Master Thesis

French Baroque Lute Music from 1650-1700

By Robin Rolfhamre

The master thesis is carried out as a part of the education at Agder University and is therefore approved as such. However, this does not imply that the University answers for the methods that are used or the conclusions that are drawn.

Supervisor:

Per Kjetil Farstad

Agder University, Kristiansand

Spring 2010

"The music plays a lot on silence, on the border between sound and no sound" Anthony Bailes

Abstract

This master's thesis aims to shed light on the performance of French baroque lute music from the period 1650 to 1700. Little research has been done in this area within the lute world. As an introduction I start with an overview of the music in general in France, and then I will discuss performance and performance praxis according to historical sources. Finally, a presentation of possible interpretation of selected pieces by the main lutenists and lute composers of the time: Charles Mouton, Jacques Gallot, Ennemond and Denis Gaultier and Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée. All are presented, both in the thesis and on the CD enclosed.

Key words

France, Charles Mouton, Robert de Visée, Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée, Ennemond and Denis Gaultier, Jacques Gallot, King Louis XIV, Baroque Lute, Interpretation, 11 stringed guitar, The position of the lute in France, Characteristics of French Baroque Lute Music, Playing techniques, embellishments.

Chapters

In the **Introduction** (1), I discuss the aim of the thesis and the approach to the problem before the material is discussed. To close the chapter the approach to authenticity is explained. **Part one: France in 1650-1700** (2) describes the wide context of the lute music in France. Some central arenas and persons are presented, as well as the role of the lute. A general view on the music at the Royal court is presented as well as attempt to unvail the characteristics of French lute music of the period. **Part two: Interpretation of the music** (3) begins with a definition and explenation on the author's approach to interpretation. Important matters such as rhythm, tempo, dynamics, etc. are presented. To end the chapter, embellishments are discussed, beginning with a general view on ornamentation on the lute, followed by an overview on

the instructions by Charles Mouton, Ennemond and Denis Gaultier, Jaques Gallot, Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée and Robert deVisée. **Part three: Performance and commentary on selected works** (4) start with a short presentation of the baroque lute and 11 stringed guitar before the pieces chosen for this thesis and my interpretation of them on the CD enclosed are presented. The chapter of **Conclusion** (5) closes the book and summarizes the main findings.

Appendix I contains short biographies on the central composers in this essay. **Appendix II** present the tablatures of the music played on the enclosed CD.

Acknowledgements

Thank you...

Per Kjetil Farstad for his friendship and many hours of inspiration and help, and for supporting me. I am also grateful that he helped me make the recording of the CD much easier in many ways.

Øyvind Aandalen for your computer support in the early stage.

Lars Jönnson for building fantastic guitars and for letting me use pictures of his baroque lute for illustration.

Kristian Håkon Möllesjö for friendship and help on many matters concerning computers.

My brother **Per Rolfhamre** for proof reading the manuscript.

Index

ABSTRACT 3

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS 5

INDEX 6

CD INDEX 7

1. INTRODUCTION 8

- 1.1. AIM AND APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM 8
- 1.2. METHOD, STRUCTURE AND MATERIAL A GENERAL DISCUSSION 9
- 1.3. ON AUTHENTICITY "THE HISTORICAL AWARE CONCEPT" 12

2. PART ONE: FRANCE IN 1650-1700 - A GENERAL VIEW OF THE MAIN PERFORMING SCENES 16

- 2.1. SALONS 16
- 2.2. The music at the court of Louis XIV 17
- 2.3. A discussion of the role of the lute in 17^{th} and 18^{th} century France 19
- 2.4. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FRENCH MUSIC IN GENERAL AND LUTE MUSIC IN SPECIAL 21
- 2.5. Concerts in the $17^{\mbox{\tiny TH}}$ and $18^{\mbox{\tiny TH}}$ century 23
- 2.6. French lute influences in Europe 24
- 2.7. SUMMARY 25

3. PART TWO: INTERPRETATION OF THE MUSIC 27

- 3.1. What is interpretation 27
- 3.2. ASPIRATION AND SUSPENSION 28
- 3.3. Stile brisé 28
- 3.4. Matteis mention of time 30
- 3.5. French prelude and entrée 31
- 3.6. Performance on French dances 31
 - 3.6.1. Bourëe 31
 - 3.6.2. Courante 32
 - 3.6.3. Gavotte 32
 - 3.6.4. Gigue and the Canaire 33
 - 3.6.5. Minuet 33
 - 3.6.6. Sarabande 34
- 3.7. ACCOMPANIMENT 34
- 3.8. STRUMMING 36
- 3.9. Notes inégales 36
- 3.10. Embellishments of 17^{th} and 18^{th} century France 37
- 3.11. APPOGGIATURAS (PORT-DE-VOIX OR CHEUTES) 39
- 3.12. TRILL (TREMBLEMENT) 40
- 3.13. MORDENT (MARTELLEMENT) 41
- 3.14. VIBRATO 41
- 3.15. Crackle and tut 42
- 3.16. Couperin's table of embellishments 42
- 3.17. Embellishments of Gallot, de Visée, Mouton, Richée and the Gaultiers 44
 - 3.17.1. Denis Gaultier (c.1670) 44
 - 3.17.2. Denis and Ennemond Gaultier (c.1680) 46
 - 3.17.3. Charles Mouton (c.1698) 48
 - 3.17.4. Robert de Visée (1682) 51
 - 3.17.5. Jacques Gallot (1684) 53
 - 3.17.6. LeSage de la Riche (1695) 55
 - 3.17.7. Comparison 60
- 3.18. Summary 64

4. PART THREE: PERFORMANCE AND COMMENTARY ON SELECTED WORKS 66

- 4.1. Instruments 66
 - 4.1.1. A brief history of the Lute 66
 - *4.1.2. 11 stringed guitar 68*
- 4.2. Playing French baroque lute music on the eleven-stringed guitar 68
- 4.3. PIECES CHOSEN FOR THIS ESSAY 70
 - 4.3.1. Jacques Gallot La Quoquette 71
 - 4.3.2. Charles Mouton La Mallassise 71
 - 4.3.3. Ennemond Gaultier Tombeau de Mezangeau 72
 - 4.3.4.Denis Gaultier Fantaisies 72
 - 4.3.5. Denis Gaultier Canaries 72
 - 4.3.6. Philippe F. Le Sage de Richée Menuett 73
- 4.4. Summary 73

5. CONCLUSION 74

APPENDIX I - BIOGRAPHIES 76

APPENDIX II - TABLATURES 80

BIBLIOGRAPHY 86

CD Index

[1] La Quoquette	Jaques Gallot	1'27"
[2] La Mallassise	Charles Mouton	3′58″
[3] Tombeau de Mezangeau	Ennemond Gaultier	4'02"
[4] Fantaisies	Denis Gaultier	2'21"
[5] Canaries	Ennemond Gaultier	2'02"
[6] Menuett	LeSage de Richeè	1′50″

Total: 15'06"

French baroque lute music in 1650-1700

1. Introduction

1.1. Aim and approach to the problem

The literature on the performance of French baroque lute music is limited and this thesis hope to contribute to further research and understanding, as well as passing on knowledge for musicians playing French lute music. It also tries to unveil the interpretation and aesthetics of the lute music of Charles Mouton (1626-1710), Jacques Gallot (1625-1690), Ennemond Gaultier (1575-1651) and Denis Gaultier (d. 1672) and Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée (fl c.1695). Being a musician and a composer, the author has a special interest in French baroque lute music, and has had the music on his repertoire for several years. There is a certain melancholy and expressiveness in the French music which fascinates and it deserves more research than hitherto have been published.

In 1739, Johann Mattheson describe Jean Baptiste Lully (1632-1687) as well as the composers active following him, as representatives of the French style, which suggest the period from 1650 to 1700 would be a good period for this essay (Farstad 2000, p. 57). This is also the period of the most famous composers of the so called French style: Ennemond and Denis Gaultier, Jacques Gallot, Charles Mouton, and Robert de Visée. The lute was one of the most popular instruments during the baroque period and often served as inspiration for the playing style of the harpsichordists¹. Some books even recommend the theorbo rather than the harpsichord in thorough bass playing, because of its tone quality. It is commonly believed that the lute and baroque guitar were instruments thought suitable for women at the time and it is easy to find paintings of women posing with the guitar or lute from the 17th century.

In regards to the composers chosen for this thesis, we know that Denis Gaultier, Jacques Gallot and Charles Mouton were regarded as great artists. Charles Mouton and Robert de Visée may have had positions at the Royal court of Louis XIV. Denis Gaultier held no

¹ Harpsichord players such as François Couperin, Chambonnières and d'Anglebert used techniques derived from the lute (Farstad 2000, p. 81). Couperin uses the term *les choses luthées* ("the things of the lute") in his harpsichord instructions (Buch 1985, p. 57).

position at the court, but he was the cousin of Ennemond Gaultier and the teacher of Charles Mouton. Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée although a famous lutenist in Germany, was of French origin. These facts suggest that they were lutenists in a position to affect the musical style in France.

The question that will be answered in this thesis is: What is the genuine playing style of the French lute music from 1650-1700 and how can the music of Charles Mouton, Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée, Jacques Gallot, Ennemond Gaultier and Denis Gaultier be performed and interpreted on the modern 11 string classical guitar?

A series of sub-questions will be formulated in the following chapters and will be discussed when raised.

1.2. Method, structure and material - a general discussion

The methodological approach to the problem is connected to a hermeneutic understanding of the area. Hermeneutic means to give a historic overview and understanding of the research area which make it possible to interpret, elaborate, express and explain what is specific and unique about it. This understanding is conditioned of the context something is explained within, and of course also conditioned of my own relation to the research area which in this case emphasis the subjective knowledge and, at the end, certainly affect the outcome of this research in a considerable way. The outcome of this thesis is a combination of artistic creative research, and academic theoretic approach. As a creative artist, having relevant knowledge, other than the traditional theoretic academic literature, the author hopes to append a new dimension to the traditional research.

Three main methods have been used to reveal a broader picture of the subject: i) extensive literature studies of historic and contemporary writings; ii) comparisons of playing instructions and ornamentation signs from the time; and iii) careful listening to outstanding musicians with firsthand knowledge on performing 17th century music. An extensive analysis and comparison of the lutenists and lute composer's use of ornaments

and embellishment has been performed. The ornamentation comparison and analysis is the main focus of this thesis, where a hermeneutic approach has proved important. Work such as analyzing and comparing composition techniques and trends has been left out to future research, although important. The thesis will only focus on analyzing and comparing the ornaments and embellishments signs.

By investigating the works of the mentioned French lute composers of the period (Charles Mouton, Robert de Visée, Jacques Gallot, Ennemond Gaultier, Denis Gaultier and Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée), The author have tried to unveil what is typical for the performance of French baroque lute music. Studying the music in a historical sense and reading literature from the period as well as recent research, and analyzing the ornamentation and embellishments, and giving my view as a performer give a base to come close to the actual French lute style. The chosen composer's works have been compared to give an account for important matters such as stíle brisée, "French style", tempo, techniques and ornamentation. The scores have been played from the original manuscripts on an eleven string guitar tuned as a baroque lute. The purpose is to come as close as possible to the original baroque lute, resulting in a recording with the selected pieces. In addition a written account for interpretation and performance are presented.

The thesis is divided in three parts. *Part one* covers the period and history, *part two* discuss the interpretation of French baroque lute music and *part three* is details the interpretation of the selected pieces.

In regards to the lute and the French style, not much remains of writings from France between 1650 and 1700. The most obvious and important sources of the lute music of this period, is the facsimiles of the lute collections of Denis and Ennemond Gaultier (c.1670 and c.1680), Jacques Gallot (1684), Mouton (c.1698) and LeSage de Richée (1695). These books contain some directions on how to interpret the tablature and they also contain explanations of trills, appoggiaturas and other embellishments. The notations of ornaments in the scores provide clues on the use of such techniques and to what extent. Information and inspiration can also be gathered from the baroque guitar tutors. Nicola Matteis' *The False Consonances of Mysick* (1682) and Robert deVisée' *Livre*

de Guitarre, Livre de Pièces pour la Guitarre (1682/1686) contain valuable instructions. Common for these instructions is the limited information they provide. To get a fuller view on the French music we have to go outside the country, to England and Germany. In England, Mary Burwell's lute tutor (c.1662-72) and Thomas Mace's Musickes Monument (1676) are central in lute research. When material is lacking, literature of the 18th century on French lute music and French music in general has been used. In Germany, one finds great inspiration from Johann Mattheson's Der Vollkommene Capellmeister (1739) and Ernst Gottlieb Baron's Study of the lute (Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische *Untersuchnung des Instruments der Lauten*, 1727) which concentrates on the lute. When discussing French music in general Johann Joachim Quantz's² book *On playing the flute* (Versuch einer Anweisung die Flute traversiere zu spielen, 1752) give valuable information on styles, performance, ornamentation, history, accompaniment, musical thoughts, composition, and so on. Both Baron and Quantz discuss the French style and its significations. Also, François Couperin's book The Art of Playing the Harpsichord (L'Essay de Toucher le Clavecin, 1716) gives valuable instructions on playing. Carl Philip Emmanuel Bach's book Essay of the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments (Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen, 1753-1797) does not treat French music particularly, but gives thorough instructions on playing Baroque music, and deserves to be mentioned. On previous research, one must mention Arnold Dolmetsch's The *Interpretation of the Music of 17th and 18th century* (1915) as well as Robert Donington's The Interpretation of Early Music (1974) and Baroque Music; Style and Performance – A Handbook (1982). New discoveries have been made following these books, so they have been used primarily as a source of inspiration for further investigations. On the interpretation of French lute music of the period no research of large scale format has been published, but there are some interesting articles available. Anthony Bailes' An introduction to French Lute Music of the XVIIth Century (1984); Georg Torres' Some Manifestations of French Lyricism in Seventeenth-Century (1997), and Performance Practice Technique for the Baroque Lute: An Examination of the Introductory Avertissements from Seventeenth-Century Sources (2003) has been very instructive.

² For Four months Quantz was a student of French flutist Pierre-Gabriel Buffardin (1690-1768) active in Germany. Sources tell us that he maintained contact with his native country France when living in Germany (Reilly 2010).

