A Closer Look at the Copenhagen Tablature in the Royal Library, Copenhagen

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In the doctoral dissertation Keyboard Tablatures of the Mid-Seventeenth Century in the Royal Library, Copenhagen¹ the present writer used the name "Copenhagen Tablature" to designate the manuscript Gl. kgl. Saml. 376 fol., because it is the largest keyboard tablature from the period in the Royal Library, and because it contains no name of scribe or owner by which it might be identified. This tablature has not been without interest to 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.² The Norlind article prompted Povl Hamburger to publish a survey of the manuscript and a sampling of seven transcriptions.³ Continuing the pioneer work of Norlind on the development of the suite, Ernesto Epstein discussed this as one of 26 pertinent manuscripts and included portions of six transcriptions.⁴ Lydia Schierning provided a list of contents and a summary of earlier references to the tablature in her bibliographic study on the sources of early 17th-century keyboard music.⁵ In various writings on the history of keyboard music, Willi Apel has referred briefly to the tablature and quoted portions of two allemandes as examples of the developing French clavecin

^{1.} North Texas State University, 1973. Included in the dissertation are editions and studies of the Obmaus Tablature (Ny kgl. Saml. 1997 fol.), the Voigtländer Tablature (mu 6703.2131/6), and the "Copenhagen Tablature".

^{2.} Tobias Norlind, "Zur Geschichte der Suite", Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft VII (1905-6), pp. 172-203.

^{3.} Povl Hamburger, "Ein handschriftliches Klavierbuch aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts", Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft XIII (1930-31), pp. 133-40.

^{4.} Ernesto Epstein, Der französische Einfluss auf die deutsche Klaviersuite im 17. Jahrhundert (Würzburg-Aumühle 1940), pp. 58-60, Anhang Nos. 16-19, pp. 8-10.

^{5.} Lydia Schierning, Die Überlieferung der deutschen Orgel- und Klaviermusik aus der 1. Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts (Kassel-Basel 1961), pp. 88-90.

style.⁶ An Apel student, Jaroslav Mráček, transcribed and discussed in his thesis dances of French origin from the tablature.⁷

The tablature with which these researchers have dealt for their various purposes is a manuscript presently consisting of 34 folios (32 x 20 cm.) gathered into four fascicles as shown in Figure 1. When the manuscript was bound,⁸ 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 f. 34. One folio had been lost from around the outside of the second fascicle, producing lacunae between the present ff. 4 and 6, 13 and 14. The collator seems to have noticed the lack of continuity between ff. 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.

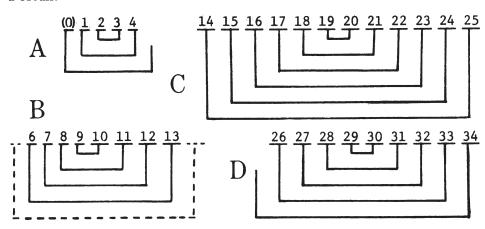


Figure 1. Foliation of the "Copenhagen Tablature".

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

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

^{7.} Jaroslav Mráček, Keyboard Dance Music of French Origin or Derivation in the First Half of the Seventeenth Century (Diss., typewritten, University of Indiana, 1962).

^{8.} 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.

two sides of the missing f. 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 ff. 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 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 (Figure 2), so frequently a useful tool, proves disappointing in this case. The type of the mark is readily identifiable - a representation of the arms of Ravensburg. Through the 16th and much of the

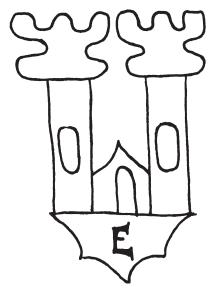


Figure 2. Watermark from the "Copenhagen Tablature".

17th 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 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: Konstanz (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 seemingly in Danish on the next-to-last folio of the manuscript. On the manuscript 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, and a closer study of the shapes of letters and numbers confirms the suspicion that quite different hands were 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, but rather in casual alternation. This might suggest that various members of a family compiled the manuscript, or perhaps that later users inserted short pieces in blank portions of some folios.

