

David Kellner

David Kellner - A Biographical Survey

By Kenneth Sparr

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Introduction

David Kellner's fame rests on his thorough-bass treatise *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass...* (Hamburg, 1732) and his lute tablature book *XVI auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...* (Hamburg, 1747). The *Treulicher Unterricht* went through no less than eight German editions from 1732 up to 1796, two Dutch, one Swedish and one Russian. Several copies of the different editions are to be found in libraries around the world indicating the impact Kellner's thorough-bass treatise must once have had. Of his lute book, on the other hand, only two copies seem to be preserved. A few of his lute pieces are to be found in manuscript sources. The *XVI auserlesene Lauten-Stücke* was furthermore one of the last lute tablature books to be published. In spite of all this not much has been known about David Kellner's life and even if he is mentioned in most musical dictionaries the information given is often rudimentary and sometimes incorrect. Only two musicologists have paid any attention to him: Elwyn A. Wienandt and Gun Fridell. Their work, however, concentrates on Kellner's music and thorough bass treatise and not on his biography, a subject which will be the principle object of this article.¹

Place of Birth and Family

David Kellner was born in a small village, Liebertwolkwitz, situated about 10 kilometres from Leipzig.² This is evident from the fact that he later registered as *Libertwolwicensis Misnicus*. Liebertwolkwitz is one of the oldest villages in the region dating back to the eleventh century and most famous for being the battlescene in October 1813

¹ Wienandt, E.A., 'David Kellner's Lautenstücke' in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10 (1957) pp. 29 ff. Fridell, G., *David Kellners 'Treulicher Unterricht...' 1732 jämte förlagor och översättning - en jämförande studie*. Unpublished dissertation (1969). This article was originally published as Sparr, K. 'David Kellner: A Biographical Survey' in *The Lute* 29/1989 pp. 3-36, *ibid.* 'David Kellner: Ein biographischer Überblick Teil 1-3.' *Gitarre & Laute* 14/1992, Heft 6, pp.13-18; 7/1993, Heft 1 pp. 17-21; Heft 2 pp. 17-21; *ibid.* 'David Kellner - A Biographical Survey.' in *Balticum - a Coherent Musical Landscape in 16th and 18th Centuries*. Ed. by Irma Vierimaa. *Studia musicologica universitatis helsingiensis* VI. Helsinki 1994. pp. 63-90. See also Sparr, K., 'En 250-årig Trogen Underrättelse Uti General-Basen...' in *Bokvännen* 44(1989) pp. 119 ff. *ibid.* 'En 250-årig Trogen Underrättelse Uti General-Basen... och dess författare David Kellner' in *Tidskrift för tidig musik* 11(1989) No 4, pp. 3 ff. *ibid.* 'David Kellner - lutenist, klockspelare och organist' in *Gitarr och Luta* 26/1993 nr 1 pp. 3-13.

² Today Liebertwolkwitz is a district in the city of Leipzig.

between Napoleon's troops and the united troops of Austria, Prussia and Russia, usually named the *Völkerschlacht bei Leipzig*. Unfortunately, no parish registers or council records from Liebertwolkwitz are preserved before 1813, mainly because the village was severely war-ravaged during the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries. Consequently we have no information on Kellner's exact birthdate. His father was probably Philipp Kellner, who in 1655 is mentioned as *erster Lehrer* (senior schoolmaster) in Liebertwolkwitz. According to a manuscript notation in the *Kirchenchronik* Philipp Kellner came from Roßwein, a city in the *Landkreis* Döbeln between Dresden, Leipzig and Chemnitz. Philipp Kellner had at least four sons. The eldest was probably Philipp as he got his father's Christian name. Next to him came Christian and Johann. The latter was born in 1665 and this suggests that David, most probably the youngest of the four, was born c. 1670. The sons of Philipp Kellner may have received musical training from their father. The position as *erster Lehrer* was often combined with that of a *cantor* and organist. At least two of his four sons later in life showed musical skills and became professional musicians. About David much later it was said that he *ifrå barndomen öfwat sig uti musiquen* (from his childhood had trained himself in music).



Liebertwolkwitz, Saxony about 1813.³

To get a proper background to David Kellner's youth it is necessary to describe briefly the lives of his brothers. Philipp and Christian went to Leipzig where they registered as students at the university: Philipp in 1677 and Christian in 1679. Christian's studies did not last long and already on 7 October 1680 he was appointed organist at the cathedral of Turku in Finland, then a Swedish province. Accordingly, Christian by then must have been a competent musician. Philipp may have stayed longer in Leipzig, but some time before 1682 he moved to Tartu (Dorpat) in another Swedish province, *Livonia* (today Estonia and Latvia). At first he worked as a *Notarius* (clerk). Between 1682 and 1691 he was a member of the council of Tartu and a few years later, in 1693, he was appointed *Stadtsecretarius* (secretary to the council), a post he held until 1708. Some unconfirmed information states that he was organist in Tartu before 1693. Around 1682 he married Anna Catharina, the daughter of the mayor Matthias Ladou.

³ <http://www.liebertwolkwitz-1813.de/>

In 1704, during the Great Northern War, the Russians conquered Tartu and four years later Philipp was brought to Russia where he stayed until 1713 when he returned to Tartu and his post as secretary. He seems to have adjusted himself quickly to the new rule and in 1719 he was appointed mayor of Tartu. He stayed at this post until his death in 1728. Johann Kellner was to follow Philipp to Tartu. On 21 August 1691 Johann became burgher of Tartu as a grocer, a profession he combined with that of unlicensed chemist. Shortly before, on 12 August the same year, the chemist Gottfried Hasenfelder complained that his apprentice Johann Kellner sold drugs without permission. But Johann became a citizen of good esteem: senior of the *Grosse Gilde* (the Great Guild) in 1698 and a member of the town council between 1703 and 1704. In 1704, when the Russians attacked the town, Johann took active part in the defence and was forced to flee via Riga to Stockholm.⁴

David Kellner in Turku and Tartu

David Kellner must have left Liebertwolkwitz before 1693. In this year he registered as a student, *Köllner, Dav. Lips.* at the Åbo akademi (the university of Turku) under the vice chancellor Matthias Svederos. The reason for his coming to Turku must have been the presence there of his brother Christian, by then a well established citizen. David's stay in Turku did not last long, hardly more than one and a half year.

⁴ Voigt, T., *Liebertwolkwitz in den Tagen der Schlacht bei Leipzig...* (Leipzig, 1848). Vollhardt, R., *Geschichte der Cantoren und Organisten von den Städten im Königreich Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1978). *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Jakob och Johannes församlingar KIII:1 fol. 104v. Erler, G., *Die jüngere Matrikel der Universität Leipzig 1559-1809*, 2 (Leipzig, 1909) p. 214. Andersson, O., 'Orglar och organister i Åbo domkyrka' in *Kring konst och kultur* (Helsinki, 1948) p. 37. Seuberlich, E., 'Bürgermeister Philipp Kellner und seine Sippe in Dorpat' in *Baltische Familiengeschichtliche Mitteilungen* 6 (1936) pp. 65 ff. *ibid.*, *Liv- und Estlands älteste Apotheken* (Riga, 1912). Randel, A., 'Johan Kellner, en man av karolinskt kärnvirke' in *Karolinska förbundets årsbok* (1937) pp. 242 f. Gadebusch, F.K., *Livländische Jahrbücher. Dritter Theil von 1630 bis 1710* (Riga, 1782). Arro, E., 'Die Dorpater Stadt-Musici 1587-1809' in *Sitzungsberichte der gelehrten estnischen Gesellschaft* (1931) pp. 135 ff.



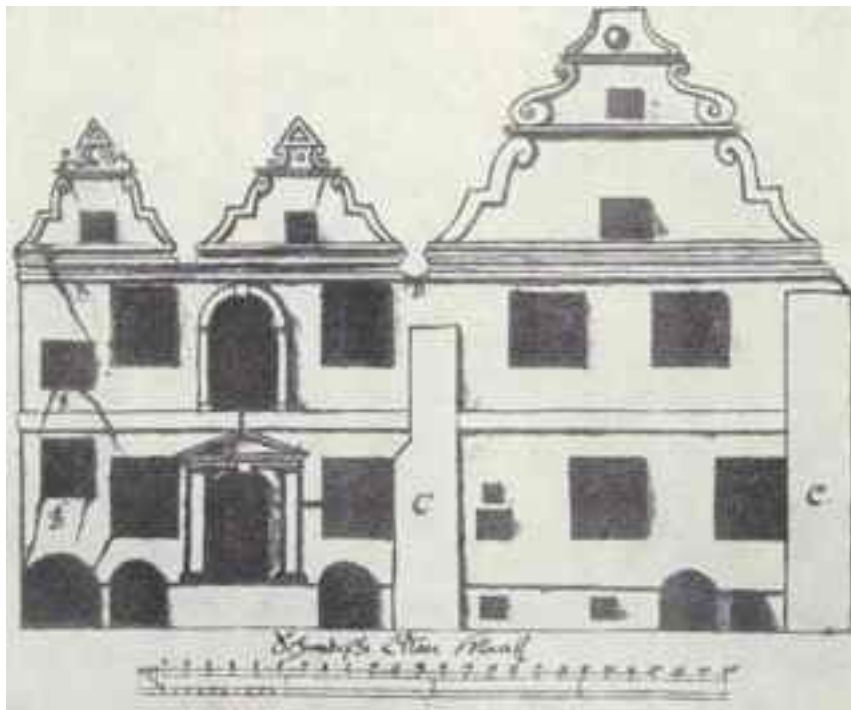
View of Akademitorget in Turku in 1795. Wash drawing by C.P. Hällström.⁵

However, his musical capacity must have made a certain impression as a letter, dated 1699, from the bishop of Turku states that *thenne David Kellner till sin Person ok Capacitet i den konsten [orgelspel] är här i staden redan till en dehl bekant* (this David Kellner is already to a certain extent known in this town both regarding his character and his capacity in the art of organ playing). Even if we have no records confirming it we may assume that David assisted his brother Christian at the organ in the cathedral.⁶

⁵ From the Swedish Wikipedia, and originally from O. M. Reuter, *Finland i ord och bild*, Stockholm 1901, p. 314.

⁶ Lagus, V., *Album studiosorum Academiae Aboensis...*, 1: 1640-1740 (Helsinki, 1891). *Eesti ajaloo arhiiv*, Tartu, Estonia, F.1187. Ev.-luth. Landeskonsistorium von Estland. Reg. 2, No 383, fol. 133 f.

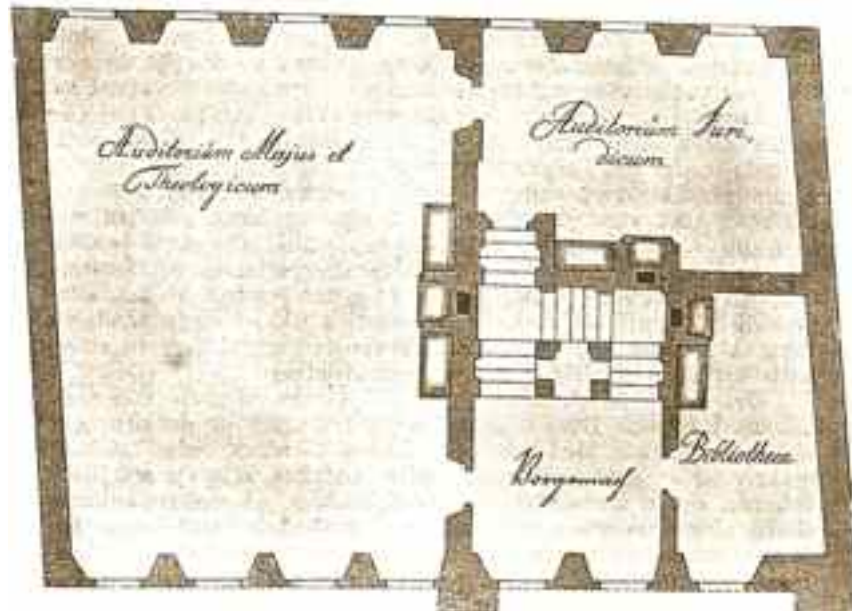
On 27 June 1694 David Kellner registered as a student at the *Academiae Dorpatensis* or, as it also was called, *Academia gustaviana carolina* in Tartu. The registration was made in his own hand, *David Kellner, Libertwolwicensis Misnicus*, and under the *rectore* Sven Caméen. As I have noted earlier David's two other brothers, Philipp and Johann, were both living in Tartu at this time. On 15 September 1694 David Kellner applied to the academic senate for a scholarship, but without success. The application is still preserved and it is written in Latin, which indicates that Kellner may have mastered this language. This also was a prerequisite to be able to study at the university. The university of Tartu was founded in 1632 by the Swedish king Gustavus Adolphus II. It was destroyed by the Russians in 1656, but it was re-established in 1690 with high ambitions. Learned and competent Swedes were appointed as professors and the university had both a teacher in French and a dancing and fencing master employed.



Front view of the Tartu University building in the 17th century.⁷

⁷ Picture from *History of Tartu University 1632-1982*. Edited by Professor Karl Siilivask. Tallinn 1985.