1.3. On authenticity - "the Historical Aware Concept"

The search for an authentic performance has been subject to discussions for a long time. On one hand musicians, scholars and teachers who strive to get the most knowledge possible on authentic performance on music, and on the other hand those who consider it less important how it "should be", focusing on what their own personal taste suggest. Ingebjørg Seip, in her article Vetenskapens estetiska dimension (1996), points out the relation between knowledge and the art work itself, and tries to exemplify the importance of knowing the background of an art piece to interpret the meaning of it. This is supported by the statement of the baroque composer François Couperin, "We write differently from the way we play", that knowledge of the performance of baroque music has to be maintained in order to fill in what is not written in the score (Couperin 1716, p. 49). The problem it is not precisely known how it was to perform music in the 17th and 18th century. All factors that cannot be written down such as the temperature, humidity, smells, sounds, conversations, interactions, et cetera, will never be as true as it was at the time. Knowledge can be maintained through contemporary literature, but the precise use of embellishments and precisely how authentic music is performed will never be established. Nicholas Kenyon has many interesting thoughts on authenticity in his article Authenticity and Early Music: Some Issues and Questions (1988). He writes:

"We cannot make contact with the past, we cannot reconstitute the past, nor can we pin it down as an objective reality. It must exist only through our eyes – which is not to imply, as some historians such as Collingwood have done, a stance of total subjectivity, but to argue that there is a continuing dialogue between past and present, between subject and object, in a way that makes it impossible to separate the two" (Kenyon 1988, p. 13)

John Butt writes that Richard Taruskin, one of the critics of the authentic movement, suggests authenticity to be:

"a form of cultural elitism which can imply that any other type of performance is 'inauthentic', as if a forgery or an act of almost purposeful deceit. He [Taruskin] further notes that very little in historical performance is truly historical since so many aspects of performance have to be invented or co-opted from existing practices" (Butt 2008)

In the statements of baroque composers, such as C. Ph. E. Bach, F. Couperin and J. J. Quantz, it is clear that just reading the score is not enough. Through personal experience, French baroque lute pieces without the use of embellishments and other techniques typical of the period sound rather awkward and un-logic. When performing such pieces, the use of different ornaments described by writings of the period fill the gaps of the melody making it logic. Authenticity is not what Taruskin previously quoted, "a form of cultural elitism", but rather an endless search for those wishing to understand more of a certain matter. Literature from the period only provides the general knowledge and tools for interpretation without gaining a definite truth. Kenyon comments:

"The relationship there between understanding and authenticity is a crucial one, and it comes down to the unavoidable mediation of the performer. Music operates through performances, and we cannot abstract ourselves from that process" (Kenyon 1988, p. 15)

The "rediscovery" of historical instruments has become a common issue of modern time. After the development of big instrument collections in Europe and USA in the 19th century, Organology³ became an academic discipline of its own (Libin 2008). Through time several historical instrument orchestras has been established and it has become far easier for record companies and concert bookers to sell compared to performances made on modern instruments. Of course, the music played by these "authentic" orchestras has not always been authentic music, but record buyers still buy recordings of the music or musicians they like and did not argue with the authenticity⁴.

Nicholas Kenyon refer to Gustav Leonhardt who commented in the notes of his recording of the Brandenburg Concertos that "If one strives only to be authentic, it will never be convincing. If one is convincing, what is offered will leave an authentic impression" (Kenyon 1988, pp. 5-6). Igor Stravinsky writes "Archaeology, then, does not supply us with certitudes, but rather with vague hypotheses. And in the shade of these hypotheses some artists are content to dream, considering them less as scientific facts than sources of inspirations" (Stravinsky 1942, pp. 25-26). As seen from the discussion above,

³ Grove Music Online defines Organology as "The study of musical instruments in terms of their history and social function, design, construction and relation to performance" (Libin; 2008)

⁴ Kenyon 1988, p. 5. Kenyon also mentions the irony of authenticity when it comes to the recordings of old music without audience which sound exactly the same every time one plays them (Kenyon 1988, p. 4).

the issue of deciding what is *authentic* and what is not is impossible. A trend among today's scholars is the so called "*Historical Aware Concept*". The aim in this concept is to find out as much information and suggestions as possible from original sources, and combine them with present day musical idioms and instrumental possibilities. An increasing amount of people having both the scholar and musician approach towards early music and historical instruments is seen today, trying to unite the "best of two worlds".

End Notes to the Introduction:

"One day the Comédie Française was rehearsing a medieval play in which the celebrated actor Mounet-Sully, according to the author's directions, had to swear an oath on an old Bible. For rehearsals the old Bible had been replaced by a telephone directory. "The script calls for an old Bible," roared Mounet-Sully. "Get me an old Bible!" Jules Claretie, the director of the Comédie, promptly rushed into his library to find a copy of the two testaments in a magnificent old edition and brought it to the actor. "Here you are, mon cher Doyen," said Claretie, "a fifteenth century edition..." "Fifteenth century!" said Mounet-Sully. "But then at that time it was brand new..."

Mounet-Sully was right, if you insist. But he attributed too much importance to archaeology.

The past slips from our grasp. It leaves us only scattered things. The bond that united them eludes us. [...] Archaeology, then, does not supply us with certitudes, but rather with vague hypotheses. And in the shade of these hypotheses some artists are content to dream, considering them less as scientific facts than sources of inspirations."

Part one

2. France in 1650-1700 – a general view of the main performing scenes.

During this period music was much presented in churches and other arenas, but this section concentrate on the two musical arenas most connected to the lute; salons and the Royal court.

2.1. Salons

During the 17th century France it was popular for présieuses to hold salons. Présieuse was a term used in the mid-17th century, as a positive description for someone appreciated, often a beautiful and spiritual woman from the society or the middle class, and one who made efforts to refine the French culture and language (Aasen 2005, p. 141). In salons people from both the middle class and society gathered to, among other things, discuss literature, read poetry and listen to music. Some of the more known women having Salons are Ninon de Lenclose, Madame de Sevigné, Ann Marie Louise de Montpensier, Madame de Motteville and Madeleine de Scudéry (later Madame de Maintenon) (Aasen 2005, pp. 132 and 157; Scudéry 1806, p. 199). Women, who generally didn't have access to the "professional" musical environment, got opportunity to present themselves as musicians, play their own pieces and perhaps be recruited to the French musical society (Farstad 2009¹). According to Elisabeth Aasen several of the women holding salons had common characteristics. They held high social status and as unmarried or widows they had more time to devote themselves to culture (Aasen 2005, p. 165). Wilfred Mellers write that salons, held by Les presieux movement, were not only for amateurs and suggest Denis Gaultier, Jacques Gallot and Charles Mouton as participators (Farstad 2000, p. 57).

¹ To be published in forth coming year book of "Die Laute" (Deutsche Lautengesellschaft)

Lute and guitar were considered soft instruments suitable for the woman's gentle touch and were considered part of the "proper" education for women of higher positions. Giulliame Dumanoir (1615-1697)² writes in 1664:

"Do we not now see in France and in Spain persons of either sex, and of the highest rank, devoting themselves to music and learning to play the harpsichord, the guitar, the angélique³ and the lute?" (Ledbetter 1987, p. 11)

French baroque lute music, being lively and affective, was considered to suit women especially well being more sensitive and emotive than men (Farstad 2008, pp. 5-6 and 17-18). In paintings from the period, women are often illustrated with a lute or a guitar. Harpsichord player François Couperin (b. c1631 - d. 1708-12) writes in 1716 that rough work is not favorable for a good performer. Women's hands are better suited to play delicately then those of men, whose left hand is better than the right (Couperin 1716, p. 32). Thus, intimacy and soulfulness seems as an important feature of the French lute music, which is further supported by the writings of Mary Burwell:

"The lute is a modest interpreter of our thoughts and passions to those that understand the language. One may tell another by the help of it what he hath in his heart. We may express upon it choler, pity hatred, scorn, love grief, joy; we may give hope and despair. And [for] those that have the grace to lift up their mind to the contemplation of heavenly things, this celestial harmony contributes much to raise our souls and make them melt in the love of God" (Bailes 1984, p. 228).

2.2. The music at the court of Louis XIV

King Louis XIV (1638-1715) valued music and social gatherings high and he played baroque guitar, lute and keyboard although he could not read music (Sadie 2009). He had an important role in the musical life of France and life at the court was filled with theater, ballets and intrigues. Music was an important part of the daily routine at Versailles with processions, entertainment, banquettes etc., and the king possessed three large musician groups: *Musique de la Grand Ecurie, Musique de la Chambre* and

-

² French Violinist, composer and dance master (Cohen 2010)

³ Oxford Music Online defines the Angélique as "A two-headed lute with ten single strings on the lower head and six or seven on the upper. Its characteristic diatonic tuning greatly restricts its compass, but the tone of the open strings is full and clear." (Harwood and Crawford; 2009)

Musique de la Chapelle Royal (Goertzel Sandman 1977, p. 30; Anderson 2009; Aasen 2005, p. 132)4. These musicians often had extra duties as e.g. door-opener, librarian or servant (Farstad 2009). *Grande Écurie* was the outdoor music performers at the court and they performed at "services extraordinaires" such as funerals, baptisms and coronations. A smaller group derived from *Grande Écurie*, called *Fifres et Tambours*, were involved with many of the daily ceremonies. They performed on day excursion to Fontainebleau or Chambord and welcomed the king when back from travels. They also accompanied the reading of proclamations, laws and legal decisions as well as the King's procession to Church (Goertzel Sandman 1977, p. 30). Académie Royale de Musique was created in 1669, on order by the King. The Académie held its base in Paris at the theatre Palais Royal and during the life time of Jean Baptiste Lully (1632-1687), who later became the leader in 1772, the Academy's principle task was to perform his operas. The King and his reign were shown from the best side (Sadie 2009). Sometimes the royalties and the aristocracy even participated in the performance of the operas (Matthew 1906/7, p. 134). The *Academie* became the entrance to the stage for women, at first as dancers and later as singers. These women's participation as instrumentalists at the Concert Spirituel and as singers at the Opera is well documented and according to German flutist Johann Joachim Quantz (1697-1773), Lois XIV had several singers employed at his court (Tick and Ericson 2008; Quantz 1752, pp. 332-333). It appears that Louis XIV set aside three evenings per week for musical entertainments under the title appartements. Germain Pinel (b early 1600s; d Paris, early Oct 1661) playing the lute, and Robert de Visée (b? c1655; d 1732-3) playing the guitar, are suggested to be two of the King's favorite musicians for these events (Anderson 2009). Louis XIV had musicians to play in his bed chamber, on occasions, to keep him awake or fall asleep (Bailes 1984, p. 226). He enjoyed music during supper, using varying sizes of ensembles depending on the occasion. One of the musicians was the lutenist Robert de Visée who was ordered playing music at, what seem to be, ordinary suppers. At larger and more festive events larger ensembles were used (Anderson 2009). Maybe the solo guitar or lute was too silent to be used in greater contexts. Burwell writes:

⁴ In 1761 the *Musique de la Chapelle* and the *Musique de la Chambre* were combined for economic reasons (Anderson 2009).

"You will do well to play in a wainscot room where there is no furniture, if you can; let not the company exceed the number three or four, for the noise of a mouse is a hindrance to that music" (Bailes 1984, p. 226)

Non-consistent sources suggest that François Couperin not only taught music to the King's children, but his *Concerts Royaux* were performed at Versailles on selected Sundays in 1714 and 1715 (Anderson 2009). This inspired courtiers and the bourgeoisie to employ musical teachers and musicians and it appears to have stimulated the production of music for amateurs (Sadie 2009)ⁱ. Louis XIV successively withdrew from social life at the end his reign. Versailles was gradually replaced by the town houses of Paris and country châteaux as centre of aristocratic entertainment. Music continued to be an important part of his everyday life and there are recordings of the oboes and drums of *Grand Écurie* playing under Louis XIV window seven days before his death. Later the same evening he had *24 Violons* performing during his dinner (Anderson 2009)ⁱⁱ.

2.3. A discussion of the role of the lute in 17th and 18th century France

How important was the lute for these two musical scenes? It seems the lute-instruments had a dual part to play in musical society. On one hand, they were important ensemble instruments and on the other, intimate solo instruments. This is most clearly shown by another widely used plucked instrument: the baroque guitar⁵. The guitar had similar use in continuo groups as the rhythm guitar of today, namely strumming block chord units⁶. This was the contribution of the guitar to the sound of the 17th century continuo style and Nicola Matteis (d after 1713)⁷ writes that the guitar had never been so much in use in the continuo group as it was in 1680's. It is interesting that Thomas Mace suggest that the popularity of the lute declined in the 1670's England. Matteis writes that the same principles of continuo stated for the baroque guitar can be used with Harpsichord⁸, Lute, Theorbo and Bass Viol. This is supported by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1722) who suggest that the basic principles of accompanying on the clavecin is equally useable for other

⁵ Many of the French lute players also played the baroque guitar.

⁶ Since the contemporary guitar had no actual basses it had to be supported by a bass instrument such as the *Viola da Gamba*.

⁷ Italian violinist, guitarist and composer.

⁸ This instruction also appears later in the book at p. 26, where Harpsichord is spelled Hoopsechord instead of Harpsecord as it first appears.

accompanying instruments as well (Matteis 1682, p. v and *To the Reader*iii; Mace 1676, *A Short Epistle to the READER...*iv; Rameau 1722, p. xxxvii).

As the following investigation will show, the lute in the beginning of the 17th century seems to have undergone a great evolution, both in tuning and in instrumental design. This is clearly most seen in Marin Mersenne's book. He writes about experiments with the lute such as putting organ pipes inside the body of the lute or behind the neck, later adding a bellow when realizing the need of air, in order to get sound from the pipes. Mersenne also mentions attempts to put 20 courses on the lute, with the effect of the lute collapsing from the tension. The tuning seems to have been widely tempered with and it was probably not until 1650s that the D-minor tuning as we know it today got standardized, even if it already had been in use for some time (Bailes 1984, pp. 215 and 217). Another source is the Study of the Lute (1727) by Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760)10. He mentions that there were made good lutes and theorboes in France at his time. He gives Paul Belami, who lived in Paris, as an example, who was famous for his lutes and he flourished around 1612 (Baron 1727, p. 80 and 82). Thomas Mace writes about a famous lutenist of his time Mr. Gootiere showing him a lute built by Laux Maller, which the King paid 100 livre tournois for. In this case Mr. Gootiere most probably suggests Jacques Gaultier¹¹ who lived in England, and not Ennemond or Denis Gaultier (Mace 1676, p. 48; Spring 2006, p. 312). Luthier David van Edwards recently suggested a trend in France, at the time, to buy Old Italian renaissance lutes and convert them to 11or 12 course¹² baroque lutes¹³. The French lute music is very idiomatic and can only be played on the instrument it is written for, without substantial alterations¹⁴. Most of the lute composers seem to have been good players and only wrote for the lute with few exceptions. As a result of this, they knew well the limitations and possibilities of their instruments (Bailes 1984, p. 214).