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 f. 34, which, when isolated from the ink smudge obscuring them, appear as seen in Figure 3. It should 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

^{9.} C.M. Briquet, Les filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier (Leipzig 1923), p. 802, No. 15927.

^{10.} No. 68a, a simple setting of a popular drinking song, "Rundadinella", is followed by another piece loosely based on the tune and titled "Davatte po den". It is quite possibly a volte, for the title, when pronounced, bears a passable resemblance to the Danish "Det volte på den" (i.e., on the "Rundadinella"). The volte must 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"!

^{11.} Hamburger, op. cit., pp. 133-34.

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Figure 3. Letters appearing on the final folio of the "Copenhagen Tablature".

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". 12 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 pieces, "Courante de Delphin", he then declared this to be a Strungk autograph.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, 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, 14 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, never first names.

- 12. Ibid., p. 134.
- 13. Mráček, op. cit., p. 89.
- 14. The title may reflect some confusion with the word dauphin, which in French denotes both the dolphin and the heir to the throne. A courante honoring the Dauphin would be a natural companion for such pieces as No. 37, the "Courante La Reyne". On the other hand the word might well be read literally as dolphin. Like other manuscripts of the period the "Copenhagen Tablature" probably contains arrangements of melodies from contemporary court ballets spectacles enlivened by the appearance of exotic persons and 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 for "two dolphins [Delphiner] of papier-maché, painted and hollowed out" for dancers in a "Dolphin Courante" perhaps?

The most direct solution would seem to be an examination of the hand-writing of the various members of the Strungk family. It has been possible to secure samples — unfortunately mainly only signatures — of the father Joachim, of Delphin himself, and of his son Nicolaus Adam, the most renowned musician of the family. The striking differences in the pairs of signatures demonstrate the difficulty of positive identification of 17th-century German handwriting. Given the differences in these samples known

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closin & tumod.

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c. Delphin Strunch Organ

c. Martien.

d.

Sicolaus Adam Strungh

e.

Sicolaus Adam Strungh

Figure 4. Handwriting of members of the Strungk family. 15

^{15.} Figs. 4a and d are reproduced from Georg Linnemann, Celler Musikgeschichte bis zum Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts (Celle 1935), p. 18, and Fig. 4e from Dieter Härtwig, "Strungk", Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart XII (Kassel-Basel 1965), col. 1619. Figs. 4b and c are taken from the archives in Braunschweig (Stadtarchiv, Nos. 140 and 145).

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 his "many students from foreign lands" of whom Johann Gottfried 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 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 manuscripts¹⁸ by dance and song settings signed D. S.; Daniel Schrøder, son of the Danish organist and builder Lorentz Schrøder and brother of the Danish court organist Johann Schrøder, himself organist at the important post of St. Mary's in Stralsund; even a minor figure such as Daniel Sellner (or Zellner), who like Strungk came from Braunschweig, was trained by Michael Praetorius in Wolfenbüttel, and was an active member of the Danish court chapel from 1613 to 1664.

The manuscript is written across facing folios in new German tablature with the octave beginning at h. The tablature system shows one significant departure from normal usage: the symbol dis (\mathcal{L}), which in most tablatures does service for both d-sharp and e-flat, is here altered to \mathcal{L} 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:

Dieweil die Clavicymbel, Symphonien und dergleichen Art ... etwas imperfect seyn, nach demmal das Genus Chromaticum uff denselben nicht also, wie uff den Lauten und Violen de Gamba zuwege gebracht

^{16.} Compare the delicate signature of Joachim Strungk with the facsimile of f. 2r (Plate 1), the signatures of Delphin with the courante of f. 26v (Plate 3), and those of Nicolaus Adam with the bold hand of f. 27v (Plate 4).

