# ERNST GOTTLIEB BARON COLLECTED WORKS



VOLUME I
Introduction - Transcriptions - Commentary
PART A

edited by Jan W.J. Burgers

## ERNST GOTTLIEB BARON

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## VOLUME I / PART A

Introduction Transcriptions Sources Commentary

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### **PREFACE**

The music of Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760), lutenist to King Frederick the Great of Prussia, has until now not been given the attention it deserves. In Germany during his lifetime Baron was regarded as one of the most outstanding virtuosos of the lute, and leading critics ranked him among the best composers of the nation. The modern neglect he has suffered was caused perhaps by the fact that most of his music seems to have been lost, and that the works, which have survived, are probably his less demanding ones, aimed at the amateur players. It is clear, however, that these tuneful and relatively easy pieces should be a welcome addition to the repertory of today's lutenist, amateur as well as professional. Moreover, Baron's ensemble works, mostly lute trios, are more ambitious than his lute solos and surely deserve more attention than is the case at present. It is hoped that this book, in which all of the surviving works of this lutenist have been collected, will help to revive the interest in Baron's art.

It is with pleasure and gratitude that I mention the names of those who were ready to help during the writing of this book. René Genis and Albert Reyerman gave me information about manuscripts I was not able to study in person. André Burguete answered many questions about German lutenists and lute manuscripts. Peter Dechant kindly gave me copies of transcripts Erich Schütze had made in the 1930s of manuscripts that subsequently have disappeared. Most of all I must thank Tim Crawford, who was always willing to share his knowledge and views with me, provided photocopies of lute music and also took the considerable trouble to meticulously read and correct the text of this book. Wayne Cripps gave me permission to use his TAB program to typeset the tablature, and at my request he even made some small adjustments to it. Finally, I am once again very happy that TREE Edition was willing to publish this book.

Amsterdam, June 2004

JWJB

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## INTRODUCTION

#### Baron's Life

The details of the life of Ernst Gottlieb (or Erneste Theophile) Baron (in the sources sometimes in its Italian form 'Baro') are chiefly known from two contemporary publications: Walther's *Musikalisches Lexicon* (1732) and Marpurg's *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge* (1755), in which short biographies of this lutenist and composer are included. These are reliable sources, as Walther will have got his information from the lutenist himself, while the piece in Marpurg's article, where the story is explicitly taken up where Walther had left off, was ostensibly written by Baron. Recently the life of Baron has been described in studies by Holger Lüer and Per Kjetil Farstad.

Baron was born in Silesia, the region where so many lutenists originated, in the town of Breslau (nowadays Wrocław in Poland), on the 16th of February 1696. His father, who died in 1717, was a haberdasher and a local militia lieutenant, and later a sexton in the church of Saint Barbara. Young Ernst Gottlieb was intended to follow in his father's footsteps, but soon it was clear that his passion for music and his intellectual ability would lead him in another direction. After his primary school days he went to the Elizabethanische Gymnasium in Breslau, and at the same time, around 1710, he received his first lute lessons, from a Bohemian named 'Kohott' – perhaps Jacob Kohaut (1678–1762), father of the more famous lutenist Karl Kohaut.<sup>3</sup> On 19 November 1715 Baron matriculated at Leipzig University, where he was to spend four years following the courses of Philosophy and Law. He never attained an academic Master's title in one of these disciplines; in the caption to his portrait of 1727 he is called a 'Candidatus juris', a candidate of Law.

For young Baron, who was probably more interested in music than in his academic studies, Leipzig must have been an exciting place to be. Music played a prominent part in the every day life of the city: it sounded in its churches, during the many official ceremonies of the city and the craft guilds, in the homes of the wealthy citizens as well as in the taverns. The University took part in several of these musical performances, and students were often engaged to sing and play there. Already in the seventeenth century musical companies of students had been established, and the Collegia musica created by Georg Philipp Telemann in 1702 and Johann Friedrich Fasch in 1708, each consisting of some 40 members, earned fame for their high professional standard. It is not known if Baron played in one such Collegium as a lutenist or theorbo player, but some involvement in the rich musical life of Leipzig seems probable. He also must have met other lutenists during his stay: in 1719 and 1720 Adam Falckenhagen studied in Leipzig, as did Anton Gleitsmann in 1716 or 1717, and Meusel sometime during these years.

By 1719 Baron seems to have become an accomplished virtuoso, as he then started the life of a travelling musician, trying to make a living by playing in various German cities and princely courts, always on the look-out for a profitable position and in the meantime building up a reputation for himself. From Leipzig Baron went to Halle, where he stayed for a short while, and subsequently he visited the courts of Köthen – where he probably met J.S. Bach –,<sup>4</sup> Schleitz, Saalfeld and Rudolstadt. In 1720 he arrived in Jena, where on April 16th he matriculated at the University, as a student of professor Burkhard Gotthelf Struvio, who taught Law and History. Again, Baron eventually left the town without attaining an academic degree. Most of his time he probably was engaged in

- Walther 1732, p. 75; Baron 1755, pp. 544-546, entitled: *Herrn Barons Fortsetzung seiner in dem Waltherischen Lexico befindlichen Lebensumstände*.
- 2 Lüer 1995, pp. 88-96; Farstadt 1997, pp. 43-51, and a shorter version in Farstad 2000, pp. 297-300. The following biographical sketch is largely based on both eighteenth-century sources, and the additions made by Lüer and Farstad.
- 3 In his *Beytrag* (Baron 1756a, p. 81), Baron makes a passing mention of old church music that included a lute part, which he had seen in Saint Barbara. It could be that already at this young age Baron was engaged to sing or play in the church, but it is also possible that he just saw the music thanks to his father the sexton.
- 4 Documents reveal payments of the Köthen court to guest musicians, such as a foreigner playing a 'bandoloisches Instrument' (a kind of bandora) in July 1719 and a lute player from Düsseldorf in August of the same year (*Bach-Dokumente* II, no. 93).



Baron's portrait, from his Untersuchung (1727)

musical activities, which became more ambitious. In Jena he studied with the organist and scholar Jacob Adlung (1699–1762), learning to play the keyboard and broadening his musical knowledge. During these years he was also already working at his *Untersuchung*, a book on the lute and lute playing, which was to be published in 1727. At a later date, Adlung wrote that already in Jena Baron had tried to get the book printed, which attempt failed because nobody was interested in providing funds for the publication of the manuscript. Moreover, everybody was unhappy with the vehement attacks in it on the leading music critic Johann Mattheson.<sup>5</sup>

Probably Baron took part in the lively musical activities in Jena, for example in the *Collegium musicum* directed by Johann Nikolaus Bach, city organist and University professor. Baron certainly was involved

in the social gatherings with the students, as is ascertained by the well-known anecdote, later recorded by Marpurg:

The former Royal Prussian chamber musician and lutenist, Mr. Ernst Gottlieb Baron, resided in Jena during the years of 1720 and 1721. He was popular with the students because of his skilful lute playing as well as his jovial spirit. One evening, when he joined a large party together with the famous and unhappy poet Günther,6 one of the muchdebated topics of conversation was the effect of ancient Greek music, and the question was raised if modern music would be able to produce the same effect. 'Why not?' Baron answered. 'Well, my dear countryman and brother,' Günther said, 'fetch your instrument and show us what art can be capable of.' Soon the lute was present. Baron started with various ascending and descending scalar runs, breaking the triads often through every sort of artful arpeggios; from time to time he took the audience, that was sitting in a circle around him, by surprise by making unexpected enharmonic changes; he interspersed the most difficult passages with melting pathetic melodies, varied his playing through all possible graduations from forte to *piano*, changed the measure of time frequently; now he seemed to caress the tones, then to violate them, now he seemed possessed by the Graces, then by the Furies. In short, Baron surpassed himself this evening, and he possibly never again played so beautifully and with such effect. As he often looked at the listeners, he noticed that they became restless and started to twist their faces when he played certain passages. He doubled and tripled these passages, and the more restless the movements by the audience became, the more Baron was incited to try out all of his art on the listeners. He had decided to evoke the passion of anger gradually in them up to a certain degree, and as soon as they would begin acting too strange and restless, he wanted to soothe their rage through softer modulations. In fact it happened at a certain point, where he now progressed with nothing but harsh dissonances, then stopped the movement with the same dissonance, and repeated them with strong attacks, that all listeners one after another jumped up from their places, knocked down chairs and tables, smashed the tobacco pipes, crushed a mirror, demolished a coffee service and windows,

- 5 Adlung 1758, pp. 580-581 (p. 580, footnote b: 'Er studierte mit mir in Jena, und wolte sein Buch allda drucken lassen; aber da man ihm keinen Ducaten vor jeden Bogen bezahlen wolte, überdies auch niemand zufrieden war, daß er allzu hitzig wider Mattheson geschrieben, so unterblieb es damals').
- Johann Christian Günther, 1695–1723, a Silesian poet, who lived a short and extremely unhappy life. In 1717–1719 he resided in Leipzig, so probably Baron had already met him there.

and suddenly the swords flew out of their scabbards and rattled against each other in the air. Now, Baron thought that it was time to soothe the exasperated tempers and bring the peace back. But, he had barely started modulating softer tones, when some of the devilish fellows attacked the Arion from Jena himself; luckily, he succeeded in withdrawing from the now general fight, and he fled with his lute smashed. However, he had not removed himself more than ten steps from the musical battleground, when suddenly he heard a loud laughter and joy. Baron listened and noticed that all were in a good mood again; he returned out of mere curiosity and discovered ... that he was deceived, and that all that had happened, had been arranged by those mischievous sons of the Muses, who just once wanted to get the best of the gullible Baron. Everyone laughed, and he could not resist from chuckling, and was afterward comforted by the fact that, for this joke, the next day was delivered at his house a far better lute than his old one.7

This delightful story shows the zeal with which Baron stood for his art and his instrument, and his companionable and possibly also somewhat naive character.

After a two-year stay in Jena, so probably in 1722, Baron again took the road.8 For six years he travelled in Middle and Southern Germany. First he went to Cassel, where he played for the Landgrave. The next stop was Fulda, where he stayed for eight weeks. After that he went to Würzburg, Nürnberg and Regensburg, where he had 'useful' contacts with influential people: His Excellency the Herr von Reck, ambassador of Sachsen-Lauenburg, and his brother-in-law Herr Christiani, *Hofrat* at the Mecklenburg court. After that he went back to Nürnberg, where in 1727 he published his *Untersuchung des Instruments des* Lauten ('Study of the Lute'). The book was dedicated to Ernst August I, Duke of Sachsen-Weimar (1707– 1748). Included was a laudatory poem 'To his friend the author' by Christoph. Augustus Lammermann, Juris Utriusque Doctor and Attorney at Law in Nürnberg.

This publication must have increased Baron's fame and his status as a musician, and perhaps it is no coincidence that in the following year, on 12 May 1728, he was offered his first position as a lutenist, at the court of Sachsen-Gotha, in the place of Meusel (first



Johann Christian Günther

name unknown), who had died from the consequences of a fall from his horse. Adam Falckenhagen had also applied for the position, with a recommendation from his patron, Duke Ernst August of Weimar, but to no avail. Baron's new patron, Duke Frederick II, was a generous music lover, and maintained a substantial court orchestra under the direction of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel. However, the Duke died in 1732, and his successor Frederick III decided he could do with less, and cut the court *Capell* down to fourteen musicians. Perhaps Baron was one of the persons that were dismissed, although in his autobiography he writes that he took his leave because of the changed circumstances at court.

Be that as it may, Baron went to Eisenach in the same year, where he was offered a position in the *Kammer- und Capellmusik* of the princely court. Here he stayed until 1737, when he tendered his resignation, in order to try his luck in Berlin. The Duke of Sachsen-Eisenach granted him permission to leave, and Baron departed not only with a letter of recommendation to the Prussian Crown Prince Frederick, but also with the promise that Baron could always return to his old position if he did not succeed in

- Marpurg 1786, pp. 158-161; the translation is based on the one in Farstad 1997, pp. 50-51, where in footnote 33 also the original German text is given.
- 8 Farstad 1997, p. 44, asserts that Baron remained in Jena until 1723–24, but he does not give his source. Walther 1732, p. 75, states clearly that Baron stayed in Jena for two years. As we saw in the anecdote just cited, Marpurg also mentions that Baron lived in Jena during the years 1720 and 1721.
- 9 Here ends Walther's description of Baron's life; the following is mainly from Baron 1755.
- 10 Farstad 2000, p. 303.



King Frederick II of Prussia

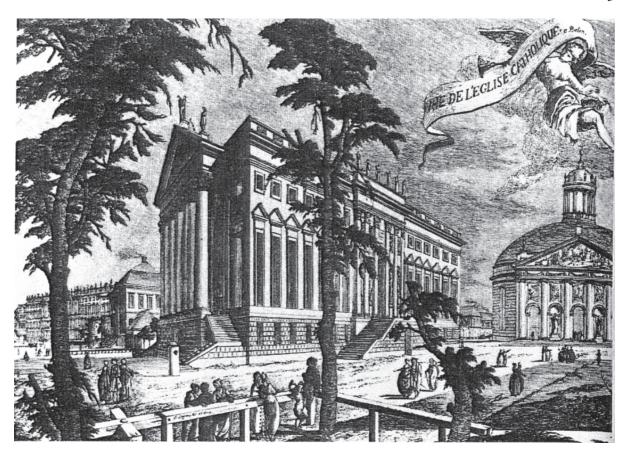
Prussia. On his journey he first went to Merseburg, where he met the *Capellmeister* Römhild, the *Concertmeister* Förster and a singer called Diener, and where he played before Duke Heinrich of Sachsen-Merseburg. After this Baron visited the court of Köthen, where he met his old friend Christian Ferdinand Abel, the viol player, and where his playing was also well-received. Baron continued his journey to Zerbst, where he met the *Capellmeister* Fasch, the *Concertmeister* Höck and the oboe player Fröde. Again he was asked to play before the prince, Johann Ludwig of Anhalt-Zerbst, and again he met with approval.

According to Baron's autobiography he arrived at Berlin at the close of the year 1737, and he immediately handed over the letter of recommendation from the Duke of Eisenach to the Crown Prince Frederick, who forthwith offered him a position as theorbo player, at a considerable allowance. Frederick (1712–

1786), the later king of Prussia, who already during his lifetime was called 'the Great', was in the 1730s a young prince with a passion for philosophy, literature, art and music. After an extremely unhappy youth, marked by sharp conflicts with his father king Frederick William, he now probably enjoyed the happiest years of his life, with the leisure and the means to pursue his interests. He was in contact with the leading minds of the age (the most prominent of whom was Voltaire), wrote books and poetry himself, indulged in the arts, collected paintings and statues, and commissioned architecture for his new palace at Rheinsberg. He was also an ardent music lover, flute player and composer of symphonies, concertos and flute sonatas, who strove to establish a court orchestra of his own, which, although rather small due to his limited means, was to be of excellent quality. From 1732 onward, when still living in Ruppin, first-class musicians arrived at his court, and when in 1736 he moved to his Rheinsberg palace, the orchestra consisted of seventeen instrumentalists (singers were still too expensive). The list included Karl Heinrich Graun, Kapellmeister; Franz Benda Concertmeister; Johann Gottlieb Graun, violinist; Johann Benda, violinist; Christoph Schaffrath, harpsichordist; Johann Gottlieb Janitsch, bass violinist; Joseph Blume, Georg Czarth, Johann Kaspar Grundke, and Ehms (first name unknown) violinists; Anton Hock, cellist; Reich, violinist; Petrini, harpist; Michael Gabriel Fredersdorff, flutist; Ernst Gottlieb Baron, theorbist; J.I. Horzizky, horn player; and another (unnamed) horn player. 11 So this list indicates that Baron was already in Frederick's service in the Ruppin years, before June 1736, and some (later) biographical sources indeed mention 1735 (one even 1734) as the year Baron came to the court of the Crown Prince. 12 As there is much confusion on the subject, it seems best to accept Baron's own statement until contemporary documents are found that show otherwise.

At court Baron's first duty probably was accompaniment in the concertos and sonatas played by the violinists Graun and Benda and by the flutist-king himself, together with the cellist Hock and in alternation with the harpsichordist Schaffrath and the harpist Petrini; especially in outdoor activities his services would have been required. <sup>13</sup> As he did not posses

- 11 Mennicke 1906, pp. 468-469, after Hennert, *Beschreibung des Lustschlosses und Gartens ... zu Rheinsberg*, Berlin 1778.
- The year 1737 is mentioned in Gerber 1790, cols. 107-108, and Gerber 1812, col. 266. Eitner 1900, I, p. 345, gives 1735, as does Boetticher 1949, I, col. 1338; the year 1734 is in Ledebur 1861, p. 31. In Richter 1995, p. 42 and Liedtke 1995, p. 61, 1735 is mentioned as the year of Baron's appointment; Lüer 1995, pp. 93-94, gives 1735 as well as 1737, without reaching a conclusion. It should be mentioned that the bass violinist Janitsch, who is also on the list of the Ruppin musicians, according to Richter, *loc. cit.*, was engaged in 1737, coming from Frankfurt an der Oder; while a list of musicians, published in Liedtke 1995b, pp. 60-61, gives 1736 as Janitsch's first year in Ruppin.
- 13 Richter 1995, p. 42; Liedtke 1995b, p. 57-58, mentions the concerts in the gardens, in the wooden 'temple of the Muses, Amalthea'.



The Opera and the Catholic church in Berlin

a theorbo, the king gave him permission to go to Dresden, in order to buy an instrument to his taste. In Dresden he obtained a theorbo from Silvius Leopold Weiss, and in addition made, or renewed, his acquaintance with the lutenists Wolfgang Adam Anton Hoffer from Vienna, and Weiss's pupils Belgratzky and Johann Kropfganss and his sister. Not much is known of other journeys by Baron after he had accepted the post at the court of Frederick. It seems that he travelled to Königsberg in 1755, where he would have met the lutenist Carl Franz Joseph Weiss (cousin of Sylvius Leopold Weiss). <sup>14</sup> It appears Baron spent most of his time in the vicinity of his Royal patron.

In 1740 Frederick became King of Prussia, and moved from Rheinsberg to Berlin. He was now able to pursue his musical interests on a much grander scale. He increased the number of musicians in the Royal Chamber and Court Orchestra, including important musicians as Johann Joachim Quantz, his long-time flute teacher and musical factotum, and the

harpsichordist Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach. Now Frederick was at last able to realise his ambitious plans for a Berlin Opera House, which was immediately built. It opened its doors on 7 December 1742, with a staging of Karl Heinrich Graun's *Cesare e Cleopatra*. A year before, on 13 December 1741, Hasse's *Rodelinda* had already been enacted as the first Berlin opera, in a little theatre in the Stadtschloss, with an orchestra of 38 members: 12 violins, 4 violas, 4 cellos, 3 string basses, 4 flutes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, 4 oboes, one theorbo (undoubtedly played by Baron), one harp and a harpsichord.<sup>15</sup>

Baron was now a member of one of the largest and most celebrated orchestras of Europe. In Marpurg's 1754 list of the King's musicians, we count 42 instrumentalists. <sup>16</sup> As Charles Burney noted in 1789: 'From the year 1742, when the late king of Prussia fixed the musical establishment of his opera and court, so many eminent musicians were engaged in his service, that Berlin seems to have given the law to the

- 14 Neemann 1939, p. 175, states that Baron was in Königsberg in 1755, as can be deduced from the inscription of his *F Major Partita* (No. 12 in the present edition) in the Archiv Finkenstein. This would, however, only hold true if this inscription was an autograph, something which can no longer be ascertained, as the MS is lost. André Burguete announces a future publication on S.L. Weiss, in which more will be said on Baron's visit to Königsberg (private communication, 7-7-2003). On C.F.J. Weiss, see Thomsen-Fürst 2000.
- 15 Helm 1960, p. 92.
- 16 Marpurg 1754, pp. 76-78.

rest of Germany, not merely from the great number of excellent composers and performers within its precincts, but theoretical and critical writers'. 17 The King's musicians lived a busy life. During the opera season, from late November to March 27, every day, except Saturday, some music was played; grand opera was performed on Mondays and Fridays. Normally, two new operas were presented each season. The orchestra had to perform not only at operas, but also the year round at the King's private concerts, the Abendmusiken. For most of these evening concerts a smaller group was used, seldom consisting of more than a suitable accompaniment for Frederick's flute playing: a continuo group and/or some strings. Baron probably was often present with his theorbo. These soirées were regularly between six and nine in the evening, in the music rooms of one of the palaces or mansions in Potsdam or Berlin, played before a small audience, or even by the King and his musicians alone.18

Not much is known of Baron's precise activities. In 1742 he was allowed, as one of the 'ersteren Capellbedienten', 300 Thaler yearly, which was paid in four quarterly instalments; this salary stayed unchanged until the end of his life. In 1741 Baron was a member of a committee that had to judge the qualities of a man called Fuhrmann, who had applied as an organist at the Berlin Nicolai church. At the end the committee, of which the other members were Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Franz Benda, the oboist Peter Glösch and the Cantor of the church Ditmar, found that Fuhrmann was utterly incompetent, and not even able to read music. <sup>19</sup>

The King was generally pleased with his musicians, but at times had his difficulties with them, as is attested from his letters to his beloved sister Wilhelmina. In 1736 he had reasons to grumble at these unruly 'children of Euterpe', who required a more careful handling than the affairs of state. In 1738 Frederick wrote that he had to praise the good conduct of his musicians, although he knew that this would not last. In 1737 Frederick mentioned the querulous and irascible temper of his musicians, who were jealous of each other's qualities and positions. <sup>20</sup> In 1755 there was a conflict between the King and his musicians, who claimed that they were entitled to an extra al-

lowance every time they were called to play at the Potsdam palace, Berlin being their proper residence. The musicians made the King 'mad' with their complaints, but he did not give in: Frederick had no intention to pay them twice for the same service.<sup>21</sup>

On the other hand, the musicians probably had their own reasons to become less than satisfied with their Royal master. He was notoriously tough with his performers, and had the habit at the opera of standing behind the director Graun in order to keep an eye on the score to make sure that no one played a wrong note.<sup>22</sup> Also, the court musicians resented the privileged position of Quantz, in every sense the director of the royal chamber music, who was better paid than most of them (he earned 2000 Thalers yearly), and reigned over his colleagues like 'a dictator', as he was described by the later Kapellmeister Johann Friedrich Reichardt.<sup>23</sup> Probably worse still, in the course of time the musical taste of the King grew very narrow indeed. In the Rheinsberg years music by such composers as Hasse, Telemann and Handel was performed, as were the flute compositions by Quantz and Frederick himself, but after the move to Berlin Frederick's musical taste, progressive in his younger years, gradually petrified: in the opera he only wanted to hear Italianate works by Hasse and Graun, sung by his heavy-paid Italian singers, and in his evening concerts the repertoire was limited to Quantz's and the King's own works, which were played in endless repetition with the King as soloist. Frederick had an aversion to newer musical forms such as the Empfindsamkeit, of which the foremost composer, Emanuel Bach, was in his own service. It was no wonder that the instrumentalists began to organise concerts for themselves, or were hired to play at private concerts of the Berlin bourgeoisie, where their own compositions could be heard. Here they also found the opportunity to give music lessons to the young sons and daughters of the burghers, and thus to earn some extra money in addition to their rather meagre salaries. By a coincidence it is known that Baron also had pupils, or at least we know the name of one lute student of his. Johann Georg Hamann (1730-1788), later to become a well-known philosopher and scholar, had for a week a few lute lessons from Baron during his stay in Berlin in October–November 1756.<sup>24</sup>

- 17 Burney 1789, II, p. 948.
- 18 Helm 1960, pp. 192-120.
- 19 Sachs 1908, pp. 163-164; Lüer 1995, p. 95.
- 20 Menneicke 1906, p. 469; Richter 1995, pp. 43-44.
- 21 Richter 1926, p. 376.
- 22 MacDonogh 1999, p. 188.
- 23 Helm 1960, pp. 160-161. Here is also the sarcastic remark of C.Ph.E. Bach, who is supposed to have said: 'Who is the most fearsome animal in the Prussian Monarchy? It is Madame Quantz's lap-dog. He is so terrifying that Madame Quantz quails before him; Herr Quantz, in turn, is afraid of Madame Quantz; and the greatest of all monarchs [Frederick] fears Herr Quantz!' See also Heartz 2003, p. 377.

