have little but their familiar melodies in common with the elaborate chorale fantasias and partitas filling the pages of tablatures compiled for liturgical use. In all four of these settings the melody, lightly ornamented, is accompanied by two voices with purely harmonic function, and the texture broadens to a four- or five-voice chord at cadences.
15. "Sarabande" (f. 6v-7r). Above the varied harmonization of the sarabande No. 52 below can be seen the melodic outlines of this sarabande. Although no other concordances for the entire melody have been located, the first eight measures appear repeatedly in mid-century manuscripts. In the Regina Clara Tablature, for example, the "Sarabanda" No. 58 opens as do the Copenhagen examples, but after eight measures it proceeds differently (Ex. 25). Perhaps because of the strong harmonic basis of the brief eight-measure melody, it was popular as a theme for variations. In the manuscript book prepared for Anna Maria van Eyl (1671), the melody is found as "Serband" with eight accompanying variations by her music master, Gisbert Steenwick (Ex. 26). In 1650 the Lüneburg organist Joachim Drallius included in his tablature eight variations on the melody, recognizable even under the quite different title "Courant Allmode" (Ex. 27). The "Frantzosisch Allemode" in the Witzendorff Tablature (No. 24, f. 26v-28r) is a copy of the Drallius variations with only slight alterations.

Ex. 27. "Courant Allmodo," Drallius Tablature, No. 33, f. 22v-24r.

16, 17, 18, 19, 22. Psalm settings (f. 7v-11r). Except for a more extensive use of passing tones and decorative figures in the melodic lines of these simple three-voice settings, there is little to distinguish them from the chorales discussed above. They have, however, a certain historic interest as reflections of the vast popularity of the Lobwasser Psalter among German-speaking Christians of all persuasions. The principal virtue

---

of the translation of the Geneva Psalter made by Ambrosius Lobwasser, a professor of law at the University of Königsberg, was its use of the metrical patterns and verse forms of the original French, so that the German translations could be sung to the melodies of the Geneva Psalter in their Goudimel settings. For two hundred years after the appearance of the Lobwasser-Goudimel version in 1573, no other translation of the Psalter approached it in popularity, although it was vigorously opposed in some Lutheran circles for, among other grave faults, "its French melodies, so delightful to ears which lust after the world". Just as the Genevan melodies found their way into most seventeenth-century songbooks in German-speaking areas, simple settings found a place in most tablatures of the period, both for use in private devotions and for pleasant music-making.

Even among the common laity, each one wants to have his Lobwasser; it is found in sundry languages, used for singing in churches, schools, and homes in many localities, and for playing on all sorts of musical instruments in the most delightful and elegant manner.

Example 28 shows the Goudimel melody for Psalm 103, which can be compared with the modest setting in the Copenhagen Tablature (No. 18).

Ex. 28. Goudimel melody for Psalm 103, "Nun preiß mein Seel.

---

66 Quoted from the Foreword to the Becker Psalter (1602) in Käte Lorenzen, "Becker," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel-Basel, 1949-51), I, 1482.
23. "Intonation" (f. 10v-11r). This tiny five-measure prelude in improvisatory style was probably intended to establish the tonality for the psalm setting preceding it in the manuscript.

24. "In dulci Jubilo" (f. 10v-11r, 12r). This setting of the famous Christmas song was apparently copied later than the pieces immediately following it. The scribe attempted to fit the piece into the two empty systems after No. 23 (f. 10v-11r), but was forced to complete it in the small empty space after No. 26 (f. 12r). This is one of the few pieces which are not extensively fingered; only three finger numbers are used, all in the melody line. In contrast to the preceding settings of sacred melodies, this piece has a certain stylistic individuality, a liveliness stemming from the consistent use of broken-chord figurations.

25. "Allamande" (f. 11v-12r). This dance is the first in the tablature in which the influence of the new lute-derived style brisé is quite marked. Unfortunately, no concordances for the piece have been found. This allemande opens a suite-grouping of dances in C (Nos. 25-28). The prelude No. 1, which was added to the tablature at about the same time as was this section, may have been used to introduce this group of dances.


68 Ambrosius Lobwasser, Der Psalter des Königlichen Propheten Davids (Königsberg, 1604). The tenor line of the four-voice Goudimel setting has been transposed upward and barred to correspond with the arrangement in the Copenhagen Tablature.
27. "Engelendishe Nachtigall" (f. 12v-13r). Although this delightful tune does not appear in Chappell's collection of English songs and dances, the arranger of this piece was probably correct in ascribing to it an English origin. Settings in several Continental sources refer to the melody as "English," while in English manuscripts it is always titled simply "The Nightingale." It was apparently instrumental in conception, for the only known song version (see D'Urfey below) did not appear until well into the eighteenth century. There are no other settings which exactly duplicate that of the Copenhagen Tablature, but the similarities among several of the keyboard concordances are so striking as to point to a common model. The Copenhagen setting is one of the earliest extant, but it is probably antedated by an English version from the 1630's (Ex. 29).


69 Transcription from Maas, op. cit., II, 36.
A later English source, Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. 1236, includes a varied repeat for the first half which is virtually identical with that in the tablature, and the remainder of the setting varies from the Copenhagen version only in details, as can be seen from the excerpt in Example 30.

Ex. 30. "The Nightingale," Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. 1236, f. 13r. 70

Other keyboard settings in English and Continental manuscripts:


Brit. Mus., Add. 10337 (Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book, 1656), f. 9r.\(^7\)

New York Pub. Lib., Drexel 5809, pp. 11 (copy of the Elizabeth Rogers version), 122, 144 (copies of the two settings in Rés. 1186).


Lüneburg, Ratsb. K. N. 148 (Witzendorff Tablature, 1655-59), f. 40v-41r.

Berlin, Staatsbibl., Ms. 40623 (1687).\(^7\)

Settings in two manuscripts of Viennese provenance: Vienna, Minoriten-Konvent, Ms. XIV/714, No. 477, and Leipzig, Staatsbibl., Ms. II.6.18 ("Rosignella Anglica").

Two versions in a manuscript in Celle (1662), pp. 144-45, 256-57.\(^7\)

Settings for other media:

Melody with two variations by J. J. van Eyck in Fluyten Lust-Hof I (1646), f. 33v-34r; again with two more variations in Part II (1651), f. 33v-34r.

Setting for three instruments in 'T Uitnement Kabinet I (1646), f. 48v-49r.

Lute setting in Thomas Mace, Musick's Monument (1676), pp. 201-2.


Melody alone in Estienne Roger, Oude en Nieuwe Hollantse Boeren-Liesies en Contredansen, No. 275, IV, 12.

___


\(^7\) Although this manuscript was lost during World War II, its rather florid "Nachtwgall" was published in Ernesto Epstein, Der französischen Einfluss auf die deutsche Klaviersonate im 17. Jahrhundert (Würzburg-Aumühle, 1940), Notenanhang No. 20, pp. 10-11.


This is the only piece of the Copenhagen Tablature that has acquired a small, though charming, place in the contemporary concert repertory. In *Gli Uccelli* of Respighi, above the murmuring strings of the fourth section ("L'Usignuolo") can be heard the familiar strains of "The Nightingale" arranged for woodwinds from the closely-related version in Oxford, Christ Church, *Ms. 1236*.

28. No information.

29. "Engelendiesher Galliard" [fragment] (f. 13v). Although occasional galliards appeared in instrumental publications until nearly the end of the seventeenth century, they were beginning to disappear from keyboard manuscripts around the mid-century; among the sources of that period only the Drallius Tablature (1650) contains a significant number of galliards (7). The single, fragmentary example in the Copenhagen Tablature is in three sections, of which the first two are unexpectedly in a moderate duple meter. This is apparently symptomatic of the process of stylization underway during the century, whereby the dance lost its original character as the quicker triple partner of the duple pavane. In 1637 Vierdanck directed that his galliards be played "in a quite slow tempo, far different from that of courantes." By 1676 Mace was able to describe galliards as

74 For a survey of the confused development of the galliard in the seventeenth century, see E. H. Meyer, "Galliards," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel-Basel, 1955), IV, 1292.

75 From the Foreword to Johann Vierdanck, *Erster Theil newer Pavanen, Galliarden, Balletten und Correnten* (1637); shown in facsimile in Gerhard Weiss, "Vierdanck," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel-Basel, 1966), XIII, 1606.
"Lessons of 2, or 3 Strains, perform'd in a Slow, and Large Triple-Time; and (commonly) Grave, and Sober." 76 Despite Mace's stipulation of triple time, galliards in duple meter were not unknown. Unlike the Copenhagen example, some were misconstructions of the natural meter of a melody. Such is the case with a duple "Fransche Gaillard" included by Valerius in his collection of 1626; 77 the same melody occurs in the Regina Clara Tablature notated in a more natural triple meter and provided with a new ancestry as a "Galliarda Englesa" (No. 2, f. 2r).

30. "Praeludium" [fragment] (f. 13v). In its original form this prelude in D would have been of modest length, no more than twelve measures. It was probably added to the tablature for use with the galliard in D immediately preceding it.

31. "Intonation ex Gb" [fragment] (f. 13v). This little prelude in improvisatory homophonic style must of necessity have been brief; no more than four additional measures could have been written on the missing page. It apparently served to introduce the suite of dances in g following it in the tablature: an allemande, two sarabandes, and a courante with double.

32. [untitled fragment—Allemandel] (f. 14r). This fragmentary piece would originally have been about fourteen measures in length, but it has not been possible to identify it from the few interior measures remaining. That the piece is an allemande can be seen from the binary form with half cadence at the mid-point, the duple meter, and particularly the more complex texture typical of the allemandes in this section.

76 Thomas Mace, Musick's Monument (London, 1676), p. 129.

77 Adriaen Valerius, Nederlandtsche Gedenk-Clanck (Haarlem, 1626), p. 189.
33, 34. No concordances have been found for these fragmentary sarabandes.