^{17.} J.G. Walther, Musicalisches Lexicon (Leipzig 1732), p. 583.

^{18.} Regina Clara Tablature, Vienna, Nationalbibl., Ms. 18491 and Berlin, Staatsbibl., Ms. 40147.

werden kan: So sind bissher uff angeben verständiger Organisten etliche Clavicymbel und Symphonien herfür kommen, darinnen der Clavis dis unterschieden und doppelt gemacht worden, darmit man in ModoAEolio (wenn derselbe in quartam inferiorem transponiret wird) die tertiam zwischen dem h und fis rein und just haben könne.¹⁹

Rhythmic signs are often sketchily indicated or even omitted from the final measures of pieces, but the vertical alignment of the letters generally makes the rhythmic intent clear.

The manuscript 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 () placed below the applicable letter. As Donington has indicated in his index of ornaments, symbols similar to this were in widespread use in the 17th 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. It is thus left to the discretion of the player 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 16th and 17th 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 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. The fingering appears to have been carefully considered, writ-

^{19. &}quot;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." Michael Praetorius, Syntagma musicum II (Wolfenbüttel 1618), p. 63.

^{20.} Robert Donington, The Interpretation of Early Music (London 1963), p. 573. Nos. 47, 49.

ten over in several passages and added later with pencil in others. 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 perform-
- 2. The player did not hold exclusively to the usual practice of performing right-hand ornaments on the third finger, and a goodly number were played on the second, particularly when no closing notes were notated (App. No. 6).
- 3. The $\frac{4}{2} \frac{5}{3}$ fingering for consecutive thirds, which François Couperin later advocated as a new style, ²¹ was already employed here in the earliest piece of the tablature (App. No. 1, m. 18). On the other hand, consecutive sixths were performed without change of fingers (App. No. 1, m. 34), as were many of the consecutive thirds.
- 4. The thumb was occasionally used on black notes (App. No. 5b, m. 25).
- 5. The fingerings were intended for an instrument with short-octave keyboard, as can be seen from the occasional reach of a twelfth in the left hand. Moreover, the keys of the lower octave of the instrument were arranged:

D E B**b** C F G A B**h** c

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

21. François Couperin, L'Art de toucher le clavecin (Paris 1716), p. 29.

The "Co	ppenhagen Tablature" contains the following	repertory:
1.	Præludium C	f. 1r
2.	Præludium ex clave G \(\beta \) \(\mathcal{A} \) . Org.	f. 2r-3r
3.	Currant A. [G] (Anno 1626, 3. Jan. Fecit)	f. 2v-3r
4.	Allamande [d]	f. 2v-3r
5.	Courrante [C]	f. 3v-4r
6.	Sarabande [g]	f. 3v-4r
7a.	Tantz [F]	f. 3v-4r
	Der naech 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
16.	Der 3. Psalmen. Wie Viel sindt der o Herr [F]	f. 7v-8r
	(Angefangen 1639. 3. Januar.)	
17.	Der 5. Psalmen. O Herr dein Ohren zu mir [g]	f. 8v-9r
18.	Der 103. Psalmen. Nu Preiss mein Seel [C]	f. 8v-9r
19.	Der 8. Psalmen. O Höchster Gott [d]	f. 9v-10r
20.	Erstanden ist der Heilige Christ [G]	f. 9v-10r
21.	Kom Gott Schöpffer Heyliger Geist [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.	Engelendishe Nachtigall [C]	f. 12v-13r
28.	Sarabande [C]	f. 12v-13r
29.	Engelendiesher Galliard [fragment] [D]	f. 13v
30.	Præludium [fragment] [D]	f. 13v
31.	Intonation ex Gb [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
47a.	Courrante La Bourbono [d]	f. 20v-21r