The musical activities of the Berlin court came to a complete standstill in the autumn of 1756, when the Seven Years War broke out. On August 28 Frederick left the city at the head of his troops, and from then until the end of the war in 1763 there were to be no performances at the Opera or at the Abendkonzerten. All available money was spent on military purposes, and the wages of the Royal musicians, who for the most part stayed in Berlin, was paid in paper money, which soon depreciated to a fifth of its former value. Moreover, the war came to Berlin in October 1757 with a brief occupation by the Austrians, and again in October 1760, when the city was shelled, taken and looted by the Russians. These must have been hard times for Baron and his colleagues, who probably had to try to make ends meet by giving music lessons, as did Emanuel Bach, and by playing at private theatres and opera houses and in the churches, where musical activities still went on.25

Baron did not live to see the end of the war; he died on April 12th 1760, after he had suffered a stroke.<sup>26</sup> Unlike his professional career, we know nothing about his family life. After he had settled in Berlin, with a steady position and a secured income, one would assume that the moment had come for marriage, but as nowhere any mention is made about the subject, he probably remained a bachelor. His single state seems to be indicated in the preamble of his Abri\u00e3, where he writes that after an evening with friends he went home and, 'alone again', began rethinking the matter that had been discussed.<sup>27</sup> It could be that this celibacy is explained by a negative attitude towards women: an utterance in Baron's Zufällige Gedanken seems to imply that, although the company of women can refine the wit of men, you have to be



Johann Georg Hamann

lucky to find a woman that is virtuous, intelligent and sensitive, and that the female sex provokes dishonourable and shameless behaviour in (young) men.<sup>28</sup>

Ernst Gottlieb Baron is further only known to us through his works: his publications and his music. It is to these that we now must turn.

- 24 Hamann 1758, p. 338: 'Ich hatte in Berlin die Thorheit gehabt eine Woche lang bey dem Lautenisten Baron Stunden zu nehmen; mein redlicher Vater hatte mich erinnert und deswegen gestraft, ich sollte an meinen Beruf und an meine Augen denken. Dies war umsonst gewesen; der Satan versuchte mich wieder mit der Laute, die mir in Berlin Verdruß gemacht hatte'. (In Berlin, I had given in to the folly of taking some lessons from the lutenist Baron for a week. My wise father had forbidden this and punished me for it; I should think of my profession and my eyesight. This had come to nothing: Satan again tempted me with the lute [at the time of writing, London 1758], which in Berlin had given me distress.) Hamann, a rather troubled soul, clearly held a low opinion on the healthiness of lute playing, both for his morals and for his eyes.
- 25 Helm 1960, pp. 122, 211.
- 26 Gerber 1812, col. 266. Ledebur 1861, p. 32; gives the date of 1760 August 28, after Reichardt's *Musikalische Almanach*. As Reichardt, according to Gerber, *loc. cit.* and Ledebur, *loc. cit.*, gives the clearly erroneous year 1685 for Baron's birth, it seems best to choose for the date given by Gerber. Eitner 1900, I, p. 345, also follows Gerber, warning against the generally rather unreliable data given by Reichardt.
- 27 Baron 1756d, first page of the 'Vorbericht': 'Die Gesellschafft ginge auseinander, und ich nach Hause. Ich war allein, ich dachte nach...'.
- 28 Baron 1756c, pp. 136-137: 'Diese Art des Verstandes [i.e. the pretentious and deceitful kind] wird insgemein bey muntern jungen Leuten, die ihre Zeit in Frauenzimmergesellschaft zubringen, gefunden; und wenn sie so glücklich sind, tugendhaftes, sinn- und geistreiches Frauenzimmer in Gesellschaft zu finden; so haben sie den Nutzen davon, daß der allzufreche rohe und ausschweifende Witz besonders, wenn sie ein wenig Ehre und Schamhaftigkeit besitzen, nicht allein verbessert, sondern so gar wie ein Diamant geschliffen und ins feine gebracht wird'.

#### **Baron's Publications**

During his career as a musician, Baron was not only active as a composer, but also as a writer of theoretical works on lute playing and on music in general. Mention has already been made of his *Untersuchung*, which after 1727 probably made his name widely known in Germany. Later in life, in the 1750s Baron published a further handful of musical treatises, as well as a translation of two French works on aesthetics. He therefore was actively engaged in the lively theoretical discussion of his days, and, although not a major figure in the debate, he was valued in this capacity by his contemporaries. Even modern writers on musical thought in the eighteenth century find his comments on matters of aesthetics 'most valuable'.29 Of course, this is not the place to look in detail into Baron's theoretical works, but a short overview will be useful, the more so as in his writings Baron often gives practical information on lute playing technique and musical interpretation.

This is especially the case in his first, largest and most important publication, which is why we will treat it somewhat more amply. In 1727 in Nuremberg was printed the Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten, Mit Fleiß aufgesetzt und allen rechtschaffenen Liebhabern zum Vergnügen heraus gegeben ('Historical, theoretical and practical Study of the instrument of the Lute, diligently written and published for the pleasure of all true amateurs'). In this work Baron, as he explains in his Introduction, wants 'to illuminate the whole pedagogy [of the lute] with the light of healthy reason and to look upon it with philosophical eyes in the interest of historical as well as artistic understanding', something which had not been done before.<sup>30</sup> The book is divided into two sections. In the first, historical part (Partis Historicae primae), the origins of the lute and of its name are disclosed in seven chapters, as are the differences between the various instruments which formerly were also thought to be lutes. In accordance with the convention of the time, in this historical overview much information about the lute in classical antiquity and medieval times is given, most of it of just legend and misinformation, but nonetheless proof of Baron's extensive reading. For us of most interest are chapters 6 and 7, in which Baron treats the famous lutenists of the past and of his own days, as well as the best lute makers. In the sixth chapter, after he has dealt with some (quasi) mythical figures from early times, Baron reaches firm ground with the lutenists of the sixteenth century, whose (published) tablatures he has studied. He discusses, with examples, the various sixteenth-century tablature systems, including German tablature, and mentions many of the familiar names, from Gerle to Dowland. Baron had the intellectual curiosity to take the trouble to play their music: 'I was curious and tuned the lute in the old manner of that time, and I can not sufficiently describe the remarkable effect his [i.e. Besard's] compositions had. For I heard tones that blended together well but, to tell the truth, there was little or no melody'. 31 He could not but hear sixteenth-century music with eighteenth-century ears: 'The melodies were still simple and more full-voiced than cantabile, but meanwhile we must not scorn these pieces, because simplicity must always precede perfection'.32

Baron had more liking for the lutenists of the seventeenth century, '...who had already begun to unite harmonious essence with cantabile and who knew how to choose unconstrained and pretty melodies'.33 He has some praise for Reusner father and son, of whom 'the son was more *galant* in composition than the father', 34 and for Jacob Büttner (Bittner). For Baron the steady evolution of lute music then reaches its zenith in the masters of his own time, such as Count Losy, 'who so successfully combined the new Italian and French method of playing the lute that he composed not only very charmingly cantabile for the ear, but also artfully and profoundly'.35 The author proceeds to mention some contemporary lutenists, reserving the highest praise for Sylvius Leopold Weiss, in his opinion a very skilful player with a stupendous technique, who excels with his perfect compositions.

- 29 Boomgaarden 1987, p. 7.
- 30 Baron 1727, p. 4: '...aber die gantze Lehr-Art, so wohl was zur Historischen, als Kunst-mässigen Erkäntnüß dienen kann, mit dem Lichte der gesunden Vernunfft zu beleuchten und mit *Philosophisch*en Augen anzusehen, hat sich noch keiner entschlossen'.
- 31 Baron 1727, p. 70: 'Ich bin *curieux* gewesen, und die Laute nach der damahligen alten Mode gestimmet; so kan ich nicht genugsam beschreiben, was vor wunderlichen *effect* seine *Compositiones* gethan: Denn ich hörte wohl zusammen stimmende Thöne, aber wenn ich es recht sagen soll, wenig oder keine gar Melodie'.
- Baron 1727, p. 64: 'Die *Melodi*en waren noch *Simple* und mehr vollstimmig als *cantable*, indessen muß man auch solches nicht verachten, weilen die Einfallt vor der Vollkommenheit allezeit voherogehen muß'.
- 33 Baron 1727, p. 72: '...welche schon angefangen, das *harmonieuse* Wesen mit dem *cantabili* zu vereinigen, und die Melodien ungezwungner und artiger auszusuchen gewust haben'.
- 34 Baron 1727, p. 72: '...welcher schon wieder galanter als der Vatter in der Composition war...'.
- 35 Baron 1727, p. 74: '...hat schon die neue Italiänische und Frantzösische *Methode* dieses Instrument zu *tractir*en, so glücklich *combini*rt, dass er nicht allein sehr anmuthig und *Cantable* ins Gehör, sondern auch Künstlich und Fundamentel *componi*ret hat'.

On the other hand Baron does not think very highly of the French lutenists, who write simple melodies with very little *cantabile*, and are prone to breaking chords.

Next, in the very informative seventh chapter Baron discusses the famous lute makers, from the sixteenth century to his own time, and the quality of their products.

The second part of the book, *Partis Theoretico-practicae* ('Theory and Practice'), opens with a first chapter entitled *The prejudices that are held against the lute*. This is a long apology of the instrument and a vehement attack on Johann Mattheson, who had dared to write some derogatory remarks on the lute in his *Neu-Eröffnetes Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1713). According to Mattheson the lute was too soft to be heard in ensemble music, too expensive in maintenance, too difficult to play, and it took too long to tune it. Baron repaid Mattheson's sarcasm in kind, often allowing himself be carried away by his anger, to the detriment of his argumentation.<sup>36</sup>

The second chapter, called *Genius on the lute*, deals – in a rather cursory and abstract way – with the qualities that are necessary to be a good musician. Baron equates good playing with rhetoric: a virtuoso player should possess the qualities of an orator, who distinguishes himself with 'the elegance of his words, the loftiness and merit of his thoughts and subjects, and the persuasion and emotions of the affects'.<sup>37</sup>

In the third chapter, *The fundamentals of the instrument*, Baron deals in a concise but clear manner with the technical aspects of lute playing: posture, the positioning of the hands (the right hand should strike the strings halfway between bridge and rose), the system of tablature, and the basic principles of correct fingering of the left hand. Baron gives the sound advice to practice with moderation to acquire the art, and to study a piece with accuracy, until it is almost known by heart. In this and the following chapters we learn much about the technical and musical aspects of eighteenth-century lute playing.

The fourth chapter has the elaborate title: *The most elegant ornaments of the lute, their designation, nature, and what is primarily important today.*<sup>38</sup> Here Baron stresses the importance of cantabile playing; the lutenist should always strive to imitate the singing voice. The author treats technical aspects of play-

ing, such as slurring, as well as the *Manieren*, the specific ornaments. These should be executed with proper taste, expressing the desired effect. In solo works, especially in slow pieces, more ornamentation can be applied than in ensemble works or in rapid pieces. Ornamentation must not be too excessive, for too many ornaments garble the music and melody. In quicker pieces, the best *Manier* is nothing more than neatness and clarity.<sup>39</sup> In slow pieces, the player should improvise ornamental runs and passing notes.<sup>40</sup>

In the fifth chapter, *Playing with proper taste*, Baron gives some general rules and a description of how the various types of lute music – preludes, fantasias and fugues, suites and ensemble pieces – should be executed.<sup>41</sup> Generally, for Baron good taste lies in due moderation and proportion: any given piece should not be too long, nor solely loud or merely gentle.

The sixth chapter consists of a short treatise on basso continuo playing on the lute. This is brief, because there are already good general works on the subject, like the book of Johann David Heinichen, from which Baron takes a table. 42 To lutenists Baron gives the advice to keep things simple, and limit oneself to playing in one position; the beginner is recommended to start with intabulating a lute part. Unlike the harpsichord and the organ, the lute has no sustaining power; therefore it is advisable to strike a long bass note more than once: a semibreve four times, a minim twice. When quavers appear in the bass, the chord can be struck over every other note, except when it is marked with a different figure. The accompanist should refrain from all ornaments and arpeggios he would play in his solo pieces, in order to allow the singer or instrumentalist space for expressiveness.

In a concluding Appendix, Baron once more defends his art and his profession of virtuoso against all prejudices that are held against them, although Music in itself is not in need of praise or defence. In the author's opinion, it is right that a man during his life not only fulfils his duties to society, but also for his pleasure pursues the study of music, if he is inclined to that. Musical ability is a talent given by God, and should therefore not be neglected. Baron here obviously tries to defend his art against allegations that it is mere idleness and self-indulgence. He then goes on to stress that a virtuoso musician is only qualified

- 36 The controversy between Mattheson and Baron is discussed in Smith 1973.
- 37 Baron 1727, p. 140: '1.) In der Zierlichkeit der Worte; 2.) In der Hoheit und Würdigkeit der Gedancken und Sachen; 3.) In der *Persuasion* und Bewegung derer Affecten'.
- 38 Baron 1727, p. 165: 'Von denen vornehmsten Manieren auf der Lauten, ihrer Bezeichnung, Natur und worauf es vornehmlich heut zu Tage ankommt'.
- 39 Baron 1727, p. 170.
- 40 Barons instructions on slurring and ornaments are treated more fully below, on pp. 32-37.
- 41 Likewise, these aspects are dealt with more amply hereafter, pp. 37-38.
- 42 Heinichen 1711; the table there on p. 65 is reproduced in Baron 1727, p. 192.

for a place at a princely court if he has some other merits besides good musicianship, such as good conduct, reason, civility and prudence. Of course, the (princely) reader is meant to understand that Baron himself possesses all these qualities. As we saw, this hardly disguised application for a post at a court did not miss its point.

In the nineteenth century Baron's *Untersuchung* was generally rejected as a work without much value, the product of a babbler, which was rich in worthless opinions but fell short in factual content.<sup>43</sup> Baron's contemporaries, however, held favourable opinions of the book. Influential eighteenth-century theoreticians such as Lorenz Mizler and Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg praised the work as one of those few treatises on a specific instrument, which were written by a authoritative musician, and as an example others should follow.<sup>44</sup> Jacob Adlung considered Baron's treatise on Basso continuo in his *Untersuchung* 'very valuable'.<sup>45</sup> There are also signs that the publication was used by lutenists of the age.<sup>46</sup>

To modern scholars, the Untersuchung is again an important work, as it not only gives us valuable information about musical practice, lute playing and lutenists in the early eighteenth century, but also sheds light on the aesthetic and philosophical controversies of the period. In the *Untersuchung* Baron frequently touches upon the issues that were central to the theoretical debate of his time. One of these was the study of the affections in music, closely related to the system of rhetoric, which was developed in the seventeenth century and reached its peak in the German theoretical works of the early eighteenth century. The following decades, however, gave rise to serious doubts about the validity of the concept; by the 1730s most writers had essentially dropped the idea of the affections. Even Johann Mattheson, a prominent believer in the use of the concept in musical practice,

had to admit that it was not as universally applicable as had been asserted. For instance, in the case of the affective characteristics of the various scales, which he took for granted, Mattheson had to concede that there were probably as many opinions about the effect of a certain scale as there were listeners.<sup>47</sup> As is stated by Boomgaarden, 48 Baron, too, revealed some scepticism toward the concept of the affections, for instance by denying the claim that music was capable of driving men insane. Baron cites the example of King Eric III of Denmark, who was supposed to have committed several murders when brought into a state of frenzy by the power of lute music. For Baron this story was rather questionable: 'it is a bit difficult to believe that a person could be thereby [i.e. by music] separated from his rational soul, although a learned Englishman, Robert Douth or South, as he is called by others, mentions in his Musica incantate or Poëmate a man who through music was driven to such rage that even the artist who was playing his instrument was in danger.'49 When we take account of this judgement by Baron, one wonders how much truth there can be in the anecdote, mentioned before, of him being attacked by his Jena friends when playing for them.<sup>50</sup> Or was his faith in the powers of music perhaps shaken by such an incident?

The reading of the *Untersuchung*, and of his later publications, makes clear that Baron closely followed the philosophical and aesthetic *discours* of his time. In the Preface of his book Baron states that his principal aim is to bring clarity to the discussion of musical art. There he mentions the writings of Leibnitz, Thomasius and Wolff as the examples of philosophy that are to be emulated in music, and praises their success in translating the 'artificial words' of metaphysical academic studies into the best High German.<sup>51</sup> Baron was especially a follower of Christian Wolff (1679–1754), in the first half of the eighteenth

- 43 See the contempt with which the *Untersuchung* is treated in Eitner 1900, pp. 345-346.
- 44 Mizler 1747, p. 502: 'Es wäre zu wünschen, daß sich besonders diejenigen, welche auf einem Instrumente stark sind, befleißigten, solches auf das genaueste zu untersuchen, so wie Herr Baron von seiner Laute, und Hotteterre von den Flöten und Oboen besonders geschrieben'. Marpurg 1754, p. V: 'Ferner fehlt noch eine Anweisung zur Violine, und zu vielen andern Instrumenten, in solchem guten geschmacke nemlich, als Hr. Bach vom Clavier, Hr. Quanz von der Flöte, und Hr. Baron von der Laute geschrieben haben.'
- 45 Adlung 1758, p. 630: 'Baron in dem § 265 gemeldeten Tractat von der Laute diese Lehren ganz fein vorgetragen'.
- 46 According to Boetticher 1978, p. 285, in the manuscript CZ-Podebrady is a treatise on f. 1r, entitled *Anleitung die Laute auf eine ganz leichte Weise zu stimmen und zu lernen* ('Guide to tune and learn the lute in a very easy manner'), in which text Baron's *Untersuchung* is referred to.
- Boomgaarden 1987, pp. 77-84, 194; Mattheson is cited on p. 83: 'A key which seems lively and encouraging to a sanguine temperament may seem full of care, woeful and depressed to a phlegmatic, and so on'.
- 48 The following is based on Boomgaarden 1987, pp. 88-89.
- 49 Baron 1727, pp. 47-49, the passage cited on p. 49.
- 50 See pp. 2-3.
- 51 Baron 1727, p. 4v: 'Und warum sollte es nicht angehen die gantze Music in meherere Deutlichkeit zu bringen, als man es mit der Philosophie würcklich zu Stande gebracht? Wem sind nicht des erlauchten Herrn von Leibnitz, des vortrefflichen geheimen Rath Thomasii und des hochberühmten Hof-Rath Wolffens Schrifften bekannt? welcher letztere alle metaphysische so genannte Kunst-Wörter und Exorcistereyen derer Schul Geister so

century the most important Enlightenment thinker in Germany, who devised a new, rational system of metaphysics, in which he sought to incorporate a complete synthesis of all human knowledge. Wolff exerted a profound influence on contemporary German thought, including that of the theoretical writers on art and music, such as Johann Christoph Gottsched, Johann Adolph Scheibe and Lorenz Mizler.<sup>52</sup> In his own treatise Baron unmistakably incorporated Wolff's methods and especially his interest in clarity.<sup>53</sup>

It was in the 1750s, some thirty years after his main work, that Baron started publishing again. Undoubtedly this renewed activity was stimulated by his Berlin environment. There, the spirit of the Enlightenment, of which King Frederick was such an eminent representative, set the intellectual climate. This resulted in 'an almost unprecedented amount of verbalisation on music and musical theory'. <sup>54</sup> As Charles Burney stated it: 'Musical controversies in Berlin have been carried on with more heat and animosity than elsewhere; indeed there are more critics and theorists in this city, than practitioners.' <sup>55</sup>

The most important figure in this intellectual movement was Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg (1718-1795), who came to Berlin in 1749 and in the same year started a musical magazine, entitled Der Critischer Musicus an der Spree (1749-1751), the first periodical in history to be devoted to reviews of musical compositions. A second periodical was his Kritische Briefe über die Tonkunst (1759–1763). In the meantime he had published his Abhandlung von der Fuge (1753-1754), the first parts of his Historisch-Kritische Beyträge zur Aufnahme der Musik (eventually published in 1754–1762 and 1782, in five volumes), a vast collection on almost every conceivable musical subject, and his Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition (1755–1758, in three parts). Important theoretical works were also written by Frederick's musicians: Quantz's Versuch einer Anweisung die Flöte traversière zu spielen (1752), C.Ph.E. Bach's Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen (1753), and Die melodie nach *ihren Wesen sowohl als nach ihren Eigenschaften*, published in 1755 by Christoph Nichelmann, the second court harpsichordist.