35. "Courrante Lavignon" (f. 14v-15r)—"La Duble" (f. 14v-16r). In 1636 Mersenne wrote that "the courante is the most frequent of all the dances practiced in France." To judge from the great number of surviving examples, the "Courrante Lavignon" must have been the favorite melody connected with the popular dance. Although the spellings of the title are legion, most are reminiscent of the name Vignon, included by Mersenne in his list of the finest lutenists then living. The earliest surviving records of Jérôme Vignon show him in 1631 in the employ of the Duke of Lorraine; as late as 1653 both he and his son Nicolas François were in the service of the Duchess in Paris. If Vignon did indeed compose the famous courante, it must have been as a mere youth, for as early as 1621 the untitled melody was published among the "Newer Französischer Tänze" arranged for five instruments by William Brade (Ex. 31). The tune first appeared

Ex. 31. Melody of dance No. XXXII from Brade collection of 1621.

---


with a name, "L'Avignone," in Jan Starter's Friesche Lust-Hof (p. 26), and in 1626 was included by Valerius in the Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck as "La Vignonne" (p. 174). In 1636 Mersenne referred to the dance as a type rather than simply as a melody. In discussing a dance called the "Bocanne," which he described as a courante with its own particular steps and figures, he declared that it had formerly been called "la Vignonne," but that the new melody was called by the name of its composer. The melody of the "Bocanne" as shown by Mersenne has a structure like that of "Lavignon"—two sections of eighteen measures each.

If the "Lavignon" was indeed supplanted by a newer melody in the ballroom, it lost none of its popularity among musicians. Several settings for lute have been preserved: a "Courante Lavignone" in Basel, Bibl. der Univ., Ms. F. IX. 53; a "Courant La Vignon" in the notebook of Johann Stobaeus (Brit. Mus., Sloane 1021, f. 54r); and a "Courante lavingon" from Brit. Mus., Sloane 2923 (f. 21v). Mersenne's use of the name for a type of dance explains an unusual circumstance in a notebook of melodies for violin (Norrköping, Finspong 9088); here the familiar melody is followed by a quite different one titled "Lavione nouvelle" (pp. 22, 24). In 1639 a Danish theological student, Claus Hansen Bang, published a wedding song, "Med lyst vil jeg begynne," commissioned after the custom of the time; from the broadside print of the melody and figured bass it can be seen that the happy

---


82 Probably Jacques Cordier, known as Bocan, a dancing master active in both France and England from about 1610 and a famed performer on the violin.

couples were welcomed to the strains of "Lavignon." After its use by Valerius in 1626 the tune continued long in popularity in the Netherlands. In Fluyten Lust-Hof I (1646) it appears twice: a "Lavignone" with two variations (f. 13v) and a more complex version, "Tweede Lavignone," again with two variations. As late as the first years of the next century Roger's Boeren-Lieties included "l'Avignonne" (No. 474, VII, 1).

Several keyboard tablatures contain simple settings of the tune, such as the "Courant" in the Drallius Tablature (Ex. 32). Still more basic

Ex. 32. "Courant," Drallius Tablature, No. 34, f. 23v-24r.

---

versions are the "Couranta" in the Regina Clara Tablature (No. 42, f. 16v) and the "Curant Lavion" in the Witzendorff Tablature (No. 33, f. 33v-34r).

An important source for English music and works of Sweelinck, the manuscript Lübbenau, *Lynar A 1* closes with a small group of French dances, among them a "Courante La Vigon" with varied repeats (No. 69, pp. 306-7).

Uppsala, Univ.-bibl., *Ihre 284*, one of the manuscripts written about 1680 by Thomas Ihre of Visby during his student days in Rostock and Copenhagen, contains the latest known keyboard setting, a "La Viona" with double (Ex. 33). It is the work of the celebrated organist of St. Nicholas' Church in Copenhagen, Johann Lorentz.

36. No information.

---

\[85^\text{A complete transcription in Johann Lorentz, *Klavierwerke*, ed. by Bo Lundgren (Lund, 1960), pp. 32-33.}\]
Ex. 33. "La Viona"—"La Double" of Johann Lorentz, Uppsala, Univ.-bibl., Ihre 224′.
37. "Courrante La Reyn" (f. 15v-16r). This courrante displays to a
greater degree than most in the tablature the shifting rhythms so often
mentioned as characteristic of the French form of the dance. The melody
was included by Mersenne in the *Harmonie universelle* as an example of the
genre (Ex. 34). Considering this, it is surprising that there are no other

Ex. 34. "Courante à la Reyne" from the *Harmonie universelle* of
Mersenne.86

![Musical notation](image)

clear concordances. In *T Uitnament Kabinet I* (1646) a courrante by Cornelis
Kist (f. 45v) opens with the first three distinctive measures of "La Reyne,
but then proceeds in another direction. Dances of similar names listed in
other keyboard and ensemble sources have all proved to be different melodies.

38. "Sarabande" (f. 16v-17r). Although no definite concordances for
this piece have been located, there are a number of sarabandes which open
so similarly as to give this melody a ring of familiarity (for example, No.
40 below and Nos. 33 and 34 above). In Munich, Staatsbibl., *Mus. ms. 1503*,
a little collection of fifteen French keyboard dances, there is a "Sarabande"
(No. 14, f. 16v) which is identical with this melody for four meas-
ures, but it then proceeds differently.

39. "Allamande" (f. 16v-17r). The composer of this piece comes tantalizingly close to being identifiable. In the late seventeenth-century Gresse Manuscript a quite different, but recognizable, version appears with the attribution L. B. (Ex. 35). This Gresse version forms part of a suite whose sarabande is also to be found in Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book.


---

(1656) as "Selebrand Beare." As Reimann has discussed at length, compilers of such manuscripts would have felt no hesitation in assembling suites from various sources, but in this case the very similarity of the initials L. B. and the name Beare may be significant. Curtis proposed a mid-century Leipzig organist, Leonhard Beer, as probable composer of both the allemande and sarabande, giving as additional evidence the appearance of the allemande in a German tablature from 1678, Berlin, Staatsbibl., Ms. 40823, No. 72. However, since this allemande is in the section of the Copenhagen Tablature containing settings of French melodies and arrangements of French pieces (Mézangeau and Pinel), the name La Barre would seem to provide a more satisfactory solution. As with the many other pieces scattered through seventeenth-century lute and keyboard manuscripts under the name La Barre, it is difficult to ascertain which member of this extensive musical family might have composed the original. The most celebrated member of the family in the 1640's was Pierre Chabanceau de La Barre (1592-1656), court organist to Louis XIII and Anne of Austria, and until 1642 also clavecinist to the Queen. He was praised by his contemporaries not only as a keyboard player, but also as a teacher and composer;


89 Curtis, op. cit., p. xlii.

90 Although this tablature disappeared during World War II, the "Allemande" had been published in Epstein, op. cit., Notenanhang No. 22a, p. 12.

91 For a genealogical table of the musical members of the family and a list of extant works with possible attributions, see Simone Wallon, "La Barre," Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. by Friedrich Blume (Kassel-Basel, 1960), VIII, 4-9.
about 1645 he initiated private *concerts spirituels*, among the first known in France. However, since the two concordances for this allemande are of a much later date, it is possible that the piece could be the work of one of his sons. Charles-Henry (c. 1625-1670) succeeded his father as clavecinist to the Queen in 1642 and served as continuo player for court ballets from 1652 to 1662. Joseph (1633-1678) as a youth accompanied his sister Anne on an extended concert tour to Stockholm, Copenhagen, and Kassel, after which he served alongside his brother as theorist for court ballets and in 1656 succeeded his father as court organist.

40. "Sarabande" (f. 16v-17r). No other keyboard source for this piece is known. Nevertheless, the melody must have been a familiar one in the mid-seventeenth century, for it is included with one variation in J. J. van Eyck's popular *Fluyten Lust-Hof II* (1654) under the title "Lossy" (f. 22v-23r). The title may be only a corruption of a foreign word, but such a name in a Dutch publication does bring to mind the teacher of Sweelinck, Jan Willemszoon Lossy, a singer and *schalmeyspeelder* of Haarlem. Although this Lossy had died in 1629, his grandson Nicolaes was organist at the Nieuwe Kerk in Amsterdam at the time the *Fluyten Lust-Hof* was published there in 1654 and could conceivably have been responsible for the setting.

41. "Praeludium ex A" (f. 16v-17r). This brief nine-measure piece, scarcely more extended than an intonation, was apparently added to form a group with the preceding allemande and sarabande. All three were written in the same hand on facing folios, and the motivic similarity between the prelude and allemande indicates a conscious effort to bind them together.

---

42, 43, 44. No information.

45. "Courrande" (f. 19v-20r). This dance is one of several independent pieces sharing common motives. The resemblance between the first half of this tune and measures 1-2 and 8-12 of "Courrante La Chabotte" (No. 49) is readily apparent. Also, the first seven measures of an untitled dance for five instruments from the 1621 collection of William Brade (Ex. 36) are strikingly similar to measures 1-4 and 6-9 of the "Courrande," although there is no connection thereafter.

Ex. 36. Melody of dance No. XXIV from Brade collection of 1621.  

\[\text{Ex. 36. Melody of dance No. XXIV from Brade collection of 1621.}\]

46. No information.

47. "Courrante La Bourbono—Devision" (f. 20v-22r). Except for the related sarabandes Nos. 15 and 52, this is the only melody in the Copenhagen Tablature that occurs in two versions. The later one, No. 61, is a straightforward, though graceful, arrangement of the melody in lightly-broken three-voice style. No. 47, on the other hand, is one of the more ambitious settings in the tablature. The arranger strove for variety by changing the octave level in the varied repeat of the first half, and in the double, called devision after the English manner, he employed frequent shifts of texture and rhythmic patterns to good effect. Although at first glance some of the changes from

\[\text{\textsuperscript{93}A similar group of sarabandes is pointed out under No. 38 above.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{94}A complete transcription in Huber, op. cit., II, 215.}\]
dotted to even rhythms seem arbitrary, they actually mark hemiola patterns that are less noticeable in the melody itself (Ex. 37). In the only other

Ex. 37. Shifting rhythmic patterns in the double to "Courrante La Bourbono"

known source, a setting for soprano and bass instruments in 'T Uitnement Kabinet I (f. 51v), the measure grouping of six quarter notes shows the rhythmic ambivalence of the melody more clearly than does the uncompro-
mising $\frac{3}{4}$ meter used in the tablature.