Kellner may also have studied at the faculty of law under the professors Carl Lund and Olof Hermelin. The theoretical studies at this faculty were often combined with attending the legal proceedings at the Livonian court of appeal in Tartu.⁹



Plan of the upper floor of the 1690 university building in Tartu (Dorpat).¹⁰

Unfortunately we only have a few glimpses from Kellner's life as a

⁹ *Tartu ülikooli raamatukogu*, Tartu, Estonia, F.7. Acad. Gustaviana. Acad. Gustavo-Carolina 1632-1710, No 25, p. 175 and No 34, p. 10. *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm. *Livonica* II:472. Dorpat-Pernau univ. II. Ansökningar m.m. 1699-1701. 15 september 1699. Tering, A., *Album academicum der Universität Dorpat (Tartu) 1632-1710* (Tallinn, 1984). Backmeister, H. L. C. 'Nachrichten von den ehemaligen Universitäten zu Dörpat und Pernau' in *Sammlung Russischer Geschichte. Des neunten Bandes. Zweytes und drittes Stück* (St Petersburg 1764) p. 206. Lindroth, S., *Svensk lärdomshistoria - stormaktstiden* (Stockholm, 1975). Rauch, G. von, *Die Universität Dorpat und das Eindringen der frühen Aufklärung in Livland 1690-1710* (Essen, 1943). *ibid.*, 'Reichdeutsche Studenten an der schwedischen Universität Dorpat (1632-1719)' in *Baltische Familiengeschichtliche Mitteilungen* (1933) pp. 6 ff. Recke, J. F. von and Napiersky, K. E., *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Esthland und Kurland*, 2 (Mitau, 1829). *Pernavia literata breviter concinnata... Pars secunda* (1703) fol. EIVv ff. *Nova literaria Maris Balthici...* (Lübeck, 1704) p. 140. Adelung, J. C., *Fortsetzung und Ergänzungen zu Christian Gottlieb Jöchers allgemeinen Gelehrten-Lexicon... Dritter Band*. (Delmenhorst, 1810) p. 187.

¹⁰ Karling, S. *Tartu universitets byggnadshistoria under den svenska tiden. Svio-Estonica* 1934 p. 48

student in Tartu. They are recorded in the minutes of the academic senate and they concern quarrels between students and soldiers and between students themselves. Kellner's role was that of a witness in two trials which took place on 25-27 October 1694 and in April 1695. These minutes say very little about Kellner aside from the fact that he seems to have taken active part in student life. One of the trials at least indicates that some of the students were trained by the musician Walter Bökman, and as the university stimulated music making among the students we may suppose that there must have been several opportunities for Kellner to show his skills in that art. Beside that we have only one source which gives information about Kellner's relation to music. The records of the Livonian consistory, dated December 1696, tell us: *David Kellners Supplic, wegen des gesuchten Organisten dienste bey dem Schwedischen Kirchen verlesen, ward dem Pastori... communiciret* (David Kellner's supplication concerning the post as organist at the Swedish church was read and the vicars were informed). However, the records of the Swedish church of St Mary's are lost and no further information is available.¹¹

Kellner's poetical talent was for the first time reflected in an elegy titled *Klag- und Trost-Gedicht...* (Tartu, 1697) written and printed in connection with the funeral of the baroness Christina Elisabeth Taube, wife of the governor of economy in Livonia, Gustavus Adolphus Strömfelt. Kellners elegy, dated 11 January 1697, is written in the spirit of the time and thousands of similar occasional poems from the Swedish Age of Greatness are preserved. As a rule these elegies were divided into two parts: a *meditatio* (edifying) and a *laudatio* (biographical). In the *laudatio* part the poets often went to excesses in eulogizing, but in 1686 the Swedish law of the Church decreed that the these elegies should be performed or written without lengthy or idle praise. Consequently Kellner's elegy only has a *meditatio* part and no biographical elements whatsoever. His printed elegy may have been distributed and recited in connection with the funeral service in the cathedral of Tartu.

¹¹] *Tartu ülikooli raamatukogu*, Tartu, Estonia, F.7. Acad. Gustaviana. Acad. Gustavo-Carolina 1632-1710, No 25, fol. 183-205. *ibid.* Mscr. 683. Protokolle der livländischen Oberkonsistorium 1694-98, p. 202.

On 11 February 1697 Kellner was appointed *Advocatus* (lawyer) and deputy city prosecutor. His post as a lawyer was at the *Landesgericht* (district court), which was the court of first instance concerning common pleas. One of the four district courts of Livonia was situated in Tartu. In the minutes of the district court we find a few supplications from *advocatus* David Kellner. Later in the same year, on 5 April, the Swedish king Charles XI died and Kellner again got an opportunity to show his poetical inclination, this time in a versified oration, *Vom höchstschmerzlichen Absterben des Glorwürdigen Königes Caroli XI* (Concerning the poignant death of the glorious king Charles XI). In Tartu, as well as in other parts of Sweden, a lot of arrangements were made to express the sorrow over the death of the king and Kellner's oration was a worthy contribution.¹²

On 14 June 1697 Kellner became burgher of Tartu as lawyer at the district court. Later in the same year, on 31 September, he married Dorotea Schwarz in the German church of St John. Dorotea was daughter to the mayor Matthias Ladou and consequently sister to Catharina Ladou, Philipp Kellner's wife. Dorotea had earlier been married to the *Militiae Auditeur* and city prosecutor Friedrich Schwarz, who had died around 1695. In her marriage with Friedrich Schwarz Dorotea had at least one child, a girl named Regina Gertrud. In her youth Regina Gertrud was probably musically trained by David Kellner and her future career may have had a particular importance for her stepfather. I will return to her later.¹³

In 1698 a conflict between Kellner and his confessor, the Reverend Andreas Willebrand, is recorded. The cause of the conflict is not known, but the minutes of the Livonian consistory of 18 May 1698

¹² *Eesti ajaloo arhiiv*, Tartu, Estonia, F.995. Magistrat der Stadt Dorpat. Reg. 2 no 277, fols. 538 and 548. Gadebusch, F. K., *Livländische Jahrbücher. Dritter Theil von 1630 bis 1710* (Riga, 1782). Koskull, W. von, 'Kungliga Dorpats hovrätt under stora nordiska kriget' in *Historisk tidskrift för Finland*, 43 (1958) pp. 148 f. Meurling, A. C., *Svensk domstolsförvaltning i Livland 1634-1700* (Lund, 1967).

¹³ *Eesti ajaloo arhiiv*, Tartu, Estonia, F.914. Dorpater Landgericht Protocollum Causarum 1697 no 1-37 fols. 59v-60r. F.995. Magistrat der Stadt Dorpat no 1-280 fols. 27, 34, 36v, 82, 110, 158v, 195-195v, 261-263v, 302v, 326v, 336, 349v, 387, 406-406v, 438-438v. F.1253. *Eesti Ev. Luteriusu krille* "Kirchenbuch der Deutschen Gemeinde an der St. Johannis Kirche zu Dorpat", fol. 28v. Seuberlich, E., 'Bürgermeister...' op. cit. p. 65 and 70. Lemm, R. A. von, op. cit. p. 135. Gadebusch, F. K., op. cit. p. 767

mention that Kellner wanted another confessor. On 26 May the consistory decided that Kellner may choose whoever he pleases as a confessor, but he must first be reconciled with Willebrand. However, there never was a reconciliation and Kellner was excluded from the Holy Communion. Kellner complains about this in a letter to the consistory dated 8 March 1699. Willebrand was probably a rather orthodox Lutheran and the records of the city council mention that he considered the French dances sinful but he could permit the Polish dances! This also shows that French musical taste had reached even this remote city, perhaps through the teacher of French or the dancing master. In which way French music did affect Kellner at this time we don't know, but later in life he at least showed that he both was well informed about French music and had some knowledge of the French language.¹⁴

It was primarily as an occasional poet and not as a musician that Kellner was known during his stay in Livonia. His poetical works had earned him some fame as he is mentioned in Daniel Eberhard's *Dorpatum in Livonia literatum...* (Tartu, 1698). In 1699 a book of poems by Kellner, *Poetische Gedichte*, was published in Tartu. No copy of it seems to be preserved, but it may have contained amatory poems. Possibly it was this book that Kellner referred to ten years later: ... *meine Poetische Feder dem Altare der eitlen Venus im Frühlinge meiner Jahre manches Opfer gebracht...* (my poetical quill has in my youth brought many offerings to the altar of the vainglorious Venus). Kellner's musical interest during this period is also quite clear and this is proved by the fact that in 1698-1699 he again applied for a post as organist. In December 1697 his brother Christian had left Turku to become organist at the German church in Stockholm. A letter, dated 31 March 1699, from the bishop in Turku, Johannes Gezelius, to the Estonian bishop in Tallinn (Reval) confirms that Kellner wanted to succeed his brother. The Estonian bishop had recommended

¹⁴ *Tartu ülikooli raamatukogu*, Tartu, Estonia, Ms. 683. Protokolle des livländischen Oberkonsistoriums 1694-98, pp. 363 and 368. *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm. *Livonica* II:413. Livl. överkonsistoriet. Brev och suppliker 1699. Gadebusch, F. K. op. cit. Anhang von 1698 bis 1710 p. 18.

den förre Organistens Christian Kellners Broder David Kellner benämnd hwilcken af organisten vid dom kyrckian i Refle berätttes wara i sådan konst wähl förfaren... (the brother of the former organist Christian Kellner, David Kellner by name, who by the organist in the cathedral in Tallinn is told to be in that art experienced...)

However, as Gezelius states in his letter, David Kellner didn't get the post as organist in Turku. This may have had serious consequences for him as he had to spend the next ten years of his life in military service.¹⁵

... spent the best years of his youth at war...

In 1700 the Great Northern War broke out and Livonia was its first battlefield. King August II of Poland-Saxony attacked Riga and several Livonian regiments, battalions and squadrons were raised. This was done by enlistment, equestrian service or militia. Colonel Magnus Wilhelm Nieroth was in Tartu in 1700 to enlist men for his Livonian infantry regiment. Among the enlisted men was David Kellner. On 9 May 1701 the Swedish king Charles XII at his headquarter at the castle of Lais signed a letter of appointment thus making Kellner *auditor* of Nieroth's regiment. In the same year the regiment was transferred to Tallinn where it was garrisoned. The period in Tallinn was rather peaceful as the warfare mainly occurred in the southern part of Livonia. On 9 July 1701 Charles XII and his army crossed the river Düna and put the Saxons to rout. This victory was commemorated by Kellner in a complimentary poem titled *Untherthänigste Freuden Bezeugung...* (Tallinn, 1701). In the poem the Swedish king Carolus XII is compared to Alexander the Great and Mars, the god of war. Another complimentary poem by Kellner, *Freuden-volle Betrachtung...* (Tallinn, 1702), concerned Carolus XII's victory over August II on 9 July 1702, probably at the battle of Klissow.

¹⁵ Eberhard, D. *Dorpatum in Livonia literatum...* (Tartu, 1698). Kellner, D., *Die Nothflagge des Gebeths* (Stockholm, 1710) p. 11. *Eesti ajaloo arhiiv*, Tartu, Estonia, F.1187. Ev.-luth. Landeskonsistorium von Estland Reg. 2 no 383 fols. 139-139v. Hupel, A. W., *Diplomatische Bemerkungen aus den liefländischen Urkunden gezogen... Der nordischen Miscellaneen 27stes und 28stes und zugleich letztes... Stück* (Riga, 1791) p. 358

During his stay in Tallinn Kellner also worked as organist at the *Niguliste* (St Nicolaus) church between May 1701 and July 1702. From a document, signed by Kellner himself, it is clear that he replaced the deceased organist Bartholomäus Busbetzky. A much later document, from 1711, may also refer to this: *David Kellner som... iämwähl uti Liffland warit organist... och gedt witnes börd om sitt förhållande wid organisttjänsten uti Liffland til alles nöije...* (David Kellner, who likewise has been organist in Livonia and has given testimony of his conduct towards the office of an organist to the satisfaction of everybody). Possibly Kellner followed Nieroth's regiment when, in the midst of 1702, it reinforced the Livonian army under the command of general Wollmar von Schlippenbach. If this was the case Kellner must have witnessed the horrors of war more directly as this army was involved in battles with the Russians in the southern part of Livonia. The army of von Schlippenbach was thoroughly defeated at Sagnitz and Hummelhof in July 1702. The Livonian army was reduced by a half and this defeat laid the foundation of the Russian conquest of Livonia. The remains of the Livonian army were reorganised and gathered at Pärnu. Nieroth's regiment, or what was left of it, returned to Tallinn in 1703 and with it possibly also Kellner.¹⁶

Until 1 August 1704 we know nothing concerning Kellner's whereabouts, but on this particular day he was appointed quartermaster at the newly raised and enlisted Livonian batallion of Johan Fredrik von Liphardt. This consisted mainly of peasant militia

¹⁶ On Busbetzky see Vabrit, T. "The Activities of the Busbetzky Family" in *Balticum - a Coherent Musical Landscape in 16th and 18th Centuries*. Ed. by Irma Vierimaa. *Studia musicologica universitatis helsingiensis* VI. Helsinki 1994. pp. 25-30. Lewenhaupt, A., *Karl XII:s officerare. A-K* (Stockholm, 1920) p. 337. Nordensvan, C. O., 'Svenska armén åren 1700-1709' in *Karolinska förbundets årsbok* (1916) p. 168. *ibid.*, 'Svenska arméns regementen 1700-1718' in *Karolinska förbundets årsbok* (1920) p. 82. *Krigsarkivet*, Stockholm. Rullor 1702:2. *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm. Biografica K3a. Militaria. Ansökn. och meritförteckningar. Armén M1083. Hartmann, S., *Reval im Nordischen Krieg* (Bonn-Godesberg, 1973). Saha, H. *Muusikaelust vanas Tallinnas* (Tallinn, 1972). *Bundesarchiv*, Koblenz, Germany Stadtarchiv Reval Vol B Stadtmusikanten und Organisten 1527-1837, deren Vokationen und Supliken, p. 38. Sjögren, O., *Försvarskriget i Lifland 1701 och 1702* (Stockholm, 1883) p. 43. *ibid.* 'W. A. von Schlippenbachs lifländska här' in *Historisk tidskrift* (1906) pp. 293 ff.

and trainband. As a quartermaster Kellner had become an officer and according to the marching order of 1696 the quartermaster was supplied with two man servants, one saddle horse, two baggage horses and a daily allowance of 16 half farthings in silver. Not much is known about the doings of von Liphardt's batallion, but von Liphardt himself was captured on 1 September 1705 and possibly the batallion was disbanded after that. Another gap in our knowledge about Kellner concerns the period until 1707. In a royal letter of 20 April 1708 he was appointed quartermaster at the headquarters of the Saxon batallion of lieutenant colonel Eberhard von Straelborn. At the beginning of 1707 nearly 4000 Saxons were war prisoners in Sweden. From these prisoners one regiment and three batallions were raised and among these was the one led by von Straelborn. At first the intention was that the Saxon troops should be garrisoned in the Swedish provinces in Germany, but these plans were changed and the troops were instead transported to Finland. Kellner probably accompanied von Straelborn's batallion from Stockholm at the end of 1707. The transit to Finland was done with some hardship, but the batallion finally reached its destination: the Swedish eastern stronghold Vyborg, just on the border with Russia.