Less important contributions to the discours were written by other members of the Berlin circle of musicians, and Baron was not the least of those, with six publications in the years 1754-1757. Four of these appeared in Marpurg's Historisch-Kritische Beyträge. The first was Baron's short autobiography, mentioned before, published in the first volume of the collection (1755).<sup>56</sup> In the second volume (1756), Baron contributed three short articles: Beytrag zur historischtheoretisch- und practischen Untersuchung der Laute ('A contribution to the historical, theoretical and practical study of the lute');<sup>57</sup> Abhandlung von dem Notensystem der Laute und der Theorbe ('A treatise on the notation system of the lute and the theorbo');<sup>58</sup> and Zufällige Gedanken über verschiedene musikalische Materien ('Casual thoughts on various musical matters').59

The *Beytrag*, as is indicated by its name, is an supplement to the *Untersuchung*, especially of the historical part thereof. In order to expand the knowledge of the history of the lute, Baron once more delves into ancient mythology and in the literature of the Medieval and Renaissance periods up to his own times. In doing so he unearths, among other things, the reference to a 'good lute' in Petrarchs will,<sup>60</sup> and his wide reading even brings him to the Arab 'Al Oud', the instrument which nowadays is believed to be the precursor of the European lute, although Baron, as in the *Untersuchung*, sticks to the idea that the instrument was invented in Classical Antiquity.

In the *Abhandlung* Baron gives a short explanation of the tablature system, and he argues that for the lute this system of six lines is far more practical than the ordinary staff notation with five lines. Thanks to the use of the tablature system, the lutenist at one glance can take in the music he is going to play as well as the playing position of the various passages. This would be impossible with staff notation, as on the lute every single note can be played in up to three different positions, which feature can only be ex-

gefährlich sie immer geklungen, in das schönste hoch teutsche übersetzt. Geht es nun in solchen Dingen an, die man sonst vor unglaublich gehalten, warum solte dieses nicht auch in der Music angehen?'

- 52 Birke 1966.
- 53 Boomgaarden 1987, p. 57-59. Below, pp. 12-13, will be pointed out clear instances of Wolffian phrases in Baron's later writings, especially in his *Abriβ*.
- 54 Helm 1960, p. 140.
- 55 Burney 1775, II, p. 225.
- 56 Baron 1755, pp. 544-546. It is assumed that Baron himself wrote the piece. The contents of the article are treated above, on pp. 1-3.
- 57 Baron 1756a (pp. 65-83 of the Historisch-Kritische Beyträge).
- 58 Baron 1756b (pp. 119-123 of the Historisch-Kritische Beyträge).
- 59 Baron 1756c (pp. 124-144 of the *Historisch-Kritische Beyträge*).
- 60 On the lute in Petrarch's will, see Smith 2002, p. 27.

pressed in tablature. As for the theorbo, Baron thinks that for this instrument staff notation is the easiest system, as it is only used to play figured bass accompaniment.

In the Zufällige Gedanken Baron treats the qualities a Capellmeister should possess, which in part are characterised in terms such as Verstand, Einbildungskraft, Witz, Beurtheilungskraft, Ordnung ('understanding, imagination, intelligence, critical ability, order'); hereafter we shall see that these are typical Wolffian terms.<sup>61</sup> Other requirements of a good Capellmeister are patience with those who criticise his music without true knowledge of the art, and a just and friendly treatment of his fellow musicians, on whom he depends when he wants to have his works played. The latter item smacks of a personal complaint; perhaps Baron felt himself treated ungraciously at court by his musical superiors, the Capellmeister Graun and the King's protégé Quantz. As is his habit, Baron frequently lets his account take a philosophical turn, often in Wolffian phrases,62 and he allows himself a good many digressions from his principal theme. Thus, he writes about Jewish music in Biblical times, of the South-American ai or sloth, an animal which is reported to sing the six tones of the hexachord, up and down the scale, and of a failed attempt in Stockholm to revive the music of the Ancient Greeks. He ends his article with a rather elaborated censure of the Italian singers at the German courts, who in his view are over-paid, querulous and envious of each other. He also thinks they are overrated, and sums up several arguments for this proposition: even a beautiful singing voice is dull without accompaniment, but instruments, especially the harmonious ones, are capable of playing solo; instruments can imitate the human voice, but the voice cannot imitate instruments; it costs much more effort to master an instrument than to learn to sing, as the voice is inborn; unlike instrumentalists, not many singers are capable of composing music. Here Baron again seems to ventilate some personal grievances.

In the same year 1756 in Berlin a small volume was published, written by Baron and entitled *Abriß* 

einer Abhandlung von der Melodie: eine Materie der Zeit ('Outline of a treatise on melody. A substance of time').<sup>63</sup> In this work the author tries to give a theory of the nature of melody. In the 'Vorbericht' he tells how in an illustrious company there was a disagreement on the question whether it were possible to give fixed natural and eternal rules that make up the essence of a good melody; some thought this was out of the question, while others, including Baron, were of the other opinion.<sup>64</sup> Baron now tries to describe these rules. Unlike his other works, which tend to be rather long and rambling, he here strives to be as short and to the point as possible, by giving a definition of the melody, which then is explained in short 'axioms'. This rational and succinct way of analysing, using a deductive scheme, Baron took from the works of Wolff. As a matter of fact, Baron went as far as downright copying phrases from Wolff's treatise Der vernünfftigen Gedancken von Gott, Der Welt und der Seele des Menschen (first edition 1720, re-issued many times).65 Baron starts his treatise with the following general reflections, set out in a methodical

For the creation of a good melody is required:

- 1) a good natural disposition, that
- $\alpha$ ) consists of a good understanding, that is the capacity to imagine clearly everything that is possible in Music.
- $\beta$ ) also in intelligence, which is the ability to recognise the similarities; and whoever possesses it, is sensitive and capable of all sorts of discoveries.
- $\gamma$ ) also imagination, which is the strength of the soul to imagine easily melodies and their accompaniments.
- $\delta$ ) also critical ability, through which one discerns what belongs to a thing and what does not, what is a peculiar to it and what is not, and how it differs from other things.
- 2) Cultivation, which must happen
- \*) via the keyboard, because all harmony is found therein, at which one

- 61 Baron 1756c, pp. 129-130.
- 62 For instance on p. 135 of the *Zufällige Gedanken*, where he writes that 'It is easy to see that to have an understanding means no less than the capacity to imagine clearly everything that is possible ('Man kan gar leicht sagen, daß Verstandnißhaben, so viel heisse, als ein Vermögen alle mögliche Dinge in der Welt sich deutlich vorzustellen'); cf. the discussion of Baron 1756d, where a similar phrase by Wolff is cited (footnote 67 below).
- 63 Baron 1756d. A modern edition of the treatise is to be found in Birke 1966, pp. 91-96.
- 64 Baron 1756d: 'Als vorige Woche in einer ansehnlichen Gesellschafft zu seyn die Ehre hatte; so wurde von unterschiedenen nützlichen Materien gesprochen, bis man endlich unvermerkt auf die Musik und Melodie kam. Einige meinten, es wäre unmöglich, daß man Regeln, die beständig und auf alle Zeiten Stich hielten, geben könnte: andere aber von der Gesellschafft behaupteten, daß, wenn sich gleich der Geschmack änderte, so könnten sich doch die Gründsätze nicht ändern, die einmal vor allemahl in der Natur lägen, welcher Meinung ich sogleich beyfiel.'
- 65 Wolff 1751.

- 1) has to start with small melodies, and then
- 2) one has to proceed gradually with longer melodies, in order to get ideas of melodies; and then
- 3) the thorough-bass will be set as the basis, by which one learns
  - $\alpha$ ) the consonants and
  - $\beta$ ) the dissonances, including their use, and then
  - $\gamma$ ) the full harmony.
- \*) by practice. For when someone starts to invent melodies, he has to try first with small *Galanterie* pieces, until he by and by reaches a higher science, wherewith he has to take into consideration
- 1) the knowledge of the keys,
- 2) their typical semitones,
- 3) their modulations and
- 4) the art of subtly returning into the principal key.<sup>66</sup>

The first part of this introduction, in which as prerequisites are mentioned that the composer should have imagination and a judicious mind, is no more than an assemblage of diverse sentences from Wolff's work.<sup>67</sup> The second part was not taken as literally from Wolff, who does not concern himself with musical matters; but the rational method was.

Baron now states his definition, central to the  $Abri\beta$ :

A Melody consists of a series of notes in an or-

derly sequence, which are made up in his [i.e. the composer's] own spirit, which are sounding arbitrarily in a given key, which are divided in certain sections, and which are composed of a declamatory number of measures.<sup>68</sup>

This definition is not wholly original either, as it seems to be derived from the one by the influential theoretician Johann Adolf Scheibe (1708–1776).<sup>69</sup>

Baron now goes on to expand this definition by dissecting it into parts, which are treated in five short 'Axiomata'. In the first of these, where is stated that in music Beauty lies in Perfection, and Perfection in its turn lies in Order, again Wolff's philosophy as well his wording have been followed. Baron concludes the treatise with five short 'Theoreme', loosely following from the preceding axioms; the last one being that in the process of composing the melody is conceived before the harmony, not the other way around, as some would have it. 1

In 1757 appeared, with the Altenburg publisher Richter, Baron's last work: Versuch über das Schöne, da man untersucht worinnen eigentlich das Schöne in der Naturlehre, in der Sittenlehre, in den Werken des Witzes und in der Musik bestehe, aus dem Französischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Königl. Preuß. Cammermusiko ('An essai on Beauty, in which is studied wherein lies the essence of Beauty in the natural world, in morals, in the works

- Baron 1756d, pp. 5-6. The translation is partly based on the one in Boomgaarden 1987, p. 69.
- Baron's text reads: 'Zur Schöpfung einer guten melodie wird erfordert 1) ein gut Naturell welches  $\alpha$ ) in einem guten Verstande bestehet, nemlich in dem Vermögen, sich alles was in der Musik möglich ist, deutlich vorzustellen. β) auch in Wiz, der ist eine Fertigkeit, die Aehnlichkeiten warzunehmen, und wer solches besitzt, ist sinnreich und zu allerhand Erfindungen geschickt. γ) auch Einbildungskraft, welche eine Kraft der Seele, sich Melodien und deren Einrichtung leicht vorzustellen. δ) auch Beurtheilungskraft, durch welche man unterscheidet, was einer Sache zukommt und was ihr nicht zukommt, was ihr eigen und nicht eigen, und wie sie von andern Dingen unterschieden ist.' Compare these statements with some in Wolff 1751: § 277 (p. 153): 'Das Vermögen das Mögliche deutlich vorzustellen ist der Verstand...'. § 366 (p. 223): '...Wer hierzu aufgelegt ist, den nennet man sinnreich. Und die Leichtigkeit die Aehnlichkeiten wahrzunehmen, ist eigentlich dasjenige, was wir Witz heissen. Also gehöret ausser der Kunst zu schliessen zum Erfinden auch Witz,...'. § 235 (p. 130): "...Und die Kraft der Seele dergleichen Vorstellungen hervorzubringen, nennet man die Einbildungskraft." Thus Baron's points  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  are virtually copied from Wolff, and point  $\delta$  probably could be found by reading Wolff's work carefully. Some likeness can be found in Wolff's § 290 (p. 160): "... Wer demnach ein Urtheil überlegen will, hat auf dreyerley acht zu geben, nehmlich 1. auf die Sache, von der geurtheilet wird, 2. auf dasjenige, was ihr zukommet, oder nicht zukommet...'. Baron's dependency on Wolff was already noticed in Birke 1966, p. 83, and again in Boomgaarden 1987, pp. 57-59.
- 68 Baron 1756d, p. 6: 'Es ist also eine Melodie eine Reihe ordentlich auf einander folgenden, aus seinem eigenen Geiste ausgesonnenen, nach einer gewissen Tonart willkürlichen und klingenden, mit gewissen Abschnitten abgetheilten, und mit einer rednerischen Anzahl der Takte versehenen Töne.'
- 69 See the definition in Scheibe 1745, p. 209: 'Die Melodie ist eine wohlgeordnete Reihe verschiedener Töne, die nach einander zu Gehöre kommen.'
- Baron 1756d, p. 6: 'Weilen die Ordnung in Aehnlichkeit des Mannigfaltigen, und in Uebereinstimmung dessen die Vollkommenheit; aus der Vollkommenheit aber die Schönheit entstehet, so müssen alle ordentlich auf einander folgende Töne nothwendig schön seyn.' Wolff 1751, § 156 (p. 82): '...Derowegen die Ordnung in der Aehnlichkeit bestehet, wie das mannigfaltige neben einander und auf einander folget...; so ist in der Vollkommenheit lauter Ordnung.'
- 71 The latter position was taken in Nichelmann's *Die Melodie* (Lester 1992, pp. 222-223). It seems that Nichelmann's treatise, an attack on C.Ph.E. Bach, stirred up quite a tempest at the Berlin court.

of the mind and in music, translated from the French into German by Ernst Gottlieb Baron, Royal Prussian chamber musician'). The It is a translation of a work entitled Essai sur le Beau, ou l'on examine en quoi consiste précisement le Beau dans le physique, dans le moral, dans les ouvrages d'esprit, & dans la musique, published anonymously in Paris 1741. Its author was Yves-Marie de l'Isle André (1675–1764), a French philosopher and mathematician, a friend of Malebranche and a convinced Jansenist and Cartesian. His Essai sur le beau, the first treatise in French on aesthetics, was reprinted three times during the eighteenth century, and had an enormous influence on French theories of art and architecture.

In his preface, Baron makes an (unsuccessful) attempt to find out the name of the anonymous author, and he explains that he has made the translation because the work was very useful to form good taste and to find out the rules by which beauty can be discerned. In the Essai the author, André, stands up against those sceptics who assert that there is no such thing as objective beauty, because every sense of beauty is necessarily a result of the whims of men. Contrary to this view, he distinguishes three kinds of beauty: the essential kind, existing independent from God or men; the natural kind, emanating from the Creator, and the human kind, defined by the arbitrary taste of men and women. These three types of beauty are found in all fields of human experience: in the visual world, in the morals and laws of society, in the works of the mind, and in music. The last chapter, dealing with music, is the most elaborated one, and has a first part in which some fundamentals of musical theory are explained. According to André, in nature as well as in art the cause of true beauty is found in the unity of its constituents. This is especially the case in music. For the author, music is the highest of the arts, in which all types of beauty converge.

After the *Versuch* Baron included in the volume another translation, entitled *Des Herrn Gresset ... Rede ... von dem uralten Adel und Nutzen der Musik* ('Mister Gresset's lecture on the age-old virtue and usefulness of music').<sup>74</sup> In the full title Baron states that this was a lecture given in 1751 for the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, but as a matter of fact al-

ready in 1737 the text had been published in Paris, under the title *Discours sur l'harmonie*.<sup>75</sup> Its author was Jean-Baptiste-Louis de Gresset (1709–1777), a poet and dramatist. He was the author of, among other works, the successful comedy *Le Méchant* (1745), and the mock epic *Vert-Vert* (1734), in which the adventures of a parrot in a nunnery are described.

The *Discours* is an ornate panegyric of Music, in a virtuoso literary style, and the translation lives up to the original. In the work, Gresset wants to prove that Music is the highest form of art, because of its nobility and its usefulness. In the first part, Music's nobility is elucidated by pointing at its great antiquity (it is as old as mankind itself), at its power (everything in nature is based on and susceptible to harmony) and at the fact that it is revered by all peoples at all times: everywhere Music was associated with public power, religious ceremonies, and the military. In the second part, the usefulness of Music for human society is ascertained, as it helps to educate the morals, to keep in check the passions and thereby to create order, to unite the citizens, and to enrich the arts.

Baron's publication of both translations was dedicated, on 9 September 1756, to Duke Ernst August II of Sachsen-Weimar (1748-1758). This means that Baron must have made the translations before that date, which again indicates the fervour with which he was occupying himself with musical theory and the philosophy of aesthetics in the years 1755–1756. Translating the texts by André and Gresset must have been quite an effort, the more so as he apparently did not think lightly of this task: the Versuch as well as the *Rede* are faithful and accomplished translations of their examples. It is a remarkable fact that both French treatises had already shortly before been translated into German. In 1753 there appeared in Königsberg a translation of the *Essai*, made by 'some members of the Royal German Society in Königsberg', 76 and in 1752 in Berlin was published an anonymous translation of Gresset's Discours.<sup>77</sup> It is very unlikely that Baron knew nothing of these recent publications from his direct surroundings. Possibly he was unhappy with the translations, and started to make better ones himself.

- 72 Baron 1757.
- 73 André 1741; cf. Lesure 1971, pp. 86-87.
- 74 Baron 1757, p. [131]-184.
- 75 Gresset 1737; cf. Lesure 1971, pp. 378-379.
- 76 Versuch von dem Schönen, darinn man untersuchet, worinn das Schöne in der Natur, ... und in der Musick oder Tonkunst bestehe, aus dem Französischen übersetzt von einigen Mitgliedern der Königl. deutschen Gesellschaft zu Königsberg in Preußen, Königsberg 1753.
- 77 *Die Harmonie. Eine Rede*, aus dem Französischen des Herrn Gressets übersetzt, Berlin 1752. The translation was made by someone bearing the initials A.F.W., who dedicated the work to the 'Gentlemen members, honorary and others, of the Musical Society (*Musik-übenden Gesellschaft*) in Berlin'. Gresset's treatise was later also translated into Dutch (Amsterdam 1776) and Italian (Venice 1799).

#### **Baron's Compositions**

In his own time Ernst Gottlieb Baron seems to have been a widely known musician. As we have seen, his biography was included in Walther's Musikalisches Lexicon (1732) and Marpurg's Historisch-Kritische Beyträge (1755), and his theoretical publications met with public approval. Moreover, he is mentioned by others as one of the outstanding composers and instrumentalists of the time. In 1743 the Münden rector Constantin Bellermann considered Baron and [Johann Jacob] Grave as the lutenists most worthy of praise after father and son Weiss. In 1746 Joachim Christoph Bodenburg, the Rector of the Berlin Gymnasium, lists as the most famous German composers and virtuosos: Handel, Reinhard Keiser, Telemann, [J.S.] Bach, Mattheson, Hasse, the Graun brothers, Quantz, Benda, Schafrath and [C.Ph.E.] Bach, as well as the lutenists Weiss, Falckenhagen and Baron.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps less prejudiced than this observer from Berlin, in 1747 the wellknown theoretician Lorenz Christoph Mizler (1711– 1778), in a review of Bellermann's publication, named as the most distinguished German musicians of his time Mattheson, Keiser, Telemann, [J.S.] Bach, Hasse, both Grauns, both Weisses, Baron, Stölzel, Bümler and Pfeiffer; in 1774 this list of famous musicians was again cited by Martin Gerber.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps even Johann Sebastian Bach knew and appreciated Baron.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of these acclamations of Baron as a musician and composer, his musical works, as they have come down to us, are not particularly numerous. In the present publication thirty works are edited, mostly complete suites and sonatas, but not all of these are with certainty composed by him. Two suites (Nos. 15 and 16), although bearing his name in the sources, are possibly not from his hand, while two Menuets and an Aria (Nos. 18-20) could be works by him, but bear no ascription in the manuscript source. Another Menuet (No. 17), although seemingly connected to Baron's suite No. 1, is probably composed by Losy.

This leaves us with twenty-four works that can confidently be ascribed to Baron. These include fourteen works for lute solo (Nos. 1-14) and ten ensemble pieces (Nos. 21-30). The lute solos comprise twelve complete suites (Nos. 1-12), one large-scale Fantasia (No. 13), and a separate Menuet (No. 14). The ensemble works contain one suite for two lutes (No. 21), eight suites and sonatas for a lute and a melody instrument (violin, flute, recorder or oboe), sometimes with an added bass part (violoncello) (Nos. 22-29), and one sonata for flute, violin and figured bass, his only known work without an obbligato lute part (No. 30).

Barons output is rather small, even if in the comparison we limit ourselves to the lutenists of contemporary Germany. His production is dwarfed by the oeuvre of the famous S.L. Weiss or, to a lesser extent, by that of Falckenhagen, but it cuts a good figure in comparison with other rather well-known composers for the instrument, such as Durant, Jelinek, Kohaut, Kühnel, Lauffensteiner, Pichler, Weichenberger, and the lesser members of the Weiss family. Composers with a comparable oeuvre seem to be Kropffgans, Losy and Hagen.<sup>5</sup> Of course, we have to keep in mind that mere chance is an important factor in the transmission of the works of eighteenth-century lutenists. Much less would remain of the enormous oeuvre of S.L. Weiss if the two great manuscript collections with his works in London and Dresden had accidentally perished in the course of time, as so much has vanished – as a matter of fact, two Baron suites in the present edition (Nos. 11-12) are published from twentieth-century copies made from manuscripts which have disappeared since the Second World War. Moreover, it seems that seventeen or more works by Baron are altogether lost to us. In his autobiography, published in 1755, Baron mentions as his works 'Concertos for lute, two violins, viola and violoncello, and several suites, trios, solos, etc.',6 so it seems that at the present at least one lute quintet is missing. In the

- 1 The Latin citation from Constantin Bellermann, *Programma in quo Parnassus musarum voce, fidibus, tibiisque resonans* ... (Erfurt 1743), in Neumann/Schulze 1969, pp. 410-411, No. 522; an English translation in Smith 1977, pp. 16-17.
- 2 Cited in Neumann/Schulze 1969, p. 655, No. 552a.
- 3 Mizler 1747, p. 571; Gerber is cited in Neumann/Schulze 1969, p. 281, No. 798.
- At January 13th, 1775, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach wrote in a letter to Forkel: '...in der letzten Zeit schatzte er [i.e. Johann Sebastian Bach] hoch: Fux, Caldara, Händeln, Kaysern, Haßen, beyde Graun, Telemann, Zelenka, Benda u. überhaupt alles, was in Berlin u. Dreßden besonders zu schätzen war. Die erstgenannten 4 ausgenommen, kannte er die übrigen persöhnlich' (At the end of his life, he greatly appreciated Fux, Caldara, Handel, Keiser, Hasse, the two Grauns, Telemann, Zelenka, [Franz] Benda, and generally everything worth of esteem in Berlin and Dresden. But for the first four, he knew all of them personally) (Neumann/Schulze 1969, p. 289, No. 803). Baron undoubtedly belonged to the musicians of esteem in Berlin.
- As is shown by a cursory look at the lists of works by different lutenists in Farstad 2000, pp. 385-474, and, in the case of Losy, at Vogl 1981, pp. 20-31.
- Marpurg 1754, p. 546: 'Was die Arbeiten des Herrn Barons anbelanget, so bestehn dieselben in Concerten mit der concertierenden Laute, zwey Violinen, einer Armgeige und dem Violoncello; ferner in verschiednen Partien, Trios, Solos, u.s.w.' As is mentioned before (p. 1), Baron himself probably wrote the article.