48. "Sarabande" (f. 21v-22r)—"Duoble" (f. 22v-23r). This lovely melody must have been one of the most popular sarabandes of the mid-
seventeenth century. Only one other sarabande of the period$^{95}$ rivals it in number of surviving versions and has outlived it in popularity—as the tune used in England for the hymn "Brightest and Best of the Sons of the Morning" (English Hymnal, No. 41). The model for the Copenhagen example may well have been a sarabande by the lutenist Germain Pinel (see No. 51

$^{95}$ Settings from Lüneburg, K.N. 149 and the Anna Maria van Eijl Manu-
script are published in Frits Noske, ed., Klavierboek Anna Maria van Eijl (Amsterdam, 1959), pp. xxii, 48.
The melody appears only once with attribution—in the Vincentius de la Faille keyboard manuscript, where it is titled "Sarabande Pinel" (Ex. 12 above). The sarabande melody was particularly well liked as the theme for variations. In both the Copenhagen and De La Faille manuscripts it is followed by a double. It appears in the Anna Maria van Eyl Manuscript in a setting with three variations by the Arnhem organist Gisbert Steenwick and in another version with five variations by Barend Broeckhuisen and Georg Berff. Three virtuosic variations attributed to Buxtehude ("Aria di D. B. H.") came to light with the discovery of the Ryge Tablature, which contains a number of his previously unknown keyboard compositions. The Leningrad Manuscript has a single setting, a "Serbande" (f. 19v) with mainly chordal accompaniment. Another single setting, also in a simpler style than the Copenhagen version, is found in the Drallius Tablature (Ex. 38). The only English keyboard source discovered is a little "Sarabrand" attributed to Benjamin Rogers in Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. 1238.

The melody was one of four from the Copenhagen Tablature still popular enough to be included in the violin book of a musician in Sweden later in the century. It also seems to have been a favorite in the Netherlands, where it was published with two variations for solo flute in Fluyten Lust-Hof I (f. 57v-58r), in a large array of songbooks, and finally in the

---

96 Ibid., pp. 23-26, 32-37.
97 Published in Dietrich Buxtehude, Klavervaerker, ed. by Emilius Bangert (Copenhagen, 1942), pp. 84-87.
98 See Curtis, op. cit., p. 60.
100 Norrköping, Stadsbibl., Finspong 9098, p. 25.
instrumental collection Boeren-Lieties (No. 703, IX, 24). In this last source the petite reprise of the Copenhagen version and the varied repeat of the same section in the double of the De La Faille Manuscript are paralleled by a repetition of the last phrase with the indication piano.
49. "Courante La Chabotte" (f. 22v-23r). This light-hearted courante tune appears in several mid-century sources, frequently with the title "Courante Monsieur." An unornamented setting resembling that of the Copenhagen Tablature in outline is found in the first section of the Leningrad Manuscript (Ex. 39). The "Courante Monsieur" for soprano and bass.

instruments in 'T Utnten Kabinet I (f. 52v) is also similar in outline, even to the repetition of the final four measures marked in the tablature by the sign for petite reprise. Keyboard settings are found in both the Witzendorff Tablature (No. 87, f. 88v-89r) and the Drallius Tablature, (No. 219, f. 175v-176r), but in the latter version the second half of the melody proceeds in quite a different direction. There are similar alterations of the melody in its latest source, the early eighteenth-century collection Boeren-Lieties (No. 813, XI, 11).

50. "Allamande de Mr. Meschanson" (f. 23v-24r). Because of the corruption of the name as Meschanson, Hamburger in his survey of the Copenhagen Tablature failed to recognize this allemande as an arrangement of a work by the renowned Parisian lutenist René Mézangeau.101 Nothing is known of the details of his life until his marriage in 1619 to a daughter of the keyboard instrument maker Jean Jacquet, but he must have been already well known by 1617, when Jean-Baptiste Besard included a courante of "Sieur Mesangeau" in his Novus partus. Mersenne gave evidence of the esteem in which Mézangeau was held by including one of his allemandes in the Harmonie universelle as an example of lute tablature.102 Mézangeau is thought to have been the teacher of Ennemond Gaultier, the eldest of that celebrated family of lutenists, who memorialized him after his death (c. 1636-1638) in Le Tombeau de Mézangeau. It seems to have been a pupil of Ennemond Gaultier who in the late 1660's lent to his own pupil, Mary Burwell, a treatise on lute-playing to copy into a book of her own. Besides valuable

instructional material interspersed with anecdotes and opinions of "old Gaultier," Mary Burwell's book contains interesting evaluations of lutenists of earlier times, among them Mézangeau:

Lorenzini, Perrichon and the Polack [Jacob Reys] are the furthest lutenists in the memory of man that deserved to be mentioned and to have a statue upon the mount of Parnassus, for having given us the rudiments of the lute and cleared the first difficulties that hindered production of this masterpiece. Afterwards Monsieur Mézangeot appeared upon the stage of music and, using the lute with nineteen strings, hath so polished the composition and the playing of it that, without contradiction, we must give him the praise to have given to the lute its first perfection. The clouds of ignorance having been so dissipated by this worthy son of Apollo, many musical lights have risen in France.¹⁰³

The scattered lute manuscripts and printed tablatures in which Mézangeau's known compositions have survived are listed in an article by Rollin.¹⁰⁴ She also points out two manuscripts in Paris which, like the Copenhagen Tablature, contain keyboard arrangements of his lute pieces; to these citations might be added a "Curant Meshaugea" found in the WitZendorff Tablature (No. 99, f. 96v-97r).  

51. "Allamande de Mr. Pinell" (f. 24v-25r). Through a misreading of the attribution as Linell, Hamburger did not recognize in this allemande a work by one of the Pinel family of lutenists.¹⁰⁵ The Mr. Pinell alluded to was probably the eldest, Germain, who at the time of his marriage in 1640 was "gentilhomme servant chez le roi." His renown was such that he was selected as instructor for the young Louis XIV, who in 1656 appointed


¹⁰⁵Hamburger, loc. cit.
him as court lutenist and theorist. Although Germain lived until 1664, he resigned the court post in 1659 in favor of one of his sons, Séraphin. The esteem Germain Pinel enjoyed can be seen in his commission from the King as court lutenist: "Le Roy ... considérant la perfection que Germain s'est acquise à toucher du luth ..."; and in the comment in Mary Burwell's lute instruction book: "Then came Pinel, whose play was very gay and airy; he made his lessons with a great deal of facility." Dozens of pieces ascribed to Pinel have survived in lute manuscripts, but only two other known keyboard arrangements: a "Sarabande de M' Pinel" in the Bauyn Manuscript (f. 60v) and a "Sarabande Pinel" in the Vincentius de la Faille Manuscript (Ex. 12 above). By extension the many other keyboard arrangements of the latter sarabande may be attributed indirectly to Pinel (see notes to No. 48).

52. See the notes to No. 15 above.

53. "Allamande" (f. 25v-26r). In his dissertation on English keyboard music Robert Adams included a most helpful index of incipits from virginal manuscripts, among them the opening phrase of an "Allmayne"
in Lady Jean Campbell's Book (Ex. 40). Although the book is in private ownership and could not be examined, we may presume that here is another setting of the Copenhagen "Allamande." The melody also appeared in 1646 arranged for soprano and bass instruments in 'T Uitnemen Kabinet I (Ex. 41).

The first half of the melody is nearly identical with the setting in the Copenhagen Tablature, but there are some differences in the application of accidentals in the second half and in the treatment of the mid-point of the melody (see m. 7b of No. 53).

54. No information.

55. "Courante de Delphin" (f. 26v-27r). In support of his claim for Delphin Strungk's authorship of the Copenhagen Tablature, Mráček pointed
out the name of this particular courante. Unfortunately, no concordances have been located to help in evaluating the title. Although it is not impossible that Strungk himself, or perhaps a close friend or family member, could have identified the courante in this way, it does seem significant that in none of the other manuscript sources studied is a first name used alone as an attribution. It is more likely that the title reflects some confusion of the French word dauphin, which denotes both the dolphin and the heir to the throne of France. A courante honoring the Dauphin would be a very natural companion for the "Courante La Reyne" and the "Courante Monsieur [the King's brother]" already discussed. On the other hand, the word Delphin might well be interpreted literally as dolphin. Like the Regina Clara Tablature and other manuscripts of the period, the Copenhagen Tablature probably contains several arrangements of melodies popularized in contemporary court ballets—spectacles enlivened by the appearance of exotic persons, mythological figures, and even animals, all extravagantly costumed. As a single example, the accounts for expenses incurred in the presentation of a ballet in Copenhagen Castle on June 21, 1651, include payment not only for a gilded salamander, but also for "two dolphins [Delphiner] of papier-mâché, painted and hollowed out"—for dancers in a "Dolphin Courante" perhaps?

56. "Als Damon Lang Geplaget" (f. 26v-27r). This piece can definitely be identified as a song by the Lieblingsmuse of the period, Heinrich Albert,


112 See the notes to No. 57.

from the collection *Ander Theil der Arien oder Melodeyen* published in Königsberg in 1640. Unlike most of the pieces in the tablature this is not an arrangement, but rather a realization of the melody and figured bass given in the publication. Albert was a close associate of Simon Dach, Robert Roberthin, and others of the Königsberg Dichterkreis, who were working in emulation of Martin Opitz to purify the German language and produce lyric poetry based on foreign models; most of the Arien are settings of their poems. Among these intimate friends Albert was known as Damon and his wife as Philosette, a fact that gives added interest to the text of the song:

Als Damon lang geplaget  
In schwerer Liebe Brunst,  
Nuh mer fast ganz verzaget  
An seiner Philli Gunst. . . .