At this time Georg Lybecker had been appointed governor and military commendant in Vyborg. In 1708 soldiers, burghers and peasants were busy reinforcing the fortifications and simultaneously a campaign against Ingria, a Russian province situated between Finland and Estonia, was planned. There were many difficulties. The officers could not get their full salaries and many of them were forced to run into debt. They did not even have enough money to equip for the planned campaign which could not start until August 1708. That Kellner took part in the Ingria campaign is clear from a letter, dated 21 June 1739, he wrote to the Crown in council. The campaign had difficulties from the beginning. A violent rain lasted for two weeks and the army did not advance more than two kilometres a day. There was a lack of stores and this situation aggravated as the campaign continued, but there was not much resistance from the Russians and the Swedish army was able to cross the river Neva. This crossing was on the whole the only success the Swedes could record during the whole campaign, which became a complete failure. The rest of it was

directed towards a rescuing of the army from the threat of disaster. At the beginning of October 1708 the army had arrived at Kolkanpää in order to be shipped across the Gulf of Finland to Björkö, south of Vyborg. The Russians attacked at Kolkanpää and Lybecker's army only just escaped in time. After its arrival at Björkö the army marched back to Vyborg. Kellner describes in his letter how he lost all his *equipage* and that all his other property was stolen.¹⁷

Kellner was surely back in Vyborg before 25 May 1709. Shortly before this date a conflict took place between him and the comptroller of the commissariat, Johan Schmidt. The conflict is thoroughly documented and as the incident throws some light on Kellner's personality it deserves to be recapitulated. As a quartermaster Kellner's task was to provide his batallion with different necessities. One of these was tobacco and it was this luxury that provoked the conflict, which was to engage the court martial, several officers, the governor and even the Crown in council. Schmidt had given out a consignment of tobacco to Kellner from the storehouse at the castle of Vyborg and it was probably intended for the Saxon batallion. However, according to Kellner *tobacket varit rutet vådt och nästan odugeligt* (the tobacco was rotten, wet and almost useless) and he wanted to return the consignment and instead receive the same quantity from the tradesman Frisius in Vyborg. Schmidt was not willing to accept this as he claimed that the returned consignment had lost some of its original weight. Kellner became upset and after some squabble they came to fighting. Kellner accused Schmidt for having used forged weights and measures and he referred to other similar cases. This was a serious accusation and the case was handled by the governor Lybecker. From Nieroth and von Straelborn Lybecker requested their opinions about *ein unruhiger mensch namens David Kellner* (this troublesome person David Kellner by name). Nieroth's opinion was negative: Kellner had behaved improperly and he had written libellous pamphlets against honest people in Tartu. Of von Straelborn's statement we only have a fragment, but not even he was interested in justifying his quartermaster. Between 12 July and 14 July

¹⁷ Hjelmqvist, F., *Kriget i Finland och Ingermanland 1707 och 1708* (Lund, 1909). *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm, Sweden Biografica K3a Militaria. Ansökn. och meritförteckningar. Armén M1083.

an interrogation was held, but in a letter Kellner stated that he had reconciled himself with Schmidt and consequently had no further complaint. Kellner repeats this in two other letters. The case was tried at the court martial on 27 July 1709, where it was established that Kellner's accusations were void of all foundation. A detailed report of the case is found in a letter by the auditor mayor Krompein. On 30 July 1709 Schmidt wrote to the governor Lybecker and from that letter it is clear that Kellner, probably as a result of the reconciliation, was not sentenced. In this letter Schmidt says that by the reconciliation he wanted to avoid a lengthy lawsuit with reference to Kellner being *en sådan man hwars renome nog bekant ähr liggia i process* (a man whose reputation of carrying on lawsuits is known). The last document in the case is a letter, dated 8 October 1709, from the auditor mayor Krompein to the Crown in council, probably in response to another, not preserved, bill of protest from Kellner. Incidents like the one described surely were common in war time. Kellner's part in the conflict is hardly flattering considering his unfounded accusations. There also seems to be some truth in Schmidt's declaration that Kellner was notorious for carrying on lawsuits. Kellner was both law-schooled and always wanted to have the last word. This is also indicated by some of his later activities.¹⁸

In October 1709 the Danes attacked Scania in the southern part of Sweden and it was decided that von Straelborn's batallion should be transported from Vyborg. At first it was intended that the batallion should reinforce the garrison stations at Malmö, Landskrona and Halmstad, but on 15 October 1709 it was finally decided that it should be placed under the command of Magnus Stenbock, governor in Scania. Barely a month earlier, on 17 September, the batallion had enrolled in Vyborg and it consisted of four companies. Quartermaster David Kellner was on the staff.¹⁹ The transport of the batallion to Scania was not done until November-December 1709. Kellner himself embarked for Sweden on 9 November 1709. He may have stayed in Stockholm about two months, between the beginning of November

¹⁸ Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Biografica S15. *ibid.* K3a. *Krigsarkivet*, Stockholm. Arkivfragment. Lybecker, Georg. Ruuth, J. W., *Viborg stads historia. Första bandet* (Helsinki, 1906).

¹⁹ *Krigsarkivet*. Generalmönsterrullor 1707-1712. 12 November 1709.

1709 and mid-January 1710. During this period he probably finished a book of religious poems, *Die Noth-Flagge des Gebeths...* (The Prayer as a Flag of Distress...), (Stockholm, 1710). The preface of the book is dated 2 January 1710. It contains about 30 poems influenced by Kellner's experiences during war time and it was intended to bring consolation. On 17 December 1709 the Saxon batallion arrived at Kristianstad in Scania under the command of captain Per Stjernkrantz. Von Straelborn stayed in Stockholm and was never to take command of the batallion, which counted 500 men, few officers and defective equipment. Kellner must have joined the batallion before 23 January 1710. On this particular day the battle between the Swedes and the Danes at Fjälkinge near Kristianstad was fought and Kellner became a prisoner of war. The Swedish troops were thoroughly defeated and the Saxon batallion does not seem to have offered much resistance. 415 men of the batallion became prisoners of war and were, on 24 January, brought to Kristianstad to be forwarded to Helsingborg and Copenhagen. On 11 February the Danish general Reventlow issued a passport for Kellner saying that he was permitted to travel to Copenhagen and proceed from there. Furthermore he should not be impeded and he was even to be rendered all possible help! In some later letters to the Crown in council Kellner himself refers to the battle and his imprisonment. According to these he probably spent some time in Denmark. He did not return to Sweden until October 1710. He was then placed with the enrolled men, where he was actually never to serve. He was probably back in Stockholm in the last quarter of 1710.

Kellner's military career was concluded when on 11 March 1711 he was appointed captain at the German infantry batallion of lieutenant colonel Peter de Stöhr. This consisted mainly of Germans and Danish prisoners of war. The appointment of Kellner was issued by the council and not the Crown in council, which caused him some problems later in life. Kellner never came to serve at this batallion either as he himself explains: *Ich habe aber die Compagnie niemahls angetreten, denn da ich die Vollmacht erhielt, war die selbe von einen andren beseget* (But I never entered service at the company, because when I received the letters of appointment the company had already been defeated by another). Kellner had *die besten Jahre seiner Jugend im Kriege gebracht* (spent the best years of his youth at war) as his

publisher Kissner states in his preface to the first edition of the *Treulicher Unterricht*.... This period of his life comprised nearly ten years and he had both been prisoner of war and also injured: *dass ich allerding blessuret worden, davon kommen annoch die Merkmahle meiner curirten blessuren zeigen* (the traces of my healed wounds can still show that I for certain was injured). Even if Kellner during these ten years cannot have had many opportunities to occupy himself with music he says: *Und ob ich zwar mein Leben meistentheils in Militair-Diensten zugebracht und viele Jahre vor einen Officier gedienet so bin ich doch ein Liebhaber der Music gewesen...* (And although I have spent most of my life in military service and for several years have served as an officer I have in spite of this been a music lover). During the rest of his life music was to play the leading role. The title of captain was nevertheless very useful to him. Through that title Kellner was regarded as a person of certain standing.²⁰

The first decade as *carillonneur* and organist in Stockholm

When Kellner arrived in Stockholm the city was severely ravaged by the bubonic plague. It was said that it was brought to Stockholm by refugees from Livonia. The plague raged between August 1710 and April 1711 and at its culmination more than 1,600 people died each week. One of the victims may have been Reinhold de Croll, who died on 29 November 1710. He had held the posts as *carillonneur* at the German church and as organist at St Jacob's church, both in Stockholm, and his death of course made these posts vacant. We must also bear in mind that David Kellner's brother Christian had been organist at the German church since December 1697. In the records of the church council of the German church the following is noted for 19 January 1711:

²⁰ Stille, A., *Kriget i Skåne 1709-1710* (Stockholm, 1903). *Felttoget i Skaane 1709-1710. Bidrag til den store nordiske krigs historie. Andet bind* (Copenhagen, 1903). Tessin, G., *Die deutschen Regimenter der Krone Schweden. Teil II. Unter Karl XI. und Karl XII. (1660-1718)* (Cologne, 1967) p. 335. *Krigsarkivet*, Stockholm. General Muster Rolle Stockholm d. 12 November Anno 1709. *ibid.* Likvidationer. Avräkningskont. No 3133. *Karolinska krigares dagböcker... X* (Lund, 1914). Ljungh, J., *Fjelkinge i forna dagar* (Helsingborg, 1904) p. 14. *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm, Biografica K3a. Militaria. Ansökn. och meritförteckningar. Armén M1083. Mattheson, J., *Grosse General-Bass-Schule... Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage...* (Hamburg, 1731) fol. C2r.

*Haben wier zu einen Klockspiller angenommen Hr David Kellner, hadt er einige Musik zu probe gespillet, und gehet sein Jahr um den 6e Januarij 1711, sein Jehrlich Lohn ist 650 daler kmt und ein jedesmahl wen er für einen Todten, oder zu einen hochzeit spillet zukumpt er 12 daler kmt und soll ihn wie er sich in seinen ampt werhalten soll eine schriftlich Instruction gegeben werden. (We have engaged David Kellner as *carillonneur* and he has played some music as a probation. His year starts on 6 January 1711 and his annual salary will be 650 *daler* copper coins and one *daler* copper coins when he plays for a deceased or at a wedding he will receive 12 *daler* copper coins. He shall be given a written instruction how he shall conduct himself in his office.)*

Just a couple of days later, on 25 January 1711, Kellner was also appointed organist at St Jacob's church by its church council.



St. Jacobs's church in Stockholm in the late 18th century.

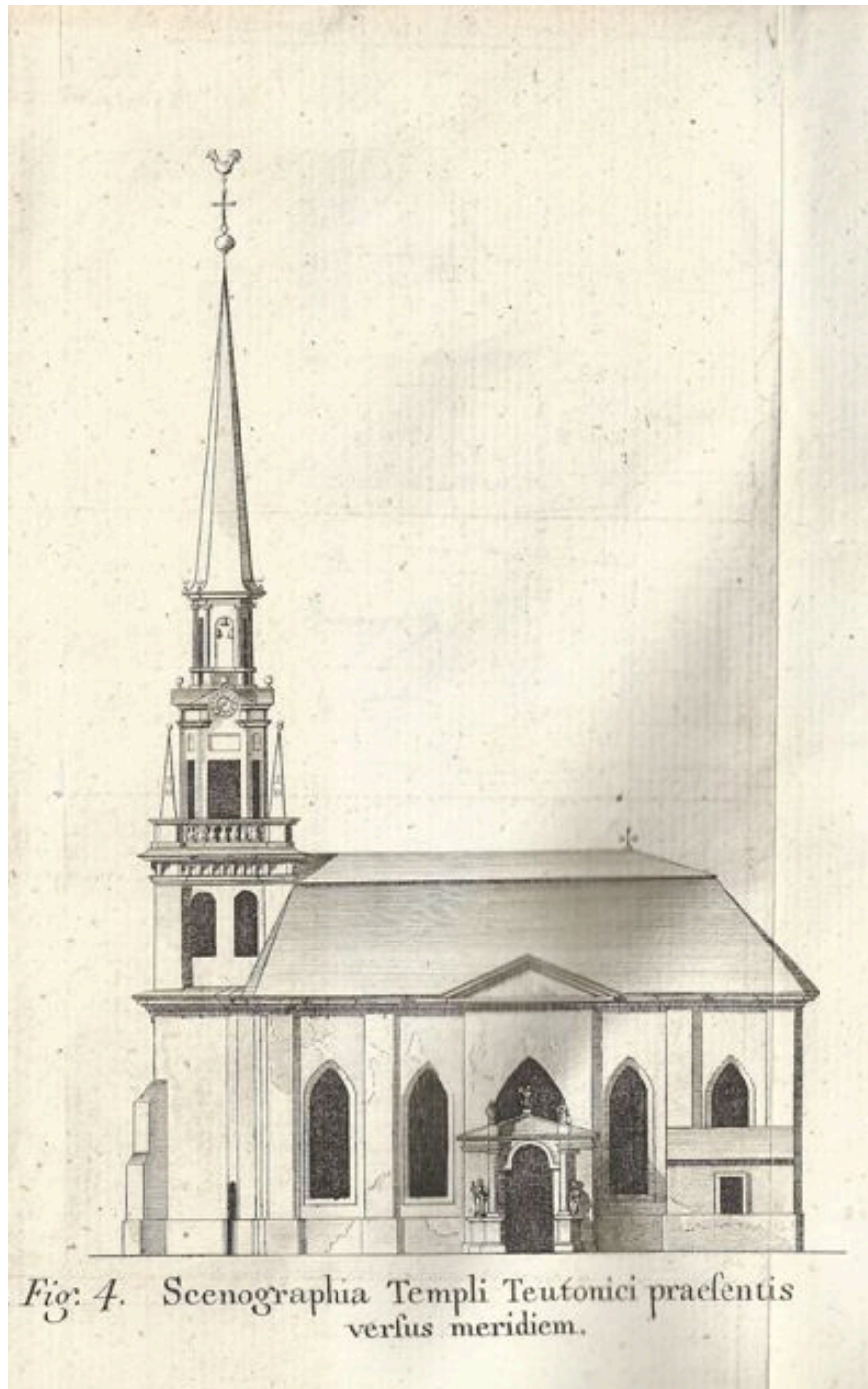
Interestingly enough a very detailed instruction for the organist at St Jacob is still preserved. Even if it is dated 1673 we can assume that in its principal parts it was still valid when Kellner was appointed. It states that the organist should be able to