Breitkopf Catalogue of 1836 three trios for lute, oboe and cello are mentioned, under lot No. 1437, comprising 10 'Bogen' (double leaves), but the present whereabouts of these are unknown. According to Boetticher, in the archives of the publishing firm of Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig were at least another thirteen works by Baron: six suites for lute solo (Sei partite a liuto solo), 3 volumes, dated 1761; six trios for lute, violin and cello (Six trios pour luth, V. et Vc.), 3 volumes, dated 1765; and one or more sonatas for two lutes (Sonate a due liuti).8 These works, ostensibly acquired or copied by Breitkopf after Baron's death, were lost during the Second World War.9 Incidentally, Boetticher also mentions copies by Raschke of Baron pieces in D-Dl 2481-V-1, but this must be an error.10 It is very likely that many more works by Baron have perished. These losses are also caused by the fact that most of his works circulated in manuscript form; only two were published during his lifetime (suite No. 10 and Fantasia No. 13).

Thus, most works by Baron known to be lost were once in the possession of the Breitkopf firm, and this is also the origin of many of the pieces that have survived. From the 1750s Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf (1719–1794), who had entered his father's publishing shop a decade before, began to publish music in a steady stream. In 1757 he brought out ZM, in which a Fantasia by Baron was included.11 This small book probably was a commercial failure, as Breitkopf did not publish the additional lute music he announced in its Preface. Breitkopf also sold manuscript copies of music for which there was not enough demand to warrant printing, as was the case with lute music. These lute MSS were written by professional copyists in his service; Breitkopf maintained one of the greatest copying establishments of music in Europe.<sup>12</sup> He also bought lute MSS from other scribes, as is shown by the lute music from his collection which has survived: in it we find MSS written by Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched (1719–1762), wife of the well-known poet Johann Christoph Gottsched.

Among others, Luise copied some of the (alleged) works by Baron. 13 In June 1836 the firm of Breitkopf and Härtel held a major auction, and much of the lute MSS that were sold came into the possession of the Belgian music theorist, historian, and composer François Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), who was director of the conservatory at Brussels.<sup>14</sup> In his library, Fétis gathered the MSS which he thought contained works by Baron under No. 2921. After Fétis's death his collection went to the Royal Library in Brussels, where it is still kept; the ten volumes of No. 2921 now have the signature MS II 4087/1-10 (called Br1-10 in the present edition). In this collection we find eight suites for lute solo (Nos. 2-9 of the present edition, in Br8-10), a duet for lute and flute and two trios for lute, violin and cello (Nos. 27-29, in Br3 and 5-7), as well as two suites for lute solo that are attributed to Baron but probably were not written by him (Nos. 15 and 16, in Br1-2 and 4).

In the vicinity of Leipzig, where Johann Breitkopf and Luise Gottsched lived, lies Dresden, at the time one of the great cultural centres of in Germany, where the music-loving Saxon court resided. In Dresden much lute music was copied, and some of the surviving MSS with music by Baron probably originated in the city. One suite for lute solo (No. 1), was ca. 1750 copied in Kr, and the second copyist of this MS is the same as Hans Friedrich Wilhelm Raschke, who wrote the greater part of the Dresden Weiss anthology 2841-V-1. Possibly a second scribe from this latter collection (see p. 265) also copied a work by Baron, a duet for lute and flute (No. 26, in Le).

Much of Baron's ensemble music (Nos. 21-25) is handed down in NY, a collection of lute MSS once in the possession of the noble Austrian Harrach family. It is not known where or when precisely these sources were copied, but the main hand, which is also known from other lute MSS, a scribe that wrote a somewhat earlier repertoire for 11-course lute, possibly was active in the second or third decade of the eighteenth century.

- 7 Breitkopf 1836, p. 57; reprinted in Meyer 1996, p. 213 (with an erroneous 7437 as the lot number).
- 8 Boetticher 1949, col. 1339. These data were reiterated in Reilly 1980, p. 171, and Reilly 2001, p. 747.
- Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1989, p. 231; Farstad 2000, p. 399. Both authors made inquiries with Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig, as well as the Wiesbaden branch of the firm and the Leipzig Staatsarchiv, and were informed, in 1984–1988 and 1995 respectively, that these MSS were lost.
- 10 This is the well-known Dresden collection of music by S.L. Weiss; in these six fascicles no work of Baron is found (see Meyer 1994, pp. 104-113).
- In the present edition, the sources of Baron's music have been abbreviated. For a full description of ZM and the other sources mentioned hereafter, see pp. 258-268 below.
- 12 Brook 1966, pp. ix-x.
- 13 The Breitkopf MSS written by Luise Gottsched are B-Br 4087/1-3 (the pieces by 'Baron') and B-Br 4089/5 and 14. Moreover, the hand that wrote B-Br 4089/6a and 6b, which is known from a number of other lute MSS (see the commentary to NY, pp. 266-267 below), probably also worked outside the Breitkopf firm, and at an earlier date.
- 14 See Meyer 1996.

Some of Baron's pieces are transmitted through musical centres in Northern Germany. Probably from the Mecklenburg court in Schwerin stems Baron's Trio No. 30 (in Sch), as well as one or more single lute pieces in Ro: an (authentic) Paisane (No. 12/5) and two (dubious) Menuets and an Aria (Nos. 18-20). In Hamburg Baron's suite No. 10 was published in 1728, in MM, by Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767). In the Baltic town of Königsberg two suites by Baron were copied (Nos. 11 and 12). One of these is dated '17 February 1755', and it is assumed that Baron at the time visited the town, and therefore could have written the (now lost) MSS himself.

Lastly, some music by Baron is found in three manuscript sources of which not much is known. These are a version of the lute duet (No 21) in Sk (of unknown origin), the Menuet No. 16 in Mü (Germany, ca. 1760?), and three movements of the dubious suite No. 15 in Ha (Germany, 1750–1770?). Around 1765 Rudolf Straube (1717–ca. 1785) published in London an arrangement, for two English guitars and bass, of Baron's lute duet No. 21.

Obviously missing in this list are any sources from Berlin, where Baron lived and worked in the last two decades of his life. Here, at the Royal court, in the opera and among the city's bourgeoisie a lively musical culture thrived. Is it a mere coincidence that no Berlin MSS of Baron's music have survived, or does this lack of sources indicate that Baron at this stage of his life was no longer active as a composer? The suites composed in 1755 seem to indicate otherwise. So, perhaps it is really just by accident that no Baron MSS from Berlin have survived.

In his *Untersuchung*, Baron time and again makes it clear that he is an ardent adherent of the new *galant* style of music. In the second quarter of the eighteenth century in Germany the term galant was used in a broad sense. It was the bourgeois emulation of the French aristocratic *galant homme* of the seventeenth century, an aesthetic ideal applied not only in art (music, literature) but also in the way one should behave and dress. It stood for notions such as 'refined, elegant', 'cultivated' or simply 'new, modern'; <sup>15</sup> and

this is the way Baron often seems to use the term. In music, the Galanterie was given form in a graceful style, with lightly accompanied, periodic melodies, supported by a simple and slow moving harmony and formula-based cadences. It implies, in accordance with Enlightenment ideals, music that is clear, pleasing and 'natural' as opposed to the elaborate counterpoint of the previous generation and of the learned church music of the time. In the galant style Italian elements, notably the operatic 'cantabile' melodic lines (of which the works of Leonardo Vinci, 1690-1730, seem to be the first example) and brilliant passage work, were combined with French characteristics, such as a lively spirit, expressive tonal language, profuse ornamentation and stylised refinement. The galant style was cultivated notably at musical centres such as the Dresden and Berlin courts, with composers such as Hasse, Graun and Quantz.16 We will now have a more detailed look at Baron's music for lute as well as his ensemble works; in both genres the galant style is an obvious characteristic. First his works for lute will be studied.

Baron's known oeuvre for lute solo and lute duet consists, apart from a separate Fantasia and a Menuet, almost exclusively of suites. In the present edition the word 'Suite' is used, and not terms like 'Partie', 'Partita' or 'Sonata', because in his *Untersuchung* Baron mentions 'those pieces of which several are placed one after another in one key, and these are called *Suites*'.<sup>17</sup> In the autobiography, however, Baron uses the word 'Partie'.<sup>18</sup> In the musical sources, if there is an inscription at all, the words 'Partie, 'Suite' and 'Galanterie' are used, sometimes a combination of two of these terms.<sup>19</sup>

It is possible that Baron, like most of his contemporaries, did not see his suites as fixed entities, but that he arranged them freely from the pieces in the same key that he had at his disposal. This could be concluded from the suite No. 4 in *F Major*, which is handed down in two MSS, and in which we note some differences between the versions: in one there is an Air, which in the other is replaced by a Polonoise (in *D Minor*), while in this second version there is another Polonoise that is missing from the first.<sup>20</sup> An-

- 15 See Heartz 2003, pp. 16-23.
- 16 See Hearz/Brown 2001; Seidel 1995; Farstad 1997, p. 52.
- 17 Baron 1727, p. 183: 'diejenigen *Piecen* deren viele nach einander in einem Thon gesetzt, und *Suiten* genennet werden'.
- 18 Baron 1755, p. 546; see p. 11 footnote 56 above.
- 19 The terms used are: 'Partie' (No. 1); 'Allemande, avec la Suite' (No. 10), 'Partie de Galanterie' (No. 11), and even 'Partie avec la Suite' (No. 12); the lute duet (No. 21) has the caption 'Suite'. The terms used in Nos. 10-12 could very well represent Baron's own inscriptions, as these works are transmitted in sources which could have been copied directly after his autographs.
- But is of course also possible that a copyist is responsible for these changes; especially the movement in a different key, a feature which is not found in any other lute suite by Baron, could point in that direction.

other example is the suite No. 12, which seems to be a late work, perhaps even written in 1755; its Paisane No. 12/5 is however found in Ro, a MS that probably dates from the 1730s. Still, it seems that in most cases Baron's suites, or at least parts of these, are conceived as a unity, as would be indicated by the fact that within a suite identical melodic and/or harmonic phrases often keep reappearing in the various movements. Examples of this we find for instance in suite No. 4. There, the second part of No. 4/1 *Allemande* (mm. 10-14) and No. 4/2 *Courante* (mm. 15-1) begins almost exactly the same (Fig. 1).

The harmonic scheme of the first half of the second part, C-F-(B Flat-G)-A-d, is found also in Nos. 4/5, 4/6 and 4/9, with one alteration: the progression starts with E instead of C. A descending scale figure of a fourth, on a half-close or leading to one, is written in Nos. 4/1 m. 13, 4/2 m. 24, 4/3 m. 20, 4/4 m. 4, 4/5 mm. 8, 17, 4/7 mm. 2, 15, 4/9 m. 13; No. 4/6 is virtually built on this small theme. In Nos. 4/3 m. 19, 4/5 mm. 9, 11, 4/6 m. 23 and 4/8 mm. 9-12 we find a parallel movement between treble and bass lines, with a repeated note c' as a middle voice; in No. 4/9 the same figure, in a broken form, is written repeatedly. Syncopated parallel downward movement of treble and bass is found in Nos. 4/3 mm. 21, 23, 4/5 m. 3, 4/ 7 m. 3, 4/8 m. 3 and, with an added part, in 4/9 mm. 5-8. See also the harmonic-melodic figure on B Flat-C in Nos. 4/1 mm. 20-21 and 4/5 mm. 25-26 (and the variant in No. 4/7 mm. 23-24). Repeated figures like the ones in suite No. 4 can be found in almost all of Baron's suites.

Baron's twelve suites for lute solo, as they have come down to us, often consist of seven or eight movements each.<sup>21</sup> More movements are found in three suites: nine in Nos. 3 and 5, and even ten in No. 8. A smaller number is found in suites No. 11 (six movements) and 1 (five movements); the lute duet No. 21 only has four movements. The suites are mostly in the more-or-less fixed order popular in eighteenth-century Germany, which is also found in the suites by Weiss and Bach. Most suites start with an Allemande followed by a Courante; in some instances (Nos. 5, 8, 9) the Allemande is preceded by a Prelude. In suites Nos. 11 and 12 the Allemande and Cou-

rante have been replaced by an Introductione/Entrée in duple time followed by an Allegro, which in No. 11 is also in duple time, in No. 12 in triple time. Almost all suites are concluded by a Gigue, or 'Gique' as it is called in the sources. The only exceptions are No. 5, which has a Polonoise as the last movement, and the short suites Nos. 1 and 21, which finish off with a Bourée (No. 1 in fact ends with a Bourée-like character piece called 'La Bassesse'). Between the Allemande-Courante at the beginning and the Gigue at the end, a handful of further movements are (almost) always found: in every suite there is a Menuet, and in nearly every suite there are a Bourée and a Sarabande.<sup>22</sup> Baron obviously was especially fond of the Menuet, which in some suites (in Nos. 3-6 and 12) is found twice, in No. 8 even three times. Other fashionable galant movements that are often included are the Air/Aria (in six suites, Nos. 2-7),<sup>23</sup> the Gavotte (four times, in Nos. 1, 3, 8 and 12), and the Polonoise (also four times, in Nos. 4, 5, 9 and 11).<sup>24</sup> In two suites we find a Paisane (in Nos. 10 and 12, the former with a Trio),25 and only once a Siciliana appears (in No. 6, probably replacing the Sarabande). Unlike the opening Preludes, Allemandes and Courantes and the concluding Gigues, these in-between movements have no fixed order: they can be placed in any position within a given suite. The Sarabande for instance is found once in third position (in No. 12), once as the penultimate movement (in No. 3), and further in almost every other position in the other suites. The only rule seems to be that in the case of two or three Menuets appearing in one suite, they do not directly following one another.

All in all, the content and arrangement of Baron's suites is very much like the 'sonatas' of his revered example Sylvius Leopold Weiss, but the musical form of the single movements differs greatly from those of Weiss. Generally speaking, Baron's pieces are shorter, of a lighter texture, with a simpler harmony and with a more *galant* melody than Weiss's; they are also technically less demanding.

Most movements of Baron's suites have an average length of about 30 measures. The shortest piece is the Air No. 4/8 with 12 mm., the longest the Menuet 10/3 with 48 mm. (the Preludes are *non mesurée*, as

- 21 The following analysis of Baron's music is partly based on Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1989.
- A Bourée is missing in Nos. 11 and 12, a Sarabande is absent in Nos. 6, 9 and 11. As mentioned earlier, the Bourée-like No. 1/5 has the title 'La Bassesse'.
- In Nos. 2-4 this movement is called 'Air', in Nos. 5-7 'Aria'. The Air No. 4/4 is found only in the second source.
- The Polonoise No. 5/9 is also found in No. 4, as an alternative movement in the second source. In this second source there are two Polonoises in the suite, in the first source there is none.
- No. 10/5 is not called Paisane it bears the title 'Le Drole' but it has very much in common with Paisane No. 12/5.



Fig. 1. Allemande No. 4/1 mm. 10-14; Courante No. 4/2 mm. 15-19

is Baron's most extended single movement for lute solo, the Fantasia No. 13). Short movements are the Airs/Arias, varying from 12 to 22 mm., relatively long are the Courantes/Allegros, varying from 24 to 45 mm. Also rather short are the Polonoises (20-26 mm.) and Gavottes (22-27 mm.); the greatest variety is found within the Menuets (24-48 mm.).<sup>26</sup> In some suites the movements are generally shorter than in others. An average movement length of less than 30 mm. is found in suites Nos. 2-8, Nos. 1 and 9 have slightly longer movements, and in Nos. 10-12 the average length of the movements is around 34 mm.<sup>27</sup> It seems that Baron intentionally cultivated this brevity, because in his *Untersuchung* he says that 'as taste in general cannot always take much of the same food, the ear cannot take much of the same melody. We must practice due moderation in all things [...] Thus everything that that can be called short and sweet should be sought after, so that those who hear it have a desire to hear more in the future'.28

Hoffmann-Erbrecht incorrectly states that the majority of Baron's pieces have an odd number of measures, and that in these the regular subdivision into phrases of two or four measures, so fundamental for the dance music of Bach, is not a valid principle.<sup>29</sup> In fact, about three quarters of the Baron pieces have an even number of measures; in each suite there are mostly just one or two movements that have an odd number.<sup>30</sup> And as we shall see, in Baron's works the subdivision into two or four measures is indeed a normal feature.

Baron's longest single lute work is the Fantasia in C Major (No. 13), printed in 1757 by Breitkopf in a small volume which was intended to show Breitkopf's ability in printing tablature, and the editor's wish to see if the public was interested in printed lute music.31 Baron's unmeasured Fantasia consists of a number of harmonic progressions through arpeggiated chords and scale figures, and is therefore similar to the Preludes of the Suites Nos. 5, 8 and 9, although these are on a smaller scale, harmonically simpler and somewhat less elaborated. As a matter of fact, in his Untersuchung Baron mentions the close similarity between preludes and fantasias, saying that the latter came from the former, and were retained as showpieces for the performer after the musical style became more galant.32 For Baron these are the pieces by which a virtuoso might distinguish himself before

- Variety of length is also found among the Allemandes and Gigues, but this is caused by the fact that some Allemandes are in 2/4 time and others in 4/4, while there are Gigues in 6/8 as well as 12/8 time. Likewise, both Paisanes, each counting 44 mm., are not very long pieces, as they have only two beats in the measure.
- 27 The average length of the movements per suite: No. 1 30.6 mm., No. 2 25.4, No. 3 26.7, No. 4 24.8, No. 5 24.9, No. 6 26.2, No. 7 29.4, No. 8 28.9, No. 9 31.3, No. 10 34.2, No. 11 33.2, No. 12 35.8, and the duet No. 21 33.2 mm.
- Baron 1727, p. 185: 'Denn wie der Geschmack überhaupt nicht einerley Speise, also kan das Gehör nicht einerley Melodie vertragen. Bey allen Sachen muß man seine gehörige Masse halten [...], derowegen alles was man kurz und gut nennen kann hervor zu suchen ist, damit diejenigen die solches hören, etwas von dem Verlangen noch ins künfftige übrig behalten'.
- 29 Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1989, pp. 238-239.
- 30 An exception being suite No. 8, which has four movements with an odd number of measures.
- 31 It obviously was not, as the next volume, announced in the preface, was never brought out. Breitkopf did, however, produce more printed tablatures: Beyer's arrangement of *Gellerts Oden*, *Lieder und Fabeln* (1760) and a *Divertimento* for lute, two violins and basso by K. von Kohout (1761).
- Baron 1727, p. 181: 'Die *Fantasi*en aber sind ohne Zweiffel von denen *Præludiis* entstanden, denn nachdem die Music *galant*er worden, hat man sie beybehalten, damit man sein *Ingenium* zeigen und *exerci*ren könne'.

an audience of connoisseurs; every performance should begin with some of these, so that the player may show his abilities.<sup>33</sup> Baron stresses that preludes and fantasias work best when played extempore,<sup>34</sup> and this could be the reason why not many are found in the sources: he possibly did not write them down.

The texture of Baron's works is very light: two voices are the standard. This lightness is accentuated by the fact that the bass line is preferably played on the lowest courses 7-13, and that therefore there is usually an 'empty space' between the treble and bass lines. Sometimes, mostly in the slower movements (Sarabandes, Arias), the harmonies are intermittently filled out with three- or four-voiced chords, but a real middle voice is never present. Baron especially writes chords when there is a parallel movement between treble and bass (see below).<sup>35</sup> Incidentally the treble line is decorated with consecutive thirds (or sixths); these appear mostly in the suites Nos. 10-13. In accordance with the galant taste, there is hardly any polyphonic imitation between the voices. Some rudimentary imitation is found in Nos. 7/2 and 12/8 and especially in No. 1/3.

Harmonically Baron's music is rather uncomplicated and straightforward; it never strays away far from the principal key of a composition. In most of the pieces, in the first part the harmony moves from the tonic to the dominant (or via the dominant back to the tonic), while in the second part, after a cadence to a different key (often of the sixth degree), there is a rapid return to the tonic. A typical example is the Aria No. 7/4, with its scheme I - V || V - VI - I, or the Menuet No. 1/4, where the scheme is essentially I || VI - I. Of course, the short span of most of the pieces does not allow much digression. A more adventurous harmony, touching upon remote keys, is only found in the long Fantasia No. 13.<sup>36</sup>

Long harmonious sequences are rare, as in most works the movement is repeatedly halted by cadences and half-cadences, which often divide a piece into segments of eight, six or even four measures each. Typically, the first part of every piece, mostly with a length of just eight to twelve measures, has at least one half-close, while the second part, which is often

slightly longer, by means of a full-close with a V-I cadence is divided into two parts, which in turn are again subdivided by more half-closes. See for example Menuet No. 1/4, which has at m. 6 a half-close, at mm. 13-14 the cadence and full-close to finish the first part, at m. 18 a half-close, at m. 22 a full-close, at m. 26 and again at m. 30 a half-close, and at mm. 33-34 the final cadence. In Baron's pieces the second half of the first part often consists of a repeat of the first part, with a different ending. This is especially the case in his Menuets (for instance Nos. 1/4, 8/9), but this feature is also found in other works, such as Gavotte No. 1/3, Aria No. 5/8 and Polonoise No. 9/6. Sometimes a piece concludes with a resuming of the opening idea (as in Gavotte No. 1/3, Air No. 2/6 and Trio No. 10/6).