٠

 $^{^{\}rm 9}$ Marin Mersenne (1588-1648) was a French mathematician, philosopher, music theorist and savant.

¹⁰ He was a German lutenist, composer and writer on music.

¹¹ b late 16th century; d before 1660.

 $^{^{\}rm 12}$ The double headed lute introduced by Jacques Gaultier.

¹³ http://www.vanedwards.co.uk/month/mar01/month.htm, accessed January 15 2010.

¹⁴ Nicola Matteis suggests in his guitar treatise that one must compose so it is easy and idiomatic for the hand (Matteis 1682, p. 80).

2.4. Characteristics of the French music in general and lute music in special

The general view of French music is partly unveiled in Johann Joachim Quantz' On Playing the Flute (1752). Reading his writings, one might draw the conclusion that the music of the Italians and French are two extremes, the first being less circumscribed than any other genre and the latter being the most complex, "which is perhaps why in French music the new so often seems to resemble the old". Interestingly he suggest students to begin with French music because of the obscure playing style of the Italians "and by the excessive additions of graces, a matter in which the Italians go too far, and the French in general do not go far enough". In the latter statement he use the word bowing when he describes the Italian obscurity, so one may conclude that he writes about melody instruments, such as the violin, more than the chordophone instruments, such as the lute (Quantz 1752, pp. 115-116)v. This dualism of French and Italian influences is clearly seen in the lute music in Germany around the beginning of the 18th century, while not much seen in the music of the French lutenists from 1650-1700. What, then, is the "signature" of French lute music? An outstanding statement from E. G. Baron (1727) characterizes French lute music as having melodies that are hard to follow. It changes voices too frequently and does not emphasize cantabile as much as other traditions. According to Baron the French regard it as "very fashionable to brush with the right hand, just as on the guitar; a constant hopping around is required to give spirit and life to the pieces". He also suggests that the French lutenists prefer the middle register instead, using less deep basses than others (Baron 1727, p 77)vi. J. J. Quantz (1752), on the other hand, suggests the French to place more emphasis on the bass than on the melody part and that their accompaniment tends to be quite plain. These indications of Baron and Quantz may seem contradicting, but consider that Baron talks about the bass' tonal range and Quantz of the bass as a compositional line. Quantz further calls it indisputable that the French music is better suited for dance compared to any others (Quantz 1752, p. 329). The use of tonality in the Lute repertoire seems to have gotten more adventurous via the Gaultiers cousins (Rollin 2010b). George Torres (1997) suggests that opinions of the poor melodies in French music to be vague. He writes that, in order to find the compositional style of French melodies, one must not compare it with the German and Italian cantabile tradition, but study the music in itself. Torres suggests the structure of

French melodies to be linked with the structure of French lyricism which divides the lines by syllables. He gives following example (Torres 1997, p. 31):

```
"1 Si jamais // mon ame blessée
8 (3+5) a
2 Loge ailleurs qu'en vous // sa pensée
8 (5+3) a
3 Puissé-je estre // pour chastiment
8 (4+4) b
4 Privé de tout // contentement
```

8 (4+4) b"

Torres further draws a connection to the lute repertoire. There are no lyrical verses in an instrumental solo composition to decide the structure, but he suggests that the principle remains the same¹⁵.

"It has been shown that the composers of pièces de luth were influenced by vocal practice, in which the sense of the phrase declamation was based on French versification. This led to an idiomatic adaption in playing style in which lutenist composers developed new principles of phrase structure and, ultimately, a uniquely French style of instrumental writing" (Torres 1997; p. 41)

It seems that the vocal practice did not only affect the compositional technique but also the interpretation of music. Both Mary Burwell and Thomas Mace write about the link between the soul and music. Mace use words like *Passion, Devine Raptures* and *Unexpressible Rethorical, Uncontroulable Persuations* when he writes upon the subject of performance. Both Mace and Burwell comment on the importance of the *Pause.* Mace writes that the pause is not a grace in itself but the use of it will add grace to the music. Anthony Bailes writes that "the music plays a lot on silence, on the border between sound and no sound" and Mary Burwell suggests that the Lute "requireth silence and a serious attention" (Bailes 1984, pp. 226-227). Burwell gives clear instructions on what to achieve in performance:

¹⁵ See his whole argumentation in: Torres, George; *French Lyrisicm in 17th century "pièces de luth"*; Journal of the lute society of America (Editor: Douglas Alton Smith); Volume XXX 1997, pp. 25-41.

"When you begin to play something well, you must alter your way of striking and flatter (as we speak) the lute- that is to strike it sometimes gently. For as the lute is a kind of language, you must imitate the orators, who now raise the voice and then abate it; now they get asleep the hearer, and now they awaken him; now they charm him and now they amaze him, and with the same organ do express two sorts of sounds. Likewise, in playing of the lute, in some places you must strike hard and in others so gently that one may hardly hear you. That variety is pleasing and produces attention of the hearer. It belongs only to the lute to touch so the same instrument, that if one did not see you, he would think that you played upon two several lutes" (Bailes 1984, p.227)

In France during this period it was high fashion in literature to write portraits and self portraits (Aasen 2005, p. 131), and in music to name or dedicate pieces to persons. Baron writes that it is rare to find pieces from French composer that does not have the name of a *gallant* lady^{vii}. He gives examples such as *La des Premont, La marquise, La solitaire, La belle magnifique, La desoleé* and *La pleureuse*. It was also common to name pieces after good friends and patrons. He suggests this tradition might have been to imitate poets, to honor and immortalize (Baron 1727, p 76)^{viii}.

2.5. Concerts in the 17th and 18th century

The contemporary musician generally had no higher rank than servants and they often had other duties as well, such as door-opener, librarians, instrument keeper, etc. Those who managed to build a reputation received better payments and got more social acceptance. Few people, mainly controlled by the aristocracy and regents, gave the definition of fine taste, and as today the interest of music varied amongst them. The composers and musicians had to adjust their style to their employer's taste (Farstad 2000, pp. 33-34). J.J. Quantz writes in 1754, that the musician must consider his audience well. He must put extra care to please those listeners that are important to satisfy, and to distinguish the connoisseurs from the amateurs. Before connoisseurs, he may play a bit more freely and intricate and is allowed to show his skills. Before amateurs on the other hand, he should present brilliant and pleasing melodies. He may also take slow tempos a little faster in order to maintain the interest of his listeners (Quantz 1752, p. 200)ix.

The churches of France produced conservative music throughout much of this period. A few that should be mentioned are Chapelle Royale, Notre Dame, St Germain-l'Auxerrois, the Ste Chapelle and the chapel of the Tuileries palace (Anderson 2009). Outside the church, music was mostly performed as dance music in secular and private circles accompanied with refreshments and conversations (Farstad 2000, p. 32). Amateurs and professionals seem to have been actually welcome to perform music on the stage. It became common practice among musicians to compose pieces for amateurs of varying skills, and to write pedagogical instruction books (Edström 2002, pp. 83-84). Per Kjetil Farstad writes that, in the 18th century, it was not usual for the musician to be well prepared for the concert. It was not until the end of the century it became common to have rehearsals before a performance. He further writes that the performance was often interrupted by mistakes and re-takes from the musicians or by the audience if they were bored (Farstad 2000, p. 36). Ernst Gottlieb Baron makes a comment on the contemporary audience when he writes:

"[...] It is not unjust to compare them with irrational animals that cannot make use of pearls or other valuable things [...] Some others only admire what assaults the senses with a loud noise. These people belong more in village taverns and bars than in places where everything is beyond their horizon" (Baron 1727, p. 156)

2.6. French lute influences in Europe.

The fact that French lute music has affected the music of other countries is clear. Lute pieces of French composers appear in manuscripts all over Europe. Some compositions by the Gaultiers¹⁶ were transcribed for harpsichord by contemporary keyboardists and their style and texture seem to have inspired several others (Rollin 2010b). It was not only technique and style that spread through Europe. The tradition of salons got popular in Germany together with the lute and guitar as instruments since they were symbols of the French manner, which was popular in Germany at the beginning of the 18th century (Farstad 2009). Even after the Italian style made its entrance in Germany and gained popularity, the French influences still remained strong (Farstad 2000, p. 33). There is also evidence on the French style in English literature. According to Mary Burwell the

-

¹⁶ Ennemond and Denis Gaultier seem to have developed and pioneered the *tombeau* in the lute repertoire.

cadence was formerly only performed at the end of a piece, but "in our days old Gaultier hath intermixed them in all the parts of a lesson [piece]". It seems as the term cadence, as used by the lutenists does not correspond directly to the use of the term used in

harmony, but rather a type of trill (seen here): performed by a sort of sweeping technique. J. J. Quantz suggest only "some Frenchmen" call this type of "sweeping" trill a cadence¹⁷. Burwell also mention a way of tuning the lute called *the Goat tuning*^x and suggest Old Gaultier to be the founder (Burwell 1662-72, pp. 14v and 32v; Quantz 1752, p.179).

2.7. Summary

It was fashionable to name lute pieces after persons, as to portray them, possibly from the aristocracy and women holding salons who also preferred playing the lute. Salons were an opportunity for women to enter the musical stage. Another way of entering the musical stage for women to was the Académie Royale de Musique created in Paris in 1669. The Royal court had three major ensembles of musicians, which performed at many occasions, such as processions, dinners, promenades and at bedtimes. There is evidence that Louis XIV had lutenists playing when going to sleep. The lute, which after years of experimenting had set its tuning to D-minor, seems to have a dual role as solo instrument and as accompanying ensemble instrument. Its popularity seems to decline in the 1670's England, but according to Nicola Matteis, the guitar had never been as popular ensemble instrument as in the 1680's. The lute playing seems to have served as an inspiration for Harpsichordist of the time and lute pieces were transcribed to the Clavecin. Torres suggests a relationship between the construction of solo lute composition and French lyricism. French music influenced other countries, such as England and Germany, and remained so even after the entrance of the Italian style. Burwell gives the credit of using the *cadence* (the sweeping technique) in other places in a composition than at the end, to French composer Ennemond Gaultier.

-

¹⁷ Rameau on the other hand use the term cadence when describing harmonic progressions (Rameau 1722, p. xxxix).

¹ "His [Louis XIV] own children were later taught music by Lalande and François Couperin, establishing a fashion at court that was copied by courtiers and the bourgeoisie (and which in turn stimulated the production of music for amateurs and further employment for professional musicians)"

ii "On St Louis' Day (25 August) in 1715, just seven days before his death, the ailing king heard the oboes and drums of the musicians of the Grande Ecurie playing under his window for his reveil, and on the same day he even 'wished to hear the 24 Violons perform in his antechamber during dinner' (Dangeau, 25 August 1715)." "The Guitarre was never so much in use & credit as it is at this day & finding it emproved to so great a Perfection [...]."

iv "[...] I Write It also, for to Vindicate
The *Glory'f Instruments, now out of Date,
And out of Fashion Grown (as Many Tell)
"Tis doubtful (sure) that All Things are not Well,
When Best Things are
Most Sleighted, though most Rare. [...]"

v "Italian music is less circumscribed than any other, while the French is almost too much so, which is perhaps why in French music the new so often seems to resemble the old. Yet the manner of playing of the French is not to be scorned; on the contrary, the beginner is to be advised to use French propriety and clarity to temper the obscurity of the playing of the Italians, chiefly caused by their bowing, and by the excessive additions of graces, a matter in which the Italians go too far, and the French in general do not go far enough."

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

vii Denis Gaultier's lute book (1670) contains only one dedication, *Pavanne ou tombeaux de Mr. Raquette*. The second book (1680) with music by both Ennemond and Denis contains *Tombeaux de Mezangeau* (by Ennemond) and *La dedicace ou Pavane de Mr G.* De Visée has only one dedication in his *Livre de guitarre* (1682) which is *Allemande Tombeaux de Mr. Francisque Corbet* written in two versions: one for solo guitar and one for continuo and melody instrument. His *Livre de pieces pour la guitarre* (1686) contains no dedication. This makes it clear that neither of these books can have been in the mind of Baron when making the statement.

viii "One seldom finds a French piece that does not have the name of a gallant lady after whom, if it pleased her, the piece was named – for instance, La des Premont, La marquise, La solitaire, La belle magnifique, La desoleé, La pleureuse, and so forth. This is not to mention others that they named after their patrons and good friends. I cannot imagine why, except that they want to imitate the poets who wrote verses in the honor of their beautiful mistresses, in order to similarly immortalize them, as Ovid and especially Petrarch did with his Laura. The name should always fit the music, and where the third person comparative is dragged in by the hair seems to me charlatanry and affectation, as though the composer wanted to entertain with the name more than the music."

ix "Anyone who wishes to be heard publicly must consider his listeners well, especially those whom it is most important that he please. He must consider whether or not they are connoisseurs. Before connoisseurs he can play something a little bit more elaborate, in which he has the opportunity to show his skill in both the Allegro and Adagio. But before pure amateurs, who understand nothing of music, he will do better to produce those pieces in which the melody is brilliant and pleasing. To avoid boring such amateurs, he may also take the Adagio a little more quickly than usual."

x "Old Gaultiers new Tuning called the Goate-Tuning because the first Lesson he made upon that Tuning is called the Goate And indeed represents the Leapes and Skippings of a Goate" (Burwell 1662-72, p. 14v). Following example explains this tuning:



Part two

3. Interpretation of the music

This chapter starts with a definition of the word interpretation, followed by some general views on different technical matters, and a look into the selected composer's suggestions on playing and notation.

3.1. What is interpretation?

Interpretation is the study of performance. The musician tries to interpret the music according to his conception of the composer's idea, or by his own taste (Davies and Sadie 2010). When dealing with early music, since the time from which recordings does not exist, one must rely on interpreting historical evidence. It is not possible to know precisely how the music was performed, but when studying writings of the period one can get clues on what to achieve. By cross checking references it is possible to come up with a conclusion on a matter that is more or less instructive. Where there are few or no evidence to find, one must go to the closest sources and put together an estimate. When interpreting baroque music one must consider tempo, rhythm, melody, harmony, embellishments, dynamics, color, and phrasing. In this second part, these matters will be investigated.