- play a prelude *manualiter und pedaliter* over any given key
- treat any chorale or hymn *per fugas* in the customary way *in manuale et pedali absque ritus*
- elaborate *ex tempore* a given theme into a fugue in four parts
- execute the *Bassum Generalem* in four parts
- conduct in the absence of a skilled conductor
- compose a lovely *harmoniam* over a given text

Furthermore on Sundays and festival days he should adjust himself to the circumstances and not only play pleasant things but also charming and merry ones after the Italian manner of today. Finally he should also carefully attend to the organ which is entrusted to him. According to a letter of appointment for another organist at St Jacobs's church, dated 1662, it was also the organist's duty to play at feasts and gatherings within the parish and to provide wealthy people with musicians. As organist at St Jacob Kellner received a yearly salary of 750 *daler* copper coins and as carillonneur at the German church his total yearly salary was c. 648 may be estimated to about 1,500 *daler* copper coins.²¹ His total yearly steady income may be estimated to about 1,400 (equivalent to 500 *daler* silver coins). This was a fair income, comparable to what the best paid musicians at the Royal chapel received.²²

²¹ SSA. Tyska S:ta Gertruds kyrkoarkiv, Räkenskaper för kyrka och församling. (1708-1714) Äldre serie, original LI ab p. 21

²² Broberg, J. V., 'Om pesten i Stockholm 1710' in *Historia kring Stockholm. Vasatid och stormaktstid* (Stockholm, 1966) pp. 116 ff. Kjellberg, E., *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden. I* (Uppsala, 1979) pp. 397 ff and 736. Norlind, T., 'Was ein Organist im 17. Jahrhundert wissen musste' in *Sammelbände der IMG* (1905-06) pp. 640 ff. *ibid.* *Från Tyska kyrkans glansdagar, III* (Stockholm, 1945). *ibid.* *Musiken i St Jakobs kyrka och församling. St Jacob 1643-1943* (Stockholm, 1943) pp. 109 f. Schieche, E., 'Die Kantorenfamilie Düben im 17. Jahrhundert' in *Gemeindeblatt der deutschen St. Gertruds Gemeinde in Stockholm* 54(1979) pp. 58 and 70. *ibid.* *400 Jahre Deutsche St. Gertruds Gemeinde in Stockholm 1571-*



*St Gertrud's (the German) church in Stockholm in 1771.*²³

1971 (Stockholm, 1971). *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Tyska församlingen. KIIIa 2:2 p. 149. *ibid.* Jakob och Johannes församling KIII:1 fols. 104v-105.

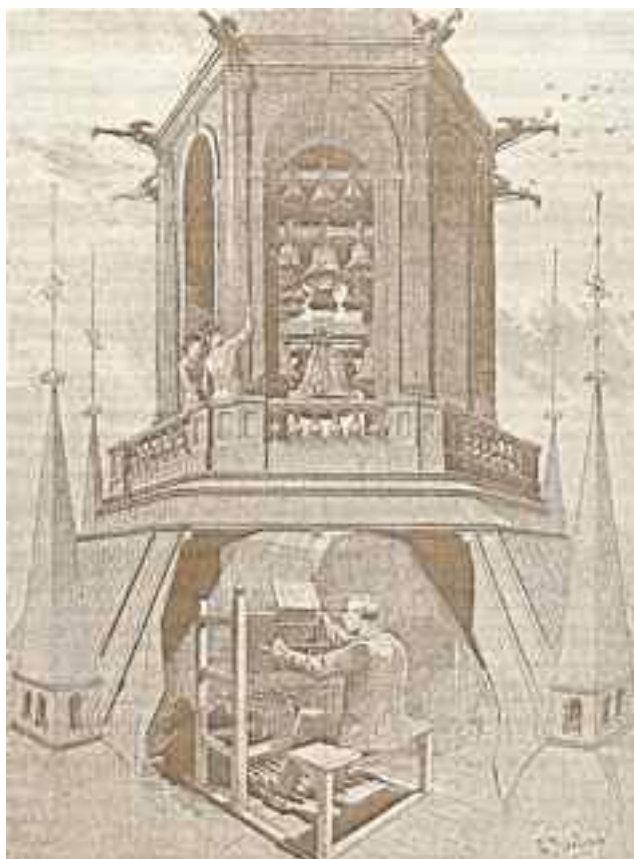
²³ Lüdecke, J.A.A., *Dissertatio historica de ecclesia teutonica et templo S:tæ Gertrudis Stockholmiensi...* (Uppsala, 1791), plate II.

As *carillonneur* at the German church Kellner had access to a carillon of a very high quality. This was installed in 1666 and made by the most renowned of the Flemish bellfounders of the 17th century: the brothers François and Pieter Hemony from Amsterdam. The carillon consisted of 29 bells with a range from G to c" and some of these were tuned in *Chorton* to enable the carillon to be played together with other instruments. The carillon is a demanding instrument to play and a Dutch writer, Fischer, observed in 1738 that "for carillon playing a man requires nothing more than a thorough knowledge of music, good hands and feet, and no gout!" John Camp describes carillon playing in the following manner:

... if recognised tunes are to be played there must be scope for a certain amount of expression in the playing, with the possibility of runs and arpeggios in the lighter bells in contrast to the sonorous tones of the heavier ones whose 'partial' notes may be heard longer than is required... The problem is to equate this considerable physical effort with a lightness of touch which enables the higher-toned bells to be rung in rapid succession and in conformity with the requirements of the melodic line.

Unfortunately the Hemony carillon of the German church was destroyed in a fire in 1878 and the later replacements have not come near its quality. The sources remain silent about Kellner's playing on the carillon but the very complete records from the German church show that he served at the post almost until his death.²⁴

²⁴ Schieche, E., 'Dreihundert Jahre Glockenspiel der St. Gertruds Kirche' in *Deutsches Gemeindeblatt* 41 (1966) pp. 66 ff. Camp, J. *Bell ringing* (Newton Abbot, 1974) pp. 110 ff. Holmbäck, L. M., *Klockor och klockringning* (Stockholm, 1951) pp. 48 ff. Kjellberg, E. *Kungliga musiker i Sverige under stormaktstiden, I* (Uppsala, 1979) p. 252. Lindgren, A., *Musikaliska studier* (Stockholm, 1896) p. 244. *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Tyska församlingen L1a and L1f.



The carillon in the German church. Drawing by Gustaf Broling (1831-?) from the journal Svea.²⁵

From Stockholm census registers we are able to establish where Kellner resided through the years. According to the 1711 census register he then rented an apartment in the house no. 22, *Stadens södra kvarter* (the southern quarter of the city), the present block *Trivia* no. 1, *Prästgatan* no. 80.²⁶ In the register is mentioned that he and his wife had in their service one maid Maria Nilsdotter, one boy Niclas Skliter 14 years old, one wig, one *Fontagne* (some sort of high female headwear) and two fireplaces. Kellner is also noted as gentry. This house is still preserved.

²⁵ *Gemeindeblatt der deutschen St. Gertruds Gemeinde in Stockholm* 57(1982) No. 3.

²⁶ *Stockholms stadsarkiv. Mantalslängd 1711, Stadens södra kvarter*, p. 50.



The house where Kellner lived in 1711 is in the middle, Prästgatan no. 80. Photo: Author 2010.

Kellner had thus established himself in Stockholm but some time between 1711 and 1720 he was considering plans for moving back to Livonia. In an undated letter to the Crown in council he applied for a post as assessor at the Livonian circuit court of appeal. Such a post was highly esteemed and often reserved exclusively for the nobility. However, he didn't get the post and he was to remain in Stockholm for the rest of his life.²⁷ According to the accounts of the German church, where he served as a carillonneur, he also paid rent (160 *daler* copper coins a year) for an apartment owned by the church during the period 1714-1721.²⁸ This house may be no. 94, *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city), in the block *Venus* no. 1 between the streets *Prästgatan*, *Tyska Stallplan*, *Svartmangatan* and *Södra*

²⁷ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Mantalslängd för Stadens södra kvarter 1711, p. 50. *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm. Biografica K3a

²⁸ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Tyska församlingen räkenskaper 1708-1721 LI ab

Bennickebrinken, where Kellner lived at least in 1722.²⁹ This house was completely changed in 1878 but it stands on the remains of the old medieval black friar's monastery. The German church owned several houses but Kellner is not found in any of these in the census register of 1721. In 1722-1723 he lives in the house no. 126, *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city), in the block *Cepheus* no. 7, *Kindstugatan* no. 16.³⁰ This house was completely renewed in 1739.

As is the case with Kellner's capacity as *carillonneur* the records do not tell us anything about his playing on the organ in St Jacob's church. There are several entries concerning him in the records of the church council but they mainly deal with the maintenance and repairing of the organ as well as Kellner's complaints about his salary. In 1714 a conflict between Kellner and the churchwarden Sven Westerman is recorded. It seems to have begun in April when Kellner complains that he had not received his full payment from Westerman. The conflict escalated during the spring and the summer to a point when Westerman wanted to resign owing to Kellner's insults and accusations. Westerman reminded the church council that Kellner should not be allowed to let unlearned persons play on the organ. This is interesting as it implies that Kellner at this time could have had pupils. Anyway, the conflict ended in a definitive resignation from Westerman.³¹

In November 1714 the Swedish king Carolus XII returned from Turkey to the Swedish provinces in northern Germany, an event that was much celebrated. More than 30 complimentary poems concerning this occasion are preserved in the Royal Library, Stockholm. One of them is written by Kellner: *Da Ihro Konigl. Majestät... Carolus der XIIte... aus der Türkei In dero Erb Ländern wieder ankam...* (When His Royal Majesty... Carolus XII... returned from Turkey to his hereditary dominions) (Stockholm, 1714), and it consists of six *arias* with a *recitativo*. Presumably these were furnished with music, now

²⁹ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängd 1721-1722 Stadens inre kvarter fol. 83v.

³⁰ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängd 1722-1723 Stadens inre kvarter fol. 79v.

³¹ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Jakob och Johannes församlingar KIII:1 fols. 117-117v, 119-119v, 124, 126v, 133v. *ibid.* L1a:71 [1711] pp. 5, 229, 331. *ibid.* L1a:72 [1712] pp. 3. *ibid.* L1a:73 [1713] p. 13. *ibid.* L1a:74 [1714] p. 7. *ibid.* L1a:75 [1715] p. 7.

lost, which may have been composed or collected by Kellner himself. Even if we have no proof it seems reasonable to believe that these arias were performed in the German church. An unspecified payment was given of 20 *daler* silver coins to the *gewesenen Rathshern Kellner* according to the account books of Ulrika Eleonora and with the date 25 November 1714. It seems reasonable to suppose that this Kellner is identical with David Kellner. On at least one occasion music was performed there to celebrate the return of the king. On 18 December 1714 six *Hautboisten* received payment *vor unser auffwartung auf dem Teutschen Kirchthurm bey dem Danckfest, wegen Ihro Königl. Mayest. glücklichen zu hause kunfft...* (for our attendance at the feast-day when His Royal Highness happily returned home) and on 21 December Joh. Jacob Bach Trompeter (Johann Sebastian Bach's brother) received payment, probably for the same occasion. Another opportunity for Kellner to use his poetical talent was the marriage between the crown princess Ulrika Eleonora and Frederic of Hessen when Kellner published a complimentary poem, *Untherthänigste Zeilen bey der hohen Vermählung...* (Humble lines at the royal nuptials...) (Stockholm, 1715). On 9 June of this year Kellner received payment from the German church, ... *an herr David Kellner 24 d kmt zu bezahlen vor die aufwartung so er der Princessin beylager gehabt...* (to Mr David Kellner is paid 24 *daler* copper coins for his attendance at the princely nuptials...), and this may have had some connection with his poem.³²

David Kellner must have had contact with other musicians and musical instrument makers during his stay in Stockholm even if we so far have few documents concerning this. An obvious contact is of course his brother Christian Kellner who worked as organist at the German church during the period 1697-1726. Another contact must have been the German Ferdinand Zellbell the elder (1689-1765),

³² Kellner, D., *Da Ihro Konigl. Majestät Der Gross mächtige Carolus der XIIte... Im November des 1714. Jahres... Aus der Türckey In Dero Erb-Ländern Wieder ankam* (Stockholm, 1714). *ibid.* *Untherthänigste Zeilen bey Der hohen Vermählung des Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn Friederichs... und Ihro Königl. Hoheit der Durchlauchtigsten Princessin Ulrica Eleonora... Anno 1715* (Stockholm, 1715). Kjellberg, E. *op. cit.* pp. 248f. Helenius-Öberg, E. 'En drottningens jordafärd. Hovkapellet vid Ulrika Eleonoras d.y. begravning 1742' in *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning* 2002, p. 29.

composer, organist at the St Nicolaus' church and member of the Royal Court Orchestra. Zellbell also played and taught the lute, the clavichord and the flute as well as helped with the repairing, stringing and fretting of lutes, selling violins.³³ His son, Ferdinand Zellbell the younger (1719-1780) succeeded his father as organist, became *expectant* at the Royal Court orchestra in 1736 and 20 years later became concert master for the same orchestra. He composed a cantata for the St Jacob's church centenary in 1743, when Kellner still was working there as organist.