57. "Le Vulcan" (f. 27v-28r). This march-like dance probably comes from one of the contemporary court ballets, which were heavily populated with various figures from mythology. The very stiffness of the piece may have been intended to portray the lame god of fire. Since most of the mythological characters were thinly-veiled, complimentary representations of members of the court, Vulcan was naturally not one of the most popular ballet figures. There is, however, a record of a ballet presented in 1664 by the school for young noblemen in Lüneburg in honor of the birthday of Duke Christian Ludwig of Celle-Lüneburg (brother-in-law of the Danish King Frederik III), in which one of the entrees was performed by Vulcan.

---


58. "Sarabande" (f. 27v-28r). Only one other version of this sarabande has been found, and that but the simple melody printed under the title "Sarabande Royaal of Pastorel" in the early eighteenth-century collection Boeren-Lieties. Only in the first two measures of the second half is there any significant difference in the earlier and later forms of the melody (Ex. 42).


59. No information.

60. "Niederlendish Liedtgen" (f. 30v-31r). In spite of its misleading title in the tablature, this plaintive little song is of English origin. On June 11, 1603, a ballad "Of the fayre Lady Constance of Cleveland and of her disloyall Knight: to the tune of 'Crimson Velvet!'" was registered at Stationers' Hall. The tune "Crimson Velvet" was already well known at the turn of the century and continued long in popularity as the vehicle for many a mournful ballad.\(^\text{117}\) Through its association with these various texts it acquired a motley of names: "In the days of old"; "Shepherd, saw thou not"; and one referring to the first line of the ballad of Constance of Cleveland, "'Twas a youthful Knight, which loved a galjant Lady." It was under this last name that the tune appeared in the Netherlands in 1624


\(^{117}\) These are discussed and some of the texts quoted in William Chappell, Popular Music of the Olden Time (London, 1855), I, 178-81, II, 772-73; and in the later revision of the work by H. Ellis Wooldridge, Old English Popular Music (London, 1893), pp. 166-68.
in the collection *Friesche Lust-Hof*, published by Jan Starter, an English immigrant (Ex. 43). Judging from the differences in the two versions of

Ex. 43. Melody of "'Twas a youthful Knight, which loved a galjant Lady" from Jan Starter's *Friesche Lust-Hof*, p. 40.

the melody, the composer of the tablature setting must have been familiar with the song through a later Dutch source. He seems, at any rate, to have been unaware of the melody’s English antecedents.

61. See the notes to No. 47 above.


67. "Lusi" (f. 33v). With their simple melodies, skeletal harmonies, and absence of ornamentation, the pieces on this folio have the appearance of teaching pieces for the earliest beginner. This particular little tune may be related to a longer melody (Ex. 44) whose first and last phrases are quite similar to this. Interestingly enough, the longer melody is included

Ex. 44. "De tweede schuilen vinkje," *Oude en Nieuwe Hollantse Boeren-Lieties en Contredansen*, No. 884, XII, 10.
in the Boeren-Lieties under the title "De tweede schuylen vinkje"—the children's game known in this country as hide-and-seek.

68. "Rondadinela"—"Davatte po den”—[untitled fragment] (f. 33v-34r). This little group is of greater interest than a glance at the simple settings might suggest. The word *rundadinella* appeared frequently as a jolly refrain in convivial songs of the seventeenth century, but the "Rundadinella" itself was a popular drinking song—more specifically, a melody to which each guest improvised a text as the drink passed around the table. The earliest setting of the tune is found in a manuscript of cittern music prepared in 1592 for Prince Johann Georg of Saxony (Dresden, *Ms. I 307*). Several fragmentary vocal settings have survived from the early seventeenth century: a portion of a quodlibet by Nikolaus Zangius from the collection *Musikalischer Zeitvertreiber* (1609), a similar fragment by Melchior Franck from the *Pasciculus quodlibeticus* (1611), and a longer setting by the Rostock cantor Daniel Friderici in his *Hilarodicon* (1632), of which only four of the original five voices remain (Ex. 45). The little tune may have played an amusing part in the prolonged rivalry between the Danzig organist Paul Siefert and Kapellmeister Caspar Förster the elder. In one letter to the city council Siefert complained bitterly about his colleague's activities; among Förster's other misdeeds, on the

---

119 The melody of the setting is given in Erk and Böhme, *loc. cit.*
Ex. 45. Setting of "Rundadinella" by Daniel Friderici from the Hilarodicon.\textsuperscript{122}

Adapted from Bolte, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 172-74.
Feast of Pentecost he had performed one of his own compositions in which the text "Tutti venite armati li forti mei soldati, fa la la . . ." was set to the melody "Runda runda runda la rundinella" often repeated.\textsuperscript{123} The compiler of Lüneburg, K.N. 149 jotted down on the last page of the tablature a little two-voice version of the tune under the title "Trala zu vorhin," and the Drallius Tablature contains a three-voice setting (Ex. 46) followed in the manner of a dance by a proportio.

Ex. 46. "Runda Rundadinella," Drallius Tablature, No. 97, f. 63v-64r.

Although No. 67b is in triple time, it is not a proportio, for only the opening measures are related to the "Rundadinella." It is quite possibly a volte, for the title, when pronounced, bears a passable resemblance to modern Danish "Det volte på den" ("the volte on it," that is, on the "Rundadinella"). The volte was long past the height of its popularity by mid-century, but occasional examples still appeared among the lute pieces of Denis Gaultier and the keyboard works of both Louis Couperin and

\textsuperscript{123}This anecdote is recounted in Hermann Rauschning, \textit{Geschichte der Musik und Musikpflege in Danzig} (Danzig, 1931), pp. 158-59.
The volte must certainly have been popular in Denmark, judging from an unflattering reference by the English dramatist Thomas Nashe in his *Terrors of the Night* (1594): "After all they danced 'Lusty Gallant' and a drunken Danish levalto or two." The four-measure fragment on the following folio (No. 67c) is clearly based on the opening of the "Rundadinella" melody, but there is no indication whether it is the abortive beginning of a variation or a written-out repeat for the first half of the melody.

69. No information.

---


THE VOIGTLÄNDER TABLATURE

Copenhagen, Royal Library, mu 6703.2131/6
Plate 11. Voigtländer Tablature, f. lv.
Plate 12. Voigtländer Tablature, f. 7v.
CHAPTER III

THE VOIGTLÄNDER TABLATURE

Survey of the Manuscript

Nearly a century ago the pioneer Danish musicologist Hortense Panum pointed out the existence of a manuscript addition on the blank pages at the end of a Royal Library copy of Voigtländer's Oden und Lieder—a keyboard tablature containing six rather extended pieces. Since the person who added the manuscript portion is not definitely known and since works of several composers are represented, the tablature is referred to in this study as the Voigtländer Tablature, with the cautionary note that the only connection between it and the Voigtländer edition is one of physical location. According to the director of the library's manuscript division, the Voigtländer volume was first catalogued in the latter half of the last century, but is thought to have been in the library since the eighteenth century.


2 An exemplar of the original edition of Gabriel Voigtländer, Erster Theil Allerhand Oden und Lieder, welche auf allerley als Italienische, Französische, Englische und anderer Teutschen guten Componisten Melodien und Arien gerichtet . . . bey Clavi Cimbalen, Lauten, Tiorben, Pandorn, Violen di Gamba gantz bequemlich zu gebrauchen und zu singen (Sorge, 1642). A number of pirated editions of the enormously popular collection were issued in Lübeck and elsewhere as late as 1664.

3 The Voigtländer volume now bears the signature mu 6610.2631, while the pieces of the tablature are separately catalogued as mu 6703.2131/6.

4 Probably about 1888, at which time it may have come to Panum's attention. In that year the initial cataloguing of foreign printed works was completed, and work was begun on Danish publications and on manuscripts. See Sven Lunn, "Opbygningen af Det kgl. Biblioteks Musiksamling," Biblioteksaarbog 1946, pp. 40-50.
or even seventeenth century. Since this is the Danish edition of the Voigtländer, it is quite likely that the volume and its companion tablature never left Denmark.

The tablature contrasts markedly with the many hastily written, carelessly notated "working" manuscripts of the period; the pieces are evidently fair copies, carefully inscribed by one hand. Regrettably, the person who prepared the tablature left no definite clues as to his identity, but a survey of the contents does provoke some interesting suppositions. The first three pieces are significant works by two major figures in North German keyboard music, Melchior Schildt and Heinrich Scheidemann. The following two pieces are signed with the initials J. R. R., a configuration for which Henrik Glahn has offered the interpretation Johann Rudolph Radeck, an organist of some repute active in Denmark around the middle of the seventeenth century. According to the city records of Flensburg a certain Johann Rudolph Radebeck, "zu Mühlhausen in Thüringen bürgerlich," was appointed in the summer of 1635 as organist of St. Mary's Church. He was succeeded early in 1647 by Vincent Lübeck the elder, but may have resigned some months earlier, for he appears in the records of the Holy Ghost Church in Copenhagen as organist from 1645 to 1663, presumably the year of his death. To have held two posts of such consequence, Radeck must have been a musician of considerable ability, although apparently of

---

5 Misread as P. R. R. by Panum, who made no attempt to identify the composer.

6 Ernst Praetorius, "Mitteilungen aus norddeutschen Archives über Kantoren, Organisten, Orgelbauer, und Stadtmusiker älterer Zeit bis ungefähr 1800," Sammlbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft VII (1905/6), 239.

limited fame. The fact that two of the six pieces in the tablature can be attributed to him suggests that it was he, or at least a person closely connected to him, who prepared the manuscript.

Although the tablature was obviously added to the Voigtlander volume no earlier than 1642, the year of the book's publication, there is no direct evidence for a more precise dating. In fact, there is little agreement among the concordances for the individual pieces. For example, the Schildt "Paduana Lagrima" (No. 2) is found in other sources dated 1634 and 1641, while all the related versions of the "Englische Mascarada" (Nos. 3 and 5) appear in manuscripts of the 1650's. If the tablature was indeed the work of Radeck or one of his circle, it seems likely that it was prepared during his years in Copenhagen—in 1645 or later.