First dynamics is considered. There are few occasions of the Lute tablature from 1650-1700, where dynamic indications are found in the scores. Of the manuscripts selected for this thesis, only Le Sage de Richée occasionally noted *piano* and *forte*. As the lute has a quite limited dynamic range and the harpsichord even more so, techniques were developed to create an illusion of a wider dynamic range. François Couperin writes about a manner of playing, which he call aspiration (*céssation*) and *suspension*. According to Couperin, this technique were often used, but seldom talked about (Couperin 1716, p 34). Another technique of creating an illusion was to use different types of arpeggiation (*Stile Brisée*). This latter "embellishment" was also used in order to create an illusion of polyphony, and is one of the curiosities of the French tradition. The tempo of different movements and dance types has changed throughout the history. An

Allemande (Allmain) seems to have had a different tempo in the renaissance compared to the early and late baroque period. Since the metronome had not been invented yet, it is not possible to find a truth on the tempo. The musician must interpret the instructions given by contemporary sources, considering each piece separately, and make up his own opinion. Another aspect affecting the tempo is the manner of accompanying. The basso continuo or thorough bass became widely popular in chamber and orchestral music. The parts were more or less up to the musician to "compose" himself. Writings on how to accompany of contemporary musicians give important clues on the playing style and techniques. Strumming was a guitar technique used also on the lute and stile brisée or separée contributed to the significant style of French accompaniment. Rhythm is another important topic as it not always were played as notated in the score (notes inégales). The French seem to have taken more liberties than the Germans and the Italians in interpreting the rhythmic notation. French ornamentation differs from the German and Italian and appears to be a crucial feature of the French lute music. This topic will be discussed further later in this chapter.

3.2. Aspiration and suspension

The terms aspiration and suspension are mentioned in Couperin's Harpsichord book of 1716. They are not found elsewhere in lute literature, but they are very effective and deserve to be mentioned. Couperin writes that he uses them to give soul to the harpsichord through cessation and suspension of the tone. These two ornaments, as he calls them, seem to create an illusion of dynamics. Aspiration (*céssation*) is used to slightly shorten the tones creating the illusion of a *diminuendo* and Suspension is used to delay the tones in order to create the feeling of a *crescendo*.

3.3. Stile brisé

Stile brisé, meaning broken style, is a term used by musicians today and are not found in contemporary sources (Buch 1985, p. 56). This technique was used to create an illusion of polyphony and linearity and was popular with the French musicians (Farstad 2000, p. 57). It was also employed by harpsichord players such as François Couperin,

Chambonnières and d'Anglebert (Farstad 2000, p. 81). Torres suggests the meaning of *Stile Brisé* to be dual. On one hand some scholars use it loosely to summarize the style traits of the epoch, and on the other hand it may refer directly to the techniques of the broken style *notes separées* and *arpègement* (Torres 1997, p. 27). Matteis suggests that in continuo playing, the arpeggio technique can¹ be used on long notes to sustain the chord. He asks the performer to play the arpeggio quick and clear (Matteis 1682, p. 47). Perrine gives following examples of *séparé* (Bailes 1984, p. 222):



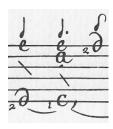
In tablatures from the period, a vertical line is commonly used to indicate the strings to be plucked at the same time. Where omitted one may assume that a slight arpeggiation is practiced. Mary Burwell writes: "When you nip one, two or three strings, with a bass it will be good to strike the bass a little before the small string or strings" (Bailes 1984, p. 223). La Princesse Sarabande, composed by Charles Mouton, is printed both in Mouton's Lute collection and in Manuscrit Milleran (c. 1690). In comparison, the version of Milleran suggests a solution of separée, but it may of course be played otherwise.

29

¹ Matteis uses the frase "is necessary".

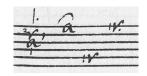
Mouton:

Milleran:









3.4. Matteis mention of time

Nicola Matteis describes time in his guitar instructions from 1682. He mentions two types of time; Common and Triple, which you find listed below:

Common Time Other Marks of Common Time

C C 2 2 9 3 3 6 12 9 2 4 4 8 8

In Common time, the first C signifies slow time and the next (C with a stroke) signifies quick time. He states the following: "The first figure of 2 directs the beating of a Quick Measure after the French Fashion[...]"³. The next sign (2 with a stroke) is to be played very quick and the reversed C with a stroke means practically the same. In Triple time, the first sign (3) moves quick and the stroked 3 moves very quick. The other marks of Triple time start with a slow 3/2 followed by a quicker 3/4. With the 6/4, he does not

 $^{^2}$ The symbol C is here placed on the 5^{th} string instead of the 6^{th} as in Mouton's version. My personal interpretation is that this may be a printing error.

³ This is also what J.J. Quantz suggests in 1752 (Quantz; 1752, p. 290).

mention the tempo, but it should be divided equally with three crotchets down and three up. In regards to 12/8, he suggests division by 6 down and 6 up and with 9/8 he writes that it is out of use "and so are many others [...]" (Matteis 1682, p. 7)

3.5. French prelude and entrée

Thomas Mace (1676) describe the *Prælude* as a constant wondering about in different keys without any perceivable form or shape. It is often used to check if the instrument is in tune. He describes the prelude as "a *Piece of Confused-wild-shapeless-kind of Intricate-Play*" (Mace 1676, p. 128). The prelude, sharing many qualities with fantasy, is an unbarred piece. A common feature is that dotted notes should be strongly over dotted and should on bowed instruments receive separate bow-strokes, slurring seems rarely to be used (Neumann 1979, p. 39; Quantz 1752, pp. 290-291):



3.6. Performance on French dances

Not many sources remain from 1650-1700 that creates a clear image of the performance of dances. Many sources have its origin from close before or after and few of them are French. Despite the lack of material, the section below can hint the general direction, where the most popular dances at the time naturally receive the most focus.

3.6.1. Bourëe⁴

The Bourëe is described by Talbot, in c. 1690, as very quick and rapid and Masson (in 1699) describes it is as quicker than the *Gavotte*. Later, in 1752, Quantz suggests the

⁴ There are, as in many other cases of the baroque, many different ways of spelling Bourëe. A few other examples are: Bourré, Bourée, Bourée.

movement to be played gaily with a short and light bow stroke. He also suggests the presence of one pulse beat in every bar (Donnington⁵ 1974, p. 394). Mattheson writes that the Bourrée has a "melody more flowing, smooth, gliding and connected than the gavotte" and he later adds "it's true character is contentment and pleasantness, as if it were somewhat untroubled or calm, a little slow, easygoing and yet not unpleasant" (Mattheson 1739, p. 454).

3.6.2. Courante

The Courant is to be performed cheerfully with vigour. Lively and brisk are also used to describe this dance movement. Mace describes, in 1676, that it is commonly played with two strains, but Quantz (in 1752) suggests that the pulse beat falls on every crotchet (Mace 1676, p. 129; Quantz 1752, p. 291). The dance was described in de Lauze's dance manual in 1623 and seems to have been one of Louis XIV's favourite dances. The Courante was very popular in the middle of the 17th century, but later lost some of its popularity to the *minuet*⁶. Mattheson mentions four types of courantes, namely: (i) for dancing, (ii) for the clavier and lute etc., (iii) for the violin, and (iv) for singing. The courante is irrefutably to be danced, but there are differences between the types he mentions, which seem to coincide with the idiomatic of the chosen media. When it comes to lute he writes:

The lutenists' masterpiece, especially in France, is generally the courante, on which his labor and art can be employed to advantage. The passion or affection which should be performed in a courante is sweet **hopefulness**. For there is something of the hearty, something of longing, and also something of the cheerful in this melody: only those things from which hope is composed. (Mattheson 1739, p. 462)

3.6.3. Gavotte

Concluding the instructions of Talbot, Masson and Quantz, the Gavotte seems to be a rapid and steady movement with a lighter character (Donnington 1974, p. 397). Mattheson gives a little more information on the matter:

 $^{^5}$ I am aware that this work by Robert Donnington is considered out-dated in scholar cirkles, but what I am reffering to in this Thesis is qoutations of the literature from 17th and 18th century.

⁶ http://lcweb2.loc.gov/ammem/dihtml/diessay4.html - Accessed January 19th 2010

"Their affect is really true **jubilation**. Their meter is indeed an even type; not four-four; but one of those which consists of two half notes; though it can be divided into quarters, indeed even to eighths. I would wish that this distinction would be a little better observed, and that one might not so generally call everything **a common mensuration**: as happens"

He prefers the Gavotte to be of a *skipping* nature rather than *running*. (Mattheson 1739, pp. 453-454)

3.6.4. Gigue and the Canaire

The only noteworthy references of the performance found is Quantz who suggests the movements to be played with short and crisp bow strokes, having one pulse beat in each bar. He does not differentiate the Gigue from the Canaire, but consider them as the same movement (Donnington 1974, p. 398). Mattheson mentions different types of the Gigue, namely the common ones (English gigue), the Loures, Canaries and the Italian Gige. He does not specify any French traditions, although the source might give a clue in what direction. The English gigue, he writes, is "characterized by an ardent and fleeting zeel, a passion which soon subsides". He suggests slow and punctuated gavottes and Loures to be proud and arrogant of nature. Eagerness, swiftness and a little simplicity are a must for the Canaire, and he suggest a contributing factor to be that the sections and repetitions end in the tonic key, instead of any other as of other dances (Mattheson 1739, p. 457).

3.6.5. Minuet

Talbot and Masson only describe this dance as quick, while Quantz adds that the Minuet should "lift the dancer up". He further suggests the bow strokes to be somewhat heavy and short. Jean-Jacques Rosseau writes that the character is rather grave and noble, and the tempo is, according to him, rather moderate than quick. He also indicates that there were differences in the performance of the Minuet between the ball and the theatre (Donnington 1974, p. 399). The minuet seems to have grown in popularity through this period and, being considered one of the least technically complicated dances, put more importance to the grace and style of the dancer. It is also one of the most long-lived of

the Baroque dances⁷. Mattheson writes that a minuet has to be at least 16 measures long and that no other affect than moderate cheerfulness is expected (Mattheson 1739, p. 451).

3.6.6. Sarabande

The sarabande dance is one of the shortest of the triple-time dances. It is played majestically and with detached bow-strokes on every crotchet, as in the overture, loure and courant, but is performed a bit more agreeable and light in character compared to those just mentioned (Mace 1676, p. 129; Quantz 1752, p. 291). The Sarabande, characterized by an accent on the second beat, seems to have been a very popular dance that was sometimes used as a choreographed *entrée*. It appears a slower tempo was preferred at the end of the 17th century⁸. No other feeling is expressed in the Sarabande than ambition, according to Mattheson. It is more strict and bombastic compared to other dances and permits no running notes. Interestingly, Mattheson mentions that, played on the lute or clavier, the sarabande may be played with more liberties. A doubles⁹ or a variation with arpeggiated figures can follow the Sarabande (Mattheson 1739, p. 461).

3.7. Accompaniment

Mary Burwell states a difference between solo playing and playing with others. When you play alone you may take the freedoms you like and to play some part sometimes slower, but when you play with others you must adjust your playing to the others. She suggests it to be as when walking in couples. You cannot walk freely but you must find a common pulse (Bailes; 1984, p. 227)ⁱ. Quantz describes the French manner of accompanying to emphasize the bass part rather than the principal part. He also suggests the French accompaniment to be quite plain rather than elevated (Quantz 1752, p. 329). Accompaniment in this period mostly implies *Continuo* playing, as written accompaniments throughout time have been replaced by the thorough bass. This thesis will not go in to details on creating a Continuo part, but will discuss some matters of accompaniment that can give us some hints in the nature and style of performance of

⁸ See footnote 6

 $^{^{7}}See\ footnote\ 6$

⁹ French term for variation.

Lute music from the time. In Matteis' guitar instructions there is a chapter on "where to strike the accords", which is selected to be included as a hint of the nature of beat. This technique was special for guitarists at the time and even if it is linked to guitar technique, it was also used by some lutenists (see the section on *Strumming* below). In slow common time (like in **C**), Matteis suggests the instrumentalist to strike the chord on every quarter (the following examples are taken from: Matteis 1682, pp. 19-20):



If the time moves quicker, as in \P , he suggests the stroke to be on every half:



The same idea applies to 16th notes:



If the movement in Triple time is very slow, one "must" strike every quarter note:



If the Triple time is quick, one should strike the chords as follows:



The same rule applies to quick eight note movement in Triple time:



3.8. Strumming

Strumming was initially a technique of the guitar, but it was also used in the repertory of French theorbo and lute. It is easiest performed with the index finger stroking¹⁰ towards the floor on strong beats and in reverse on those that are weak. Guitarists used more complicated types of strumming, with middle finger and thumb, which is left out here. Nigel North suggests this technique to be a particularly good effect in music of a simple harmonic nature and in large ensembles (North; 1987, p. 76).



3.9. Notes inégales

It appears as the French music is quite inadequately notated. Couperin states that the notation of music does not correspond to the performance of it. He compares it to the French language, where the written word does not correspond to the pronunciation.

¹⁰ In the translation of Baron's *Study of the Lute* (1727) that I have used for this research, the word *brushing* has been used instead of *stroking*. He also tells us that the technique was not only used on guitar; "[...] *fashionable to brush with the right hand, just as on the guitar*; [...]" (Baron; 1727, p.77). Nicola Matteis uses the term *battery* for strumming (Matteis 1682, p. vi). North also points to Campion who, in 1730, stated that he gave all his students, playing the theorbo, lessons on the guitar to learn this technique. (North; 1987, p. 75)

According to Couperin foreigners seem to be less able to play French music in the right manner compared to the French themselves. One of the playing styles that are not notated is *notes inégales*. Couperin writes: "For example we dot several eighth notes in succession moving by conjunct degrees; however, we write them in equal time values. Our custom has enslaved us and we continue in it" (Couperin 1716, p. 49)ⁱⁱ. Below are some examples, starting with the original with straight eights. There are, of course, many more possibilities, but which one to use must be decided by the interpreter.