In Baron's works the harmony may be simple and move at a slow pace, but this does not mean the bass is static. It is conceived as a individual musical line, and it is not uncommon that during short phrases it is invested with the main musical interest, either in polyphonic alternation with the treble (cf. for instance Courante No. 7/2 mm. 20-24 and Gigue No. 12/8) or when the treble has a rest or is repeating a single note. Often the bass line has a rhythmical function, accentuating the movement of the treble melody above. This rhythmical function is very much apparent at cadences, in the preparation of which the bass line often accelerates into smaller note values (cf. Allemande No. 5/2 mm. 22-25). Another characteristic of Baron's bass lines is the idiomatic way in which the open bass courses are used: the bass line often jumps up or down a seventh or a ninth. Baron obviously did not consider a smooth bass line very important (cf. Gavotte No. 3/7 mm. 1-7); probably the octave stringing with the bass courses made these inconsistencies in the voice leading less unsettling.

Of foremost importance in Baron's lute works are the melodic lines of the top voice. These betray strong Italian influence, displaying the 'cantabile' qualities that in his *Untersuchung* are mentioned as most desirable. Baron often succeeds in writing accessible, catchy tunes that easily linger in the mind. This quality is attained despite the fact that in many instances

- Baron 1727, pp. 177-178: 'Hat nun ein *Virtuose* oder Lautenist [...] die Ehre vor einen der vieles gehört und ein Kenner ist, zu spielen, so muß er sich mit *Præludiis*, *Fantasi*en unt Fugen etc. zuerst hervor thun, damit man sehen kan, daß er *capable* zu dencken ist, nach diesen kan man andere artige Sachen vornehmen'.
- 34 Baron 1727, p. 181: 'Es gehet zwar an, daß man auch wohl dergleichen Sachen [i.e. Preludes and Fantasias] gar artig zu Papier bringen könte, allein es ist gleichsam als wenn der Geist und die Krafft fehlete, wenn sie nich gleich *ex tempore produci*rt werden'.
- In the Preludes and the Fantasia a great many chords are written, but probably all of these should be played arpeggiated.
- See the analysis of this piece by Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1989, pp. 237-238, and especially by Farstad 2000, pp. 217-223, where also the observation is made that Baron closely follows the rules for playing a fantasia as laid out by Carl Phillipp Emanuel Bach in his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (1753).

the melodic line is fabricated by piecing together short phrases with a length of only four or even two measures. Moreover, these phrases often are no more than stereotypical melodic and/or harmonic formulas (later we will have a closer look at some of these).<sup>37</sup> Because of this, and as a result of the many cadences and half-cadences, the music at times can seem a bit mosaic-like and disintegrated,<sup>38</sup> but most of the time Baron's melodies, although somewhat short-breathed, work rather well. This is achieved by a – rational but effective – combination of the methods at the disposal of the eighteenth-century composer: motivic correspondence and development of the phrases that constitute the building blocks of the melody, the use of sequences, and the repeating of phrases, literally or in a related key. Sometimes, especially in the slow movements, Baron writes a pseudo-polyphonic texture (a common Baroque device), by which the treble line is broken into short phrases lying at different ranges, as a result of which the line has the appearance of consisting of two different voices. Examples we find for instance in Menuet No. 9/4 mm. 1-8, Allemande No. 8/2 mm. 14-16, 18-20 and Sarabande No. 3/8 mm. 5-9; in the last instance the two 'voices' alternate in sequential phrases.

Moreover, the movement as a whole is often carefully constructed, with motivic correspondence or repeats between the first and second part. In some instances the second part of a piece starts with the same theme as the first part, set at the fifth degree; see for instance Nos. 10/8, 11/1, 11/3, 11/6 (or at a sixth, in No. 8/2, or a fourth, in No. 2/7). This, and the use of motivic development and sequences, gives the movements their overall structure.

In Baron's rapid pieces, notably in his Courantes, the top voice often is more rhythmically than melodically constituted. Here, the motion of the line is propelled forward by means of some recurrent rhythmical figures, the most frequent of which is the pattern . See for instance Courante No. 2/2, where this figure is introduced in m. 10, and where sequential chains of this pattern lead to the final cadences (in mm. 10-14 and 22-28); all in all the pattern is here written fifteen times in the space of 32 measures. The same figure is also found extensively in Courantes Nos. 3/2, 4/2, 8/3 and 10/2. It also seems that in the slow pieces Baron had a predilection for certain rhythmical figures. Notably, a descending pattern beginning on the beat with a group of four semiquavers, with the first note accented, is found repeatedly, most of all in Sarabandes (Nos. 5/6, 7/5, 10/4). The same figure is also written in the (rapid) Polonoises (Nos. 4/4, 5/9, 11/5), but here the semiquavers are often an ascending scale figure; this is actually a cliché of the (German) Polonoise of this time.

Another device regularly used by Baron to keep the movement going is the (fast) repetition of a note. It is often found in Courantes, but also in other pieces. These repeated notes sometimes have no bass, as in No. 2/2, or can have a bass moving stepwise up or down, as in No. 2/3, or complete chords can be repeated, as in Nos. 3/2 and 6/2. Also, the notes in treble and bass can be repeated alternately, as in Nos. 5/1, 7/6 and 13.

Earlier mention was made of Baron's habit of constructing his melodies from phrases of two or four measures, which often constitute melodic and/or harmonic common-places. We will now look at some of these typical phrases that occur repeatedly in Baron's pieces for lute solo.

Mention has already been made of a three-voiced figure, in which an unchanging 'pivot' note c' is accompanied by treble and bass parts that mostly move stepwise in parallel motion, in crotchets:



Fig. 2. No. 4/6 m. 23

This idiomatic figure, easy to play on the Baroque lute, is found most often in works in *F Major* (as in the suite No. 4, see above) and *D Minor* (in No. 5/4), but also in *C Major* (in Nos. 7/3, 7/6, 7/7, and, broken, No. 7/1) and *A Minor* (in Nos. 6/3, 8/6 and, broken, No. 8/7).

Phrases consisting of parallel movement between treble and bass, often at the space of a tenth, or an octave wider, are repeatedly written by Baron; examples can be found in No. 4/1 m. 3, No. 5/9 m. 14 and No. 6/4 m. 14. Sometimes the parallel movement is disguised somewhat by the addition of ornamental notes to the treble (see No. 6/4 m. 14). Much less common are passages of quasi-unisono consecutive octaves between treble and bass, as in Nos. 8/4, 10/3 and 14. Perhaps to avoid monotony, Baron frequently syncopates the top voice, when it is moving stepwise up or downward together with the bass (Fig. 3). Examples of this can be found in most suites by Baron: see for instance No. 3/3 mm. 21, 23, No. 5/5 mm. 3, 13, 16, No. 7/1 m. 3, No. 8/6 m. 13, No. 10/3 m. 2, No. 12/ mm. 4-5 and 33-34; some instances in suite No. 4 have been mentioned earlier.

<sup>37</sup> These characteristics are trademarks of the galant style. See for instance Heartz 2003, p. 376, where the melodic style of Quantz is described as 'short-breathed' and 'symmetrically chopped up'.

<sup>38</sup> As is also stated by Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1989, p. 235, speaking of Baron's Arias and Sarabandes.



Fig. 3. No. 12/4 mm. 4-6/1

Another favourite device of Baron consists of a syncopated treble repeating one single note, while beneath it the bass is descending in crotchets, either stepwise or in thirds:



Fig. 4. No. 7/3 m. 21

This figure is also found in many of Baron's suites: see No. 4/5 m. 2 (and No. 4/5 m. 4, with an ascending bass line), No. 5/6 mm. 13, 15, No. 6/1 mm. 21, 23, No. 8/4 mm. 3, 5, No. 10/2 m. 20 and No. 12/6 mm. 8-9, 21-24. The second part of No. 1/2 is completely built on this formula, but in this (early) work the treble voice has been broken to form both the syncopated tone as well as the descending line.

Very common in Baron's works for lute solo is a half-close in which the melody goes from the third to the first degree. This III-I ending can be written unadorned, or with a auxiliary note in between (in a dotted figure); sometimes the bass moves in the contrary motion I-III (as in No. 6/7 m. 10):



Fig. 5. No. 6/4 m. 4/3-4; No. 4/5 m. 4; No. 6/7 m. 10

A favourite of Baron is another variant of this halfclose, in which the auxiliary note in the middle is itself adorned, which gives the common-place figure:



Fig. 6. No. 6/3 m. 8

This formula crops up time and again in Baron's pieces; it is especially prominent in his Menuets, but also found often in other pieces. See for instance Bourée No. 5/4, where it is written at half-closes at mm. 4, 12 and 20, and in addition makes up a building block of the melodic line (mm. 1, 2, 5, 6, 10). Incidentally, at half closes in *E*, a variant is written, in which the ornamental figure consists of the notes IV-V instead of II-III (see Nos. 8/4 mm. 8, 28 and No. 8/9 m. 7, 29). In pieces in 6/8 or 12/8 time (Gigues), at half-closes the melody also likes to fall from V to I (see for instance No. 6/8 mm. 3, 5, 13, 15).

At the full-closes in Baron's pieces, some characteristics of his style become especially apparent. Repeatedly, mostly in final cadences of the Allemandes and Courantes, after the tonic has been reached Baron introduces a renewed IV-V-I cadence (in the Allemandes) or V-I cadence (in the Courantes). Examples are the Allemande No. 2/1 m. 16 (and also m. 8) and the Courante No. 2/2 m. 31-32:



Fig. 7. No. 2/1 m. 16; No. 2/2 mm. 31-32

The most distinct trait of Baron's closes, however, is their uniformity: almost all of them have an identical shape, determined by the key of the piece and by the lute's idiom (the reason why the examples below are given in tablature rather than in staff notation).

On the first beat of the closing measure, Baron often writes the tonic in the treble together with one note beneath it. This second note is on the course next to the one the tonic is played on, and it consists of either a doubling of the tonic (as in 1a-2d – meaning the open first course and the third fret on the second course, both giving a note f') or of the fifth degree of the chord; almost never is the third degree heard here. Normally on the first beat a bass note is also absent, the close on D Minor (with the tonic 5a) being the only exception. It is at the second beat that a single bass note I is written, in the close on D Minor at the lower octave (///a). At the third beat, if anything is played at all, the two notes of the first beat are repeated. As a result, in Baron's final chords the third degree is hardly ever heard. Standard closes with a doubling of the tonic are those in the keys (common in lute music) of D, A and F (the latter in two forms, at the upper and lower octave):

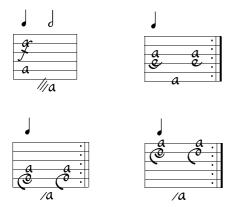


Fig. 8. No. 4/5 m. 22; No. 1/5 m. 36; No. 4/3 m. 8; No. 4/3 m. 26

In suite No. 11 a variant form of the close in D is written, which has the notes 2a-3a on the first beat instead of the 'normal' 2a-3f. Other standard closes of this second type, with the fifth degree as the lower note on the first beat, are those in B Flat (just once, in No. 11/3 m. 26), E Flat, E and G (the latter occasionally at the higher octave, but mostly at the lower):



Fig. 9. No. 7/6 m. 12

As a variant of these standard closes Baron writes one with the descending bass line V - I on the second and third beats. This figure is, apart from one appearance in an ending in E (No. 11/1 m. 23), often found in endings in D:



Fig. 10. No. 5/5 m. 28

This same type is frequently written in closes in C, in which Baron mostly writes a single note c' on the first beat, which is followed on the next beats by G - C' in the bass:



Fig. 11. No. 7/6 m. 34

An 'empty' third beat is found in many of these closes, especially those in *C*, *D*, *F*, *G* and *A*:

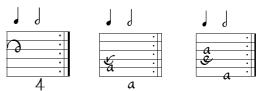


Fig. 12. No. 7/5 m. 35 (C); No. 7/5 m. 15 (G); No. 8/6 m. 36 (A)

The close in *B Flat* has the same structure as the others mentioned, but for one difference: it has on the first beat a chord in which the (major) third is included. It is found occasionally, in Nos. 3/3 m. 12, 3/5 m. 20 and 3/8 m. 10:

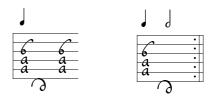


Fig. 13. No. 3/5 m. 20; No. 3/8 m. 10

In the other standard closings, the third is written only occasionally, and then always on the third beat. Such a third is found in virtually all closes on *E Flat Major* (No. 2/3), *E Minor* (Nos. 6/8, 9/4 and 9/7) and *E Major* (Nos. 1/1, 1/2 and 6/7). The third is also found once in a close on *G Minor* (No.10/4), but this is in a slightly different rhythm.

It should be stressed again that the majority of the full closes in Baron's pieces show these standard types of breaking final chords. A closing bar with a 'free' figuration is written only infrequently, and often these variants are extensions of the standard closes, begin-

ning in the same way: see for instance Nos. 1/2, 2/7, 3/1, 3/2, 4/1, 4/2.

All in all Baron's lute works are in the *galant* style fashionable from the 1720s onward, but it seems that his musical development stopped at a rather early stage. His works are clearly different from, and less advanced stylistically than for instance the pieces published by Falckenhagen in the 1740s. Perhaps his style could be called 'late Baroque' rather than 'galant'. From the galant characteristics mentioned in the literature,39 it seems that only a selection is found in Baron's music: the light texture, the simple harmony moving in a slow rhythm, the formula-based cadences, and the periodic melody, consisting of short motifs. Much less frequent, or even missing completely, are the forms from the next period, when the *galant* style is developing into 'Empfindsamkeit': inverted dotted ('lombardic') rhythms, drum bass rhythms (for an exception see No. 3/8), 'alla zoppa' rhythms (rhythms in duple time with the second guaver accentuated), extensive ornamentation (double trills, turns, slides), and melodic characteristics such as sudden rests, sharp motivic contrasts, quick changes in dynamics and tempo, and also the extensive use of triplets. In Baron's music some of the late Baroque forms are retained: the use of sequences as an important structural element, and the independence of the bass line, which is not offered completely for the sake of the melody of the top voice. The melody also has some 'old-fashioned' qualities, with its on-going movement in some pieces (see for instance his Allemandes), its occasional pseudo-polyphonic texture, and the relatively sparing use of triplets (the fast triplets in some pieces, especially in Allemandes such as Nos. 2/1 and 10/1, are not of melodic interest, but have a rhythmical function, to speed up the movement).

Still, some development seems to be detectable when we take a closer look at Baron's lute pieces. We are fortunate that two or three suites can be dated with more or less confidence, and that among these one is composed rather early and others late in his life. These datable works are No. 10 in *F Major*, which was written before its publication in 1727–1728, and No. 11 in *G Major*, which is labelled 'composed on 17 February 1755'. As we shall see, there are arguments that suite No. 12 in *F Major*, which was transmitted together with No. 11, is from the same late date. Then there is of course the Fantasia in *C Major*, published in 1757, and perhaps written shortly beforehand; this piece, however, gives less opportunities for comparison with the others, because of its contrasting style.

To be sure, the late Nos. 11 and 12 differ in some aspects from the early No. 10 (and also from Nos. 1-9). To start with, there are the titles of the first two movements: the Allemande and Courante found in all other suites by Baron are here replaced by an Introductione/Entrée, followed by an Allegro. Moreover, the melody of these pieces, especially the slow Nos. 11/1 and 11/3, is definitely more in a later *galant* style than in other works: the movement is not as ongoing, and at times is broken by general pauses. Triplets are now a more integrated part of the melodic line. In No. 11/3 mm. 5-8 a phrase in G Major is repeated in G Minor. In Nos. 11/2, 11/3 and 12/2 rows of consecutive thirds and sixths are written. A feature not found in other pieces is the written-out appoggiatura, which is not notated as an ornament; see for instance Nos. 11/1 m. 20, 12/1 m. 10, 12/2 m. 38 (compare this last instance with No. 4/5 mm. 24-25). Mention has already been made of the fact that in No. 11 the standard close of D deviates from the one used in all other works by Baron. So these pieces clearly show some signs of a development of Baron's musical language, although it must be admitted that this can not be seen in all movements of suites Nos. 11 and 12: the Polonoise No. 11/5, the Gigues Nos. 11/6 and 12/ 8, and the Menuets Nos. 12/4 and 12/7 are not very different from earlier works; the Paisane No. 12/5 even shows a remarkable resemblance to Le Drole No. 10/ 5. Perhaps parts of these suites Nos. 11 and 12 were earlier compositions, which in 1755 were integrated with new movements into new suites (this would explain why No. 12/5 is also found in another, probably earlier source).

When we take a closer look at Baron's lute suites. there seems to be another one with distinct characteristics of its own. This is No. 1, which in some respects differs from the others. With its five movements it is shorter than the others, and it lacks the usual concluding gigue. Moreover, its musical style seems to be somewhat earlier: the melody of the Allemande No. 1/1, in its semiquaver movement, shows distinct traits of the older French style brisé, and in the Gavotte No. 1/3 the bass has a very individual character, even imitating the melody at the octave. Also, in La Bassesse No. 1/5, in m. 24 there is a close in D which is a variant of the usual form found elsewhere in Baron's works. In the same piece we find some three-part writing. It is likely therefore that this suite is an early composition by Baron, perhaps made circa 1720. The source in which it is transmitted (Kr) also suggests such a date.<sup>40</sup>

If No. 1 really is an early work, then the same would go for Baron's lute duet No. 21, which has

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 17.

<sup>40</sup> See pp. 264-265.

much in common with it. It is even shorter, with only four movements, and it closes with a Bourée, just as the last movement in No. 1 is a fast piece in duple time. The Allemande No. 21/1 also is in a semiquaver rhythm. There is another element that is found exclusively in Nos. 1 and 21: the 'broken bass', repeated bass notes with dots attached to them, indicating that the first note should be played on the lowest string of the course alone, the second note on its adjoining octave string.<sup>41</sup>

Finally we can now say something more about the remaining suites Nos. 2-9. These are found in two fascicles that belong together, and seem to be a planned collection, judging from the order of the keys of the works.<sup>42</sup> It is very well possible that Baron himself collected these pieces in order to have them published. That hypothesis is enhanced by the fact that the movements in these suites are shorter, musically even simpler and technically less demanding than his other works, notably Nos. 10-13; the collection probably was intended for the expanding market of amateur musicians from the bourgeoisie. It seems unlikely that all pieces in the suites Nos. 2-9 were composed at the same time, as we can discern some stylistic development in them. For instance, the Allemande No. 2/1, with its semiquaver rhythm and its rapid triplets, looks like the early Allemandes from suites Nos. 1 and 21. On the other hand, a suite like No. 9 gives the impression that it was composed later in his career: see the controlled melodic line of the Allemande No. 9/2, with its *galant* style triplets, and the Polonoise No. 9/6 which resembles Polonoise No. 11/5. If these assumptions are correct, the collection as a whole would date from a rather advanced stage of Baron's life (perhaps the 1740s?), incorporating works from the 1720s onward.

In Germany several lutenists of the eighteenth century wrote music for ensemble with an obbligato lute part. In many cases these ensemble pieces were for a lute and a melody instrument, often with the addition of a separate bass part, but the lute also figured in larger ensembles. In B-Br 4089 we find concerts for lute, bass and two melodic instruments, by Meusel

and Lauffensteiner.43 It seems that the vogue for ensemble music with lute originated at the beginning of the century in Vienna, with the trios composed by Ferdinand Ignaz Hinterleitner (published 1699), Johann Georg Weichenberger (circa 1700), Wenzel Ludwig Freiherr von Radolt (published 1701) and Jacques de Saint Luc.44 In these earliest trios the instrumental parts merely double the lute parts, and the latter, which mostly have an embellished treble part, can therefore also played as solos.45 Between 1730 and 1733 another set of trios, for lute, melodic instrument (violin or flute) and violoncello, was published in Augsburg by a certain Philippo Martino, about whom next to nothing is known.<sup>46</sup> The style of these works differs very much from those of the beginning of the century; now the melodic instrument and the treble line of the lute part play different lines, with contrapuntal counter-movement and imitation between them. The violoncello follows the harmony given by the bass line of the lute part, although it moves somewhat independently from the latter. Neemann calls Martino's contrapuntal exchange between the violin and the lute treble part a feature which is known from the Berlin school,47 and he also notices that the lute trios by Baron have much in common with those printed by Martino.<sup>48</sup> He thinks that Martino's trios were composed earlier than those by Baron, but this view is merely based on the (unaccounted-for) assertion that Baron's works for transverse flute must have been written for Frederick in Rheinsberg or Berlin, and thus originated after 1736.<sup>49</sup> As we shall see, there are some reasons to assume that Baron's ensemble works in NY (unknown to Neemann) were copied in the 1720s, and that they therefore must also have been written in that decade. Moreover, when compared with Baron's lute trios, those by Martin show some signs of an advanced stage of musical development, especially in the treatment of the separate bass part; we will come to this later.