Notation and Editorial Procedures

The pieces are notated in a form of new German tablature (the octave beginning with c) whose only departure from the typical is the use of a

8 Consideration should be given to other members of the numerous and determinedly musical Radeck family, who filled many organist positions in major churches of Copenhagen and Helsingør up until the middle of the eighteenth century. When J. V. Meder in 1674 visited his brother, the organist of the Church of Our Lady in Copenhagen, he made the acquaintance of Martin Radeck, organist of the Trinity Church, who inscribed in his album a "Fuga tertii toni." This Martin Radeck, possibly a son or younger brother of Johann Rudolph, was the best-known member of the family; even Buxtehude made a manuscript copy of one of his works. Yet another Radeck, Johann, was the immediate successor of Buxtehude as organist of St. Mary's Church, Helsingør, upon the latter's departure for Lübeck in 1668. Johann Rudolph Radeck's circle would also have included Johann Lorentz, organist of St. Nicholas' Church and pupil and son-in-law of the famous Hamburg organist Jacob Praetorius; Johann Schröder, son of Radeck's predecessor at the Holy Ghost Church and himself organist at St. Peter's Church and court organist to King Frederik III; and even the brilliant Matthias Weckmann, who from 1642 to 1647 was organist to the Crown Prince in Nyköbing-Falster, and who would no doubt have been acquainted with leading musicians in Copenhagen. Any of these men, if not Radeck himself, could have prepared a tablature such as this.
wavy line for the upper treble octave in place of the more usual two lines. The rhythmic signs are transcribed without reduction. Metric signs occurring in the transcriptions have been inferred from the note groupings, as no metric indications are found in the tablature itself. Both ornaments and fingering indications are sparse. Since only one sign of ornamentation (') is employed in a variety of situations, it presumably does not indicate a specific ornament (cf. the $\gamma$ of the Copenhagen Tablature). This sign and the occasional fingerings occurring in florid passages of Nos. 3, 5, and 6 are reproduced in the transcriptions.

One particular notational problem is encountered in the Schildt "Pa-duana Lagrima": the transcription of the triplet rhythms in m. 11-14 and 49-54. Triplets are indicated in all three sources for this piece by a 3 placed before or between rhythmic sign groupings, but there is considerable disagreement among the sources as to the organization of the triplet passages. This edition presents a faithful transcription of the notation used in the Voigtlander Tablature.

Considering the complexity of the pieces, there are surprisingly few errors in the tablature. Only in the sixth piece, the "Frantzöscha Liedelein," do we find so many noticeable errors (for example, the alteration of one note when a whole phrase is literally repeated) that we may suppose the scribe to have been working from a faulty copy. The more obvious of these errors have been corrected and explained in the critical notes.

Style and Significance of the Music

In the Voigtlander Tablature we encounter a repertory of unquestionable significance. The "Englische Mascarada oder Juden Tantz" of Heinrich Scheidemann is one of the few extended settings of a secular melody by the
great Hamburg organist. Here also are preserved the only surviving secular pieces by his fellow Sweelinck student, Hannover organist Melchior Schildt. In view of the sketchiness of the surviving secular keyboard literature of the period, even the two works by a minor figure such as Johann Rudolph Radeck are of importance.

More gratifying than the historical significance of the pieces is their inherent musical interest. That the Scheidemann piece strongly reflects the Sweelinck style is not surprising, but it is interesting to note the dominance of one aspect of that style—the technique of motivic figuration. The melodic line is broken up into characteristic rhythmic

---

9 Heinrich Scheidemann (c. 1596-1663) was the son of David Scheidemann, organist of St. Catherine's Church in Hamburg. After early preparation with his father, Heinrich was sent in 1611 to Amsterdam for several years of study with Sweelinck. Young Scheidemann's expenses were paid by St. Catherine's "in the hope that he would become a fine artist and at some future time their organist." After Scheidemann took over his father's post, he fulfilled his early promise by becoming one of the most celebrated organists of Germany and the teacher of many leading organists of the next generation, including his own successor, Jan Reinken. Most of Scheidemann's extant works are liturgical organ pieces: chorale settings, motet intabulations, and preludes. Aside from small dance settings attributed to him in the Drallius and similar tablatures, his only known secular works are a "Galliarda ex D" (Uppsala, Univ.-bibl. IMhs 408) and the "Englische Masca-

10 Melchior Schildt (c. 1592-1667) came from a long line of Hannover organists. From 1609 to about 1612 he studied in Amsterdam with Sweelinck, and he may have come to know the younger Scheidemann at that time. His first recorded post was at Wolfenbüttel in 1623; in 1626 he left there for Denmark, where he served as court organist to Christian IV. When his father died in 1629, Schildt was granted a release by the King to return to Hannover to take over his father's post, which he retained until his death. Walther (Musicalisches Lexicon, p. 552) tells us that Schildt, when it pleased him, could play in such a way as to make his listeners laugh or weep. The lexicographer further relates that Duke Christian Ludwig often had his fetched to his court [Celle], where he was richly rewarded for his performances. This last probably accounts for the fact that Schildt amassed a fortune scarcely commensurate with a modest church organist's salary. Schildt's very few surviving compositions are, with the exception of the Voigtländer pieces, liturgical organ works.
and melodic figures which are used repeatedly and then exchanged for others. Although the treatment is occasionally extended to another than the upper voice, the overall texture is that of one highly-colored voice above a basically chordal support.

It is Schildt who more nearly reflects the balanced contrapuntal-figurative variation technique of Sweelinck. The coloration is supple; imitation enlivens all the voices; imaginative rhythmic touches abound. The two works preserved in this tablature bear comparison with the best of the Sweelinck variations; indeed, Schildt's setting of Dowland's "Lachrimae Pavan" surpasses that of his teacher in expressiveness.\(^{11}\)

In the settings by Radeck we see the influence of the Scheidemann style. Here again is motivic figuration, although somewhat more rigid and contrived than in similar passages by Scheidemann. In Radeck's own version of the "Englische Mascarada" his apparent imitation of the Scheidemann setting amounts to parody (see the notes to Nos. 3 and 5).

In a recent article\(^ {12}\) Werner Breig tentatively attributed the last piece in the tablature, the anonymous "Frantzösch Liedelein," to Samuel Scheidt. Breig pointed out that the basic melody appears in nearly the same form in an instrumental setting by Scheidt\(^ {13}\)—an unusual occurrence for this popular, much-altered tune. Moreover, this set of four variations is a truncated form of a longer cycle in a Viennese manuscript\(^ {13}\) containing a number of known works by Scheidt. In support of Breig's attribution,

\(^{11}\) See Jan Pieterszoon Sweelinck, Werken voor Orgel en Clavecimbel, ed. by Max Seiffert (Amsterdam, 1943), pp. 240-42.


\(^{13}\) See the notes to No. 6 below.
the driving rhythms and the variety and organization of the figures in the set are typical of the Scheidt variation technique.

In sum, we find in this small tablature a sampling of the secular works of Scheidemann, Schildt, and possibly Scheidt—that is, of three of the principal Sweelinck disciples. This may in turn add indirectly to our knowledge of Johann Rudolph Radeck, if it was indeed he who prepared the tablature. He was either a person of unerring taste, or more likely he had close connections with the musicians whose works he preserved. Judging from his death date (1663, the same year as Scheidemann and four years before Schildt), it is not impossible that he could himself have been a student of Sweelinck. If the Flensburg post he assumed in 1635 was his first, however, he may well have been a younger man, perhaps a student of Scheidemann, the composer whose work he so closely parodies.

Remarks on the Pieces

1. "Gleich Wie daß feuer M. S." (f. lv-2r). This plaintive melody was apparently known to Melchior Schildt in connection with a song now lost; no trace of such a text has been found. The melody itself first appeared early in the century in England, probably as a dance tune in a masque, for most settings in English manuscripts refer to the melody as a "maske." Its courtly origins can also be seen in the heading under which it was first joined with a song text: "The Obsequy of Faire Phillida: with the Shepherds' and Nymphs' Lamentation for her Losse. To a new court tune." This ballad from the Roxburghe Collection is undated, but the text is among those collected between about 1615 and 1626 by Giles Earle in his songbook:

The fairest Nimph the vallies or mountaines ever bred,
The shepheard's joy soe beautifull and coy,
Faire Phillida is dead ...
"The fairest Nymph" continued in popularity in England until the middle of the century. In 1642 it was one of "divers of the most noted and common, but solemn tunes, everywhere in this land familiarly used and knowne" to which William Slatyer designed his Psalms or Songs of Sion to be sung.\textsuperscript{15}

Of the many English keyboard settings the most ambitious, and the only version with varied repeats, is one attributed to Orlando Gibbons (Ex. 47).

Ex. 47. "A Maske by Mr. Orlando Gibbons," Brit. Mus., Add. 38661, f. 60v.\textsuperscript{16}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Ex47.pdf}
\end{figure}


Several anonymous sources seem to be based on the Gibbons model, but vary from it in details: Paris, Bibl. du Cons., Rés. 1186, f. 39r; New York Pub. Lib., Drexel 5609, p. 127 (copied from Rés. 1186); Priscilla Bunbury's Virginal Book, f. 13v; Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book, f. 3r; Drexel 5609, p. 2 (copied from Rogers). Simpler arrangements with primarily chordal accompaniments are found in Rés. 1186, f. 36v; Drexel 5609, p. 124 (copied from Rés. 1186); and Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. ms. 437, f. 5r.

As with so many English songs of the period, the melody's popularity spread quickly to the Netherlands. The earliest preserved form of the melody is that published by Jan Starter in his Friesche Lust-Hof of 1624 (Ex. 48). In the collection Urania (1663) the melody was called "Gravesande" (that is, "Grayes Inn [Maske]" and in the Boeren-Liettes (No. 467, VI, 23), "Ballet Gravesande." It was set for solo flute in both parts of the Fluyten Lust-Hof, in the 1646 edition as "Ballette Gravesand" with two
variations (f. 32r-33r) and in the 1654 publication as "Laura" with two different variations (f. 44v-45r).