3.10. Embellishments of 17th and 18th century France

Although research has shown the great importance of embellishments, it has been almost impossible to establish a definite truth on the use of such. The use and style of ornaments seem to have differed, not only from composer to composer, but also from decade to decade. Mattheson writes in 1739 that "if one were to write these down according to present-day practice, in a few years this would probably be as out of date as the former". He also adds that the embellishments and fashions change almost yearly, except for some embellishments, such as the accents, appoggiaturas, slides, etc., which has been more long-lived (Mattheson 1739, pp. 483-484). Matteis describes in 1682 that one must vary the playing by sometimes playing it loud and sometimes playing it soft "according to your fancy". Melancholic notes must be played sweet and delicate. One must not play so fast that one gets confused, but rather clear and easily. Embellishments must be played quick and sweet.¹¹ In conclusion, he instructs that the musician must play several "Graces of his one genius" because it is too troublesome for the composer to

¹¹ Regarding instruction on how to play shakes, he writes that it is the "[...] Chief method for those that play of these sort of instruments". When considering the instructions on *To the Reader* and p. 26, one may assume that he means accompanying instruments in general such as guitar, lute, theorbo, harpsichord and bass viol.

mark them all down in the score (Matteis 1682, p. 79)iii. Carl Philip Emanuel Bach writes that "No one disputes the need for embellishments". They enliven and connect in addition to impart stress and accent, and are important for the expression, and can sometimes "improve mediocre compositions" (Bach 1759/1762, p. 79)iv. Hotteterre writes that it is almost impossible to set any definite rule on the use of ornaments; "Taste and experience, rather than theory, teach their proper use" (Hotteterre 1707, p. 47). C. Ph. E. Bach salutes the French keyboardists in 1759, for their accurate notation of embellishments, but mentions that this has been forgotten throughout time (Bach 1759/1762, p. 79). In 1716, Couperin writes otherwise: "In my opinion there are defects in our method of writing music [...] We write differently from the way we play" (Couperin 1716, p. 49). Hotteterre, on the other hand, writes that on the flute, embellishments are only notated by a cross over the tone. This shows a freedom to choose embellishments appropriate to each situation (Hotteterre 1707, p. 31). The French lute manuscripts of the period comments clearly on the different embellishments, but these seem merely to be suggestions. Thurston Dart suggests (in 1954) that a musician who repeat a reprise in the same manner were thought to be unknowing and showing a great lack of fantasy and the instructions of Nicola Matteis (1682) support this theory¹² (Dart 1954, p. 103; Matteis 1682, p. 79). Another aspect making the search for the true use of embellishments harder is that it is not possible to know for sure which embellishments that are put in the score by the composer and what has been added by the engraver. This problem is even clearer in modern publications and Ur-text editions, where the editor may have done poor readings, made mistakes or in some cases shown a lack of knowledge on different historical matters (Brett 1988, p. 84). Some publishers, however, make more thorough research than others.

To place the French lute music ornamentation and graces in a historical context, the following paragraph shows how it differs from the ornaments and graces in the late renaissance (around 1600) and in German baroque from 1720-1790. Ornaments and embellishments signs underwent a considerable change during this period. No definite terminology can be found for lute embellishments in the 16th and early 17th century. Some composers used signs without explanation and some did not use signs at all.

 $^{^{12}}$ See end note i of this chapter

Rudolf Wyssenbach¹³ (1550) doubted if it was possible to describe the execution of ornaments in a satisfactory way and suggested the tradition to be learned by listening to masters. In the first half of the 16th century, early attempts can be seen on notating ornaments by using parenthesis-signs, but the confusion between sources is evident. Due to the Huge popularity of the lute at the end of the 16th century, England seems to have been the leading country on notating embellishments. There is, however, no unity of signs in the many manuscripts. In some sources "#" seems to have been a general sign, which could mean almost any ornament. A few other signs were in use, but they differ from composer to composer and many of them are not properly explained (Poulton 1975, p. 107-108, and 113). If we, however, take a look at 18th century Germany, the situation is quite different. The notations of signs now become standardized, the interpretation more explained and clear, and composers were more unified in their use of the signs. New ornament signs were developed as well. This is confirmed in the many ornament tables found in manuscripts showing different ways of writing the signs and also their explanation. Around Bernhard Joachim Hagen's time (1720-1787) lute embellishment signs started to resemble those used today. For instance, Hagen used the modern sign for the mordent in his tablatures (Farstad 2000, pp. 124-157 and 304).

3.11. Appoggiaturas (port de voix or chutes)

Appoggiaturas seem to be derived from late 16th century Italian practice of improvisation. It was rarely printed in France before the second half of the 17th century, but literature suggests it was added by the personal taste of the musician. The accessory note anticipated the beat and took value from the preceding note, and lingered on the accessory note, stealing some of the value of the resolution note (Garden 2010). J. M. Hotteterre describes the appoggiatura, in 1707:

"The ascending appoggiatura is a stroke of the tongue [on the flute] anticipated by a step below the note upon which is to be played. [...] The descending appoggiatura is started one step above and is hardly ever used except in descending thirds" (Hotteterre 1707, p. 42)

¹³ b 1517–27; d before 1572. He was a Swiss wood cutter and a printer (Radke and Király 2010).

According to Jean Rousseau, the accessory note could be played either before the beat or on the beat. From the end of the 17th century, the latter prevailed. This might suggest that the first option was used earlier in the century. It is one of the very few sources found that mention the latter, so it is not easy to say if this was a general rule or if it was specific to Rameau. What can be concluded is that no traditions throughout history have spread as swiftly as if turning a page. It often goes through a slow transition from the old to the new, so it is possible for the accessory note to have been played before or on the beat, both before and after the end of the 17th century14. The resolution could be decorated with a mordent, both in instrumental and vocal practice (Garden 2010). The latter ornament is often, among scholars and musicians, called port de voix. On the lute it is suggested to be performed over two strings, but no direct historical evidence has been found on this matter (Farstad 2000, p. 146). Mattheson suggests the port de voix to be the French name of appoggiatura and describes what seems to be an appoggiatura with a mordent (Mattheson 1739, p. 268). Neither of the lute-manuscripts of Mouton, Gaultiers, De Visée, Gallot and Le Sage de Richée mention the term port de voix or appoggiatura. Mouton and Gallot call the appoggiatura chute when played from below and De Visée calls it cheutes. De Visée seems to call it tirades and Gallot has named it tombé when played from above (Torres 2003, pp. 38 and 44; De Visée 1682/1686, p. 7). Couperin calls both appoggiaturas, both alone and with a mordent port de voix (Couperin 1716, p. 12). Playing an ornament over two strings is not a possibility with the harpsichord and hence none of the harpsichord literature discusses this topic. C. Ph. E. Bach refers to it as a decorated appoggiatura (Bach 1759/62).

3.12. Trill (tremblement)

Couperin gives, in 1716, clear instructions on how to perform a trill. He describes that trills are always started on the note which is a semi-tone or whole-tone above and should begin more slowly than they end. A trill, he writes, consists of three parts:

"1. Stress (dwelling upon) which should be placed on the note above the main note. 2. Repercussions.

3. The stopping-point"

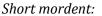
¹⁴ Plenty of instructions from the period suggest the performer to make decisions of ornaments due to his own taste and by the nature of the piece.

Philipp F. Le Sage de Richée's lute instruction calls for a similar trill, starting rather slowly and gradually accelerates (Le Sage de Richée; 1976, p. 91)v. The nails on the left hand must be short so that the trill is not executed with the nail: "*The Grace is in the flesh [...]*" (Burwell 1662-72, p. 33v). Couperin further mentions three types of trills (Couperin 1716, pp. 38-39):

- 1. With dwelling upon the upper note, as previously described
- 2. Without stress or stopping-point
- 3. Followed by a short rest.

3.13. Mordent (martellement)

According to Hotteterre, mordents should be played quickly and serves well on short notes, like plain quarters when the tempo is high, and on eighth notes on time signatures where these are played evenly (Hotteterre; 1707, p. 47). In modern times, mordent is often played very short, but there are examples from the period where the length of the mordent varied. Couperin suggests that the length of the mordent is to be determined from the length of the original note. He also writes that on the Organ and Harpsichord, the mordent replaces the tremolo on the bowed instruments. The mordent is to be performed starting on the beat and not being longer than the initial note (Couperin 1716, pp. 34-35).





Long mordent:



3.14. Vibrato

In the baroque period the vibrato seem to have been used as an embellishment and not, as of today, a part of the standard tone-production. Hotteterre suggests vibrato to be used on long notes (Hotteterre 1707, p. 47). In regards to the lute, it is not possible to

pin out what exactly lies in the term vibrato. If a gentle vibrato was used to enliven the tone generally, while a broader one was used for the effect, or if the vibrato only was used as an effect, cannot be said. Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1727) seems to use two different types of vibrato. The first is suggested to be the traditional horizontal vibrato, and the second seem to be a transversal vibrato, similar to the one used on electric guitar today (Farstad 2000, p. 130).

3.15. Crackle and tut

In *Musickes Monument* by Thomas Mace, there is a technique described called *crackle*, which seems to resemble our present day *staccato*. The technique is, according to Mace, performed by slacking the stopping hand to make the tones sob and to "*dead the sound on a sudden*". In his instruction, this technique does not have its own sign. It is simply written "*Crackle All These*:" along with a bracket. Another technique described by Mace is called *The Tut*, and it seems to be another type of dampening technique. The difference seems to be that in the *Crackle* the dampening is performed by the left hand, and in the *Tut* the right hand stops the tones "[...] and if you do it clearly, it will seem to speak the word *Tut*, so plainly, as if it were a Living Creature, Speakable" (Mace 1676, pp. 109 and 170)vi.

3.16. Couperin's table of embellishments

Since contemporary keyboard music, seem to have been influenced by the playing practices of the lute, it might be interesting to mention the ornaments suggested by Couperin in 1713¹⁵. Some of his use of signs differ from other harpsichordists of the time, but I will not go into that specific discussion since these do not directly apply on the lute, but I will display a few of Couperin's examples of signs and execution, to serve as an inspiration for possible ornamentation:

¹⁵ The table which I refer to is published in 1713 along with first book of harpsichord pieces. This table has been added in the preface of my translated edition of *L'Art de Toucher le Clavecin* (1716) from 1995.



3.17. Embellishments of Gallot, de Visée, Mouton, Richée and the Gaultiers

3.17.1. Denis Gaultier (c.1670):

Right and hand fingering

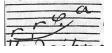
A dot indicates the first finger and the second finger is shown by the absence of a sign. The thumb is shown by a line under the letter.

Breaking parts

This sign instructs the player to separate the tones or to play them one after the other:

Ta

Sustained notes



"Appogiatura"

65

Tremblement

This technique is simply signified by a comma:

r

"Pull off"

This technique seems to resemble the technical legato used by guitarist today. When two or more letters are connected by a line, several of them having the sign of *tremblement*, one should strike the first tone and pull of the others by the left hand:



Accent

This suggests what we today call *mordent*. It differs from Gallot, deVisée and Mouton who rather use the term *martellement*. The sign used by Denis Gaultier is thus:



"Arpeggio"

When there is a chord of minimum four notes with a line under, one must strike all except to highest one with the thumb. The highest should be played with the second finger. Same performance when there is a gap between the top tone and the rest:



Chords with dots before several tones are executed by the first finger with a sort of sweeping technique:



When all notes have dots it should be strummed completely with the index finger from the lowest tone to the highest:



Étouffement

This seems to resemble a sort of staccato technique: "An étouffement is when one plays a note, and that you put another finger below" (Torres 2003, p. 25). The instruction is very vague and could suggest many different techniques, but in the avertisement to the next book, he gives a clearer example which might support the theory of the staccato. This will be discussed later in the section where it belongs. It would appear that the sign for this is a little cross after the letter:



3.17.2. Denis and Ennemond Gaultier (c.1680):

These instructions are similar to the former set of Denis Gaultier. Only those different or more detailed compared to the previous explanations will be mentioned.

Tremblement and "port de voix"

Here, the instructions are more lined out compared to the previous case. Now the relation of the length of ornament and the length of tone is discussed, but it is also said that in the end the type of ornament is to be decided by the performer according to the nature of the piece:

"When one puts a comma after a letter, that signifies that one must pull off the string with a finger of the left hand; You should do once when there is only an eighth note on the letter, twice when there is a quarter note, and several times when there is a dotted quarter, while making the trill (tremblement) until the conclusion of the termination (cadence) that one will find marked" (Torres 2003, p. 29)

611.

"Pull off"

These are the same instructions as before, but there is one difference in the example. In the above example there were several tones within the slur that had the comma sign, but in this example only the middle one has it. It still implies the pull off technique as discussed before:



Étouffement

As previously mentioned this might suggest the staccato, which Thomas Mace call *Crackle*, and in this *Avertissement*, a more clear suggestion of the performance is given: "The étouffement is made when one plays a letter with a finger of the right hand and at the same time presses down the next finger in order to prevent the continuation of the sound of the string" (Torres 2003, p. 30). These instructions have more resemblance with staccato compared to the previous quote. It is possibly performed by the right hand even if it is not mentioned. At any rate, the purpose seems to be to deliberately stop the sound. Earlier in the *avertissement*, it says:

"[...] so that they would no longer be sent in this imperfect form to the provinces, nor among foreigners, where one currently finds them only much confused, as much regard to the time (mesure), holding of notes (tenues), dampening of the notes (étouffements) and rests (silences)" (Torres 2003, p. 27).

The words in parenthesis are suggestions by George Torres, who translated this avertisement.

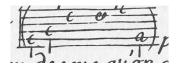
3.17.3. Charles Mouton (c.1698):

Left and right hand fingering

The fingering of the left hand is denoted by numbers representing the fingers (1, 2, 3. The little finger is not marked). The right hand fingerings are made of a vertical line for the thumb, a dot for the index finger and the absence of a sign indicates the middle finger.

"Barré"

This sign show that one should lay down the first finger of the left hand over the fret board as the Barré technique of modern guitarists. It should be hold from the beginning to the end of the parenthesis:



Sustaining

A line that joins to letters indicates that one should be held until the other:



"Appoggiatura"

An appoggiatura from above is indicated in this manner:

This technique has not yet been given any name, but when it is played from below he calls it *chute*, and is indicated as follows:



Martellement

The instruction of the mordent only mentions what seem to be the short mordent, and not the long. It is almost always performed by the semitone, and rarely by a whole tone:



Tremblement

The trill is indicated by a cross after the letter. No further instruction is given:



Cadence

In the lute instructions used in this section, only Mouton has given this technique a name¹⁶. In the other *avertissements*, this technique has been mentioned without a certain name, but in the same context as *arpeggiation* or *breaking parts*. The performance is still a sweeping technique executed by the first finger, playing the last note with the second finger:



 $^{^{\}rm 16}$ This name corresponds with the one used in Mary Burwell's lute tutor.