Kellner's work at the St Jacob's church seems not to have been too rewarding. He had to struggle with the church council both concerning the bad state of the organ and concerning his wage. The economy of the church was not satisfactory and the church council tried to reduce Kellner's salary by 20 %, which he of course found hard to accept. The council searched for another organist who could be satisfied with the lower wage, but did not have any success. Kellner got more and more angry about this state of affairs and the conflict between him and the council culminated in 1718 and 1719. The council tried to dismiss him but it seems to have been paralysed and the case was tried again and again without any effect other than that Kellner finally accepted the lower payment.³⁴

A musicalischen Concert

The 18 July 1720 was the name day of the king Frederic I. To celebrate this occasion a *musicalischen Concert* with the title *Der frohlockende Parnassus in einem musicalischen Concert...* (Stockholm, 1720) by David Kellner was probably performed. It seems to be the first time the term *concert* appears in Sweden. Unfortunately there are no other records than the printed text that shows that Kellner's work really was performed. The music to it is also lost, but we may suppose that Kellner was the writer of the text. As he states, he had also borrowed some of the music: *Nachdem ein Theil dieser Musique aus dem herausgegebenen Wercken eines*

³³ Holm, A. L. 'Ferdinand Zellbell d.ä.:s inkomster år 1722', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 73(1991), p. 85ff.

³⁴ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Jakob och Johannes församlingar KIII:1 fols. 138-139, 142-142v, 144-145v. LIa:81 fol.424f. Ia:82 fol. 232

berühmten ausländischen Componisten genommen so haben sich die Verse darnach accomodiren müssen... (as some of the music has been taken from the published works by a famous foreign composer the verses had to be adapted to that...). We may only guess the identity of this composer: maybe it was Georg Philipp Telemann. To what extent Kellner himself had composed music for the concert is not known.³⁵



Title page of Der frohlockende Parnassus... 1720.

Der frohlockende Parnassus has a pseudo dramatic form and the characters are taken from antique mythology. The exultant *Parnassus* consists of Apollo, the God of sun and light, and Calliope, the muse of heroic poetry and mother to Orpheus, together with the divinities of the well which form a choir. The concert starts with an *ouverture* followed by an *aria à 2*, sung by Apollo and Calliope. After an *aria*

³⁵ Kellner, D., *Der frohlockende Parnassus in einem musicalischen Concert, am höchst-erfreulichen Namens-Tage des Grossmächtigsten Königes Friderici I...* (Stockholm, 1720). Vretblad, P., *Konsertlivet i Stockholm under 1700-talet* (Stockholm, 1918) pp. 18 and 137. Klemming, G. E., *Sveriges dramatiska litteratur till och med 1875. Bibliografi* (Stockholm, 1879) p. 507.

con choro Apollo recites: *Stimmt einen Chor von Lauten an / So man der Seele Julep heissen kan; / Und last die süßen Violinen / Den Lauten zu Gefehrten dienen* (Strike up a chorus of lutes in order to command the soul of Julep and let the sweet violins serve as companions). This initiates an instrumental interlude: *hier läst sich ein Chor Lauten mit etlichen Violinen hören* (here a chorus of lutes with some violins are to be heard) and Apollo continues: *Nun machte es einmahl so / Das eure Geigen / Auf eine zeitlang schweigen / Die Lauten spielen dann ein sanfft Adagio* (Now let your violins remain silent for a while and the lutes then play a soft adagio). The following interlude is an adagio performed on lutes and after a short recitativo the suite is concluded with a presto, probably with all instruments involved. After that follows a duet between Apollo and Calliope, another *aria* and a recitativo. Before the concluding *canzonette en Gavotte* an *aria à 2* and a short recitativo are sung. The *canzonetta* is played *tutti*. A clear plot is difficult to find and the main function of the characters is to provide as many opportunities as possible to eulogize king Frederic. Even if the music is lost we may have some idea of the instrumentation: two singers, a choir, several violins and lutes. The lutes probably also functioned as thorough bass instruments. In the text Kellner stress the importance of having *excellenten Musici* and the pleasant voice of a young woman for the performance.

Der frohlockende Parnassus indicates that Kellner had an interest in musical performances on a larger scale, although this *concert* was an isolated case. He had to limit himself to smaller performances in connection with the divine services at the church of St Jacob. Interestingly enough several of these were furnished with a printed text, which in some cases at least give us a hint about the performances. The first one known was held in 1720 on Trinity Sunday, but the text only says that two arias and a *choral* were performed. Another one occurred in 1723 and was called "a musical devotion", consisting of one cantata, three arias and a recitativo. The text also states that *under Helga Nattwardens begående Tracteras Orgel-Wercket af en 6. åhrs gammal pilt* (during the Holy communion the organ is played by a six year old lad). The name of the boy was Ernst Johan Londicer, an infant prodigy who was to become well

known even outside Sweden. He was probably musically fostered by Kellner. It seems probable that they had a rather close relationship as Kellner on November 7th 1739 was godfather to Londicer's son Ernst Wilhelm. Another of Ernst Wilhelm's godfathers was the famous Johan Helmich Roman, which implies that Kellner and Roman knew each other.³⁶ Londicer also performed at the concert given on the first Sunday of Advent in 1724, and on this occasion he played thorough bass on the organ during the entire concert. The next year, 1725, Londicer was so advanced that he was allowed to take the organist's place completely, performing chorales and thorough-bass accompaniment to the *Cantata* then performed. Music by Telemann was played in the concert arranged in 1726, also in connection with the divine service. This time Londicer got an opportunity to play a *communion aria* of his own composition. Londicer's gifts must have been rather exceptional as he is referred to in several German newspapers and books. The *Jenaische Zeitung* mentions in 1724 that at the age of eight and a half years he had composed an elaborate prelude consisting of four voices and a *schönen cantablen Menuet*. Johann Gottfried Walther gives him a considerable space in his *Musicalisches Lexicon...* (Leipzig, 1732) and Walther says, apparently without knowing the identity of David Kellner: *Das er [Londicer] von einem vormahls bey einer Schwedisch-Teutschen Batallion gestandenen Officier, welcher schon verschiedene dergleichen Proben einer besondern Art zu zu informieren, gezeiget, unterweisen worden...* (that Londicer had been instructed by an officer in a Swedish-German batallion, who in different ways had showed a particular skill in teaching). Kellner himself used Londicer as an example in his preface to the *Treulicher Unterricht...*:

... wie ein Knabe von 7. oder 8. Jahren, welcher in Stockholm nach dieser Methode die Music gelernet, ein so wundernswürdiges Probe=Stück abgeleget, dass er in der dasigen Jacobi-Kirche an einem Fest=Tage bey gehaltenem Gottesdienste sich öffentlich auf der Orgel hören lassen, und nicht allein den General-Bass zur Musique gespielet, sondern auch sehr geschickt die Chorale und Præludia manualiter und

³⁶ Helenius-Öberg, E. *Johan Helmich Roman*. (Stockholm 1994) pp. 118-119

pedaliter tractiren können; unterschiedlicher andern zu geschweigen, welche allda durch Hülffe dieser Lehr=Arth bey eben so jungen Jahren überaus grosse und vormahls bey Kindern nie erhöerte Profectus gemacht (how a boy in Stockholm, seven or eight years old, has learnt music from this method and showed such a skill that he at the divine service on a holiday at St Jacob's church he played the organ, not only the thorough-bass but also the chorales and the preludes manualiter and pedaliter not to mention other things. He has through this method of teaching made improvements never heard of among children).³⁷

This indicates that Kellner already in the early 1720s may have begun to prepare his own thorough bass method and that it really was based on practical experience.³⁸

Kellner's contacts with Germany and the *Cembal d'amour*

David Kellner surely kept himself well informed about musical life in Germany. We may guess that his stepdaughter the singer, musician and probably *clavier* player Regina Gertrud Schwarz (born before

³⁷ An Ernst Johan Londicer is mentioned in the census register 1760 as *Hofmusicant*, 35 years of age, living together with his wife and a daughter in the St John parish, house no. 58, in the block *Wätan* (the wetness). *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Mantalslängd 1760. Johannes med Blasieholmen. This would imply that he was born in 1725. According to other information Londicer lived between 1717 and 1763. See Helenius-Öberg, E. En drottningens jordafärd. Hovkapellet vid drottning Ulrika Eleonoras d.y. begravning 1742. *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning* 2002, p. 45. Even if the information concerning Londicer's age is conflicting it seems reasonable to believe that they are the one and same person and that the information in the census register of his age is wrong.

³⁸ *Kyrckio-Andacht under Musique uti Sanct. Jacobi Kyrckia på Hel. Tre Enighetssöndagen i Hög-Mässan...* (Stockholm, 1720). *En öfwer sin tros swaghet sörjande men af Thomæ Exempel sig tröstande siäl förestält i en musicalisk-Andacht på söndagen-Quasimodogeniti, som är den första Söndagen effter Påska uti Sanct. Jacobi Kyrckia här sammastädes* (Stockholm, 1723). *Fägne-Rop, framtedt Under en Kyrckio-Musique på Christi Intogs-Fäst eller Den första Söndagen i Advent i St. Jacobi-Kyrckia, Åhr 1724* (Stockholm, 1724). *Musicaliskt Offer Uppå H. Christi Himmelfärdz-Dag Anno 1725 i Högmässan Uti St. Jacobi Kyrckia Herranom framburit* (Stockholm, 1725). *Christelig Lofsång På All Helgona Dag Genom en Kyrckio-Musique Hållen Uti St. Jacobs Kyrckia, Åhr 1726* (Stockholm, 1726). Walther, J. G., *Musicalisches Lexicon Oder Musicalische Bibliothek...* (Leipzig, 1732) pp. 369 f. *Stadsbiblioteket*, Västerås. Hülphers brevsamling Cb2, fol. 285. Hülphers, A. A., *Historisk Afhandling om Musik och Musikinstrumenter...* (Vesterås, 1773) pp. 105 f. Kellner, D., *Treulicher Unterricht...* (Hamburg, 1737) pp. 3-4.

1695 – dead before 1748) played an important role in this connection, and she could furnish him with the latest news as she lived in the midst of what was happening. As I mentioned earlier she was probably brought up musically by Kellner and she may also have been an infant prodigy. Already in 1704, when she was about 14 years old, she is mentioned in *Nova literaria maris balthici* (Lübeck, 1704) as being exceptionally gifted both in vocal and instrumental music as well as in composition. According to the same source music by her was published in a collection, *Musicalische Gemüths=Weyde*. In 1707 a small pamphlet, *Angestellte Freude über den längst gewünschten Frieden*, was published by her in Stralsund. A year later she was in Riga, where the organist and composer Johann Valentin Meder reported in a letter to Johann Mattheson that she had sung in cantatas by Keiser and Bromer. In 1715 she took part in a *vollstimmige Kirchen-Musik*, composed by Mattheson, and performed at the cathedral of Hamburg. Possibly she here met Johann Ulrich von König (1688-1744) who was to become her husband. He was a poet, a writer of plays and libretti and also a leading figure at the Hamburg opera. He worked together with Mattheson, Keiser, Heinichen, Kuntze, Telemann, Graun and his translation of Marchese Scipione Maffei's article about Bartolomeo Cristofori's *arpicembalo che fà il piano e il forte* certainly had a decisive importance for the Saxon school of keyboard builders around Gottfried Silbermann (. It is not known exactly when von König married Regina Gertrud Schwarz, but it was probably before 1720 when we find them both at the Saxon court in Dresden. This year von König was employed as *Königl. poln. und churfürstl. sächs Geheimer Secretar und Hofpoet* and in 1722 their son Friedrich August (1722-1792) was born. He was later to become *Directeur des Plaisirs* in Dresden. Mozart mentions a meeting with him in a letter dated 16 April 1789 to his wife. As a singer Regina Gertrud probably took part in some of the many operas performed in Dresden.³⁹