Apart from the Schildt setting of the melody only one keyboard version from North Germany has survived, a "Gleich wie das feuwer" with varied repeats of the first half and final four measures in the Drallius Tablature (f. 137v-138r). The melody was well known in the Baltic area, however, and in Denmark itself has had a long and romantic history. In 1632 a poet now unknown used it for the text "Al verdslig pragt" as a song of consolation for Christian IV's daughter, the fourteen-year-old Anna Catherine, whose fiancé had earlier that year been drowned in the moat of Rosenborg Castle. Throughout the century the melody was often known by that title, or simply as "Anna Catherines vise." It is tempting to speculate on a possible connection between this story and the Melchior Schildt setting of the melody. From 1626 to 1629 Schildt was in Denmark as court organist, and one of his duties was the musical training of the royal children, among them Anna Catherine. It is not unlikely that Schildt composed the piece during this time; both he and the unknown poet who set new verses to the melody may have known it to be a favorite of the young princess. Also in 1632 the melody was chosen by the rector of the cathedral school in Ribe for the
annual *Julesang* he composed for the boys to use as they made their rounds through the streets on holidays, singing for small gifts.\(^{17}\) In 1639 the melody was first joined to the text with which it has longest been associated, "I Jesu navn skal al vor gerning ske," composed by the rector in Roskilde for his wedding. When Bishop Thomas Kingo published his *Graduale* (1699), the first official Danish service book and hymnal in over a century, the melody occupied a central place.\(^{18}\) For the hymn before the sermon the Bishop chose "I Jesu navn" and composed other texts in the same meter based on the Gospels for the various Sundays. Today in the Danish Church "I Jesu navn" is still sung with only a few alterations in the shape given to the old masque tune by Thomas Kingo.

2. "Paduana Lagrima M. Schildt" (f. 2v-4r). The inclusion of this masterful arrangement of John Dowland's "Lachrimae Pavan" in a mid-century tablature is evidence of the long-lived popularity of the melody to which all Europe had wept at the turn of the century. It has not been necessary to trace the paths of this famous tune, for it attracted the attention of earlier researchers. Otto Heinrich Mies sketched its history as a "wandering tune" and its influence on other composers;\(^{19}\) he reported that his inquiries to libraries had produced some forty-three pieces based upon, or strongly influenced by, the "Lachrimae" melody. In a recent detailed study of the life and works of Dowland, Diana Poulton was primarily concerned

---


\(^{19}\)*Otto Heinrich Mies, *"Dowland's Lachrymae Tune," Musica disciplina IV* (1950), 59-64.
with Dowland's own settings in their various manuscript and printed versions, but she did provide an interesting survey of the history of the melody:

The pavan, 'Lachrimae,' was one of those exceptional compositions which, from time to time, appear, and achieve an altogether extraordinary popularity. In its original form as a lute solo it found its way into almost all the important English MS collections of the period and it appears in numerous Continental lute-books, both MS and printed. Many of the copies, though purporting to be by Dowland, are very inaccurate and have divisions entirely different from Dowland's own. Some have divisions frankly acknowledged as being by other composers. A number of lutenists, especially abroad, honoured Dowland by using the Lachrimae theme as a basis for their own compositions. Besardus, Van den Hove and Valentine Strobelius are notable among those who wrote independent and interesting works which make no pretence of following Dowland's own setting. Its popularity was so great that, subsequently, arrangements were made for almost every domestic instrument then in use. In addition to Dowland's own arrangement for five viols and lute, William Byrd, Thomas Morley, Giles Farnaby, Benjamin Cosyns, 'Mr Randell,' Melchior Schildt, Jan Sweelinck, H. Scheidemann and others made settings for keyboard; it appeared in Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons*; Johann Schopp made a setting for strings and continuo; and versions are found for cittern, bandora, lyra viol and recorder.

As a song it had an exceptionally long life. In England and Scotland it was known from its first appearance in 1600 until the 1682 edition of John Forbes's *Songs and Fancies*. In the Netherlands it was printed in a very inaccurate form in the *Nederlandsche Gedenck-Clanck* (1626) of Adrianus Valerius, with a set of Dutch words. In all six editions, from 1647 to 1690, of Dirck Rafaelzoon Camphuysen's *Stichtelycke Rymen* a version appears with another set of Dutch words. . . .

As well as the composers who took the whole, or at least the greater part, of the tune and used it with acknowledgement of the title or the composer, a number of others took the four notes of the opening phrase and in a purely allusive manner, wove it into the texture of a composition. One of the earliest instances of the adoption of this phrase appears in Anthony Holborne's 'Pavana Floravit' (printed in 1599), though Holborne, in his title, shows he is conscious of what he is doing. When Maurice, Landgrave of Hesse made his pavan in honour of Dowland, to point the compliment with elegance and finesse, he used the famous phrase four times in the first strain. Other composers to use this device were William Bade, Johann Schopp, Leonhard Lechner and William Lawes.
In the bibliography the author cited fully fifty-five versions of the famous pavane and a dozen other compositions which quote the "Lachrimæ" theme. To this already formidable array of citations might be added some from keyboard sources perhaps unfamiliar to the author:

Paris, Bibl. du Cons., Rés. 11862, p. 322, a virtuosic setting with varied repeats, found in the portion of the manuscript attributed to Benjamin Cosyn.

Paris, Bibl. du Cons., Rés. 1186, f. 115v, an anonymous setting with no varied repeats and but few passages.


Lüneburg, Ratsbibl., K.N. 146 (Drallius Tablature), f. 154v-157r, one of the more ambitious settings in the tablature.

Although Poulton listed among her sources the Schildt setting found in the Voigtländer Tablature, she made no mention of two other manuscripts where this same setting appears:

Uppsala, Univ.-bibl., IMhs 408, f. 28v, "Paduan Lachrime intavolata da Melchior Schilt."

The Clausholm Fragments from Clausholm Castle in Denmark, a partial title with an inscription at the end of the piece—"Finis Hafniae Melcher Schilt Anno 1634 8 Julj."

The Uppsala manuscript was copied by Caspar Zengel about 1641 for the young Gustav Düben, probably under the supervision of his father, court Kapellmeister and former Sweelinck student Andreas Düben. The pieces were apparently chosen to provide a sampling of works from the leading keyboard composers of the English virginal school and the Sweelinck tradition. It is significant that the Schildt piece was valued highly enough to join the company of works by John Bull, William Byrd, Peter Philips, Jan Sweelinck, and the latter's students, Samuel Scheidt, Heinrich Scheidemann, and Paul

Siefert. Unfortunately, the scribe broke off abruptly in the midst of this very piece (m. 37). After several blank pages the remaining pieces were written down at a later time and some in another hand.

The Clausholm source has survived due to one of the happy accidents which enliven the pages of music history. When the seventeenth-century organ in Clausholm Castle was being restored, it was discovered that the bellows had been sealed at one time with some two hundred pieces of music manuscript. The fragments thus rescued were turned over to the Danish scholars Henrik Glahn and Søren Sørensen for evaluation, and they succeeded in reconstructing a manuscript whose forty-four pages were marred in varying degrees where they had been trimmed to fit the shape of the bellows. The manuscript was found to contain a repertory of vocal music by Heinrich Schütz and others, a number of anonymous chorale settings for organ, eight Magnificats by the Hamburg organist Jacob Praetorius, and the Schildt setting of the "Lachrimae Pavan," complete except for the portions cut out as explained above. The critical edition of the manuscript has not yet appeared, so many intriguing questions remain unanswered, among them the possibility of a connection between the manuscript and Melchior Schildt.

Besides Schildt's sojourn in Denmark from 1626 to 1629 as court organist, there are little-known, but interesting, genealogical connections with Denmark. The descendents of Melchior's brother, the organist Ludolph Schildt, prospered exceedingly; his grandsons were raised to the nobility, and two of them, Heinrich Andreas and Bodo Friedrich von Schilden, in 1731 purchased estates in Denmark. A grandson of Heinrich Andreas, Hans Heinrich Friccius von Schilden, acquired the former royal castle Clausholm late in the eighteenth century through marriage into the noble Huitfeldt family.
The castle has remained in the possession of a branch of the family until this day. Thus, it was a direct descendent of the seventeenth-century Schildts who discovered the manuscript fragments in the castle organ. This family connection may, of course, have been merely fortuitous. Hopefully the forthcoming critical edition will throw light on the origin and reliability of the Clausholm Fragments.

The "Paduana Lagrima" is presented in this study as it stands in the Voigtländer Tablature, with the exception of a few obvious errors and omissions that have been corrected in light of the other sources. A composite edition of the piece based on all three manuscripts can be found in Werner Breig, *Lied- und Tanzvariationen der Sweelinck Schule* (Schott, 1970), pp. 35-40.

3. "Englische Mascarada oder Juden Tantz H. S. M. [Heinrich Scheidemann]" (f. 4v-6r). 5. "Englischer Mascharada Ex G J. R. R. [Johann Rudolph Radeck]" (f. 7v-8r). It has not been possible to discover the origin of this charming dance, although it was presumably an English masque tune, as the titles in this tablature would indicate. The tune does not appear, however, in Chappell's collection of English songs and dances, nor have any demonstrably English settings come to light. Bolte, in his study of the influence of the English musical play in northern Europe, does list the melody among the tunes of English origin appearing in Jan Starter's *Friesche Lust-Hof*. It was titled "Kits Allemande" in this and later Dutch publications: *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck* (1626), p. 124; the

---


melody with two variations in Fluyten Lust-Hof I (1646), f. 86v-87v; the melody alone in Boeren-Lieties, No. 106, II, 6.