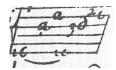
Separé

The separé indicates that the tones should be played one after the other:



Breaking parts

When a line connects two of the same letters, and the second is smaller than the first, the first should be played using only the bass string and not the octave string. After striking the bass string, the thumb should rest on the octave string ready to play only the octave string on the small letter:



Several letters having dots on the side, the chord should be played only with the thumb and the first finger:



When several letters have dots on the side of the chord, it should be played with the index finger; "One must play the two middle letters immediately after the bass" (Torres 2003, p. 46):

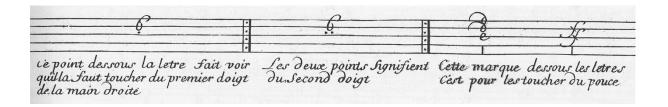


3.17.4. Robert de Visée (1682):

De Visée gives no directions on the execution of ornaments, but some of his signs listed in his *Livre de Guitarre*, *Livre de Pièces pour la Guitarre* (1682/86) will be included. They correspond with the most used signs of the lute repertoire of the period.

Left and right hand fingering

The left hand fingers are indicated with numbers. On the right hand, the index finger is symbolized by a dot, the middle finger by two dots, which differs from the others and the thumb by a line under the letters:



Breaking parts

Letters with diagonal lines as shown below (in the illustration) are to be separated:



Cheutes

The cheutes is denoted as:



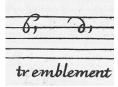
Tirades

Tirades are described in the following way:



Tremblement

The trill is indicated by a comma sign:



Martellement

The mordent is indicated by a cross:



Moilement

This technique seems to resemble a vibrato, and has been given following sign:



3.17.5. Jacques Gallot (1684)¹⁷:

The instructions of Jaques Gallot give few details on the execution of embellishments.

Left and right hand fingering

On the right hand, the index finger is indicated by a dot and the absence of sign indicates the middle finger. The thumb is shown by a line under the letter. On the left hand numbers are used.

Tremblement

The trill is indicated by a comma sign:



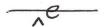
Martellement

A small v after the note suggests the mordent:



Chute or Tombé

Appogiatura is indicated by an up-side-down v before the letter:



 $^{^{17}}$ I have not had the facsimile of his instruction at hand when doing this research, so the examples given here is rewritten by my after those by Torres 2003, pp. 36-40

Arpeggio

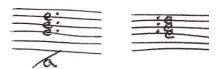
When he desires the player to pluck one string with the thumb and two strings with the index finger he denotes:



or:



Dots before the letters are all to be struck by the first finger:



He gives one example on how to break a big chord. Notice the missing *separé* line between the bass and the tone above:



When two tones within a chord is to be played with the first finger they are joined together with a line before the letters:



The same sweeping technique applies in this case:

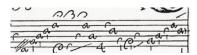


3.17.6. LeSage de la Richée (1695):

This section is based on a facsimile of Le Sage de Richée's *Cabinet der Lauten* (1695) and a translation of the foreword by Douglas Alton Smith (LeSage de Richée 1976). The copy used of the facsimile, lacks one page compared with the manuscript used by Alton Smith. In regards to the missing page, the Alton Smiths translation has been used to recreate the examples.

Fingering

A straight dash under a letter indicates the thumb. A dot indicates the index finger and where there is none, the middle finger is called for:



Simultaneous playing

When notes are to be played simultaneously they are connected by a vertical line:



Breaking parts

No difference in notation from the others. The tones are separated with a diagonally drawn line:



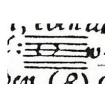
Sustaining notes

A long dash denotes that the finger must be held for as long as indicated:



Trill

The first symbol is taken from the preface of his Lute piece manuscript. After studying it with a magnifying glass, the author's impression is that it is written the letter *e* followed by a comma sign. Since this is unclear, an example from one of his pieces showing the same symbol is included. The trill is to be played first slowly then gradually faster:





A fall (Einfall)



A back-fall (Abzug)



Cadance

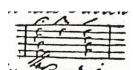
The two letters joined by a dash must be brushed with the first finger:



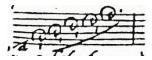
Playing big chords

The notes should be brushed with the first finger of the right hand. When there are two chords after another, the first must be brushed by the first finger and the second by the thumb:





In this example the thumb brushes all the strings except the top one which is plucked by the middle finger:



Vibrato (mordant)

The vibrato is executed as normal in the high register, but in the basses a transversal vibrato seems to be used.

Breaking chords

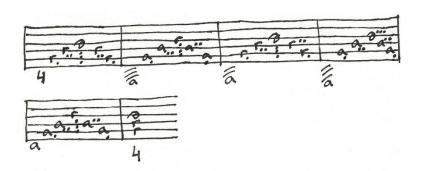
In the following chord the third finger is in use:



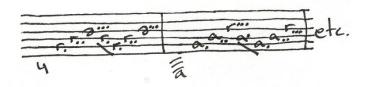
In arpeggiation, this progression:



could be realized as:



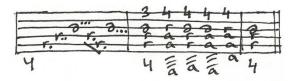
or in this manner:



When there is a number above the chord, it indicates how many times it should be arpeggitated:



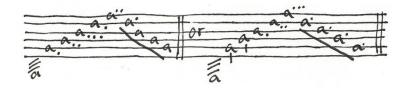
When a certain manner of arpeggiation is desired, it can be simplified in the manuscript as follows:



This measure:



should be realized in the following manner:



3.17.7. Comparison:

Below, you find a summary comparison of how certain embellishments and techniques are notated. Only signs already discussed will be included and which are described in the avertisements.

Composer	Trill/	Vibrato/	Modernt/
	Tremblement	Moillement	Martellement/
			Accent
D. Gaultier	- r,		
D, E Gaultier	C 1.		· CA
C. Mouton	ŧ		1 CO A
R. de Visée	tr emblement	miolement 18	martellement
J. Gallot	-e,		ev
Ph. F. le Sage de Richée	1.) cm (D) (

¹⁸ This sign is taken from his guitar instructions. This sign corresponds with those used by Bernard Joachim Hagen, Johann Sebastian Bach, Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Adam Falckenhagen (Farstad 2000, p. 145)

Composer	Appogiatura	Appogiatura	Barré
	from below	from above	
D. Gaultier			
D., E.	6r		
Gaultier			
C. Mouton	E	1-6-1	
R. de Visée	a 6 0 a 6 6 Cheutes	tirades	
J. Gallot	e		
Ph. F. le		Manage of the Control	121
Sage de	0.33	45	
Richée			74

Composer	"Let ring"	Separée/ Breaking parts	Play together
D. Gaultier D., E. Gaultier		4	1. 01
C. Mouton	a e 20 ee		di di
R. de Visée	Cette barre vous marque la teniie des parties Superieures et cellecy la teniie pour les basses	Ces autres bares tirées de trauers vous les seront le Separer	Cette barre tiree droite veut dire qu'il faut pincer les Cordes en semble
J. Gallot		a a	
Ph. F. le Sage de Richée			

Composer	"Pull off"	Étouffement	Divide courses
D. Gaultier	Luis with	5 - F 19	
D., E. Gaultier	£ 4, 5		
C. Mouton			a so
R. de Visée			
J. Gallot			
Ph. F. le			
Sage de	See appoggiatura from above		
Richée			

 $^{\rm 19}$ This seem to be the only mention of this technique by the French lute composers

3.18. Summary

Interpretation is the study of performance. By considering tempo, rhythm, melody, harmony, embellishments, dynamics, color, and phrasing, in a personal and historic view, one tries to play the piece according to authentic praxis and make it interesting for the audience. Different techniques such as Suspension and Aspiration are presented, serving to create an illusion of dynamic. *Stile brisée* had a similar function and was also used to create a sense of polyphony. The tempo of different dances has been suggested by referring to the literature. Nicola Matteis general tempo instructions and instructions on accompaniment are presented. Rhythmic changes through notes inégales are mentioned and finally a section on embellishments. The importance of embellishments is established, especially in the French lute repertoire and the general directions of different ornaments are looked into. The chapter also include explanations of the signs used by Charles Mouton, Ennemond and Denis Gaultier, Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée, Jacques Gallot as well as the guitar instructions of Robert de Visée. By comparing the signs, both similarities and differences are seen in the use of the signs. Not all signs for techniques are mentioned by everyone. By considering the suggestions from the composer or engraver, it was in the end up to the musician to decide when and where to use which kind of ornament.

End Notes to Part 2:

You must not allwayes alike, but sometimes Lowd and sometimes Softly, according to your fancy, and if you meet with any Melancholy notes, you must touch them Sweet and delicately

Secondly it is very necessary to make a Clever shake sweet and quick which is the Chief method for those that play of these sort of instruments

Thirdly that you dont play your tune to fast, because your quick playing is apt to Confuse you, so that you ought too play clearly and easily

To set your tune off the better, you must make severall sorts of Graces of your one, it being very troublesome for the Composer to mark them."

"No one disputes the need for embellishments. This is evident from the great numbers of them everywhere to be found. They are, in fact, indispensable. Consider their many uses: They connect and enliven tones and impart stress and accent; they make music pleasing and awaken our close attention. Expression is heightened by them; let a piece be sad, joyful, or otherwise, and they will lend a fitting assistance. Embellishments provide opportunities for fine performance as well as much of its subject matter. They improve mediocre compositions. Without them the best melody is empty and ineffective, the clearest content clouded."

"[...] whereby it must be remembered that it [the trill] is not to be tossed off quickly, but rather played first slowly, then gradually faster."

vi From page 170:

"To Crackle such 3 Part-Stops, [...] is only to divide each stop, with you Thumb, and 2 Fingers; so as not to loose Time; But give each Crotchet Its due Quantity; And to add Prittiness; Cause Them to Sobb, by Slacking your Stopping Hand, so soon as They are Struck, yet not to unstop Them, but only so much as may Dead the Sound on a sudden. This gives Great Pleasure in such Cases."

From page 109:

"The Tut, is a Grace, always performed with the Right Hand, and is a sudden taking away the Sound of any Note, and in such a manner, as it will seem to cry Tut; and is very Pritty, and Easily done, Thus.

When you would perform This Grace, it is but to strike your Letter, (which you intend shall be so Grac'd) with one of your Fingers, and immediately clap on your next striking Finger, upon the String which you struck; in which doing, you suddenly take away the Sound of the Letter, which is that, we call the Tut; and if you do it clearly, it will seem to speak the word Tut, so plainly, as if it were a Living Creature, Speakable."

[&]quot;When one plays alone you may take some liberty because you follow no others playing. You may choose a slow time or a quick time, and besides allow something to the graces; as when you walk alone, you walk as you please, but if you walk in company you must keep the pace of the company, otherwise you transgress the rules of civility and break the harmony of conversion"

[&]quot;In my opinion there are defects in our method of writing music which correspond to our manner of writing our language. We write differently from the way we play, which is the reason why foreigners play our music less well than we play theirs. [...] For example we dot several eighth notes in succession moving by conjunct degrees; however, we write them in equal time values. Our custom has enslaved us and we continue in it." "Good advice to play well

Part three

4. Performance and commentary on selected works

4.1. Instruments

4.1.1. A brief history of the lute

The medieval lute originates from the Arab $\bar{u}d$ in the 13th century, and was introduced to Europe during the Moorish conquest and occupation of Spain (711-1492). It was played with and had four double courses of strings, and in the 15th century a fifth course was added. The lute acquired a more complex and polyphonic musical role in the 16th century and was plucked with the fingers but the plectrum continued to be used for some time. Gut strings were used until the mid-1600s when covered strings become available. The renaissance lute has from six to ten courses and was very popular in parts of Europe. After a period of experimenting with the lute using different numbers of strings and tunings, a new typed of baroque lute developed in France with 11 courses and in D-minor tuning. The lute had its golden age in the 16th and early 17th centuries. Larger types of lutes, such as the archlute, chitarrone and theorbo were developed around 1600 for continuo playing. In the 18th century Germany and Bohemia, the French 11 course lute was expanded with two more courses, into a 13 course lute, which the composers of the two countries used for their compositions. The European lute went out of use by the end of the 18th century, but returned again by the late 19th century. The lute instruments like the Arab $'\bar{u}d$ (still plectrum-played), the Romanian *cobza*, and the Greek *laouto* are still used in ethnic folk music (Partridge 2010).





(11-course lute by luthier Lars Jönnson)





(11-string guitar by luthier Lars Jönnson)

4.1.2. 11 stringed guitar

The instrument used on the enclosed CD is a concept guitar built by the Swedish luthier Lars Jönsson. It shares some features with the 11 str. "alto guitar", but differs both in size and tuning. It has a string length of 65 cm, just as an average six string guitar, instead of the 57-58 cm usual for the "alto guitars". The tuning on an average "alto guitar" is:



The first six strings corresponds with those of an ordinary six string guitar, except tuned a minor third higher. The five basses are tuned diatonically as a scale. This tuning is the same as the 11 course renaissance lute, except for the third string being half a tone lower on the lute. The 11 string guitar used here is tuned as the D-minor 11 course lute¹:



4.2. Playing French baroque lute music on the eleven-stringed guitar

Since the 11 string guitar has single strings, compared to the lute which has double strings in the basses, a gap between the bass, the harmony and the melody occurs. The guitar also has higher string tension than the lute making legato, trills, etc. harder to perform. To compensate for this the guitar is tuned lower than usual, in order to give more grace to ornamentation and make it less percussive. The bass string also sound

¹ In the recording I have tuned my guitar lower than indicated here.

longer compared to the strings of a lute. While the lute player may let the bass strings ring without disturbing the tonality, the 11 string guitarist must dampen the bass strings. When this is not possible the sound gets more compact and dark. Playing in the middle register of the lute yields a quite clear sound compared to the guitar, which tends to be quite "heavy" and unclear in this area. Lute players could not have nails because they needed to play two strings at the same time and the nails would disturb the sound. The thin lid and the construction of the lute emphasize the high frequencies while the guitar has thicker strings and body highlighting darker frequencies. The guitarist therefore needs nails in order to produce a strong bodied sound. These differences between the two instruments need to be considered. When playing on 11 string guitar, the author uses a right hand technique, trying to imitate the baroque lute technique, using a slightly twisted hand position. The little finger is placed on the lid as support. In contrast to other guitarist the nail on the thumb is not used, except when the thumb plays in higher register and the sound of the other fingers needs to be imitated using nails, because it produces a thin sound instead of a thick supporting bass. Guitarists are generally fond of using all fingers in the right hand, excluding the little finger, while in order to imitate lute technique the thumb, index and middle finger are mostly used. At some occasions where the texture is too complex a more conventional guitar right hand technique is used. The guitar is of course not a lute and it is impossible to play lute on the guitar, but the good features of both instruments can be combined to create a technique suitable for the 11 string guitar.