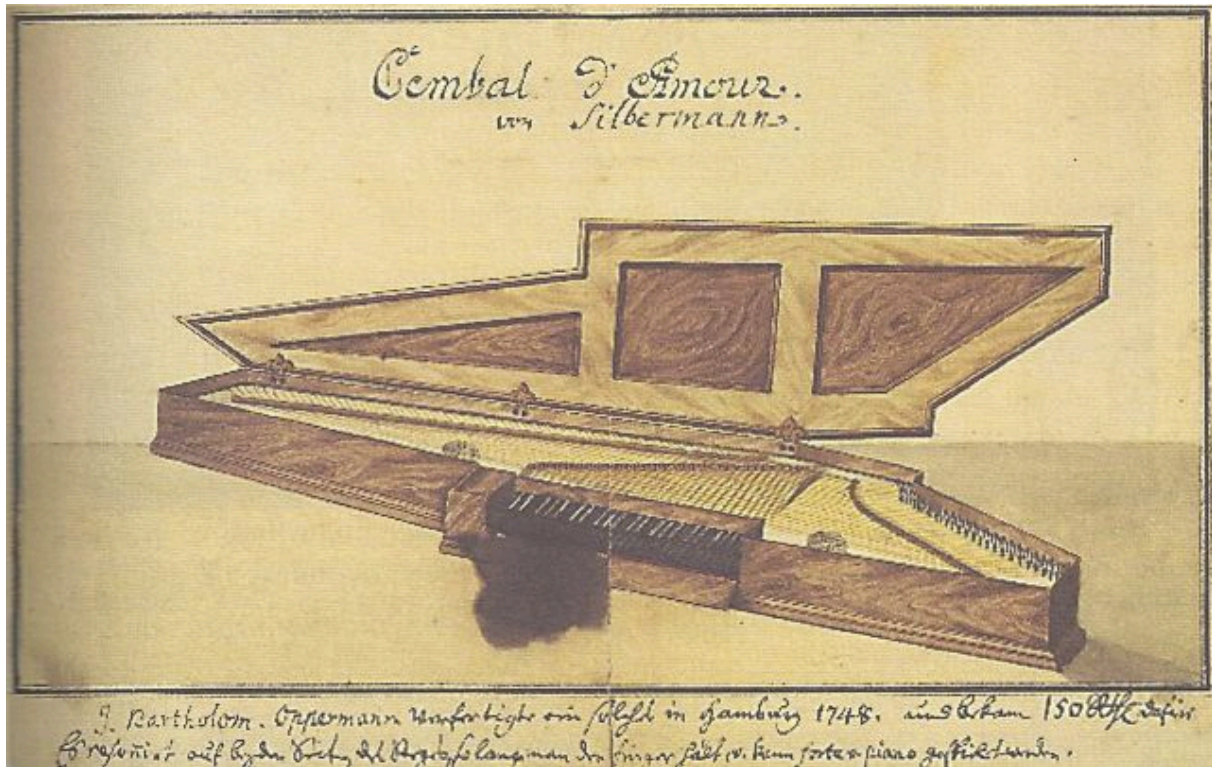
³⁹ *Nova literaria maris balthici...* (Lübeck, 1704). Busch, N., 'Alt-Rigas Musikkultur' in *Baltische Monatshefte* 1937 pp. 642 ff. Freytag, W., *Musikgeschichte der Stadt Stettin im 18. Jahrhundert* (Stettin, 1936) pp. 3 ff. Rosenmüller, M., *Johann Ulrich von König. Ein Beitrag zur Litteraturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig-Reudnitz, 1896). Gerber, E. L., *Neues historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler. Dritter Theil* (Graz, 1966) pp. 168 f. Recke, J. F. von, and Napiersky, K. E., *Allgemeines Schriftsteller- und Gelehrten-Lexikon der Provinzen Livland, Esthland und Kurland*. 4 (Mitau, 1832) p. 164. Mattheson, J., *Grundlage*

Regina Gertrud and her stepfather David Kellner had a strong common interest in music and even if we have no documents to prove it we may conclude that she may have inspired him with information from Dresden, then a real musical centre in Europe. She probably was acquainted with Heinichen, Mattheson, Telemann and Sylvius Leopold Weiss. It is interesting to note that Kellner introduced the *clavessin d'amour* to Sweden in 1728 and this instrument has a very special connection with Regina Gertrud Schwarz. The history behind it is related by her husband Johann Ulrich von König in the *Bresslauischen gedruckten Sammlungen von Natur-, Medicin-, Kunst- und Literatur* of 1721. He says that Gottfried Silbermann was inspired by Regina Gertrud to construct this instrument in order to meet her demands of an instrument *welches die Kraft und Dienste eines kleinen Clavessins, und doch die Zärtlichkeit eines Clavichordii behaupten könnte* (which could combine the force and service of a small harpsichord with the tenderness of the clavichord). The first example of this instrument was brought to Sweden by Regina Gertrud in 1728 and was sold by her father David Kellner to the important merchant Claës Grill. It is possible that Regina Gertrud on her journey to Sweden also brought with her Philipp Jacob Specken, one of Gottfried Silbermann's apprentices, who would become an important keyboard instrument maker in Stockholm. Kellner was also aware of Silbermann's abilities as an organ-builder as he mentions his work at the new organ in the St Sophia church in Dresden, which was installed in 1720.⁴⁰ Recently a *clavessin d'amour* or *cembal d'amour* has been identified in the National Museum of Finland. This instrument may have been made in Sweden c. 1740, probably by Philipp Jacob Specken and is the first known example of a still existing *cembal*

einer Ehrenpforte... (Berlin, 1910) pp. 201 and 220 ff. Gurlitt, C., *August der Starke - ein Fürstenleben aus der Zeit des deutschen Barock. Band II* (Dresden, 1924) pp. 260 ff. Schulze, W., *Die Quellen der Hamburger Oper (1678-1738)* (Hamburg-Oldenburg, 1938). Fürstenau, M., *Zur Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters am Hofe der Kurfürsten von Sachsen und Könige von Polen...* (Dresden, 1862). *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. 16. (Leipzig, 1882) pp. 516 ff.

⁴⁰ Hülphers, A. A., *Historisk Afhandling om Musik och Instrumenter...* (Vesterås, 1773) pp. 79 f. Flade, E., *Gottfried Silbermann - Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des deutschen Orgel- und Klavierbau im Zeitalter Bachs* (Leipzig, 1953) pp. 242 and 248. Müller, W., 'Musiker und Organisten um den Orgelbauer Gottfried Silbermann' in *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 19 (1977) pp. 83 ff.

d'amour. Further investigations concerning this instrument is now carried out. Information about the instrument can be found in the leaflet *Cembal d'amour*.⁴¹



*A drawing of Silbermann's Cembal d'amour. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Hamburg, Cod. Hans. IV, 38-42:3 (178)*⁴²

It may have been Regina Gertrud who supplied Kellner with German books about music. In some cases we also know which books he studied. His own copy of Johann Mattheson's *Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre...* (Hamburg, 1713) bound together with the same author's *Das Beschützte Orchestre...* (Hamburg, 1717) is still preserved in the Music and Theatre Library of Sweden in Stockholm. Regina is mentioned several times in the correspondence between Johann Ulrich von König and Johann Christoph Gottsched.⁴³ These books were

⁴¹ Arponen, Aki., *Cembal d'amour* Finlands Nationalmuseum 2002. More detailed information about the *cembal d'amour* can also be found in Helenius, E. Gottfried Silbermann and the Swedish Clavichord Tradition. *De Clavicordio* VIII (2007) pp. 185-199.

⁴² Helenius, E. Gottfried Silbermann and the Swedish Clavichord Tradition. *De Clavicordio* VIII (2007) p. 191.

⁴³ Gottsched, J. C. *Briefwechsel. Historisch-kritische Ausgabe. Band 1: 1722-1730*. Berlin 2007.

studied carefully as can be seen from the many written comments he has made, particularly in the last one. In the same library a copy of Mattheson's *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe...* (Hamburg, 1719) is kept which may also have belonged to Kellner. The notations in this are very similar to Kellner's handwriting, but his name is not written in it. This particular book was acquired by someone in July 1720 and already on 24 September in the same year Kellner wrote a letter to Mattheson, which was published in the latter's *Grosse General-Bass-Schule...* (Hamburg, 1731). This shows that Kellner must have had acquired a copy of *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* rather soon after its publication. Mattheson had in this book asked for information about distinguished *Kapellmeister* for his planned book *Grundlage einer Ehren-Pforte...* (Hamburg, 1740). In his letter Kellner suggests that Mattheson should include Gottfried Buchholtz, deputy master of the Swedish *Hofkapelle*, and he also enclosed two compositions by Buchholtz dated 20-26 March and 17-28 April 1720. From what follows this letter was the first contact between Kellner and Mattheson.

In the *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* Mattheson writes about the difficult art of singing to one's own accompaniment and he mentions a woman in Ober-Sachsen with particular skills in this field. He hides her identity in the form of a pun: *Ob die Person blond oder Schwarz sey, mag einer erraten* (you may guess if the person is blond or schwarz). Kellner tells Mattheson that he is the stepfather of the *Schwarzin*, that is Regina Gertrud, born Schwarz. Kellner finishes his letter by saying that although he had spent a long time in military service he had always been a *Liebhaber der Music* and that he is at Mattheson's disposal. We have no information about any further correspondence between Kellner and Mattheson, but some sort of indirect and negative contact was established after Mattheson had reviewed the first edition of *Treulicher Unterricht...* in 1732.

563.

Disso Intervalla all: Secunda
Superflua, Tertia manca
ascendendo, Tritonus, Quas-
ta deficiente, Quinta super-
flua, Sexta superflua,
Octava manca, Octava
superflua, et Nona abundans.
Sind nicht ganz und gar ziffer-
mässig, so wohl in Chelodia,
als Harmonia, sondern, als Rhyth-
mus, nach folgenden Exemp-
len in ziffern, fället,
ganz wohl aufgebracht werden.

Capelli

Secunda
Superflua
Octava

Hendel.

564.

Chellieri

Capelli. Secunda superflua in
Harmonia

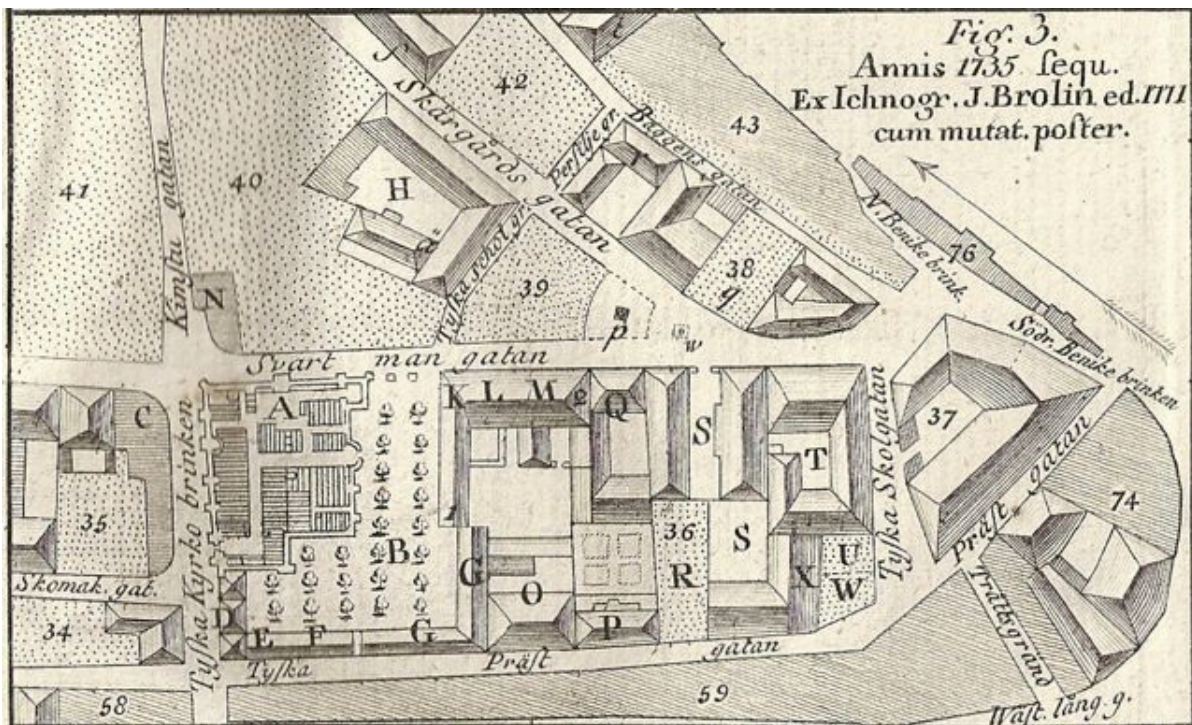
Capelli. Tertia manca, und imi-
nuta ascendendo

Guttes Exempel von Bonacini, also,
Tritonus in Chelodia, und in Harmonia,
in impero imperoy, agito, temeraria,
Contra, und in Recitativo, und
in der Tritonus in Harmonia
gebildet.

David Kellner's own notations in Mattheson's Das Beschützte Orchestre... (Hamburg, 1717). Music and Theatre Library of Sweden in Stockholm.

Kellner continued working as organist and carillonner and in 1724 he lived in house no. 90, probably owned by and near the German church, in *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city) in the block *Juno* no. 8, *Svartmangatan* (earlier no. 20, today *Storkyrkoskolan*).⁴⁴ This house was completely renewed in 1757-1771.

⁴⁴ *Stockholms stadsarkiv. Kronotaxeringslängd 1724 Stadens inre kvarter fol. 4*



Map showing the buildings belonging to the German church in 1735. At the letter A is the church itself. Kellner lived at 37 in 1722, at S in 1724 and at K in 1739. He moved, probably in 1744, to a house of his own quite near the letter N at Kindstugatan.⁴⁵

Svartmangatan (Black friar's street) is one of the oldest streets in Stockholm and was leading from *Stortorget* (the main square) to the black friar's monastery.. He is however not mentioned in the census register of 1721. The church council tried to get him to move to another residence, but Kellner wanted to stay and also pointed out that the church servants in other places lived rent free while his own rent was 200 *daler* copper coins a year. In 1725 we find him living in another still preserved, but possibly changed during the eighteenth century, seventeenth century house, no. 149, in *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city) in the block *Pegasus* no. 8 (earlier no. 7), *Bollhusgränd* no. 3C.⁴⁶ In 1726 he is found in house no. 152 in the nearby block *Europa* no. 1. This part of the block comprises several buildings including the Tessin palace. It seems probably that Kellner

⁴⁵ Lüdecke, J.A.A., *Dissertatio historica de ecclesia teutonica et templo S:tæ Gertrudis Stockholmiensi...* (Uppsala, 1791) plate II.