The popularity of the dance tune in the Baltic area is attested by its appearance in the two settings of the Voigtländer Tablature, a "Mascarada" in the Leningrad Manuscript (f. 7r), a "Juden Tantz" in the Drallius Tablature (f. 41v-42r), and an "English Mascharad oder Das Glück ganz vanckelmütig ist" in the Witzendorff Tablature (f. 34v-36r). The striking similarities between the first Scheidemann variation and the Radeck setting become more intriguing when all five versions are compared. The Leningrad example varies only in small details from the Radeck setting, but does not have the latter's varied repeats for each section (Ex. 49). In the

Ex. 49. "Mascarada," Leningrad Manuscript, f. 7r.

\[\text{Ex. 49. "Mascarada," Leningrad Manuscript, f. 7r.}\]

\[\text{\small\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{c}
\end{center}}\]

23 Besides this "Mascarada," almost identical with the basic setting of Radeck, the first section of the Leningrad Manuscript (which was not published with the rest of the manuscript in Alan Curtis, Dutch Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries) contains a "Ballet Jacob Fockart," probably the work of the violist Jacob Focart, who entered King Christian's employ in 1624, served for some years as "Prince Christian's violist," and remained in Denmark until his death in 1641 (Angul Hammerich, Musikken ved Christian den Fjerdes Hof [Copenhagen, 1892], p. 214). Curtis might well look with profit into the possibility of Danish connections for this first portion of the Leningrad Manuscript.
Drallius Tablature we find a close cousin of the Scheidemann setting, again without varied repeats (Ex. 50). The Witzendorff example proves to be a virtual duplication of the entire first Scheidemann variation. Thus, the five related versions may be grouped with the Scheidemann, Witzendorff, and Drallius settings on the one hand and the Radeck and Leningrad on the other. In all five settings the consistent use of similar harmonies and accompaniment patterns may point to a common ancestor, perhaps an ensemble arrangement by one of the many English instrumentalists active in the Baltic area.
Ex. 50. "Juden Tantz," Drallius Tablature, No. 63, f. 41v-42r.
The extended settings by Scheidemann and Radeck have the varied repeats for each section in which the composer would be expected to display his originality in treating the basic melody, and common ancestry is not an adequate explanation for the marked similarities in these varied repeats. It seems clear that one composer was familiar with the work of the other. Partly because of the more varied and imaginative figuration in the Scheidemann setting, and partly for such subjective reasons as the relative placement of the two pieces in the tablature and the greater historical position of Scheidemann, we may assume that he composed the original setting, and Radeck made an abbreviated and somewhat simpler arrangement of it, perhaps for teaching purposes. However, as Reimann has observed in her study of such parodies among free forms and chorale settings in keyboard tablatures, assignment of priority and determination of the motives of the parodist—to lengthen or abridge, to expand or simplify—are equally hazardous when working with manuscript sources.

4. "Courant Saraband Ex A" [J. R. R.J (f. 6v-7r). The only concordance between the three manuscripts under discussion is found between this dance and a fragmentary "Sarabande" in the Copenhagen Tablature (f. 4v). Both are members of a "tune family" whose various shapes and settings are discussed in Chapter II, the notes to No. 9. This is the only member of the tune family with the unusual double title. The same pairing does occur elsewhere, however, as was pointed out by Curtis in his excellent commentary on the Leningrad Manuscript. Curtis was familiar with four separate

---

24 Compare, for example, m. 9-12, 15-16, 23-28 of the two settings.
pieces bearing this paired title: the "Courante Sarbande" in the Leningrad Manuscript (f. 20r); the Voigtländer example; a "Courante servante" in Lucas van Mechelen's Bliiden requiem of 1631; and a fourth melody appearing variously in Vallet's Secretum Musarum of 1615 (No. 83), in two settings in the lutebook of Johann Stobaeus (f. 53v-54r), in Valerius' Nederlandtsche Gedenak-Clanck (p. 238), and in several other Dutch publications. Curtis considered the Vallet example of 1615 to be the earliest appearance of the title. He was apparently unaware that the same dance tune had been published earlier by Michael Praetorius in his Terpsichore (1612). It was one of a group of three dances titled "Courrant Sarabande" that were arranged by Praetorius both for five instruments and for four. Five other examples of the genre, perhaps unknown to Curtis, were published by Andreas Hammerschmidt in the Dritter Theil neuer Paduanen, Sarabanden, Couranten . . . (1650), of which only a tenor part book has survived. Although Curtis concluded that the opposite coupling of "Sarabande Courante" did not occur, there is a "Sarabande Corantoise" included in Roger's Boeren-Listies (No. 779, X, 22).

The courante sarabandes as a group are not marked by any particular stylistic traits, and in fact do not appear consistently with this title. Both Praetorius and Valerius group them among their courantes, and a keyboard setting of the Praetorius-Vallet tune mentioned above is specifically


titled "Courant" in the Drallius Tablature (f. 63v). On the other hand, most of the melodies related to the Voigtländer "Courant Saraband" are called sarabandes. It is likely that the paired title was no more than an indication that the piece was appropriate for either dance. Evidence for this view can be found in the Drallius Tablature—two dances with the more explicit title "Courant oder Saraband" (f. 72v, 180v).

5. See the notes to No. 3.

6. "Frantzöschl Liedelein Ex C" (f. 8v-9r). This melody, the "Air de Lampons," was exceedingly popular in France through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the mid-seventeenth century the deceptively simple tune served as a vehicle for political satire. The death of the hated Cardinal Richelieu in 1642, for example, prompted a bitterly humorous ditty, the first verse of which is given in Example 51 along with one of the forms of the melody. Later the tune served to voice public resentment at new political villains, Cardinal Mazarin and even Louis XIV. A rather

---

29 Paris, Bibl. de l'Ars., Ms. 3119; the entire text is published in Pierre Barbier and France Vernillat, Histoire de France par les chansons (Mayenne, 1956), I, 153-55.

30 Ibid., II, 35-37, 136-37.
different form of the tune was sung in the Netherlands and included in the Boeren-Lieties under the title "Snaphans zijn Madama" (No. 674, IX, 16).

The melody must have been well known even earlier than these surviving records would suggest, for Samuel Scheidt drew from it the motives for his "Canzon à 5 voc. super Cantionem Gallicam" in the ensemble publication Paduana, Galliarda, Couranta . . . (1621). In a recent article Werner Breig pointed out the unusual correspondence between the form of the tune used in the Scheidt publication and that in the Voigtländer variations, and he suggested that the latter might be attributed to Scheidt. In support of this attribution Breig cited a related set of anonymous keyboard variations immediately preceding two excerpts from known Scheidt works in a Viennese source, Minoritenkonvent, Ms. XIV/714 (f. 60v); of the seven variations on "Aria francoi." the first four correspond in a general way to those in the Voigtländer Tablature, although they display some arbitrary variants and obvious errors. Breig was inclined to regard the Viennese version as a parody loosely based on a Scheidt original, with the addition of some "less imaginative" variations (Nos. 6 and 7). With the Voigtländer piece there are also hindrances to an unqualified attribution to Scheidt. The lively, vigorous rhythms and the wealth of motivic ideas are certainly characteristic of the Scheidt figural technique, but some of the structural principles of variation sets in the Tabulatura nova are lacking: the melody appears only in the upper voice in all four variations, and none of the


variations employs imitation or other contrapuntal devices. Because of this and the fact that the Viennese manuscript includes a fifth, seemingly authentic variation, we might conclude that the Voigtländer set is incomplete—an abridged and possibly altered version of a Scheidt original now lost.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Land, Jan Pieter Nicolaas. *Het Luitboek van Thysius*. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1889.


**Articles**


__________. "Miss Mary Burwell's Instruction Book for the Lute," *The

Fischer, L.H. "Fremde Melodien in Heinrich Albert’s Arien," *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* II (1886), 467-81.


Praetorius, Ernst. "Mitteilungen aus norddeutschen Archives über Kantoren, Organisten, Orgelbauer, und Stadtmusiker älterer Zeit bis ungefähr 1800," *Sammlbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft VII* (1905/6), 204-52.


---

Unpublished Materials


Ebel, David. Letter to the city council of Rostock, June 29, 1630. Rat, Acta betreffend Organisten, 1551-1741, No. 93e.


Strungk, Delphin. Contract with the city council of Braunschweig, July 31, 1650. Stadtarchiv, No. 140.


Printed Music


Oude en Nieuwe Hollantse Boeren-Lieties en Contredansen, Parts I-XIII. Amsterdam: Estienne Roger, Cearly 16th c.J.


Music Manuscripts

Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Mus. mss. 40034 [Löffelholtz Tablature], 40098 [Nörmiger Tablature].
Leningrad, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Q N 204 [Leningrad Manuscript].


Lüneburg, Ratsbücherei, K.N. 146 [Drallius Tablature], 148 [Witzendorff Tablature], 149.

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Mus. ms. 1503, 1511e, 1511f, 1511g.

Norrköping, Stadsbibliotek, Finspong 9088.

Oxford, Christ Church, Ms. 1236.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ré.s. Vm7 674, 675 [Bauyn Manuscript].

Uppsala, Universitetsbibliotek, IMhs 408.

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 18491 [Tablature of Jungfrau Regina Clara Im Hoff].
KEYBOARD TABLATURES OF THE MID-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY IN THE ROYAL LIBRARY, COPENHAGEN: EDITION AND COMMENTARY