Hand position of 6 string guitar



Hand position of 11 string guitar

4.3. Pieces chosen for this essay

The following section will give a brief account for the thoughts behind the interpretation of the pieces presented on the CD enclosed. The direct technical solutions and the overall interpretation of the pieces are audibly presented on the CD and are excluded from the book, and the tablature is enclosed in Appendix II. All pieces present themselves well on the eleven-stringed guitar, and there are no direct problems in the left hand. The challenge lies mostly in using the right hand to control the tone quality. Most pieces sound well without difficulty, but as soon as the main frequency of the composition is in the middle or low register (as occur in Tombeau de Mezangeau and often in Jacques Gallot's composition even though La Quoquette is quite gentle in this point of view) problems arise which need to be solved. In such cases, the right hand was slightly straitened to get clearer tone and to simplify embellishments. Another technical aspect is the strumming technique and the back-and-forth sweeping technique (from here onwards referred to as "baf-sweeping"), which is used in the recording of La *Mallassis.* Due to the nails when playing guitar, it is difficult to control the sound when strumming and since the strings are single instead of double, the sound quickly becomes cloistered and unclear. The baf-sweeping is less usable on the 11 stringed guitar compared to the lute. When a lute player baf-sweeps three courses he actually plays six strings, adding to the effect. The three strings of the guitar may sound uncomfortable and weak, so in order to get a satisfactory effect on the guitar you may need bigger chords which in consequence mean fewer opportunities for using it with a satisfactory effect. Sweeping only in one direction generally has a good effect on the guitar.

I have selected the following pieces for a closer study:

- Jacques Gallot *La Quoquette*
- Ennemond Gaultier Tombeau de Mezangeau
- Denis Gaultier Fantaisies and Canaries
- Charles Mouton La Mallassise
- Philippe F. Le Sage de Richée *Menuett*

4.3.1. Jacques Gallot - La Quoquette

This piece calls for an ornamented "light weight"-style of performance. There is less polyphonic complexity in this piece compared to the others, and it has a more rhythmic nature. This is also the only piece enclosed which is in a major key and which not directly fancies the melancholic nature. There is almost a festive quality to the composition and the title suggests a coquettish, flirtatious performance. Original structure as notated:

a b

The structure of the performance is:

 $a a^1 b a^2 a^3 b^1 b^2 a^4 a^5$

4.3.2. Charles Mouton - La Mallassise

The final version of section b, a sort of climax is created by using sweeping technique and a scale to intensify the outcome. The title of the piece is not directly translated, but the closest suggestions would be *malade* (en: sick) which might suggest the English title to be: *The sick girl/woman/lady*. The *petit reprise* is actually hinted in the tabulature. Original structure as notated:

a b

The structure put together for this piece is:

 $a\ a^1\ b\ a^2\ a^3\ b^1\ b^2\ coda^{petit\ reprise}$

4.3.3. Ennemond Gaultier - Tombeau de Mezangeau

It serves the composition best when playing it quite in time. The original tablature is kept close and the author try not to "re-compose" the piece with variations, but rather keeping it quite plain. Since it is a Tombeau² it is desired for it to be calm and dignified. Original structure as notated:

a b

The structure of the performance is:

 $a a^1 b b^1$

4.3.4. Denis Gaultier - Fantaisies

This piece seem to demand quite some consideration of embellishments and stile brisée. This is demonstrated on the CD enclosed. The piece is best performed quite rhythmically. Apart from this, the piece is played once from beginning to end with no structural alterations.

4.3.5. Denis Gaultier - Canaries

The core of this piece is to make it "swing". No advanced ornaments are used, but mostly the trill and appogiatura. Original structure as notated:

a b c

The structure as played:

 $a a^1 b c c^1 b^1$

² *Tombeau* is a composition in memory of someone. The word translates: tomb, tombstone.

4.3.6. Philippe F. Le Sage de Richée - Menuett

To approach this piece, the bowing of the viola da gamba has been used as inspiration while constructing the phrasing and musical direction. This piece appears more as dance music than a free spirit concert piece, so it calls for a "body-approach" compared to a "spiritual" elaboration. Hence, the pulse is kept steady and "lifting". This is the only piece selected played with a *petit reprise*. The purpose is to clearly indicate the end so the fictional dancer may sum up his dance. Original structure as notated:

a b

The structure as played is:

a a¹ b a² a³ b¹ b² coda^(petit reprise)

4.4. Summary

The lute originates from the Arab lute in the 13th century, and evolved into the D-minor baroque lute. The 11 string guitar used on the enclosed CD is build to resemble the baroque lute and enable playing directly from original manuscripts, but still some differences between the two instruments must be treated for a successful result. The 11 string guitar has single strings and higher string tension compared to the lute having double strings and less string tension. Some baroque lute techniques must be used less frequently on the 11 string guitar compared to the lute, due to idiomatic differences, and the classical guitar right hand technique must be altered. The selected compositions are presented and the interpretation is encountered for, both in the book and on the enclosed CD.

5. Conclusion

The question defined in the introduction is: What is the genuine playing style of the French lute music from 1650-1700 and how can the music of Charles Mouton, Phillip Franz LeSage de Richée, Jacques Gallot, Ennemond Gaultier and Denis Gaultier be performed and interpreted on the modern 11 string classical guitar? An attempted answer to this question is included both in the book you hold and through the performance on the enclosed CD.

As been clarified, the playing style of the French lute music differs much from the style of the Italians and Germans. The French stand out more embellished both in the use of ornaments and in its more elaborate styles of breaking chords. The music is suitable to be played more freely when played solo compared to ensemble music, and the interaction with the atmosphere and audience seem to have been important for the musical ideal. Sources tell us that the French lute music were more intimate in character compared to the Italian and the German music. One theory include that the composition style of the French lutenists was closely related to French lyricism. The music of other European countries focus more on a melody with accompaniment in contrast to the melody in the French style lute music, which appear in all parts of the polyphonic structure. The lute had, in the second half of the 17th century France, established its final tuning and construction after a period of experimenting. It was common to buy Old Italian lutes to rebuild them into 11 course D-minor baroque lutes. The lute had gained entrance in salons, and at the court, where it was considered proper education for both women and men. Some preferred women to play the lute as the woman nature and spirit were "most suitable" to the style of French lute music. King Louis himself played the guitar and had lutenists to perform during supper. The lute was also used at the bed going of kings, underlining the soft and quiet nature of the French lute repertoire. The majority of the French lute music from this period seems to be slightly introvert and melancholic in nature. Several indications have been presented of different embellishments that can and should be used when playing French baroque lute music and there are many indications on the importance of ornamentation, especially in regards to the French music. When recording the selected pieces on the 11 string guitar, some issues must be solved, for example the long ringing of the bass strings on the

guitar. The guitarist must use more techniques to stop the ringing base strings compared to the lutenist, in order to maintain a clear sound. Other issues are connected to the single string on the guitar contra the double courses on the lute. Sweeping techniques on the guitar must be performed on bigger chords compared to on the lute to have a successful result. The nails of the guitarist also affect the result of sweeping techniques. The differing string tension affects the execution of ornaments, which is solved by tuning down the guitar to loosen up the string tension. Some adaptations made in the right hand technique were also used as well as a mixture of the lute and modern guitar technique to get the best of "both worlds". Using the modern classical guitar technique as a base, a more open hand position with the little finger placed on the lid as support was added. The nail on the thumb was not used in order to maintain a thick and heavy bass. Also the modern "three finger techniques" using all right hand fingers except the little finger, was changed to a lute inspired plucking technique based on the thumb, index and middle finger.

It has been very interesting researching for and writing this thesis. Some of the work left out for reasons mentioned, such as compositional analysis and compositional techniques, the connection between French lutenists and harpsichordists, the transition from the French to the German styles as well as the mobility of French musicians will be included in future work.

Appendix I - Biographies

Jacques Gallot (d. ca. 1690)

Also called "Gallot le Vieux" and 'vieux Gallot de Paris', Jacques Gallot was the brother of Alexandre Gallot and a pupil of Ennemond Gaultier. The inclusion of minuets and the order of how his pieces were arranged (by keys and forms) in his *Pièces de luth composées sur differens modes* anticipate the later suite. His compositions include several musical portraits and tombeaux inspired by members of the court (Rollin 2010a).

Denis Gaultier (1597-1672) (Gautier, Gaultier, Gothier, Goutie, Gautie, Gwaltier, Cautier, Gootier and Haultier) was married to Françoise Daucourt and the student of Charles Raquet. While his son was advisor to the king, Denis Gaultier did not receive any official appointment although held in high esteem by the King. He was often referred to as "Gaultier le jeune" or "Gaultier de Paris" in order to be distinguished from his cousin, Ennemond Gaultier. He studied with Charles Racquet and practised his art in the city of Paris, where he frequented salons. His career was closely linked to his cousin to an extent where writers of the time refer to them without discrimination (until 1631, when Ennemond Gaultier left Paris) (Rollin 2010b).

Ennemond Gaultier (1575-1651) (Gautier, Gaultier, Gothier, Goutie, Gautie, Gwaltier, Cautier, Gootier and Haultier), cousin of Denis Gaultier, does not seem to be related to Pierre and Jacques Gaultier (Farstad 2000, p. 79; Rollin 2010d). He was generally called *le vieux Gaultier* 1, Gaultier de Vienne² or Gaultier de Lyon to distinguish him from his cousin. Ennemond Gaultier worked as page to the Duchess of Montmorency in Languedoc, followed by an appointment at the court as a valet de chambre to the Queen (former Maria da Medici) from 1600-1631 (Rollin 2010c). Literature suggest some dissonance between Ennemond Gaultier and the minister Cardinal Richelieuⁱ who shadow ruled France after Louis XIII inherited the crown of France in 1617, only 16

¹ Translated to English: Old Gaultier, which is the English name for Ennemond used in Burwells Lute Tutor (c. 1662-72).

² http://www.cs.dartmouth.edu/~wbc/indices/Gautier.html, accessed March 25, 2010.

years old. According to the writings of Mary Burwell, Ennemond Gaultier influenced both the style in France and in England, where he was sent around 1630. He played before Charles I, Queen Henrietta Maria and the Duke of Buckingham, before retiring to Dauphiné in 1631 (Burwell 1762-72, pp. 14v, 32v and 46; Rollin 2010c; Aasen 2005, p. 117).

Charles Mouton (c. 1626³-between 1700 and 1710) (Sparr; 1983, p. 2). Not much that is certain about the life of Charles Mouton. He may have been related to the lute builder Pierre Mouton active in Paris from 1626-1660 (Mouton 1698, p. XI (Introduction) and may have been the student of Denis Gaultier. There are suggestions that he have lived at *rue l'Eperon* in 1678 and at *rue Saint Antoine* between 1691-1692 where he taught the art of the lute (Sparr; 1983, p. 2). The front page of his *Pièces de luth sur different modes* suggest that the manuscript can be bought from the composer at the Paris street *rüe Saint André des Artes* (Mouton 1698, front page). Literature suggests that he was employed at the Royal Court of France with different levels of certainty. André Tessier states that the clothes worn by Mouton on the painting by Francois de Troy (1690), is similar to the outfits of the members of *Les grand violins* of *Musique Royal* (Sparr; 1983, p. 2).

Kenneth Sparr's article (*L'illustre Mr Mouton*, 1983, p 4) suggests that in addition to the two books known of Mouton's lute music (*Pièces de luth sur different modes*) there may have be two more manuscripts, not yet found. René Milleran (known by the "*Milleran manuscript*") and Philipp Franz le Sage de Richée were two students of Mouton and in addition he may also have been the teacher of François Dufaut (Dufaut 1965, p. IX).

Phillip Franz Le Sage de Richée (fl c.1695)

A German lutenist and composer of French birth, there are suggestions that he was a pupil of Charles Mouton. It appears he was in the service of Baron von Neidhardt in Breslau in 1695. As an aristocrat it is suggested that he travelled in a number of countries, such as Bohemia, Austria and France, gaining a broad knowledge of the lute

-

³ Scholar Monique Rollin suggests he might have been born already in 1617 (Hammarlund 2005, p. 33).

repertory. *Cabinet der Lauten, in welchem zu finden 12 neue Partien, aus unterschiedenen Tonen und neuesten Manier so aniezo gebräuchlich'* is the one publication of his which has survived. He is seldom mentioned in manuscripts by others but he seems to have been held in high esteem (Boetticher 2010).

Robert de Visée (c1655? - 1732/3)

A French guitarist, theorbo, lute and viol player as well as composer, Robert de Visée may have been a student of Francesco Corbetta. He became a chamber musician to Louis XIV around 1680 and was often called upon by the king to amuse the dauphin. He also played to accompany the King while eating supper:

"Dangeau recorded that normally the king took his supper in bed at 10 o'clock. 'Ordinarily he would order Vize [Robert de Visée] to come and play his guitar at about 9 o'clock' (11 May 1686)" (Anderson 2009)

Robert de Visée frequently performed at the French court in the period between 1694 and 1705. The evening gatherings of Madame de Maintenon (together with the flautists Descoteaux and Philibert, the harpsichordist Jean-Baptiste Buterne and the viol player Antoine Forqueray) were one of many occasions on which he played. Madame de Coulanges⁴ writes in a letter (dated Paris February 3, 1696), to Madame de Sevigné that, during a wedding at L'Hôtel de Créqui one had the opportunity to hear a pretty concert by [Robert de] Vizé, [Marin?] Marais, [René Pignon] Descôteaux and Philibert [Rebillé] (Sevigné 1806, p. 276). His first appointment to the French court was in 1709 as a singer in the royal chamber. He was teaching the King to play the guitar already 1695, although it was not until 1719 he got the formal appointment as such. As indicated by Jean Rousseau in 1688, Robert de Visée was a respected musician at Versailles (Strizich and Ledbetter 2010).

78

⁴ It seems that Madame de Maintenon, who secretly married Louis XIV in 1683 was friend with Madame de Coulanges. (Aasen 2005, p. 183; Maintenon 1758)

End Notes to Appendix I:

My interpretation of this quotation is:

"Old Gaultier, Baron of Nisins of whom is before spoken, was soo niggard of his Lessons [pieces] that the famous Cardinal of Richelieu, who could play of the Lute, could never make him [Old Gaultier] come to Courte, because he [Richelieu] had abused his good mistres the Queene mother, he [Richelieu] was soo kind owed as to give one Corante [of Old Gaultier] to his [Gaultier's] Cousin Gaultier of Paris."