⁴⁶ *Stockholms stadsarkiv. Kronotaxeringslängd stadens inre kvarter. 1725 fol. 6v.*

lived on one of the following addresses: *Bollhusgränd* no. 6, *Köpmantorget* no. 10, *Köpmangatan* no. 2, 4 or 6, or in one of the alleys: *Staffan Sasses gränd*, *Peder Fredags gränd*, *Skeppar Olofs gränd*.⁴⁷

The tax length of 1727 is missing, but in 1729 he is found in house no. 150, in the block *Pegasus* no. 5 next to no. 149 in *Bollhusgränd* no. 33 B.⁴⁸



Bollhusgränd in 2010. Photo: Author 2010.

On the night between 14 and 15 May 1723 St Jacob's church was struck by lightning and the organ was severely damaged. Kellner reported immediately to the church council that 100 small pipes needed new feet as they had been destroyed by saltpetre and putrefaction. The organ builder Cahman wanted 1500 *daler* copper coins for repairing the organ, but nothing was done for nearly a year

⁴⁷ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängd stadens inre kvarter. 1726 fol. 89

⁴⁸ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängd stadens inre kvarter. 172, fol. 68v.

and the church council in February 1724 asked Kellner why the singing of the congregation was not in tune with the organ. Kellner replied that it indeed was difficult as the organ was "disabled". The repair was not completed until June the same year.

As I mentioned earlier there were several concerts in the church during the 1720s. In 1728 at least two were performed and in 1729 Kellner introduced another gifted pupil, Miss Antoinette Philippine Luise Freudenberg, who played thorough bass. She is referred to in the preface to the Swedish edition of *Treulicher Unterricht...* where it is said that she had written down *Nöthigste Regeln der General-Basses* (Necessary rules for the thorough-bass) and that this work was so appreciated that many people made a copy of it. Jacob Adlung attributes a small anonymous method, *Kurze Anführung zum General Bass...* (Leipzig, 1728), to Miss Freudenberg and this information is repeated by Gerber, Eitner and F. T. Arnold. However, this particular book has also been attributed to G.F. Andrien.⁴⁹

The 1730s and the Treulicher Unterricht...

On 20 February 1730 Kellner wrote to the military authorities and handed in his resignation as a captain. He wanted to keep the designation of captain, but the authorities were not particularly keen on this. Their opinion was that he was not worthy of this honour as he had not fulfilled his duties as an officer and even had worked as

⁴⁹ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängder 1725, fol. 6v. *ibid.* Tyska församlingen KIIIc:2:4 no. 219. *ibid.* Jakob och Johannes församlingar KIII:2 pp. 3, 9-11, 22, 32, 36. *Kungl. biblioteket*, Stockholm. Ch. Eichorn konsthist. saml. I 15:6. Musici. Wittingh, F. L., *St. Jacobs Minne, eller Historisk berättelse om St. Jacobs och Johannis Församling i Stockholm* (Stockholm, 1771) p. 69. *Text Til Kyrckio-Musiquen då superintendenten i Wester-Norlantz Stift, Den Högwyrldige och Höglärde Herr Nicolaus Sternell sin kära St. Jacobi Församling här sammastädes på den andra söndagen effter Påska eller Misericord Domini År 1728 valedicerade* (Stockholm, 1728). *Text Til Kyrckio-Musiquen Då Pastoren af Fransöska Församlingen härsammastädes Den Hög-Ehrewyrdige och Höglärde Herren, Herr Mag. Laurentius Amel Til Kyrckio-Herde Af St Jacobi och Johannis Församlingar kallad Och sedan På den siette Söndagen efter Påska eller Exandi; År 1728. Inwigdes* (Stockholm, 1728). *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Erik Ekholm Samling til et Svenskt Musicaliskt Bibliothek... År 1779, p. 17. Kellner, D., *Trogen Underrättelse Uti General-Basen...* (Stockholm, 1739) p. 29. *Musik- och teaterbiblioteket*, Stockholm, Handskrift 33, pp. 314, 595. Gerber, E. L., *Neues Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Tonkünstler*, 1 (Graz, 1966) col. 196. Eitner, R., *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon*, 3 (Graz, 1959) p. 75. Arnold, F. T., *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass...* (London, 1961) p. 322. Adlung, J., *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit...* (Erfurt, 1758) p. 634

organist, a profession quite incompatible with that of captain. However, Kellner probably was allowed to keep the title of captain as he used it during the rest of his life. In the 1731 census register it is noted that he and his wife had gone away to Finland and that they intended to register there. The reason for this journey is not known, but Kellner cannot have been in Finland for long as in this particular year he received payment from the German church.⁵⁰ At this time he lived as a tenant in the house no. 10, *Stadens södra kvarter* (the southern quarter of the city), in the block *Morpheus* no. 10, in the corner of *Västerlånggatan* no. 57 and *Tyska brinken*, quite near the German church. This house dating from the seventeenth century still remains. A notice mentioned that "the wife of the carillonneur Kellner" in 1731-1732 lived in *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city) in the house no. 121, the block *Cassiopeia* no. 11, *Kindstugatan* no. 7.⁵¹



⁵⁰ Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Militaria. Ansökn. och meritförteckningar. Armén M1083. *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Mantalslängd 1731 Stadens södra kvarter fol. 19. *ibid.* Tyska församlingen L1a2 pp. 90 ff. He is not found on this address in the tax length of 1728.

⁵¹ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängder 1731-1732 Stadens inre kvarter (övre kvarteret) fol. 10v.

The corner of Västerlånggatan and Tyska Brinken to the right where Kellner lived in 1731. Photo: Author 2010.

When Kellner started working on his *Treulicher Unterricht*... is not known, but it seems safe to assume that the book was prepared in the late 1720s. As I have said earlier he had several pupils and the teaching of them may have inspired him to write his method down. He had obvious reasons for publishing his book in Germany and in the German language: he could write in his native tongue; the book could expect a much larger sale and wider diffusion; there was a lack of facilities for music printing in Sweden as well as high charges for paper. Even if we have no evidence it is quite possible that his step daughter Regina Gertrud and her husband Johann Ulrich von König helped to establish contacts with the publisher Johann Christoph Kissner in Hamburg, who printed the *Treulicher Unterricht*... Kellner's book was not the first musical book Kissner printed. He had published several of Mattheson's works earlier. The full title of Kellner's book reads:

*Treulicher / Unterricht / im / General-Bass, /
worinne / alle Weitläufftigkeit vermieden, und
dennoch / ganz deutlich und umständlich allerhand
sothane neu-erfundene Vor- / theile an die Hand
gegeben werden, vermöge welcher einer in / kurzer
Zeit alles, was zu dieser Wissenschaft gehöret,
sattsam / begreifen kan. / Zum Nutzen, / Nicht allein
derer, so sich im General-Bass üben, son- / dern
auch aller andern Instrumentisten und Vocalisten,
welche / einen rechten Grund in der Music zu legen
sich befleissigen, / herausgeben / von / D.K. /
Hamburg / Zu finden im Kissnerischen Buchladen.
1732* (A true method of thorough-bass in which all
diffuseness is avoided, and, many newly-invented
devices are quite fully and clearly given, by means
of which anyone can in a short time fully master
everything that pertains to this science. To the
benefit not only of those who practise thorough-

bass, but also of all instrumentalists and vocalists who take pains to lay a proper foundation in music, edited by D.K., Hamburg, to be found in the Kissnerischen bookshop, 1732).

The preface of the work is dated 2 May 1732. The book was issued in 2,000 copies and it became an immediate success: the whole edition was sold out within a year according to Georg Philipp Telemann in his preface to the second edition. Why Kellner hides himself under the abbreviation *D.K.* is not clear, but some clues to the author's identity are given in the publisher's preface where it is said that the book was written mostly in Stockholm by a Capitain-Charge.⁵²

The book was announced in the *Nieder-Sächsische Nachrichten von Gelehrten neuen Sachen* of 10 April 1732. A more lengthy review is found in the issue of 26 June 1732, of the same journal. It is anonymous, but Mattheson was the author. This is also confirmed by Lorenz Mizler in his *Neu eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek...* (Leipzig, 1739). The review is written in a sarcastic and contemptuous way and Mattheson surely is fully aware of the identity of *D.K.* Mattheson refers to Kellner's letter in the *Grosse General-Bass-Schule...* mentioned above and scornfully remarks that every thoughtful reader should from this letter already have been able to form an opinion about the taste of this man. Mattheson criticizes Kellner's linguistic usage and he refutes the statement of the publisher that the book should be a *Rarität* and on the whole it seems to be the high pretensions in both the title and preface of the book that annoyed the reviewer most. Mattheson points to several works treating the same subject already published in Scandinavia, among them F. E. Niedt's books and some Swedish Latin dissertations which shows that he was well informed about the subject. Mattheson then scrutinizes Kellner's book chapter by chapter and particularly comments on the description of the infant prodigy Ernst Johan Londicer. He does not find this boy so remarkable as

⁵² Björkbom, C., 'Svenskt musiktryck' in *Nordisk boktryckarekonst* 38(1937) p. 57. Wiberg, A., *Den svenska musikhandels historia* (Stockholm, 1955) p. 95. Cannon, B. C., *Johann Mattheson - Spectator in Music* (New Haven, 1947).

schon vor 40. Jahren, ehe ein solcher Wegweiser in die Welt gekommen, auch hier in Hamburg ein 7. bis 8. jähriger, nunmehr ein ziemlich alter Knabe, eben dergleichen Kinder-Wunder auf Orgeln und in Concerten gethan, als jener in Stockholm, ja gar die Stücke dazu selbst componirt hat... (there already 40 years ago, before such a method had seen the world, a boy 7 to 8 years old was here in Hamburg, nowadays rather old, who was also an infant prodigy on the organ and at concerts as the one in Stockholm, and the former had even composed the music himself).

This infant prodigy from Hamburg was probably Mattheson himself! It is quite clear that Mattheson had a very low opinion of Kellner and his work. Kellner replied to the criticism in the second edition of *Treulicher Unterricht...*⁵³

I do not intend to go into much detail about the content of *Treulicher Unterricht...* as this has been done by Gun Fridell in her dissertation, but I will only add a few remarks. As Mattheson states Kellner's book was certainly not the first on the subject. More than 30 works which treat thorough bass more or less in detail had been published before 1730. Kellner mentions some of his sources of information. He was well acquainted with Arcangelo Corelli's works and this composer's subtleties in the continuo parts. He also refers to Charles Masson and his *Nouveau traité des règles pour la composition de la musique* (Paris, 1700) and he probably also had access to Sébastien de Brossard's *Dictionnaire de musique...* (Paris, 1703) as well as François Champion's *Traité d'accompagnement et le composition selon la règle des octaves de musique...* (Paris, 1716) and Jean-Philippe Rameau's *Traité de l'harmonie* (Paris, 1717). A *Dictionnaire françois* is mentioned in the inventory after his death and we may conclude that he mastered the French language. Maybe it was Champion's book with its lucid pedagogical method that influenced him most among the French theoretical works.

⁵³ *Nieder-Sächsische Nachrichten Von Gelehrten neuen Sachen...* No XXIX (10 April 1732) pp. 257 f. *ibid.* No LI (26 June 1732) pp. 441 ff. Mizler, L. *Neu eröffnete Musikalische Bibliothek... Erster Band... Erster Theil* (Leipzig, 1739) p. 27.

Kellner was also familiar with the current repertory of music. He refers to several operas by Handel, works by Chelleri etc. More important however, were the German composers and writers Georg Philipp Telemann, Johann David Heinichen and Mattheson. Any direct contacts between Kellner and Heinichen are not recorded but we must bear in mind that Heinichen worked at the Dresden court 1717-1729, that is during the same period when Kellner's step daughter Regina Gertrud was there. She and Heinichen ought to have known each other. Heinichen published two methods on the thorough bass: *Neu erfundene und gründliche Anweisung...* (Hamburg, 1711) and *Der General-Bass in der Composition...* (Dresden, 1728). Kellner knew both these works and as Gun Fridell has shown there are many similarities with the last work and Kellner's *Treulicher Unterricht...* On the other hand Heinichen's book is much more extensive and Kellner had another purpose with his work. Mattheson's books were certainly carefully studied by Kellner as has been shown earlier and most influential perhaps was the *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe...* It is hardly likely that Mattheson's *Grosse General-Bass-Schule* could have exercised much influence as this was published just a year before *Treulicher Unterricht...* left the presses and Kellner does not mention it at all, only the *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe...* Another possible source of information for Kellner is the *Kurze Anführung zum General-Bass...* which I have mentioned earlier in connection with Miss Freudenberg, Kellner's pupil. Kellner must have had a good knowledge of musical life in both Germany and France.⁵⁴

Kellner opens his book with a short introduction, where he says that the *Clavir* is the most suitable instrument for the thorough bass, but it can also be performed on the lute, the theorbo, the calichon, the bandora, the viol and even the guitar. He particularly mentions the distinguished lutenist Sylvius Leopold Weiss in this connection:

Das aber der berühmte Sylvius Leopold Weiss auf seiner Laute was rechtschaffens accompagniren und auf demselben das præstiren kan, was andere müssen bleiben lassen, solches ist mehr seiner Geschicklichkeit als dem Instrument

⁵⁴ Fridell, op. cit.

zuzuschreiben (That the famous Sylvius Leopold Weiss upon his lute is able to play a correct accompaniment and on that instrument accomplish what others have to avoid is more to credit his skill than the instrument).