35b.	La Duble	f. 14v-16r
36.	Courante 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
41.	Præludium ex A [a]	f. 16v-17r
42.	Courrante La Boudate [G]	f. 17v-18r
43a.	Allamande [C]	f. 17v-18r
43b.	Alio modo	f. 18v-19r
44.	Ich füle lauter angst undt Schmerzen [d]	f. 18v-19r
45.	Courrande [D]	f. 19v-20r
46.	Sarabande [C]	f. 19v-20r
47b.	Devision	f. 20v-22r
48a.	Sarabande [d]	f. 21v-22r
48b.	Duoble	f. 22v-23r
49.	Courrante La Chabotte [D]	f. 22v-23r
50.	Allamande de Mr. Meschanson [a]	f. 23v-24r
51.	Allamande de Mr. Pinell [g]	f. 24v-25r
52.	Sarabande [g]	f. 24v-25r
53.	Allamande [a]	f. 25v-26r
54.	Sarabande [D]	f. 25v-26r
55.	Courante de Delphin [d]	f. 26v-27r
56.	Als Damon Lang Geplaget [d]	f. 26v-27r
57.	Le Vulcan [D]	f. 27v-28r
58.	Sarabande [G]	f. 27v-28r
	[blank folio]	
59a.	Tantz [g]	f. 29v-30r
59b.	Sprunckg	f. 29v-30r
60.	Niederlendish Liedtgen [g]	f. 30v-31r
61.	Courrante La Bourbon [d]	f. 30v-31r
62.	Tantz [G]	f. 31v-32r
63.	Engellendishes Liedtgen [g]	f. 32v-33r
64.	Niederlendishes Liedtgen [F-d]	f. 32v-33r
65.	[no title] [C]	f. 32v-33r
66.	Aarie [d]	f. 32v-33r
67.	Lusi [C]	f. 33v
68a.	Rondadinela [C]	f. 33v
68b.		f. 33v
68c.	[untitled fragment]	f. 34r
69.	Liester Ehder dantze [C]	f. 34r

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 13 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 (ff. 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 (ff. 6r [following lacuna]-11r): 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 (ff. 11v-28r): The largest group, composed primarily of French dance forms, several of which have doubles.
- 4. Nos. 59-69 (ff. 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



Example 1. Psalm 103, Susanne van Soldt Manuscript, f. 5v.22

22. Published in Alan Curtis, Dutch Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries (Amsterdam 1961), p. 9.

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 (App. No. 3), with its three-voice texture and numerous ornaments, with the stiff chordal progressions of a Dutch setting of the same melody in the Susanne van Soldt Manuscript (Example 1).

It is in the dance pieces of the first and third sections that the changes taking place within the French style itself can best be seen. Compare, for example, the allemande No. 4 (App. No. 2), with its lightly ornamented melody above two simple supporting voices, with the more extended melodic lines and freely-voiced, broken texture of allemandes later in the tablature (App. No. 6). The pervasive influence of the lute on clavecin style of the period can be seen here in these beginnings of the *style brisé* as well as 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 (App. No. 8), which appears in the keyboard manuscript of Vincentius de la Faille as "Sarabande Pinel".

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 Bauyn Manuscript, 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 person who prepared this section of the tablature was working independently, 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 progressive style of Couperin, marked by the in-

tegration of polyphonic techniques into the dance forms (Example 2) and a bolder use of dissonance (Example 3), finds no echo in the dances of the



Example 2. "Sarabande en Canon" of Louis Couperin.23



Example 3. "Allemande" of Louis Couperin.24

^{23.} Oeuvres complètes de Louis Couperin, ed. Paul Brunold (Paris 1936), p. 53.

^{24.} Ibid., p. 90.

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 Chambonnières, with their smooth harmonies, delicate ornamentation, and often folk-like melodies. The reader may compare Example 4 with the allemande No. 39 of the tablature (App. No. 6), Example 5 with the courante No. 35a (App. No. 5), and Example 6 with the sarabande No. 48a (App. No. 8).