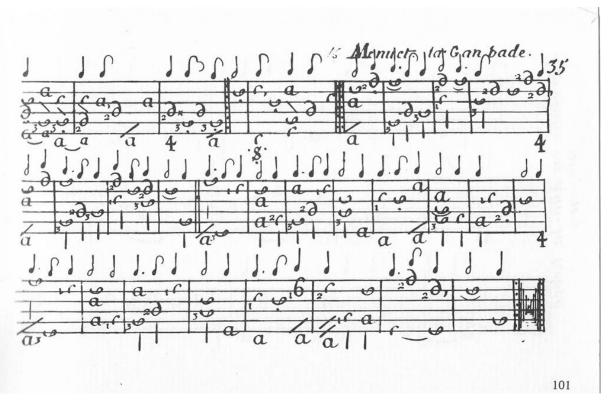
ⁱThe literature is unclear and open for interpretation:

[&]quot;Old Gaultier Baron of Nisins of whom is before spoken was soo niggard of his Lessons that the famous Cardinal of Richelieu who could play of the Lute could never make him come to Courte because he had abused his good mistres the Queene mother he was soo kind owed as to give one Corante to his Cousin Gaultier of Paris." (Burwell 1762-72, p. 46)

Appendix II - Tablatures

La Mallassis by Charles Mouton









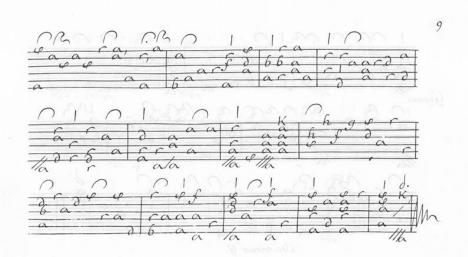


Fantaisies by Denis Gaultier

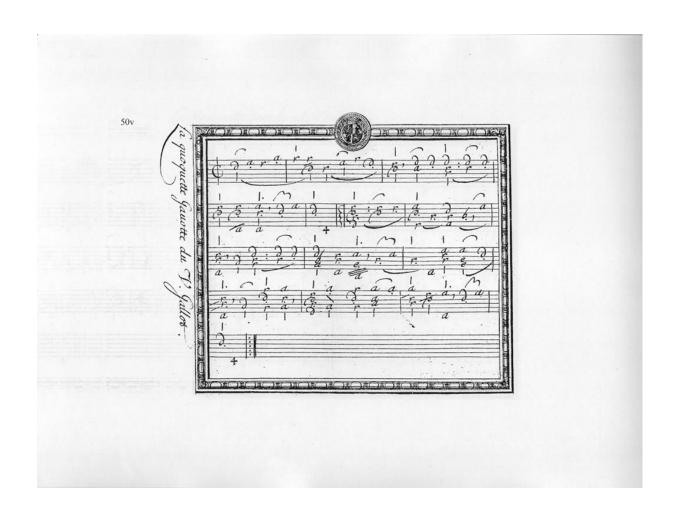








La Quoquette by Jacques Gallot



Bibliography

Anderson, Gordon A. et al. (2010) – *Paris*; In *Grove Music Online*; Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/40089pg5; accessed March 10, 2010

Aasen, Elisabeth (2005) - Barokke damer; Pax Forlag; Norge

- Bach, Carl Phillip Emanuel (1759/1762) Essay of the True Art of Playing Keyboard

 Instruments; London 1974; English translation by William J.

 Mitchell of the German edition Versuch über die wahre Art

 das Clavier zu spielen; 1753-1797
- Bailes, Anthony (1984) "An Introduction to French Lute Music of the XVIIth Century";

 Corpus de luthistes Français; Le Luth et sa musique; Etudes

 réunies et présentées par Jean-Michel Vaccaro; Editions du

 Centre Nationa de la Recherche Scientifique
- Baron, Ernst Gottlieb (1727) *Study of the lute*, Instrumenta Antiqua (1976); English translation by Douglas Alton Smith of *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchnung des Instruments der Laute;,*Nürnberg
- Brett, Philip (1988) "Text, context, and the Early Music Editor"; *Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (editor: Nicholas Kenyon); Oxford University Press , pp. 83-115
- Boetticher, Wolfgang (2010) *Le Sage de Richée, Philipp Franz;* In *Grove Music Online;*Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/
 subscriber/article/grove/music/16470, accessed February
 17, 2010.

- Buch, David J. (1985) "Style brisé, Style luthé," and the "Choses luthées"; *The Musical Quarterly, Vol. 71, No. 1.* (1985), pp. 52-67.
- Burwell, Mary (c.1662-72) *The Burwell Lute Tutor;* with an Introductory study by

 Robert Spencer; Reproduced under the direction of Leslie

 Hewitt for Boethius Press; Leeds England 1974
- Butt, John (2008) *Authenticity*; In Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online;

 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/
 grove/ music/46587, accessed November 28, 2008
- Cohen, Albert (2010) *Dumanoir, Guillaume*; In *Grove Music Online*; Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/08307, accessed March 16, 2010
- Couperin, François (1716) *L'Art de toucher le clavecin*; Edited and translated by

 Margery Halford; An Alfred Masterwork Edition; Second

 Edition, Alfred Publishing Co., Inc., USA MCMXCV
- Davies, Stephen and Sadie, Stanley (2010) Interpretation; In Grove Music Online; Oxford

 Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/

 subscriber/article/grove/music/13863; accessed February
 23, 2010
- Dart, Thurston (1954) *Musikalisk Praxis, från medeltid till wienklassicism*. Translated to Swedish and edited by Ingmar Bengtsson in cooperation with Collegium Musicum, Stockholm; Natur och Kultur 1964; Second edition; Original title: *The Interpretation of Music*; Hutchinson & Co
- Dolmetsch, Arnold (1915) *The Interpretation of the Music of the Seventeenth and*Eighteenth Century; University of Washington Press, Seattle

and London; Original print 1915 London, Fourth printing 1977 USA

Donnington, Robert (1974) - The Interpretation of Early Music; Faber and Faber; London

- Dufaut, François (1965) Œvres de Dufaut; Corpus des luthistes Français; Edition et transcription par André Souris; Introduction historique at étude des concordances par Monique Rollin; Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique ; 15, Quai Anatole-France Paris (VIIe)
- Edström, Olle (2002) En annan berättelse om den västerländska musikhistorien och det estetiska projektet; Department of musicology and film studies, Göteborg University, Sweden
- Farstad, Per Kjetil (2000) *German Galant Lute Music in the 18th Century*; Göteborg University; Department of Musicology; Sweden
- Farstad, Per Kjetil (2009) *Kvinnelige lutenister I Tyskland på 1700-tallet*; Unpublished article
- Farstad, Per Kjetil (1998) "Ornaments in 18th Century German Lute Music"; *LAUTE, Jahrbuch der deutschen Lautengesellschaft,* pp. 85-115
- Gallot, le Vieux (c.1700) *Stücke für Barocklaute*; Repoduktion der Handschrift im Besitz der Stadt Leipzig Städtische Bibliotheken Musikbibliothek (Signatur II.6.14); Albert Reyerman; 1999 Tree edition
- Gaultier, Denis and Gaultier, Ennemond (1670/1680) Pièces de luth, sur trois différent modes nouveaux; Minkoff Reprint; Gevève 1975;

 Réimpression de l'édition de Paris, c. 1670; Livres de tablature des pièces de luth, sur plusieurs différent modes, avec quelques règles qu'il faut observer pour le bien toucher;

- Minkoff Reprint; Gevève 1975; Réimpression de l'édition de Paris, c. 1680
- Goertzel Sandman, Susan (1977) "The Wind Band at Louis XIVs Court"; *Early Music, Vol. 5, No. 1.* (Jan., 1977), pp. 27-37
- Garden, Greer (2010) Port de voix; In Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online,

 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/gro
 ve/music/22145, accessed January 22, 2010
- Hammarlund, Anders (2005) "Monsieur Mouton, lutan och civilisationsprocessen", Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning 88/2005, pp. 27-44
- Harwood, Ian *and* Crawford, Tim (2009) *Angélique (i)*; In Grove Music Online, Oxford

 Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/

 subscriber/article/grove/music/00923, accessed January
 22, 2009
- Hotteterre, Jacques-Martin (1707) *Principles of the Flute, Recorder and Oboe;* Paris;

 Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by Paul Marshall

 Douglas; Dover Publications, Inc., New York; 1983
- Kenyon, Nicholas (1988) "Authenticity and Early Music: Some Issues and Questions";

 **Authenticity and Early Music: A Symposium* (editor: Nicholas Kenyon), Oxford University Press, pp. 1-19
- Ledbetter, David (1987) *Harpsichord and Lute Music in 17th-Century France*; The Macmillan Press Ltd, London
- LeSage de Richeè, Phillip F. (1695) *Cabinet der Lauten*; Tree Edition; München 1995
- LeSage de Richée, Phillip F. (1976) "How beginners should proceed the lute instructions of Le Sage de Richée"; Translated by Douglas

- Alton Smith; *Journal of the lute Society of America; Volume IX,* pp. 89-94
- Libin, Laurence (2008) *Organology*; In Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online;

 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/20441, accessed, August 8, 2008
- Mace, Thomas (1676) *Musick's Monument;* A facsimile of the 1676 London Edition; Broude Brothers New York; USA 1966
- Matteis, Nicola (1682) *The False Consonances of Musick;* Complete facsimile edition with an introduction by James Tyler; Euing Music Collection B.e. 20.; Editions Chanterelle S.A.; Monaco 1980
- Mattheson, (1739) *Der vollkemmene Capellmeister;* A revised Translation with Critical Comentary by Ernest C. Harris; UMI Research Press;
 Michigan 1981
- Matthew, James E (1906/7) "French Opera before 1750"; *Proceedings of the Musical Association; 33rd Sess.*; pp. 133-157.
- Milleran, Manuscrit (c.1690) *Tablature de luth Français* (Bibliothèque National, Paris, Rés. 823); Introduction: François Lesure; Minkoff Reprint; Genève, 1976
- Mouton, Charles (c. 1698) *Pièces de luth sur different modes*; Premier et second livre; Indroduction de François Lesure; Minkoff Reprint; Genève 1978; Réimpression de l'édition de Paris, l'auteur,
- Neumann, Frederick (1979) "Once More The French Overture Style"; *Early Music, Vol. 7, No. 1.* (Jan., 1979), pp. 39-43+45.

- North, Nigel (1987) *Continuo Playing on the Lute, Archlute and Theorbo*; Indiana University Press; Bloomington and Indianapolis
- Partridge, Richard (2010) *Lute*; In *The Oxford Companion to Music*, edited by Alison
 Latham; *Oxford Music Online*;
 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/op/
 t114/e4101, accessed February 16, 2010
- Poulton, Diana (1975) "Graces of Play in renaissance lute music"; *Early Music; Volume 3*1975 (editor: J. M. Thomson) Oxford University Press; Great
 Britain, pp. 107-114.
- Quantz, Johann Joachim (1752) *On Playing the Flute*; Faber and Faber London Boston; Second edition 1985; Translated with notes and an introduction by Edward R. Reilly
- Radke, Hans and Király, Peter (2010) Wyssenbach, Rudolf; In Grove Music Online;

 Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/
 subscriber/article/grove/music/30648; accessed March 25,
 2010
- Rameau, Jean-Philippe (1722) *Treatise on Harmony;* Translated with an introduction and notes by Philip Gossett; Dover Publications Inc., USA 1971
- Reilly, Edward R. (2010) *Buffardin, Pierre-Gabriel*; In *Grove Music Online*; *Oxford Music Online*: http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/04264; accessed March 25, 2010
- Rollin, Monique (2010a) *Gallot;* In *Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online;*http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10582pg2; accessed February 17, 2010

- Rollin, Monique (2010b) *Gaultier, Denis;* In Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online;

 http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/gro
 ve/music/10745 Accessed January 12, 2010
- Rollin, Monique (2010c) *Gaultier, Ennemond;* In Grove Music Online, Oxford Music
 Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/
 article/grove/music/10746; Accessed January 11, 2010
- Rollin, Monique (2010d) *Gaultier, Jacques;* In Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/10756; Accessed January 11, 2010
- Sadie (2009) Louis XIV, King of France; In Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/17037, accessed April 27, 2009
- Scudéry, Madame et. al (1806) *Lettres de mesdames de Scudéry, de Salvan de Saliez et de mademoiselle Descartes: précédées de notices biographiques et accompagnées de notes explicatives*; chez L. Collin, (Editor: Mademoiselle Descartes); Oxford University
- Seip, Ingebjørg (1996) "Vitenskapens estetiske dimensjon"; article in Molander, Bengt (ed.) *Mellan konst och Vetande,* pp. 23-32
- Sévigné, Marie de R. Ch. (1811) *Letters of Madame de Sévigné to Her Daughter and Her Friends*; An enlarged edition translated from the paris edition of 1806; in nine volumes; vol. IX; Printed for J. Walker, London
- Sparr, Keneth (1980) "Franska lutenister och fransk lutmusik i Sverige"; *SGLS 13/1980 No.2*, pp 17-29
- Sparr, Keneth (1983) "L'illustre Mr. Mouton"; *SGLS 16/1983 No.1*, pp 2-8

- Spring, Matthew (2006) *The Lute in Britain: A History of the Instrument and Its Music*;
 Oxford University Press US
- Stravinsky, Igor (1942) *Poetics of Music, in the form of six lessons;* Preface by George Seferis; Harvard University Press, USA 2003
- Strizich, Robert *and* Ledbetter, David (2010) *Visée, Robert de;* In *Grove Music Online;*Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/
 subscriber/article/grove/music/29508; accessed February
 17, 2010
- Tick and Erikson (2009) Women in music, §II: Western classical traditions in Europe & the USA; In Grove Music Online; Oxford Music Online; http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com:80/subscriber/article/grove/music/52554pg2, accessed October 8, 2008
- Torres, George (1997) "Some Manifestations of French Lyricism in Seventeenth-Century Pièces de luth Repertoire"; *Journal of the Lute Society of America* (Editor: Douglas Alton Smith); Lute Society of America; *Volume XXX*, 1997 pp. 25-41
- Torres, George (2003) "Performance Practice Technique for the Baroque Lute: An

 Examination of the Introductory Avertissements from

 Seventeenth-Century Sources"; Journal of the Lute Society of

 America (Editor: Douglas Alton Smith); Lute Society of

 America; Volume XXXVI, 2003 pp. 19-47
- de Visée, Robert (1682/1686) *Livre de Guitarre, Livre de Pièces pour la Guitarre*;

 Minkoff Reprint; Genève 1973; Réimpression des editions de Paris