From Baron nine ensemble works are extant: one Trio for flute, violin and bass (or bassoon?), and eight works for lute and a melody instrument, four of which have an added bass part.<sup>50</sup> As a melody instrument a violin is called for in Nos. 22, 28, 29, a flute (*Flauto* 

- 41 See p. 270.
- 42 See p. 262.
- 43 See the facsimile edition of this source: Haenen 1990.
- 44 An introductory study of the German lute trio of the eighteenth century was undertaken in Neemann 1926.
- 45 Neemann 1926, p. 551; Radke 1963, p. 50.
- 46 Farstad 2000, p. 338.
- 47 Neemann 1926, p. 547.
- 48 Neemann 1926, pp. 552-553.
- 49 Neemann 1926, p. 554, where incorrectly is assumed that Baron came in 1734 in the service of Prince Frederick.
- Earlier (p. 16), we saw that six trios for lute, violin and cello are presumed to be lost, as are one or more quintets for lute, two violins, viola and violoncello.

traverso) in Nos. 20-22, a recorder (Flauto dolce) in No. 24 and an oboe in No. 23. The separate bass part, written in Nos. 23, 25, 28 and 29, could be played by a violoncello or sometimes a bass viol, or by a bassoon. The violoncello is explicitly mentioned in Nos. 23 and 25; in Nos. 28 and 29 a viol could play the bass parts as well, as the lowest note is a D. Perhaps the viol was even intended: as both works are in the key of C Major, it is probable that the low C (which is on the cello but not on the six-string viol) was avoided intentionally by the composer (that is, if a copyist did not change some notes C into c). A bassoon could play all the bass parts, and would be particularly suitable for No. 23, the sonata for oboe. The bass part of the Trio No. 30 is called Basson, which could indicate a bassoon, but which can also simply mean 'bass'.

Most of Baron's ensemble works are in the then modern tripartite fast – slow – fast concerto form; these movements are designated Allegro - Largo or (Molto) Adagio - Vivace or Presto. Exceptions are the Trio No. 30, which has as its movements Andante - Allegro - Un poco allegro e quasi scherzando, and Nos. 24 and 26, which are in suite form. No. 26 is a suite comparable to those for lute solo, with its movements Allemande - Courante - March - Menuet avec *Trio - Loure - Gique*, were it not that in the solo suites a March, a Loure and a Trio to a Menuet are never found. No. 24 consists of only four movements, Adagio - Allegro - Siciliana - Gique, the first two of which are not found in the 'normal' German Baroque suite. In most cases Baron's ensemble works bear the title Concerto, and that is how he himself describes them in his 1755 autobiography<sup>51</sup> and his Untersuchung, where he mentions 'Concerte and Trios' in addition to suites.<sup>52</sup> In the MSS, other titles are found only for the trio No. 30, which is called Trio, the concerto No. 27, which is called *Duetto*, and the suite No. 26, which is the only one that is called *Sonata* in the source. The first (Allegro) movement of Nos. 22, 23 and 25 is also designated Concerto in the MS; perhaps they bear this title because they are in the Italian concerto form. Altogether without title is the rapid last movement of No. 25.

The movements of Baron's ensemble works are for the most part longer than his – rather short – solo pieces. Shortest, with an average length of 32 and 28.7 mm. per movement, are the suite-like Nos. 19 and 21, as well as both concertos Nos. 28 and 29, the movements of which have an average length of 34 and 27.7 mm. The average movement length of the

other concertos vary from 48.3 to 61.7 mm.;<sup>53</sup> the Trio No. 30 is the longest work, with an average length of 66.3 mm. per movement. In the concertos the concluding fast movement is always the longest of the three, the slow movement (in all but the Trio No. 30 the second piece) always the shortest. The last feature is in accordance with the rule Baron gives in his *Untersuchung*, where he prescribes that in concerti and trios that have the lute as their main voice, the rapid movements must be composed rather long, but the slow movement shorter, in order to keep up diversity, which is the true delight that we feel in music.<sup>54</sup> The individual slow movements vary from 13 to 34 mm. (Nos. 28/2 and 22/2 respectively), while the fast movements vary from 30 to 104 mm. (Nos. 28/1 and 30/3).

Harmonically the ensemble works are almost as simple and as slow moving as the pieces for lute solo. Typically, a piece starts with the theme stated in the tonic, reinforced by a passing dominant harmony, then there is a passage in the dominant, after which some passing harmonies occur, in the Presto/Vivace movements often in the form of sequences, with chord-breaking in the melodic lines, and finally the piece returns to the tonic, sometimes restating the initial material. Many slow movements (Nos. 23/2, 27/2, 28/2 and 29/2) are in a contrasting key, and sometimes these have a slightly more adventurous harmony. In the Trio No. 30 the harmonic movement is somewhat faster than in the other ensemble works, but here remote keys are also avoided.

As in his lute solos, Baron obviously is concerned for the overall structure of his ensemble pieces: more than once the internal unity is ensured by giving the movements some thematic resemblance. This is the case in No. 22, where the first and last movements start with a passage in unisons, and in No. 23 where the first and last movement have a similar ending, but also, less conspicuously, in No. 26, where one finds identical descending figuration in the first and second movements, mm. 13-15 and 27-30 respectively. In No. 29, to give another example, we find in the first and last movements some similar figuration (see No. 29/1 m. 6 and No. 29/3 mm. 29-30, and m. 9 and m. 25 respectively). In the three movements of No. 23 we also see a similar figure: cf. No. 23/1 mm. 4-5, No. 23/2 mm. 5-6, and No. 23/3 mm. 44-45.

All of Baron's ensemble music is in the typically Baroque trio sonata form, consisting of two interwoven melodic lines supported by a harmonic bass. This not only goes for the Trio for flute, violin and bass

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 16.

<sup>52</sup> Baron 1727, p. 183.

<sup>53</sup> The figures are: No. 22 49.3; No. 23 48.3; No. 25 61.7; No. 27 51 mm.

<sup>54</sup> Baron 1727, p. 183; see below, p. 37, for the quotation of this passage.

(No. 30), but also for the lute ensemble works. As was mentioned before, these are written for a lute together with a melody instrument, but the three-part texture of a trio sonata can also be rendered by a single melodic instrument and an obbligato keyboard or, in Baron's case, an obbligato lute.<sup>55</sup> As in its solo pieces, the lute has two voices to play: a treble line that acts as the second melody of the trio, and a bass line. As is mentioned before, the latter is sometimes (in Nos. 23, 25, 28 and 29) doubled by a separate bass part. The same three-part texture is even found in his lute duet (No. 21), where the lutes each have a different melody line but a shared bass.

Baron applies the well-known trio sonata techniques of combining the two upper voices. Often the lines move in parallel motion in thirds or sixths; see for instance No. 23/3 mm. 47-50 (thirds) and 58-60 (sixths). Then there is alternation: sometimes the melodic instrument moves in rapid figuration and the lute part is reduced to a chordal support without melodic interest (see No. 23/1 mm. 24-28); at other times the melody instrument is silent, and the lute plays a two-voiced solo, consisting of a melody line and a bass (as No. 23/1 mm. 16-20). Another possibility is contrary movement between the melody lines (see for instance No. 27 mm. 1-8); repeatedly some imitation is found, especially at the beginning of the opening Allegro movements (as in No. 28/1 mm. 1-4), or at the close of rapid movements (in No. 23/1 mm. 55-57 and No. 23/3 mm. 65-68). In the example last mentioned both melodic lines move in consecutive octaves (mm. 67-68), and this feature, borrowed from the Vivaldian concerto style, is found more extensively at the opening and closing measures of Nos. 22/1 and 22/3. A last option is to reduce one melody line to a chord breaking pattern, leaving the melodic prominence to the other. Naturally, the lute is very suited for the chord breaking role (as for instance in No. 22/1 mm. 33-36); the other way around, the lute playing the melody while the other instrument plays a chord breaking pattern, is only incidentally written by Baron, see for instance No. 28/1 mm. 24-25. More often, we find the melody in the lute part against a long note, or a series of repeated notes played by its companion (as in No. 23/1 mm. 1-2 and 46-48). It is not rare that the melodic instrument plays broken chords, often in a pattern involving rapid note repetitions, but in these places the lute either plays simple chords (as in No. 22/1 mm. 12-17) or, more frequently, it has a chord breaking pattern of its own, in a contrary movement. This last method is particularly extensively used in some concluding Presto/Vivace movements (see for instance the long passage No. 25/3 mm. 51-71), and of course in the lute duet.

If there is a separate bass part, it almost always doubles the bass line played by the lute; the bass therefore does not have an independent line, as in Martino's trios. In Baron's trios differences between the bass part and the bass line of the lute are slight, and of a simple nature. The separate bass part often is at the upper octave (as in No. 23/1 mm. 1-3, etc.), and frequently at cadences the dominant is reiterated at the lower octave (see for instance No. 23/1 m. 16). Sometimes identical notes in the instrumental bass and the lute bass are set in a slightly different rhythm (for instance in No. 29/3 mm. 5-8). Now and then repeated notes in one bass part are rendered as a single note in the other (as in No. 19/3 m. 17 or No. 23/1 m. 5). Only in No. 29/1 m. 5 a transitional note of the separate bass is not present in the lute part, and in No. 29/ 2 mm. 8 and 15 the lute has a bass note which is not played by the cello.

In the lute parts of the ensemble works there are some elements that are the same as in Baron's works for lute solo, but these are found far less than in the solos. In semiquaver figuration the ornamental device of rapid note repetitions is found rather frequently (for instance in No. 29/1 mm. 20-23), but other figures known from the solos are only occasionally written. In a few instances we see parallel movement between treble and bass voices, with the upper voice syncopated,<sup>56</sup> or a syncopated tone repetition in the treble against a bass line moving in crotchets.<sup>57</sup>

At half-closes the III-I progression of the melodic line, straightforward or as in the formula with the adorned auxiliary note in the middle, written often in Baron's solos, is used also every now and then in the lute parts of the ensemble pieces (see for instance No. 29/3 m. 20 for the first type and m. 28 for the second). At full closes, however, we find rather few final chords that are broken in the standard way that is used in the lute solos, as described above. These closes are only occasionally written, most often in Nos. 22, 24, 28 and 29. These are the sonatas which have a separate bass part, and this could account for the use of the 'standard' closes here: apart from those in the key of *D Minor*, these closes have no bass note on the first beat, and probably Baron preferred to have

<sup>55</sup> Cf. J.S. Bach's works for a melody instrument and obbligato harpsichord, which derive from trio-sonata arrangements. Examples of these scorings were also written by J.G. Graun and C.Ph.E. Bach (Eppstein 1966).

<sup>56</sup> Nos. 26/4 m. 3; 28/3 mm. 19, 41, 43; 29/1 m. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Nos. 23/1 mm. 11-12, 44-45; 39/3 m. 25.

<sup>58</sup> See p. 23.

<sup>59</sup> We find them in Nos. 22/2 m. 14 and 34, 22/3 m. 70, 24/2 m. 11, 24/3 mm. 12 and 36, 25/2 m. 15, 26/4 m. 8, 26/7 m. 23 (slightly deviating), 28/3 mm. 16, 24, 46, 56, and 29/3 mm. 16 and 32.

a clear bass on the beat in his ensemble pieces, which bass note in the sonatas mentioned of course was played by the violoncello or other bass instrument. Moreover, the standard close found most often in the ensemble pieces, also in those without a separate bass part, is in fact the one in *D Minor*.<sup>60</sup> Also, these closes are found most often in rapid pieces, where omission of the bass on the first beat was felt less urgently. Remarkably, in the (rapid) final movement No. 28/3 standard closes, here in *C* and *G*, are played no less than four times.

To give an approximate date to Baron's ensemble works is even harder than is the case with his solos, where we have some dated suites as solid reference points. The (tentative) dates of the manuscripts in which the ensemble works are written,<sup>61</sup> together with stylistic aspects of the pieces, can bring us somewhat further.

Nos. 21-25, bound together in NY, were written by two scribes who are also known from other MSS, and who seem to have been active in the 1720s. So, these would be youthful works by Baron, composed ca. 1720, which is in accordance with the fact that they seem to have been intended for an 11-course lute. Above, on stylistic grounds it was alleged that the lute duet No. 21 is an early composition. It is remarkable that already at this early stage, Baron wrote ensemble suites with the Italian movements Adagio and Allegro (Nos. 24/1 and 24/2), which in his suites for lute solo are only known from the 1750s.

The Trio No. 30, on the other hand seems to be a late work. It is not known when the source Sch was written, but the use of an uncommon ornament in the music seems to indicate the 1750s as the time of origin of the composition. Such a late date is corroborated by the style of the work, which shows a more advanced stage of the galant style than other works by Baron; here we find characteristics that are not, or much less frequently, found in his earlier compositions. Most strikingly 'modern' are the lombardic rhythms, which occur in the principal themes of Nos. 30/2 as well as 30/3; other advanced features are the changes in dynamics (No. 30/3 mm. 66-68), the melodic triplets (No. 30/3 mm. 94-96, 99-102), the sudden rests (No. 30/2), and the sharp motivic contrasts (for instance in No. 30/2 at mm. 54 and 62, and in No. 30/3 at m. 44).

In Br3 and Br5-7, stemming from the Breitkopf firm, are Nos. 27-29. Br5-7 probably were written in the 1760s, Br3 sometime earlier, possibly in the 1750s

or perhaps even in the 1730s or 1740s. These are works for a 13-course lute, in which the two lowest courses are much used. The musical style of Nos. 28 and 29 is much as in Nos. 22-25, but in No. 27/3 we find an extensive writing of drum-bass rhythms (mm. 9-12, 48-50. 52-55), a *galant* element which is absent from most of Baron's works. It seems that these works were written sometime between the early ensemble pieces and the late Trio, and that No. 27 is of a later date than Nos. 28-29.

This leaves us with No. 26, the suite for lute and flute, written in Le by a scribe who probably was active in another source in the period 1730–1760. Unlike No. 24, this suite has an Allemande and Courante as the opening movements, and the Allemande is in the 'early' semiquaver rhythm. On the other hand, this work originally probably was written for a 12- or 13-course lute: it seems that in a few instances a low *B*' was changed by a copyist to the upper octave *B*. Perhaps No. 26 was written in the 1720s, somewhat later than the earliest group of Nos. 21-25.

#### **Doubtful attributions**

Now that we have analysed at some length the stylistic characteristics of Baron's music, it is perhaps possible to say more about the works of which the ascription is uncertain. These are the suites Nos. 15 and 16 in *B Flat Major* and *E Flat Major*, and an Air in *G Major* and three Menuets, one in *A Minor* and two in *C Major* (Nos. 17-20). from the outset one should be warned that such a stylistic comparison cannot be conclusive. Our knowledge of eighteenth-century lute music is still rather limited; even from the important lutenists there are hardly good editions of their works or studies of their music, let alone from the many smaller masters, who often have a distinct voice and quality of their own.

On the other hand, it is clear that Baron also has a distinct style, which sets him off against other composers. For instance, it takes only some leafing through the works by S.L. Weiss to see that final cadences such as those found in Baron's music, with their standard way of breaking the final chords, are extremely uncommon here: Weiss has dozens of ways of closing his pieces, but Baron's manner is found hardly ever.<sup>62</sup> In this case, details like the figuration of the final bars obviously differentiate both lutenists; Baron's consequent use of one type of full-close re-

<sup>60</sup> In Nos. 22/2 m. 34, 22/3 m. 70, 24/3 m. 36, 25/2 m. 15, 26/4 m. 8.

<sup>61</sup> For the following, see the descriptions of the sources, pp. 258-268, and the Commentary to the various works, pp. 269-292.

To mention one important difference: Weiss preferably writes a bass note I on the first beat of a closing measure, Baron, as we saw, almost always puts the bass note on the second, unaccented beat.

ally is a hallmark of his style.

Other composers, however, obviously can use those same type of closing bars. An example of this can be found in the Galanterie by Blohm (B-Bc 4089/ 7, also in D-LEm III.11.64, pp. 3-7). Here some of the closing formulas in the keys of F and C are identical to those used by Baron, as are other features of the music: the periodic melody, consisting of short phrases, often of a commonplace nature, and the repeat of phrases (here often with the indications forte and piano). This piece by Blohm resembles Baron's suite No. 4; in the concluding Presto the final mm. 35-40 are even almost exactly the same as mm. 5-10 (the end of the first part) of Baron's Gigue No. 4/9. Hoffmann-Erbrecht characterised the latter piece as 'bordering on naïveness,63 but Blohm's music is even simpler than this most simple piece by Baron. Although on first sight this work by Blohm has much in common with Baron's style, there are important differences: Blohm's harmony is more static and his bass lines are much less agile, and his melodies are of a more galant and a less 'Baroque' character than Baron's. So, despite the obvious similarities, Blohm's music could not be mistaken for Baron's.64

Therefore, when comparing the style of two works, we should look at all aspects of the composition: not only at formal details, such as the structure of the final cadences, but also at the overall musical characteristics. We now will give a detailed analysis of the attribution of the questionable works.

#### Suite No. 15 in B Flat Major

It is uncertain who is the author of this suite. The copyist of the main source Br1 did not know the name of the composer, because in the title after the word *Sgre*: an open space was left. Afterwards, another contemporary hand wrote the name Baron here. In Ha the movements of the suite (except Nos. 15/1 and 15/6) are attributed to Weiss; in the Breitkopf Catalogue BC the first and a half measures of No. 15/1 are printed among the incipits of sixty-five other pieces attributed to Silvius Leopold Weiss. So, there seems every reason to suppose that the Baron attribution is a rather weak one, and that Weiss probably is the composer of the suite; this is the stand taken in Schlegel 1992, and for most Weiss scholars, including Douglas Alton Smith, the BC ascription clinches this as a Weiss work. At a closer look, however, things are a bit more complicated.

To begin with, Tim Crawford has the opinion that

'there is good reason to say that Weiss's later music is very rarely found outside the 'major' sources (London, Dresden, and one or two others with some direct connection to Weiss), and that most conflicting (or lacking) attributions occur in music which circulated during his early career (roughly before his Dresden appointment in 1718). [...] We know, from one or two documentary sources, that Weiss's music became very hard to obtain during his lifetime, yet some works circulated in several copies – in each case these seem to be pretty early pieces'. <sup>65</sup> These circumstances make it less likely that this *galant* suite, which cannot have been composed in the early eighteenth century, would have been written by Weiss.

The handwriting of Br1 is probably that of Luise Adelgunde Victorie Gottsched, who signed the copy with her initials LAVG (see p. 259). This circumstance would make it all the more unlikely that the suite was composed by Weiss: Luise Gottsched was well acquainted with the famous lutenist, and owned a collection of his music (now lost), authenticated and corrected by the composer. If this suite had been by Weiss, one thinks that she would have known. Moreover, Prof. Hans-Joachim Schulze has identified the hand of the scribe who filled in the name of Baron as belonging to Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, the same that in 1769 printed the incipit of the opening movement of the suite as a work by Weiss (BC). So Breitkopf was not certain himself who did write the piece. Moreover, in his 'Nacherinnerung', the Epilogue to the first part of the Catalogue, he explicitly warns that there are errors in the composer's names in the publication, due to conflicting attributions in his sources, and as a matter of fact 'there is a sizeable number of misattributions and internal conflicts' here. 66 So, what happened was probably as follows: Luise Gottsched wrote the copy of the suite, sometime before her death in 1762. She did not know the name of the composer (also, the fact that there was no direct connection between composer and copyist would account for the fair number of errors in the Gottsched copy). Afterwards, the MS came into the possession of Breitkopf, who was not sure about the composer either: in the 1769 Catalogue he attributed the work to Weiss, but at some other time he wrote the name of Baron in the copy. Perhaps the latter attribution was the latest, as at the Breitkopf auction of 1836 the MS was sold in a lot consisting of (alleged) compositions by Baron (see p. 259).

As a result of these findings, Weiss now seems

<sup>63</sup> Hoffmann-Erbrecht 1989, p. 234.

Possibly Blohm knew Baron's suite No. 4, and incorporated some measures from it in his Galanterie; although the passage concerned is not a very original one, a mere coincidence seems out of the question.

<sup>65</sup> Private communication, December 2002.

<sup>66</sup> Brook 1966, p. xv.

less likely a candidate. This leaves us with Ha, where Weiss is mentioned as the composer of Nos. 15/3-5. These attributions, however, do not seem very reliable either. On pp. 142-146, directly preceding the pieces that concern us here, is a suite of six movements that are also ascribed to Weiss, but which in two other sources (US-NYp 72-29 Vol. 14, ff. 11v-14r and Mü, ff. 20v-21r) bears the name of Wolff Jacob Lauffensteiner (in Mü only two movements are found – incidentally the incipit of the first movement Allemande is in BC, No. 8, also attributed to Weiss!). The conclusion must be that it is unlikely that this particular work was written by Weiss, the more so as the style of the suite is much more in agreement with the known pieces of Lauffensteiner than with Weiss' works.<sup>67</sup> Therefore, the Ha ascription to Weiss of the movements of the Suite No. 15 could very well be incorrect too, and cannot be regarded as decisive.

Now we must turn to the musical style of the suite. Andreas Schlegel thinks that ascribing it to Sylvius Leopold Weiss would help to explain 'the massive stylistic gap' between it and the 'modest, conventional suites' by Baron in Br8, 9 and 10.68 However, Tim Crawford feels that these pieces are 'not at all in the style of Weiss'; 'there is no well-authenticated source for pieces by Weiss in this late *galant* idiom'.69 Farstad also assumes on stylistic grounds that Weiss cannot have written this music.70 In the opinion of the present writer, too, the suite seems foreign to the style of Weiss.

Could the work then have been written by Baron? To be sure, the stylistic gap with authentic works by Baron is not so 'massive' as Schlegel asserts. Some elements of No. 15 indeed do agree with characteristics found in Baron's pieces. In a few cadences (Nos. 15/5 m. 48 and 15/6 m. 22) final chords in the keys of G and F are broken in a manner which was found typical for Baron. The final chords of *B Flat* in Nos. 15/2 m. 72 and 15/4 mm. 8 and 36 are like the ones written by Baron, were it not that Baron usually plays a third degree note d(5a) on the beat, which is omitted in these places.<sup>71</sup> However, other final chords, on F and B Flat (Nos. 15/2 m. 30, 15/3 m. 16 and 36, 15/ 6 m. 57) are in a form different from Baron's. There are some other features from suite No. 15 that are in accordance with Baron's stylistic characteristics: in

No. 15/6 m. 36 we see a parallel downward movement of treble and bass with the treble syncopated, and in the same No. 15/6 mm. 9-19 and 43-50 occur prolonged sequences such as are sometimes written by Baron. However, both features very much belong to the musical commonplaces of the period, and so these isolated instances are far from conclusive.