Example 4. "Allemande La Rare" of Chambonnières. 25



Example 5. "Courante de Madame" of Chambonnières. 26

^{25.} Oeuvres complètes de Chambonnières, ed. Paul Brunold and André Tessier (Paris 1925), p. 1. 26. Ibid., p. 12.



Example 6. "Sarabande O beau jardin" of Chambonnières.27

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 300 dances brought from Paris by the French dancing master to the Duke. Praetorius commended his Terpsichore "not only to instrumentalists, but especially to distinguished persons of the nobility and others who in France have become skilled in such dances."28 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),

^{27.} Ibid., p. 88.

^{28.} Michael Praetorius, Terpsichore (Wolfenbüttel 1612), p. vii.

Dresden (1622), Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel (1640), and Celle (1653).²⁹ 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 *galante* in Germany,³⁰ and closely bound by marriage to the Danish court.

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;³¹ only in manuscripts from 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 "Engelendisher Galliard", an "Engelendishes 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 which members of the royal family took part, as was the custom at Versailles. In 1654 Anne de La Barre, member of a celebrated Parisian family of musicians, paid an extended visit to the Danish court, which was charmed by her performances as lutenist and claveçiniste 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 any claim for Delphin Strungk as

^{29.} For more detailed information on the spread of the French style in Germany, see Epstein, op. cit., pp. 16-46.

^{30.} Cited in André Pirro, "Remarques de quelques voyageurs sur la musique en Allemagne et dans les pays du nord de 1634 à 1706", Festschrift Riemann (Leipzig 1909), p. 330.

^{31.} In the Regina Clara Tablature, for example, among the 117 pieces is found only one "Galliarda Englesa".

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 claims of German musicologists for the German origin of the Baroque suite.³² He pressed a 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-group-

Wie früh diese Zusammenstellung bereits angewendet wurde, zeigt uns ein handschriftliches Klavierbuch aus der Bibliothek Kopenhagen [Gl. kgl. Saml. 376 Fol.]. Einige Tänze sind am 3. Januar 1626 eingetragen (Fol. 2-3). Bei diesen ist die Ordnung: Allemande—Courante—Sarabande. Am 3. Januar 1639 sind folgende Tänze eingeschrieben, die nebeneinander gestellt und von einem Praeludium eingeleitet sind: Fol. 13-15: Intonation—Sarabande—3 Couranten. Fol. 16-19: Praeludium—Courante—Allemande (mit *Alio modo*)—Courante—Sarabande. Wir können aber diese Tanzfolgen bloss Vorstudien einer neuen Suite nennen; denn sie sind alle nur lose aneinander gefügt und entbehren jeder zyklischen Anordnung.³³

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

^{32.} For a survey of the theories of Spitta, Riemann, and others, see Norlind, op. cit., pp. 172-73, and Margarete Reimann, Untersuchungen zur Formgeschichte der französischen Klavier-Suite (Regensburg 1940), pp. 7-9.

^{33. &}quot;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 (ff. 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: ff. 13-15, intonation - sarabande - three courantes; ff. 16-19, prelude - courante - allemande (with alio modo) - courante - sarabande. However, we can only style these successions of dances as Vorstudien to a new suite, for they are all only loosely bound together and are lacking in any cyclical arrangement." Norlind, op. cit., p. 186.

forms of the 17th-century suite. 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 ff. 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 ff. 16-19: a prelude in a (No. 41), a courante in G (No. 42), an allemande in G (No. 43), (No. 44?), a courante in G (No. 45), and a sarabande in G (No. 46). It can only be said that Norlind, 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. 39-41.³⁴ 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." Yet 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 [!]."³⁵

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 common characteristic of a conscious grouping of dances in the same key.

^{34.} Hamburger, op. cit., pp. 134-36.

^{35.} Epstein, op. cit., p. 133.