PART II

TRANSCRIPTIONS AND CRITICAL NOTES
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## THE OBMAUS TABLATURE, Ny kgl. Saml. 1987 fol. ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Balet der Keisserin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>More palatino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>E du Edler Reiter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Alomodo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Clanck her Sodat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Schwedish Coranta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mein Balet [Nicodemus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Amor duet Thieranisien</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>die Nej shfferin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>die schwartz farb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## THE COPENHAGEN TABLATURE, Gl. kgl. Saml. 376 fol. ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Entry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Praeludium C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Praeludium ex clave G# A. org.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Currant A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Allamande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Courrante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Tantz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Der nach Tantz [fragment]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mascharad [fragment]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Sarabande [fragment]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>[untitled fragment]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. [untitled fragment] ........................................ 25
12. [untitled fragment] ........................................ 26
13. Von Himmel Hoch da kom Ich her ......................... 27
14. Nun kom der Heyden Heyland ............................... 28
15. Sarabande .................................................... 29
17. Der 5. Psalmen. O Herr dein Ohren zu mir ............. 32
18. Der 103. Psalmen. Nu Preß mein Seel .................. 34
20. Erstanden ist der Heilige Christ ........................ 38
22. Der 91. Psalmen. Wer in des aller höchsten Hut .... 40
23. Intonation .................................................... 41
24. In dulci Jubilo ............................................... 42
25. Allemande .................................................... 44
26. Courrante .................................................... 46
27. Engeldishe Nachtigall ...................................... 47
28. Sarabande .................................................... 49
29. Engelendiesher Galliard [fragment] ....................... 50
30. Præludium [fragment] ...................................... 51
31. Intonation ex G♭ [fragment] ............................... 51
32. [untitled fragment—Allemande] ......................... 52
33. [untitled fragment—Sarabande] ......................... 52
34. 2.da Sarabande [fragment] ............................... 53
35a. Courrante Lavigon ....................................... 54
35b. La Duble .................................................... 56
<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Courante simple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Courante La Reyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.</td>
<td>Allamande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Præludium ex A:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Courante La Boudate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43a.</td>
<td>Allamande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43b.</td>
<td>Alio modo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Ich füle lauter angst und Schmerzen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Courrande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47a.</td>
<td>Courante la Bourbono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47b.</td>
<td>Devision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48a.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48b.</td>
<td>Duoble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>Courante La Chabotte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50.</td>
<td>Allamande de Mr. Meschanson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51.</td>
<td>Allamande de Mr. Pinell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>Allamande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55.</td>
<td>Courante de Delphin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56.</td>
<td>Als Damon Lang Geplaget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Le Vulcan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Sarabande</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Page</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59a</td>
<td>Tantz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59b</td>
<td>Sprunckg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>Niederlendis Liedtgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>Courrante La Bourbon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>Tantz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>Engellendishes Liedtgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>Niederlendishes Liedtgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>[no title]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>Aarie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>Lusi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68a</td>
<td>Rondadinela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68b</td>
<td>Davatte po den</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68c</td>
<td>[untitled fragment]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>Liester Ehder dantze</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE VOIGTLANDER TABLATURE, mu 6703.2131/6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gleich Wie daß feuer M.S.</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Paduana Lagrima M. Schildt</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Englische Mascarada Oder Juden Tantz H.S.M.</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Courant Saraband Ex A J.R.R.</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Engelischer Mascharada Ex G J.R.R.</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Frantzäsch Liedelein Ex C</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CRITICAL NOTES                                      | 135  |
THE OBMAUS TABLATURE

Balet der KeiBerin

\begin{music}
\import{example}{}\end{music}
More palatino

f. 2v-3r
E du Edler Reiter
Alomodo

f. 3v-4r
Clanck her sodat

f. 3v-4r
Schwedish Coränta

f. 4v-5r
Mein Balet [Nicodemus]
die Nej shäfferin

f. 5v-6r
die shwartz farb
THE COPENHAGEN TABLATURE

Copenhagen, Royal Library, Gl. kgl. Saml. 376 fol.
Präludium ex clave G \( \text{b} \) A. org.

f. 2r-3r
Currant A.

f. 2v-3r
Anno 1626, 3. jan. fecit
Allamande
Tantz
Der naech Tantz [fragment]  

Mascharad [fragment]
Sarabande [fragment]

\( f. 4v \)
[untitled fragment]

f. 6r
Von Himmel Hoch da kom ich her

f. 6v-7r
Nun'kom der Heyden Heyland

f. 6v-7r
Sarabande

f. 6v-7r

15

3

5

9

13
Der 3. Psalmen

Wie Viel sindt der o Herr

Angefangen 1639. 3. Januar.

f. 7v-8r
Der 5. Psalmen  O Herr dein Ohren zu mir
Der 103. Psalmen  

Nu Preiß mein Seel
Der 8. Psalmen. O Höchster Gott
Erstanden ist der Heilige Christ

f. 9v-10r
Kom Gott Schöpffer Heyliger Geist
Der 91. Psalmen. Wer in des aller höchsten Hut
Intonation

f. 10v-11r
In dulci Jubilo

f. 10v-11r, 12r
Allamande

f. 11v-12r
Engelendishe Nachtigall
Engelendiesher Galliard [fragment]

f. 13v
Praeludium [fragment]

Intonation ex Gb [fragment]
2. da Sarabande [fragment]

f. 14r
Courrant Lavigon

f. 14v-15r
Courrante La Reyn

f. 15v-16r
Sarabande
Sarabande

f. 16v-17r
Præludium ex A:

f. 16v-17r
Courrante La Boudate

f. 17v-18r
Ich fühle lauter angst und Schmerzen
Sarabande

f. 19v-20r
Courrante la Bourbono
Sarabande
Courrante La Chabotte

f. 22v-23r
Allamande de Mr. Meschanson

f. 23v-24r
Allamande de Mr. Pinell

f. 24v-25r
Sarabande

f. 24v-25r
Allamande

f. 25v-26r
Sarabande

f. 25v-26r
Als Damon Lang Geplaget

f. 26v-27r
Sarabande
Sprunckg
Niederlendish Liedtgen

f. 30v-31r
Courrante La Bourbon
Engellendishes Liedtgen

f. 32v-33r
Rondadinela

Davatte po den
Liester Ehder dantze
THE VOIGTLÄNDER TABLATURE

Copenhagen, Royal Library, mu 6703.2131/6
2. Variatio
3. Variatio
Englische Mascarada Oder Juden Tantz    H. S. M.

\[\text{Noten für Musik}\]
Secunda Variatio
Courant Saraband Ex A J. R. R.

f. 6v-7r
Secunda Variatio

\[17\]

\[21\]

\[25\]

\[28\]

\[31\]
Quarta Variatio
Frantzöschß Liedelein Ex C

2. Variatio
3. Variatio
CRITICAL NOTES

The notes below show the manuscript readings for passages which have been altered in the transcriptions. The abbreviated form employed gives the measure number, the voice (S A T B or U[pper] M[iddle] L[ower]), the note or portion of the measure, and the original version. For example, 3 B 5: \(d\) indicates that in the third measure of the manuscript the fifth note of the bass line was a half note.

The Obmaus Tablature

2. 7 A 6: c' / 10 S 2: a'
4. 4 ATB: \(\cdot\) / 8 TB: \(\cdot\)
5. 10 U 3: e'' f'' a''
7. 7 S 3: e'' (cf. m. 15)
8. 11 A: written a third lower—b-flat, a, b-flat / 13 B 1-2: deleted by later hand and \(g\) substituted in pencil
9. 8 S 2: a'

The Copenhagen Tablature

2. 18 S 6: 2nd finger, but alto has 3rd / 31 SA 1: fingerings reversed
3. Beginning, all voices: \(\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\)
11. 1 L 1: \(\uparrow\) / 3 L: no rhythmic signs
16. 4 U 3-4: \(\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\)
18. Alternate readings in margins—42 U: \(d, d'' e'' / 43 M: \downarrow, a \downarrow b\)
45 U: \(d, d'' d'' / 46 U 2nd half: \downarrow f'' \downarrow e''\)
20. Beginning, all voices: \(\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\uparrow\)
22. 24 M: \(\uparrow\) / 29 M: \(\uparrow\) / 32 L: \(\uparrow\)
24. Beginning, S: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
25. 8 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 13 U 1-2: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 16 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 27 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
26. 4 L 1: note later crossed out / 20 M 1: \( \text{\textbullet} \) 
29. Triple section, 1st beat of upper voice: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
35b. 15 U 1-2: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
36. 12 U 2: 2 ornaments side by side 
37. 22 ML: \( \text{\textbullet} \) 
39. 7 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 12 M 1st half: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 13 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
41. 3 U 2: tenor b 
43a. 1 U 1: \( e'' \) undotted / 1 U 4th beat: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 11 U 4th beat: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
43b. 11 M 4: \( \text{\textbullet} \) 
45. 12 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 22 all voices: \( \text{\textbullet} \) 
46. 2 U 1: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 8 M: no rhythmic signs 
47a. 16 all voices: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 32 all voices: \( \text{\textbullet} \) 
47b. 10 L 3rd beat: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 16 L: omitted / 19 M 1: no rhythmic sign / 
22: alterations made in pencil: 
48a. 11 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 14 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \) 
48b. 8 T 1: c-sharp 
49. Beginning, U: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 23 UM: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 23 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
50. 13 M 3: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 22 U 4th beat: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
51. 3 M 4: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 3 U 7: 2nd finger / 13 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
53. 7 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) ; 1st and 2nd endings implied by repetition of cadence / 
11 ML 1: \( \text{\textbullet} \) / 12 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) / 13 L: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
55. 9 L 3rd beat: \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) 
56. 7 U 1: \( g' \) (\( g' \) in published version)
58. 3 U 2-3: ♫ / 8 U 2-3: ♫ / 9 L: ♩ / 12 ML: no rhythmic signs
59a. 6 L: ♩ ♩
59b. 4 L: ♩ / 8 U 2-3: ♫ (cf. m. 10 and 12)
62. 3 U 2: ♩ / 4: ♩ ist half: originally ♩. Ornamental cadence written over original without adjusting time values or fingerings; similarly in m. 6, 9, 10, 14. / 11 L: no rhythmic signs
66. 6 U 3: ♩ omitted from chord
67. 11 L: ♩
69. 1 M 1: ♩ undotted / 2 M 1: no rhythmic signs for ♩

The Voigtländer Tablature

1. 36 A 4: ♩-natural
4. 7-8 B: ♩ / 8 SAT: ♩ / 20 T: ♩ / 61 T: tied values reversed / 62 T: ♩ / 66 B: ♩ / 68 ATB: ♩ / 69 T: tied values reversed / 74 T 1: ♩
5. Beginning, S: ♩ / 30 T 3-4: ♩-flat / 37 S 2: ♩-flat"
6. 6 S 4: ♩- (cf. melody in other variations) / 17 L 4-5: ♩ ♩ / 25 T 4th beat: ♩ (cf. previous meas.) / 46 L 1: ♩ / 49 U 2: ♩ (cf. melody in other variations) / 50 L 7-10: ♩ ♩ ♩ (cf. patterns on 1st and 4th beats) / 59 L 11: ♩ (cf. following pattern) / 64 AT 2nd half: ♩ ♩ ♩ (cf. m. 69) / 73 At 3: ♩- ♩- (cf. m. 72)