Moreover, there are many arguments against Baron's possible authorship of suite No. 15. The order of the suite is unlike all others by him, with the Fantasia and the Tempo di Menuet as its opening and concluding movements. The second movement Allegro, in 6/8 time (although 3/4 is written), would have been typical of the last movement of the Baron suites as we know them. Also, a Rondeau is never found in Baron's authentic suites. More important is the melodic character of No. 15: here the melodies have much longer lines and are far less made up of short phrases concluded with (half-)closes, than those written by Baron. The difference is most prominent in the Menuet No. 15/6, which lacks the structure of short phrases so characteristic of Baron's menuets. Other movements deviate also in one way or the other from those we have found as typical for Baron. The Allegro No. 15/2 is much longer than comparable pieces by him, and the on-going movement in quavers is atypical. The Bourée No. 15/3 is in 2/4 time instead of the usual 4/4, and the Aria No. 15/4 shows a plan alien to the arias by Baron, with its motivic development in the second part, which is strongly based on the opening theme of the first part; or rather it constitutes a series of variations of this theme, one of them even in the tonic minor. The opening mm. 1-7 of the Fantasia No. 15/1 bring to mind mm. 1-4 of the Entrée No. 12/1, but something like the ensuing prolonged series of arpeggiated chords in No. 15/1 mm. 10-16, 29-32 and 39-42 is never found in Baron's works for lute solo.<sup>72</sup> We must therefore conclude that this suite No. 15 differs very much from Baron's other known works, early as well as late, simple as well as more advanced. It is improbable that he composed it.

#### Suite No. 16 in E Flat major

It is unknown who is the author of this suite, as it is anonymous in the only source Br2. Obviously the copyist, Luise Gottsched (see p. 259), was unaware

- 67 Private communication by Tim Crawford, December 2002.
- 68 Schlegel 1992.
- 69 Private communication, December 2002.
- 70 Farstad 2000, p. 387-388.
- In the second source Ha at these instances the fifth degree note f is omitted on the beat, so that those final chords look even less like those by Baron.
- A sequence not unlike the one in No. 15/1 mm. 21-24 can be found, however, in No. 27/3, the Allegro of Baron's Duet for lute and flute, mm. 42-45. On the other hand, these passages are not of a very original invention, so the not very conspicuous likeness could easily be coincidental.

of the identity of the composer. Later, probably in the 1760s, Br2 was in the possession of the Breitkopf publishing firm, and it must have been there that someone (Breitkopf himself?) wrote on the cover of the fascicle the inscription *vermuthlich von Baron* ('probably by Baron'). At the 1836 auction of the firm of Breitkopf and Härtel the fascicle was sold in one lot with other (presumed or real) works by Baron.

The style of the music, however, seems to indicate another composer. To be sure, some aspects of the music remind one of Baron, especially in Allemande No. 16/1. Here the melodic lines of treble and bass, and the interplay of both (for instance in mm. 5-7) are akin to Baron's style. Here we also find the breaking of a final chord characteristic for Baron (m. 15, less so in m. 51). A Baron-like chord breaking is also found in the single c in No. 16/4 m. 8 (second time) and No. 16/5 m. 20, but not at other endings in the suite. In No. 16/2 the Baron-like formula is written in which a bass line moves in crotchets under a syncopated top voice on one tone (mm. 27-29, 45-47). More important, however, are the differences. In this suite the texture is thicker than in Baron's known works: there are many more chordal filling notes on the beat, and there is less space between the treble and bass lines. In No. 16/3 mm. 5-8, the bass line even lies in the alto position. The composer had a predilection for rounding off a movement by way of recapitulating the opening theme at the end: this we find in Nos. 16/1, 16/5 and 16/6. This is a device not totally unknown in Baron's genuine works (we find it for instance in No. 3/6), but there it is the exception. The pieces are much less 'formulaic' in structure than many of Baron's, and his much-loved closing formula III-I with ornamental quaver passing notes is found here only twice, in No. 16/4 mm. 4, 12 (and it is lacking completely in the Menuet No. 16/5). The common formula in No. 16/4 m. 8 (first time), where a scalar passage bridges the end of a part to its repetition, is also something we never encounter with Baron.<sup>73</sup> All in all, it seems best to agree with André Burguete, who holds the opinion that No. 16 is not written 'in the spirit of Baron'.<sup>74</sup>

#### Menuet No. 17 in A Minor

In Kr, this Menuet immediately follows Baron's Suite No. 1: it is written directly after No. 1/5 La Bassesse, filling f. 8r; also, it is in the same key of A Minor. However, in Vogl 1981 this piece is included as No. 62 in the 'List of Works by Johann Anton Losy, Graf von Losinthal'. It is found also in other sources, all without attribution: CZ-Pu 77, p. 74: Menuette (edition in Zuth 1919, p. 25); A-GÖ 2, f. 93v: Menuet; PL-Wn 396, ff. 258v-259: Menuete. Vogl, op. cit. p. 8-9, assumes that a series of guitar pieces in CZ-Pu 77, from p. 61 (with the heading 'Pieces composee par le Comte Logis') to p. 151 ('Fin de Partie'), written by one scribe, are all by Losy, which attribution is corroborated by the fact that some of the works in this series have concordances in other sources confirming Losy's authorship. By implication, this Menuet would be by Losy also. Moreover, in Kr, on f. 25, there is a Menuet du Comte de Logy, which is also found amongst the Logy guitar pieces in CZ-Pu 77, p. 164 (No. 61 in Vogel's list). So in all probability Count Losy is the composer of the Menuet.

In the opinion of the present editor, the style of the work is more in accordance with Losy's than with Baron's. Like Baron's works, this Menuet is composed of successive short phrases, but very much unlike Baron, these phrases all grow from one single theme. Furthermore, the breaking of the final chords, apart from the one in m. 24, is unlike those found with Baron (see for instance the endings in *C* and *D* in mm. 16 and 18, in a form never found in authentic pieces by Baron). There are some other arguments indicating that No. 17 was not copied in the same 'sitting' as the preceding suite. Although there is no

- Farstad 2000, p. 388, also mentions the 'extensive use of thirds in the melody, in every movement, and the use of double appoggiaturas [which] give evidence of a Galant influence which cannot be seen in any other work by Baron'. These features, however, do not seem to be valid discriminating criteria: double appoggiaturas are found several times in Baron's works (in Nos. 10/4, 12/3, 12/5), as are consecutive thirds, albeit much less frequently than in No. 16 (in Nos. 3/8, 11/2, 11/3(!), 12/2); on the other hand, consecutive thirds are written very often in Baron's lute duet and lute trios.
- Private communication, 17-3-2003. There seems to be less reason to follow Burguete's suggestion, in the same letter, that this suite could have been written by Gottlieb Siegmund Jacobi. Jacobi is a rather shadowy figure, of whom next to nothing is known: he studied Law in Leipzig and Rostock in 1705 and 1706 respectively, and is found circa 1723 as a lutenist at the Dresden court, and in 1724 and 1726 at the court of Köthen (Siegele 1998). Incidentally, this apparent Leipzig-Dresden connection makes it less obvious that Luise Gottsched should not have known his name, had he been the composer of this work. Burguete thinks the suite is stylistically similar to a suite by Jacobi in NY-Harrach 12, ff. 3v-6v, but that the work in Br2, if it is really by Jacobi, must date from a later stage his career: 'it is although in the same musical language riper in content and formally more balanced'. Both works are in the key of *E Flat Major* and have a *scordatura* with the ninth course tuned to *E Flat* and the sixth to *A Flat*; in the suite in Harrach 12, however, which is written for an 11-course lute, the fifth course is in addition tuned to *B Flat*. The present writer sees mostly stylistic differences between both works; in the Harrach suite, for instance, are no consecutive thirds at all.

change discernible in the handwriting or ink used, we see one obvious break: in No. 1 the copyist, who normally wrote rhythm signs with note-heads, gradually began to introduce rhythm signs without note-heads, and in No. 1/5 on f. 8r ended by writing the latter exclusively (see the Commentary to No. 1). In No. 17, however, the former type is written again. Furthermore, the absence of vertical lines between treble and bass notes (except in m. 7, but see the Commentary to this piece) could indicate that this Menuet was copied from another exemplar than the preceding pieces of Suite No. 1.

Did then Baron include this Menuet as the final movement of his suite, or was this the work of a copyist? I think the later possibility is the most probable: the light and rapid No. 1/5 seems a more fitting conclusion to the suite than the elegant Menuet, and the lute duet No. 21, as Suite No. 1 probably an early composition by Baron, also ends with a rapid piece in duple metre. Therefore, it would seem best not to regard this Menuet as an authentic last movement of the Suite No. 1.

# Menuets Nos. 18 and 20 in C Major and Air No. 19 in G Major

These isolated pieces, two Menuets and one Air, are found together with Baron's Paisane No. 12/5, in the small fascicle Ro. As all of the pieces in the fascicle remain without attribution, it is conceivable that these three anonymous works were also written by Baron.

Both Menuets in C Major have similar characteristics, which are largely in agreement with Baron's musical style, with their thin two-voiced texture. Very much like Baron's menuets is their distinct periodic melody, often consisting of phrases of two measures length which are repeated literally (as in No. 18 mm. 5-8 and 11-14) or in a sequence (as in No. 20 mm. 27-30), and which finish off with the half closes of the type much used by Baron (the III-I melody with an adorned passing note in between; see No. 18 mm. 4, 25, 33 and No. 20 mm. 4, 8, 20). As usual in Baron's menuets, at the middle of the second part there is a full close. The full-closes are mostly of the types favoured by Baron: see No. 18 m. 29 and No. 20 mm. 16, 26 and 40. The full close at the end of the first part of No. 18 (m. 21), is a variant form of these standard closes (cf. No. 10/4 m. 20). Found also in Baron is the motivic development we see in No. 20 (compare for instance mm. 5-7 with No. 8/5 mm. 11-13). Mm. 30-33 of No. 18 are even found almost literally in Menuet No. 8/6 mm. 5-8, while the cadential formula in mm. 28-29 of No. 18 is also used in No. 8/6 mm. 35-35, and No. 8/9 mm. 14-15. The cadential

formula in No. 20 m. 39 is used also in No. 2/6 mm. 7-8 and 19-20 and No. 8/2 m. 10. All in all, there are strong indications that these menuets indeed were composed by Baron.

This being the case, one would expect the Aria No. 19 to be a piece by him as well, but here some elements are more unlike Baron. In this small piece we find a slightly fuller texture (three voices at some places), and the overall melodic and harmonic style is somewhat less in agreement with Baron's; the half-close in m. 2 has the melodic line III-I with the adorned passing note, such as many found in Baron's pieces, but there the bass is always a static tonic, never I-V-I as here. On the other hand, the breaking of the final chord *G* in m. 8 is in accordance with Baron's standard closes.

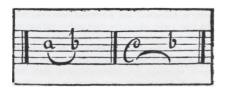
#### Lute duet No. 21 in C or B Flat Major

This work is handed down in the form of a lute duet in B Flat Major (NY) and in C Major (Sk), and, as was discovered by Tim Crawford, as a piece for two English guitars in C Major (LTG). The lute versions are ascribed to Baron, the guitar version was edited by Rudolf Straube, who also claimed to be the composer. With Sayce 1991 we fully agree that the musical style of the duet is clearly more in accordance with the works by Baron than those by Straube: the duet is very much in the tuneful and musically simple late Baroque idiom of Baron, and very different from the intricate and galant works of Straube. During his London years, from 1759 to his death in 1785, Straube was not only known as a lute player, but he played the fashionable English guitar as well. Thus, Straube probably arranged Baron's duet for two guitars. It is possible that Straube had become acquainted with the work during his Leipzig years in the 1730s and 40s, when a copy of this duet could well have circulated among the city's many lutenists from the time Baron had stayed here (1715–1719). This agrees with the assumption, reached on the basis of stylistic and formal characteristics, that the duet is an early work by Baron (see pp. 24-25).

#### Ornaments and playing signs

In the sources of Baron's music only a limited number of ornaments is found. This is in accordance with his description of the *Manieren* on the lute, in the fourth chapter of his *Untersuchung*.<sup>75</sup> There, Baron first of all mentions the two kinds of legato slurs, which are executed by hammer-on and pull-off movement (*Einfallen und Abziehen*):

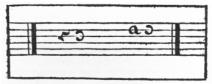
Baron 1727, pp. 165-173; in the following the translation by Smith 1976 has mostly been adopted. The ornaments used by Baron and other German lutenists of the period are also treated in Poulton 1981, pp. 33-36, Farstad 2000, pp. 124-157, and Poulton/Crawford 2001, pp. 349-350.



With the hammer stroke the player lets a finger of his left hand fall upon a still-sounding tone, without striking the new note with the right hand. The pull-off is the opposite: from a higher, still-sounding tone the finger of the left hand is pulled off to a lower note. In the MSS, a combination of pull-off and hammer-on is used also:



Essentially the same techniques, but notated as ornaments, are the appoggiaturas from below and above. Strangely, in the *Untersuchung* Baron only mentions the latter, which has the form of a comma ), written after the main note:



Baron calls this a trill (*Trillo*), describing that it is 'a movement that is begun rather slowly and softly but is continued faster and stronger'. He stresses that one should begin the trill on the upper auxiliary note. Of course, in many cases this ornament should be executed as a simple appoggiatura from above.

The counterpart of the 'pull-off' appoggiatura from above, is the 'hammer-on' appoggiatura from below. Although not mentioned explicitly by Baron, it is found often in the sources of his music, in the form of an inverted comma ( , written before or under the main note:



Next to chords the ornament often is written in such a way, that it is not apparent to which note it belongs:



In the present edition, the ornament is always taken as belonging to the tonic (in this example to the c).

In the sources the same sign ( is used when a tone is played on two different courses: F on 1a-2d or on 4a-5d, D on 2a-3f, and A on 3a-4e.



At these instances this ornament designates something which could be called a 'simultaneous acciaccatura':76 the main note and its accessory note a semitone below are struck together, after which the accessory note resolves into the main one by way of a hammer-on stroke. This same ornament, typical for the lute idiom, is sometimes written like a legato slur, extending backwards towards the previous note, even across a bar line:



The same ornament is also written before a single note, where it is the same as the appoggiatura from below:



Sometimes this form is even written when the preceding note is the same as the main note, thus indicating that it really is an appoggiatura from below, and not a hammer-on slur:



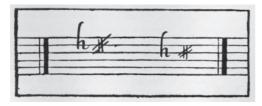
In the present edition, both the appoggiatura and the acciaccatura have been transcribed in the tablature as the 'hammer-on' ornament in the form of an inverted comma ( .

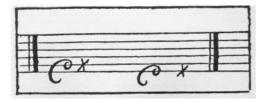
In Br7 in the lute part of No. 29/3 m. 24/1, once a short vertical wavy line is found, before the notes 3*a*-4*e* of an *A* chord. This probably is also a acciaccatura,

As it is called in Donington 1977, p. 222, where a similar ornament is described which was used in the keyboard music of the time.

which ornament is to be expected in this context, although the scribe in other instances writes a 'normal' sign ( . In the Rosani Lute Book (D-LEm II.11.64), like Br7 probably written by a copyist of the Breitkopf firm, this form of the ornament is also found (for instance on pp. 44-45, final bars).

In his *Untersuchung*, Baron mentions two forms of the vibrato (which he calls *Mordanten und Bebungen oder Schwebungen*), one represented by a double cross, the other by a single cross:





Unfortunately his description of these two ornaments is rather vague; The double cross is written 'in high positions' (*in der Höhe*), but it is not clear whether a note high upon the neck is meant, or perhaps a note on the higher strings. <sup>77</sup> According to Baron, the execution of the vibrato 'consists of firmly gripping the designated letter with the little finger, and when the string has been struck with the right hand, the left hand, continually pressing, is moved rather slowly

now to the left, now to the right side. It must be noted that during the motion the thumb, which otherwise remains firmly in the middle of the neck, is let free and loose, for in its fixed position it would only hinder the motions. The essence and nature of the vibrato consists of a pleasant doubt or anticipation, begins to waver, and seems to the ear somewhat higher, then somewhat lower while still wavering.'

The second form, represented by the single cross, is written in the lower position (*in der Tieffe*). It has the same nature as the other one, 'but its method of production is completely different from the first kind. It consists of placing the appropriate finger down and pulling the string back and forth with it, so that the same kind of vibrato or wavering tone is produced. The reason that these vibratos are not made with an open hand as are the above, is that down next to the pegbox the hand has not so much freedom of action, because the hand, the closer it is to my body, not only requires more weight but also more force in gripping, so that the pulling motion was invented to aid it'.78

In the sources of Baron's music mainly the first type of vibrato is found, in high as well as low positions on the neck, and on high and low courses. The interpretation of this ornament sometimes poses a problem, when it is attached to rapid notes, where one would think there is no time to execute a vibrato (see for instance No. 4/8 m. 72 and No. 49 m. 27/1). The single cross type of vibrato is only found in No. 12/3 mm. 10/2 and 12/2, both times with a note 4h. At the other occurrences in the sources of a single cross a trill is meant (see below). Maybe one other instance of a single cross vibrato is found in No. 10/1

- 77 Smith 1976, pp. 142-143, translates the phrases *in der Höhe* and *in der Tieffe* as 'high up on the neck' and 'in the lower register' respectively; in Poulton/Crawford 2001 the former is interpreted as 'on the higher strings'. Baron's mention of the position 'close to the pegbox' when performing the second kind of vibrato, seems to indicate that *in der Höhe* does mean high upon the neck. Moreover, elsewhere in the *Untersuchung*, the words *in die Höhe* and *in die Tieffe* unequivocally mean 'high up the neck' and 'down the neck' respectively (p. 156, where Baron treats the change of position of the left hand). On the other hand, there is the occurrence of the second type of vibrato in No. 12/3 with the notes 4h.
- Baron 1727, pp. 168-169: 'Was die Mordanten und Bebungen oder Schwebungen anlanget, so werden sie auf zweyerley Art ratione situationis gezeichnet. Welche in der Höhe sollen gemacht werden, bemerckt man also e.g. [example with the double cross vibrato]. Ihr Wesen bestehet darinnen, daß man mit dem kleinen Finger auf bezeichnete Buchstaben ziemlich feste aufdrücket, und wenn man unten angeschlagen, unter währendem Drücken die lincke Hand mit der sie gemacht werden, bald auf die lincke bald auf die rechte Seite etwas langsam bewege. Doch ist vornehmlich dieses dabey zu beobachten, daß man bey Bewegung der Hand den Daumen welcher sonst in der Mitte des Halses fest stehet, loß und frey lasse, weil er sonst in seiner Befestigung der Bewegung nur Hindernuß giebt. Das Wesen aber und Natur des Mordanten bestehet in einem angenehmen Zweiffel oder in ancipiti, wird bebend, und scheint dem Gehöre fast bald etwas höher bald etwas tieffer unter währendem Beben vorzukommen. Diejenigen aber welche in der Teiffe gemacht werden, haben zwar eben dieselbe Natur, aber ihr modus tractandi ist von der erstern Art gantz und gar unterschieden, und bestehet darinnen, daß man seinen darzugehörigen Finger aufsetzt, und damit die Saiten hin und wieder ziehe, auf daß eben so eine Bebung oder schwebender Thon heraus komme e.g. [example of the single cross vibrato]. Warum man aber solchen Mordanten nicht aus freyer Hand wie den obersten macht, so ist dieses der Ursache, weil man unten gegen den Kragen zu nicht so viel Freyheit zu agiren hat, weil die Hand je näher sie hier mir am Leibe, nicht allein mehr Schwehre sondern auch mehrers force im Drücken verursachet, daß man also diesem abzuhelffen den Zug erfunden hat.'

m. 15, where under a final note 6d is a small cross +, which perhaps should be interpreted as a vibrato sign x (it is possibly rendered somewhat different from the form the engraver, G.Ph. Telemann, saw in the exemplar, as he probably was not acquainted with the finer points of lute tablature; see the Commentary to this suite, p. 277). In No. 12/8, mm. 10/4 and 11/2, in a suite handed down in a 20th-century transcript, there are also small crosses, under two notes 3h, in the context of a – rapidly executed – arpeggiated chord. The meaning of the these crosses, probably ornaments, is obscure. In the musical context a vibrato seems out of the question; perhaps they represent short mordents.

In the sources incidentally more ornaments and playing signs are found, which are not mentioned in the *Untersuchung*. In the tablatures sometimes an ornament in the form of a cross is found, often at cadences, which can only be interpreted as a trill:



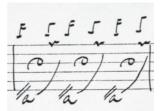
In the flute and violin parts of the Trio No. 30, in Sch, much use has been made of one single ornament: ? According to the Table of ornaments in Donington, this is an 'inverted turn', found in this form in the theoretical works of Marpurg (1756) and C.Ph.E. Bach (1753), and earlier as an accented upper (standard) turn in J.S. Bach's *Clavier-Büchlein* (1720). However, the musical context in which this ornament is used in Baron's Trio, suggests it is meant there as another (long or short) trill: it is found on leading notes in cadences, on very long notes, et cetera.

In No. 7/4, m. 14/2, is written a sign which looks like a crotchet rest, but probably is an ornament:



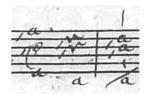
This ornament, not found in any other piece by Baron, could be a short mordent: it resembles the 'Kurzer Mordent' in the table of ornaments in Johann Christian Beyer's *Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden* (1760) (see the illustration in Farstad 2000, p. 138). It is found also in D-LEm II.11.64 (the Rosani MS), p. 10, which, as Br10, seems to have been written by a Breitkopf scribe. In the 'Falckenhagen' table (ca. 1750) the same sign is called a 'Semi-Mordant'.<sup>80</sup>

In No. 12/2, in the (reliable) transcript by Schütze, are slurs next to arpeggiated chords in mm. 7 and 9:



These slurs possibly indicate that the notes of the chords should be held.