Type I: Arrangement by groups of dances, from which the player was free to choose. This was 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 Chambonnières: 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. 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:

Nos.	26.	Allemande Courante English Dance		C		Courante Sarabande		g
		Sarabande _			39.	Allemande	7	
					40.	Sarabande		а
	29.	Galliard]	D	41.	Prelude		
	30.	Prelude		D			_	
		-	•		47.	Courante-Double	٦	d
	31.	Intonation	1		48.	Sarabande-Double		и
	32.	[Allemande]					_	
	33. \$	Sarabande		g	51.	Allemande	٦	~
	34. \$	Sarabande			52.	Sarabande		g
	35. (Courante-Double					_	

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. As with early Froberger suites there are no gigues, and the number 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 (App. Nos. 6 and 7).

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 clavecinists 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,³⁶ but they are

^{36. 14} examples, grouped together before the suites as they appear in the Bauyn Manuscript, are published in L. Couperin, op. cit., pp. 1-28.

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.³⁷ All the preludes in the "Copenhagen Tablature" probably antedate those by Louis Couperin, and the prelude No. 2, which is reminiscent 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. 1³⁸ 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.

38. This prelude may serve the function of an opening exercise, like those in many tablatures of the period. However, since it seems to have been inserted at about the same time as the dances of the third section, it may have been intended for use with the suite in C (Nos. 25-28).

^{37.} Even as late as 1713 to 1730 François Couperin did not publish preludes with his suites, although he clearly expected them to be played. In his L'Art de toucher le clavecin (1716) he provided preludes in the keys of his published suites for the assistance of the inexperienced player unskilled in improvisation.

Resumé

Artiklen er baseret på forf.'s doktorafhandling, Keyboard Tablatures of the Mid-Seventeenth Century in the Royal Library, Copenhagen (North Texas State University, 1973). Af de dér behandlede tabulaturer — Ny kgl. Saml. 1997, fol. (Obmaus-tabulaturet), mu 6703.2131/6 (Voigtländer-tabulaturet) og Gl. kgl. Saml. 376, fol. — er det sidstnævnte, kaldet "Københavner-tabulaturet", det største.

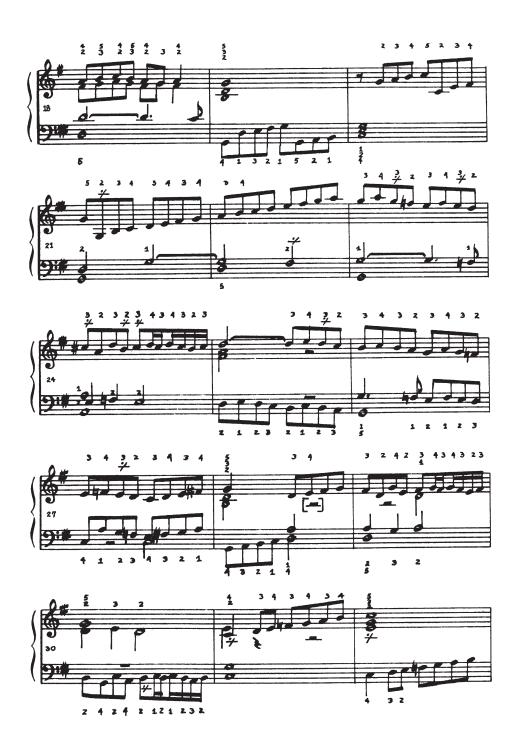
Håndskriftet, hvis skriver og oprindelige ejer ikke kendes, består af tre fascikler med ialt 34 folioblade. Det antages, at hovedparten af tabulaturet er blevet til i 1640rne og at det er fuldendt efter 1650.

Tabulaturskriften er – med variationer – den nyere tyske tabulaturskrift; karakteristisk for håndskriftet er den usædvanligt hyppige angivelse af fingersætning.

Indholdet er først og fremmest dansesatser, desuden vise-, koral- og salmeudsættelser. Stilistisk er hovedindflydelsen den samtidige franske, lut-påvirkede clavecin-stil. Men snarere end at være af fransk oprindelse synes stykkerne på en interessant måde at vidne om den franske stils udbredelse til et lokalt miljø. Og det er muligt, at tabulaturet er blevet til i Danmark. Thi foruden fransk indflydelse findes også engelske danse, og sammenstillingen af nogle af dansesatserne til suite-agtige rækker peger mod tendenser i den samtidige tyske klavermusik hos Froberger. Og netop den danske hofmusik var i disse årtier et sådant samlingssted for disse brogede europæiske tendenser.

Appendix No. 1







Appendix No. 2

Allamande



Appendix No. 3















Appendix No. 5b















Plate 1

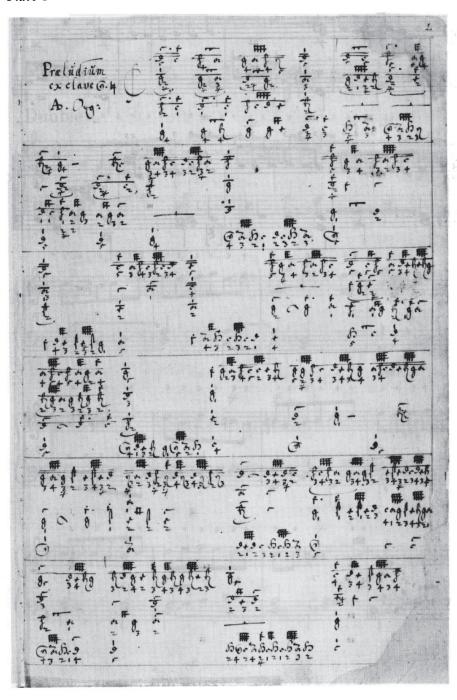


Plate 2

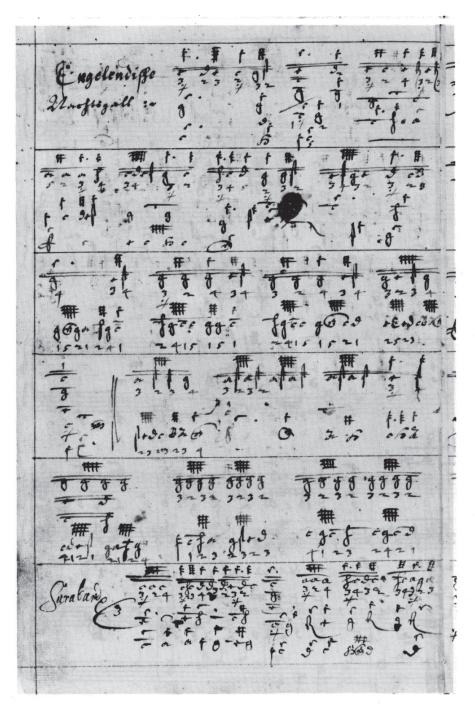


Plate 3

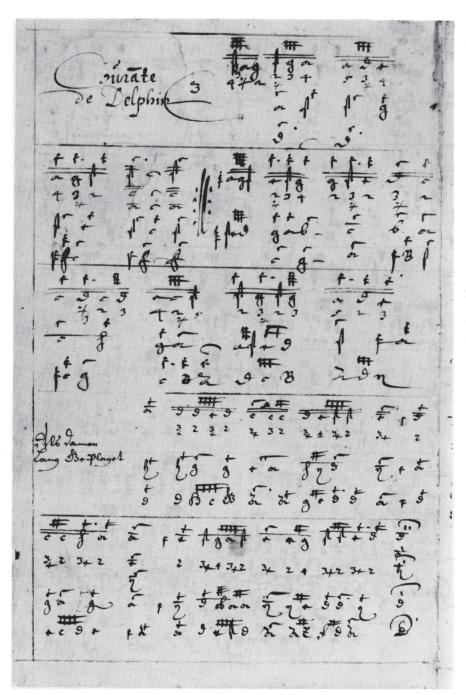


Plate 4