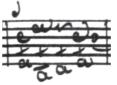
In some pieces, before a chord short diagonal lines indicate syncopated notes, 'Sincopierte Noten' as they are called in the table in Beyer's *Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden*:



More often we find slanted lines between treble and bass notes, indicating that these should be separated:

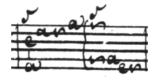


In some instances, these slanting *separée* lines have been drawn through the vertical lines that normally indicate that treble and bass notes have to be played together (if these vertical lines are not simply meant as optical guides that the connected notes are on the same beat). This we see in Nos. 4/6 and 6/5:



These crosses possibly indicate that at the first time treble and bass notes should be played together and that they should be separated in the repeat (see the commentary to No. 4/6).

*Barré's* are indicated in different ways. They are sometimes represented by a vertical line before a chord or group of notes (for instance in No. 5/2 m. 2):



<sup>79</sup> Donington 1977, pp. 733 and 735, No. 88.

<sup>80</sup> Crawford 2001, p. 350.

In No. 13, printed in 1755, *barré's* are indicated by diagonal lines *under* the arpegiated notes of the chords (see also Poulton 1981, p. 35):



In Br7, in which are the lute parts of Nos. 28 and 28, at two instances a special sign occurs in the tablature, the interpretation of which is not altogether certain. It is a vertical wavy line, which is found twice before a final C chord 3d-4c-5c-4, in No. 28/1 m. 33/4 and No. 29/1 m. 30.

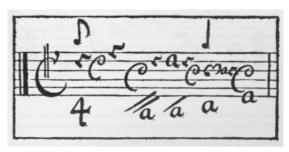


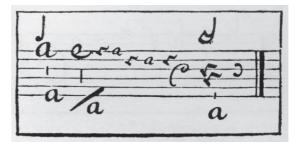
This sign possibly should be interpreted as a *barré*: cf. the ornamentation table in Beyer's *Herrn Professor Gellerts Oden*, where an identical wavy line before a chord is used to indicate a *barré* (there called 'Ueberlage').

In the *Untersuchung* Baron gives some further advice on the correct way of using ornaments and playing with proper taste. He says that those ornaments written in the lute tablatures – the ones he had just treated – 'are primarily designated for the beginners, until they learn to apply them at the appropriate places in improviseded pieces (*freyen Stücken*) themselves. Yet one must not think that all of them are indicated there, because many cannot be indicated as well as invented and executed [extemporaneously]. The best ornaments depend upon the player's invention and the manner in which he produces them. He must alternately moderate or force the sound of his lute in

such a way that it does not exceed the nature of the instrument – we cannot give strict rules for this. Each player must himself judge what sort of affect he wishes to express with this or that ornament. A player must make a distinction between playing alone and in ensemble, when he is accompanied by others. If he plays alone, he can delay a bit longer and do more ornamentation, especially in slow pieces. However, it must not be excessive, for too many ornaments, particularly if not applied in the right places, garble the music and melody. In quicker pieces, the best *Manier* is nothing more than neatness and clarity, and if someone wanted to make many other additions it would be as ridiculous as chasing rabbits with snails and crabs.'81

Baron concludes by saying that (improvised) runs (*Laufwerck*) 'also belong to musical grace and elegance, and they sound very good when applied in slow pieces (airs, sarabandes and so forth), and at cadences as the singers apply it. [...] Now and then passing tones can well be applied between two notes.'82 Of these he gives two examples:





Baron 1727, pp. 169-170: 'Dieses sind nun diejenigen Manieren, welche denen Incipienten vornehmlich in der Lauten-Tabulatur gezeichnet werden, biß sie solche an gehörige Orte selber von freyen Stücken anbringen lernen. Doch darff man nicht gedencken, daß sie daselbst alle seyn, weilen man viele nicht so gut hinzeichnen als erfinden und zur Execution bringen kan. Das meiste und beste kommt wohl auf den Genie und habitude wie er sie vorbringen will an. Bald muß er sein Instrument dem Klange nach moderiren, bald forçiren, doch so, daß es nicht über die Natur des Instruments sey, weil man davon so stricte keine Regul geben kan; sondern es ist nöthig, daß ein jeder judicire was er vor einen affect durch diese oder jene Tour exprimiren will. Nun muß einer den Unterschied machen ob er vor sich alleine en presence andrer keiner oder mit andern spielt, und von ihnen accompagnirt wird. Spielt oder lässt man sich alleine hören, so kan man vornehmlich bey langsamen Sachen sich schon etwas länger aufhalten und mehr Manieren machen, doch muß man nicht excediren, weil auch allzuviele Manieren, zumal sie nicht am rechten Ort angebracht, die Modulation und Melodie verstümmeln. In geschwinden Sachen ist weiter nichts als Reinlichkeit und Deutlichkeit die beste Manier, und wolte auch jemand viel andern Zusatz darzu thun, wäre es eben so ungereimt, als Hasen mit Schnecken und Krebsen zu hetzen'. Baron 1727, pp. 171: 'Ein Laufwerck gehöret auch mit zur musicalischen Zierlichkeit oder Eleganz, und kommt solches sehr artig heraus, wenn dergleichen bey langsamen Sachen e.g. Airs, Sarabanden &c. und um Cadenzen, als wie bey denen Sängern angebracht werden. Ich habe oben schon gedacht, daß man die Tonos inter medios von einer Distanz zur andern dann und wann gar wohl anbringen kann...'.

Transcribed into staff-notation (the rather obscure sign on the third beat of the first measure has been interpreted as a note 3c with a trill):



Baron explains: 'The small letters are the intermediate tones, the large ones comprise the main melody. If they are to be placed between the melody notes, they must not interfere with the tempo and the mensuration. Normally, a run will progress either upwards or downwards.'83

In the fifth chapter of the *Untersuchung*, called 'Playing with proper taste' (Von dem rechten Gusto zu spielen), Baron gives further advice to the player. After some remarks about the musical styles of Italy, France and Germany, he stresses that a virtuoso lutenist should have musical knowledge and intelligence, and that he can show these by playing preludes, fantasias, fugues and so forth at the start of his concerts. Baron then goes on to characterise some musical forms. Most space is given to fantasias, pieces in which the performer can show and exercise his imagination. 'Their essence consists of an unordered connection of many passages and thoughts that can be executed according to all kinds of mensuration and meters at will. It will of course do if such things are well composed on paper, but it is as if the spirit and the power are missing, so to speak, if they are not produced extemporaneously.'84 Also treated are pieces in regular meter, of which several are placed after one another in one key and are called suites (*Suiten*). 'Suites must, of course, have *galant* ideas according to modern music, but should be executed with moderation because they are played solo, where the player considers forte and piano both in the right-hand touch and in the motion of the left. For because such pieces are produced to please, and because pleasure comes from frequent change, a master as well as an amateur must follow custom, since the piece belongs not to him alone but to others as well' (namely, his audience).85

Baron also points out how he thinks that ensemble music should be played: 'Concerning the concerti and trios that have the lute as their main voice, the Allegro and Presto, and so forth, must be composed rather long, but the Adagio shorter, so that change is not stifled. When change occurs often, it is the true delight that we feel in music. The movements must be so constituted that the passages and phrases are thought out according to the lovely, galant music of today. Performers must take care that when other instruments accompany the lute they do not drown it out, but rather let it sound out above the others, since it is the principal instrument. This can be better accomplished if the other instruments cut their accompaniment short and do nothing beyond helping the lute stand out in concerted passages and supporting the gentle harmony. When the lute is supposed to stand out, it is poor taste to make many ornaments and Kribuskrabus, so to speak, with the accompaniment, since here the greatest elegance consists of simple clarity and accuracy.'86 It seems that in composing the ensemble pieces Baron sometimes tried to help

- 83 Baron 1727, p. 172: 'Die kleinen Buchstaben sind die *Toni intermedii*, die grossen aber machen die Haupt-Melodie aus, und ob sie schon zwischen der Melodie angebracht werden, müssen sie doch dem *Tempo* und der *Mensur* nicht Schaden tun. Ein Lauffwerck aber *regulariter* bewegt sich entweder in die Höhe oder in die Tieffe'.
- Baron 1727, p. 181: 'Ihr Wesen bestehet aber in einem unordentlichen Zusammenhang vieler *Passage*n und *Pense*en, welche nach allen Arten von *Mensur*en und *Tact*en nach Belieben können durchgeführt werden. Es gehet zwar an, daß man auch wohl dergleichen Sachen gar artig zu Papier bringen könte, allein es ist gleichsam als wenn der geist und die Krafft fehlete, wenn sie nicht gleich *ex tempore produci*rt werden'.
- Baron 1727, pp. 184: 'Was nun die Suiten anbetrifft, müssen solche zwar eben galante Einfälle nach der neuen Music haben, aber weil sie *Solo* gespielt werden, mit einer guten *Moderation*, da man das *Fort* und *Foible* theils im Anschlag, theils im Zug der obern Hand in Acht nimmt, zur *Execution* gebracht werden, denn weil solche Sachen zu dem Ende *producir*t werden, daß sie gefallen sollen, das Wohlgefallen aber aus der öfteren Veränderung entstehet, so hat so wohl ein Meister und Liebhaber nöthig sich nach der Mode zu richten, weil die Sache nich für ihn allein, sondern auch vor andere gehöre'.
- Baron 1727, pp. 183-184: 'Was nun die *Concerten* und *Trios* anlanget, welche mit der Lauten als seiner Haupt-Stimme sollen *producir*t werden, so müssen die *Allegro* und *Presto &c.* zwar etwas lang, aber die *Adagio* desto kürzer gesetzt seyn, und zwar aus dieser Ursach, damit dem *Chanchement*, welches, wann es fein öffters geschiehet, das wahre Vergnügen, das man von der Music empfindet, kein Wehe getan werde. *Ratione* der *Composition* aber müssen sie so beschaffen seyn, daß die *Passag*en und Gänge nach der schönen, galanten und heutigen Music ausgedacht werden, doch mit der Behutsamkeit, daß wenn andere Instrumenten die Laute *accompagni*ren, sie nicht überschreyen, sondern sie, als das Haupt-Werck worauf es angesehen, vor andern

the accompaniment play lightly, by literally cutting short the melody instrument and especially the bass part. This is clear in No. 29, where in many instances notes of a minim length have been written as crotchets followed by a crotchet rest: see for instance No. 29/3 mm. 1-8 and 21-22 (bass), and mm. 29-30 (violin and bass). In Nos. 23/1 and 23/3 the same device is used to make sure that the accompanying bass will not smother the lute.

#### Conclusion

The preceding pages have made it clear that Ernst Gottlieb Baron was one of the leading musicians in the Germany of the first half of the eighteenth century, and that at the time he was considered a virtuoso on the lute, a prominent writer and an important composer. Testimony to his qualities as a player come from different sources: the Jena anecdote, the success he met when performing at various courts during his travels in the 1720s, and the fact that for over two decades he remained in the service of Frederick the Great, an exacting and expert music lover. Perhaps the Fantasia No. 13 gives us an impression of his excellence as a performer, as this probably is the written-down version of an improvisation: Baron himself tells us that fantasias need to be played extempore to have their best effect.

As a writer on musical theory and aesthetics, Baron was firmly rooted in the modern thoughts of the German Enlightenment. From the leading thinker Christian Wolff he learned the rational approach and the striving for a complete synthesis, which dependence most clearly shines through in his *Abriß einer Abhandlung von der Melodie* (1756), but is also present in the *Historisch-Theoretisch und Practische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (1727), Baron's

most important work. In the 1750s Baron made a contribution to the debate in musical theory, with his  $Abri\beta$  and some minor works, and to the field of aesthetics, by his  $Versuch \ "uber das Sch"" on a translation of two French treatises. These writings, useful as they were, do not reveal a profound or original thinker. On the other hand, with his <math>Untersuchung$  Baron did break new ground, as in Germany nobody else before had written a work devoted to all aspects of a single musical instrument: its history, its most important makers and players, and its playing technique.

Hardest to ascertain are Baron's qualities as a composer, as we probably have only a very incomplete picture of his overall musical output. Moreover, this picture possibly is one-sided. The pieces that are transmitted in the manuscripts and prints for the greater part pose only modest technical and musical demands to the player, and it seems that they are meant for students and amateurs: the didactic purpose of the pieces in Kö is shown by some left-hand fingerings in them, and the eight suites in Br9-10 could very well have been devised as a publication for the market of amateur players. Aimed at the same market was Telemann's periodical Der getreue Music-Meister, in which Baron's suite No. 10 appeared. Although some of the ensemble works are more ambitious than the pieces for lute solo, on the whole one can say that Baron's compositions show the same characteristics as his theoretical writings: they are modern and rational, but not very profound or original. This is not to say that Baron's works have no distinct qualities. In most cases he writes a graceful and memorable melody, often with a tint of melancholy, which is supported by a simple but effective harmony. The player who is ready to put some effort in carefully executing these pieces and who, after Baron's own advice, lets the instrument sing, will surely find himself rewarded.

hervorschalle. Solches kan nun desto füglicher geschehen, wenn man die andern Instrumente in ihrem *Accompagnement* fein kurz abschneidet, daß sie weiter nicht thun, als bey denen *concerti*renden *Passage*n der Lauten nur hervor helffen, und die sanfte Harmonie befördern. Es ist auch wider den *Gusto*, wo die Laute *prævali*ren soll, viele Manieren und Kribuskrabus wie man sagt mit dem *Accompagnement* zu machen, dieweil hier die gröste Zierlichkeit in einer simplen Reinlichkeit und Accuratesse bestehet'.

#### About the edition

In the present edition one will find: the transcription of Baron's music in staff notation, a critical Commentary, and an account of the sources in which the music is found (Vol. I); the tablature of the music for lute solo (Vol. II); and the tablature of the lute parts of the ensemble works, as well as the other instrumental parts (Vol. III).

In the edition of the lute tablature the original sources are rendered as faithfully as possible, including slurs (also their form), ornaments, and numbers indicating left-hand fingering (in Nos. 11/3 and 11/6). In the tablature, as well as in the parts of the other instruments, the most important editorial corrections and alternative readings from other sources have been included; in this way Vols. II and III can be used independently from Vol. I. In the tablature especially, page turns have been avoided as much as possible, but this policy has its price in the form of the occurrence of some empty space on certain pages, and even of a few blank pages.

In Vol. I the editor has chosen to give a full description of the sources of Baron's music; hopefully this will be a contribution to the study of eighteenth-century lute music, in which field much work still needs to be done. In the same Vol. I, in the transcriptions into staff-notation the music is written in two systems, in 'piano' notation. The systems have been set without the usual space between them, so as not to interrupt the melodic line of the treble voice, which often goes from one system to the other. In most cases

the middle voices, which are often just harmonic fillers, have not been notated as independent voices, but have been attached to the treble or bass notes. Notes with two stems indicate that the note is played on two adjacent courses, a lutenistic device found often in A, D and F chords. Only in No. 13, system 8, in the semi-quaver figures, the two-stemmed notes indicate the voice-leading, because here in the tablature two adjacent courses are played successively to repeate a single note a.

The tablature ornaments have been rendered as follows in the transcriptions (cf. pp. 32-35):

- ( : appoggiatura from below, or a 'simultaneous acciaccatura' (shape as in the tablature);
- ) : appoggiatura from above or a trill (shape as in the tablature);
- x: vibrato (in the tablature written as # or x);
- tr: trill (in the tablature written as x);
- 2 : probably a long or short trill (in the flute and violin parts of No. 30 only).

In addition, there are two ornaments that each occur only once: a long trill in No. 19 m. 12, in the tablature in the form of a series of repeated signs ); in No. 7/4 m. 14 a mordent. The meaning of the cross that is found twice in No. 12/8 is obscure.

As in the tablature, oblique strokes between bass and treble notes indicate that these should be played *separée*. An oblique stroke combined with a vertical one probably means that the the *separée* should only be played at the repeat. Short oblique strokes before the notes of a chord indicate that the chord should be broken.

# TRANSCRIPTIONS WORKS FOR LUTE SOLO

# 1. Suite in A Minor

# Partie de Mr. Baron



#### 2. Courante



#### 3. Gavotte



#### 4. Menuet





#### 5. La Bassesse





# 2. Suite in C Minor

# 1. Allemande



#### 2. Courante



#### 3. Bouree





#### 4. Sarabande





#### 5. Menuet







#### 7. Gique



# 3. Suite in G Minor

# 1. Allemande



#### 2. Courante



#### 3. Aria



- -



# 4. Menuet



#### 5. Bouree



#### 6. Menuet



#### 7. Gavotte



#### 8. Sarabande









# 4. Suite in F Major



#### 2. Courante



#### 3. Menuet





4. Polonoise (added movement from second source)





### 5. Sarabande



### 6. Bourée





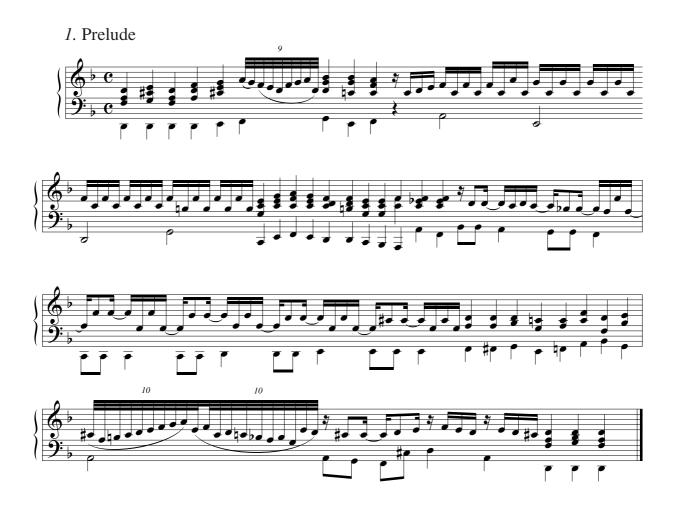




Il Fine

### 9. Gique 24

### 5. Suite in D Minor



### 2. Allemande





### 3. Courante





# 4. Bourée





### 6. Sarabande











### 9. Polonoise



Il Fine

### 6. Suite in A Minor



### 2. Courante











### 5. Bouree









### 7. Siciliana



### 7. Suite in C Major

### 1. Allemande



### 2. Courante











## 

5. Sarabande











### 8. Suite in A Minor



### 2. Allemande





### 3. Courante









## 5. Bouree











### 8. Sarabande



### 9. Menuet



### 10. Gique





### 9. Suite in G Major



# 2. Allemande



## 3. Courante



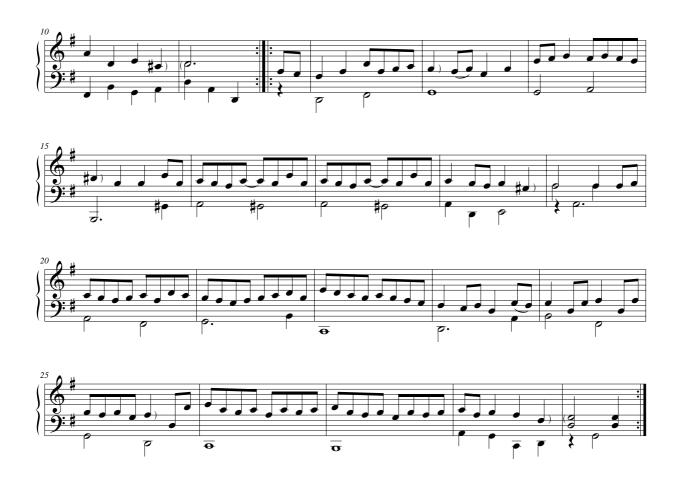
## 4. Menuet





# 5. Bouree





# 6. Polonoise









# 10. Suite in F Major

# Allemande, avec la Suite, composée par Mr. E.T. Baron





# 2. Courante



# 3. Menuet









# 5. Le Drole





# 7. Bourée





# 11. Suite in G Major

Partie de Galanterie G-dur, composée par E. Th. Baron le 17. de Fevrier l'an 1755 per il Liuto

# 1. Introductione





# 2. Poco Allegro



















## 4. Menuetto





# 5. Polonoise





# 6. Gique





# 12. Suite in F Major

# Partie avec la Suite pour le Luth composée par Erneste Theophile Baron





# 2. Poco allegro





# 3. Sarabande adagio





# 4. Menuet



# 5. Paisane





# 6. Gavotte



# 7. Menuet



# 8. Gique







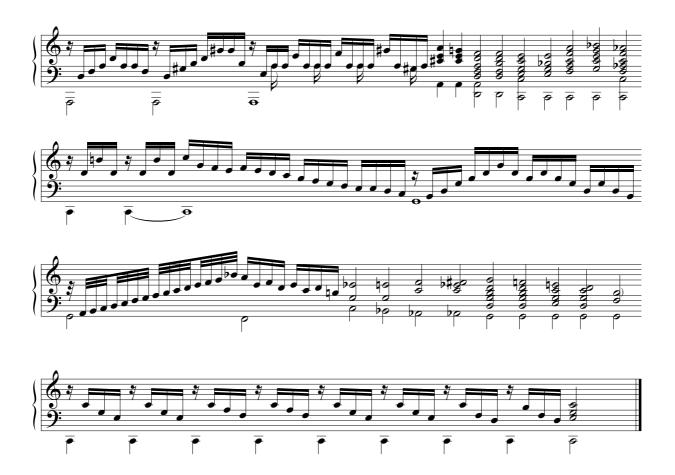




# 13. Fantasie in C Major

# Fantasie von Herrn Baron, königl. Preussischen Lautenisten





# 14. Menuet in A Minor

# Menuet del Sigre. Baron



# APPENDIX WORKS OF UNCERTAIN ASCRIPTION

# 15. Suite in B Flat Major

# Sonata à Liuto solo composta del Sigre. Baron





#### 2. Allegro







### 3. Bourée









#### 5. Rondeau







## 6. Tempo di Menuet





4a. Aria (alternative version)



# 16. Suite in E Flat Major

## Sonata à Liuto solo





#### 2. Courante





#### 3. Bourée







#### 5. Menuet







# 7. Vivace e piano



### 17. Menuet in A Minor



18. Menuet in C Major





19. Air in G Major





20. Menuet in C Major