It is hardly likely that Kellner had ever heard Weiss play the lute and this information may have been supplied by Regina Gertrud, who probably knew Weiss as they were at the Dresden court at about the same time. Probably Kellner had access to the poem by Regina Gertrud's husband Johann Ulrich von König, where he praises Weiss and his playing of the lute.⁵⁵

In the first chapter of *Treulicher Unterricht...* Kellner describes all the intervals and their figures and through a movable graph how to get all the intervals from given notes. Other graphs show the notes of the chords and Kellner also gives instructions on playing technique as well as descriptions of two ornaments: the *mordent* and the *arpeggio*. The first chapter is concluded with some remarks concerning the recitative and here he gets an opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge of poetry. The second chapter treats the figures and in the third and fourth Kellner describes the progressions. Modulations to other keys are dealt with in the fifth chapter, consonances and dissonances in the sixth and seventh. Kellner ends the book with the following remark:

Hiemit schliesse ich nun dieses Werck dabey wunschende dass ein Lernender dadurch gute profectus machen, und seine Wissenschaft GOTT zu Ehren und seinem Nechsten zum Dienst anwenden möge (Herewith I conclude this work hoping that the student by means of it shall make good progress and use his knowledge to honour GOD and to

⁵⁵ Sparr, K., 'A Poet's Description of the Lute Playing of Silvius Leopold Weiss, and a possible Link Between Weiss and David Kellner' in *Journal of the Lute Society of America* 19(1986) pp. 58 ff. *ibid.* 'Es soll nur Sylvius die Laute spielen' - en okänd dikt om Weiss spel på luta och ett möjligt samband mellan Weiss och David Kellner' in *Gitarr och Luta* 21/1988 No. 1 pp. 14-19 and *Tidskrift för tidig musik* 10/1988 No. 1 pp.3-7. [Also on Internet as A Poet's Description of the Lute Playing of Silvius Leopold Weiss, and a possible Link Between Weiss and David Kellner.](#)

serve his neighbour).⁵⁶



Title page to the second edition of the Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... 1737.

As mentioned before Kellner's book was very successful and must have met a real need for an elementary and serviceable method for thorough bass accompaniment. The many following editions also show that this success was not momentary. It took however five years before the second edition left the presses in 1737, this time published by Christian Herold in Hamburg.⁵⁷ The author still hides himself behind the abbreviation *D.K.*, but his full name is given in the preface by Georg Philipp Telemann, dated Hamburg 2 May 1737. Telemann credits Kellner for being particularly gifted in presenting extensive subjects in concise form. According to the title page this was the

⁵⁶ Kellner, D., *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass...* (Hamburg, 1732). Smith, D. A., 'Sylvius Leopold Weiss' in *Early Music* 8(1980) pp. 47 ff.

⁵⁷ Hobohm, W. Kommentar. *David Kellner Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass. 2. Auflage Hamburg 1737 mit einer Vorrede von Georg Philipp Telemann.* Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein. Dokumentationen – Reprints- Michaelstein 1985.

Zweyte und vermehrte Auflage (second and enlarged edition), but the changes and additions are rather few compared with the first edition. Kellner has added a postscript in which he refutes the negative review in *Niedersächsische Nachrichten*, but without mentioning Mattheson's name. From the second edition it is also clear that Kellner had studied Johann Gottfried Walther's *Musicalisches Lexicon*... and he seems to have kept himself continually informed about new books within his sphere of interest.⁵⁸



Österlånggatan 41, where David Kellner lived 1734. Photo: Author 2010.

The *Treulicher Unterricht*... was certainly prepared and written in Stockholm as we have no information whatsoever that Kellner visited Germany after he left Liebertwolkvitz as a young man. His brother Christian had died in 1733 and in 1726 had already been succeeded by Christian's son-in-law Johann Friedrich Seeliger as organist at the

⁵⁸ Kellner, D., *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass*... Zweyte und vermehrte Auflage (Hamburg, 1737).

German church. There are very few notes on Kellner in the records of the two church councils, but he regularly gave receipts for his payments. Sometime around 1734-1735 he moved to another house, no. 121, *Stadens östra kvarter* (the eastern quarter of the city) in the block *Glaucus* no. 8 (earlier no. 7), *Österlånggatan* no. 41, but still as a tenant.⁵⁹ This house still remains. In 1736 at the latest he moved to another house quite nearby, in *Stadens östra kvarter* (the eastern quarter of the city) house no. 119, in the block *Glaucus* no. 5, *Johannesgränd* no. 4, where he also lived in 1737 and 1738.⁶⁰ These seventeenth century houses still remain.

⁵⁹ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Tyska församlingen Lla2 90-93. *ibid.* Kronotaxeringslängd. Stockholms östra kvarter 1735, fol. 33.

⁶⁰ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängd Stockholms östra kvarter 1736, fol. 101; *ibid.* 1737, fol. 37v. *ibid.* 1738 fol. 40v.



Johannesgränd in 2011. The house where Kellner lived is the one with two open windows.in no. 4, the second house on the right. Photo: Author 2011.

It seems reasonable to suppose that he had contact with other musicians and musical instrument makers in Stockholm particularly those of German origin. There certainly must be a connection to the keyboard instrument maker Philipp Jacob Specken.



Title page to the Swedish first and only edition of Trogen Underrättelse uti General=Basen, 1739. Author's collection.

Another connection is to Jonas Londée (?-1748), who was employed *pro tempore* at the *Hofkapelle* as a music copyist, tuner and repairer of musical instruments.⁶¹ Londée was responsible for the Swedish translation of *Treulichet Unterricht...*, which was published in 1739 under the title *Trogen Underrättelse uti General-Basen...* (Stockholm, 1739). Apart from a translation of the preface by Telemann this edition had another preface by professor Daniel Solander of Uppsala and Kellner's full name is still not given on the title page. We may be sure that Kellner took an active part in the editorial process of the Swedish version and this was probably the only one he was really able to supervise personally. As I mentioned earlier it was certainly not easy to get a music book printed in Sweden due to the lack of skilled printers and paper. But Londée had other problems, which he expresses in his preface. The Swedish language lacked many of the terms

⁶¹ Bengtsson, I. & Danielson, R. *Handstilar och notpikturer i Kung. Musikaliska akademins Roman-samling*. Uppsala 1955 p. 11.

needed for such a treatise. This is not surprising as the *Trogen Underrättelse...* was the first music method published in Swedish. It was advertised in *Stockholms Post-Tidningar* on 5 April 1739 and on several occasions the following year, but it was not as successful as the first German edition and no further Swedish edition was published. Nevertheless, it must have exercised a considerable influence in Sweden, being the only available method of its kind during the 18th century, and it was used well into the 19th century. Several manuscript versions of it were done and it is referred to in many 18th century Swedish sources, printed as well as manuscript.⁽³³⁾

Shortly after the *Trogen Underrättelse...* had left the presses Kellner wrote to the king again on the subject of his resignation as captain. He was obviously not satisfied with the opinions that the military authorities had expressed nine years before and refutes their statements about him not being worthy the designation of captain. He argues at length about all his hardship in military service: how he had been wounded, how he had become a prisoner of war, how he had been deprived of all his belongings and had not even received his salary. For Kellner it was obviously very important to keep the title of captain, and he appeals to the king to grant his request. It is not known whether his supplication was rejected or approved. According to the church council records of St Nicolaus in Tallinn Kellner visited the city on 13 December 1739 at the christening of George Gustav Kellner, the grandson of Philipp Kellner.⁶²

The last decade of Kellner's life and the *XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...*

In 1739 at the latest, according to the the tax length of 1739, he and his wife moved to a house then owned by the keeper at the court Carl Steenhagen, no. 87, in *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city), quite close to the German church in the block *Juno* no. 17 (earlier no. 13), *Svartmangatan* no. 16. Kellner also had a maid

⁶² Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Militaria. Ansökn. och meritförteckningar. Armén M1083. Tallinna Linna Riiklik Keslarhiiv, Tallinn, Estonia, F. 31 Kirchengemeinde zu St. Nikolai in Reval Reg. 1 No 28 p. 319.

| servant Maria. He also lived there the following year, 1740.⁶³ The original building is not preserved. In 1741 and 1742 we find him in house no. 124, in *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city) at the present block *Cassiopeia* no. 113 and address *Kindstugatan* no. 11.⁶⁴



Svartmangatan 16 where Kellner lived in 1741 in a now probably demolished house. Behind the house a part of the German church can be seen. Photo: Author 2010.

When the council of the cathedral in Turku wished to appoint a new organist this year the "very famous" David Kellner certified that one of candidates, Lars Kinström, was both skilled and prudent.⁶⁵ In the same year a new version of *Treulicher Unterricht...* was issued, but

⁶³ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängd 1739 Stadens inre kvarter fol. 13v. Ibid. 1740 Stadens inre kvarter fol. 14.

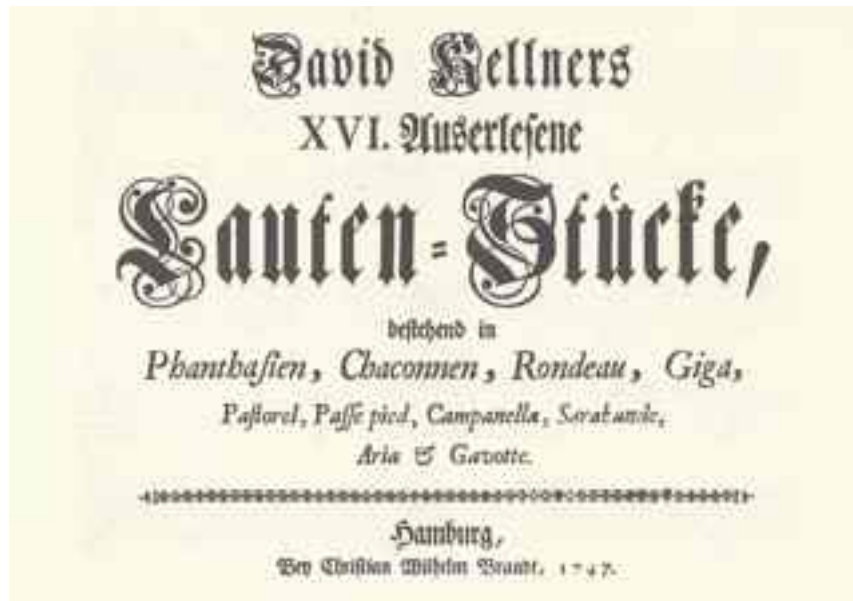
⁶⁴ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Kronotaxeringslängder 1741 Stadens inre kvarter p. 136. Ibid. 1742 p. 136 fol. 136v.

⁶⁵ *Åbo landsarkiv*, Turku, Finland Serie III I:6 Åbo Domkyrkas föreståndares arkiv, vol. III Hf 2.

this time in Dutch and with the author's full name given: *D. Kelner, korte en getrouwe onderregtinge van de generaal bass of continuus...* (Amsterdam, 1741). This edition was published by G. F. Witvogel under the supervision of Gerhardus Havingha. Only two years later, in 1743, the third German edition was printed by Christian Herold in Hamburg now under the full name and title of the author, *David Kellner, Capitaine*. This included professor Daniel Solander's preface from the Swedish edition translated into German, slightly changed and enlarged.⁶⁶ This was the last edition which Kellner could have had any influence over as the following ones were all printed after his death. He was at this time about 70, but still active as organist and carillonneur even if his engagements slowly decreased. There are very few notes concerning him in the records of the two church councils from this period. One of these is about Kellner's request to receive full payment during the period (1741-1745) when the new organ was installed in St Jacob's church. Another glimpse of him is a letter dated 25 February 1743 to the king concerning his problems with getting his full salary from the council of St Jacob. When the council discussed the church centenary, which occurred in 1743, they chose another organist, Ferdinand Zellbell the elder, to compose some songs and to take care of the music at the ceremony as noted. Kellner is not even mentioned in this connection. During the 1740s he was also busy working on a revision of the Swedish hymn book for organists, but no copy of this has been found.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Kellner, D., *D. Kelner, korte en getrouwe onderregtinge van de generaal bass of bassus continuus...* (Amsterdam, 1741). *ibid. Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... Dritte Auflage* (Hamburg, 1943).

⁶⁷ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Jakob och Johannes församlingar KIII:2 pp. 108, 114. *Riksarkivet*, Stockholm. Biografica K3a. *Andakts Upmuntran På Första Söndagen I Advent, Musicaliter upfördt Uti St. Jacobi Församling Då Kyrkans första Jubel-År firades Anno 1743 Af Ferdinand Zellbell, Junior* (Stockholm, 1743). This is also referred to in Wittingh, F. L., *St. Jacobs Minne...* Stockholm 1771, p. 46 and 159 where also is noted that Zellbell only was 19 years old when he composed this work. Morin, G., 'Bidrag till kännedom om 1700-talets svenska koralboksarbete' in *Tidskrift för kyrkomusik och svenskt gudstjänstliv* (1933) pp. 155 ff. Norlind, T., 'Abraham Abrahamsson Hülphers och frihetstidens musikliv' in *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning* 19(1937) p. 42.



Title page to David Kellner's XVI. Auserlesene Lautenstücke... 1747

In 1744 at the latest he moved to a house of his own, no. 123, in *Stadens inre kvarter* (the inner quarter of the city), in the block *Cassiopea* no. 9 (earlier no. 12), *Kindstugatan* no. 9, and quite near the German church and next to his former home. This house was built in 1685 by Anders Bromberg and Elisabeth Petersdotter which is noted on a plate of stone above the door.



The sign above the entrance to Kindstugatan 9 reading ANDERS BROMBERG / ELISABET PETERSDOTTER / Ao. 1685. Photo: Author 2011

This house still remains though much changed. Kellner and his wife

should stay there the rest of their lives.⁶⁸ He paid taxes for incomes from interests, capital and rents. His salary 1745 as a carillonneur in the German church was 216 *daler* silver coins, while the organist Seliger received 300 *daler* silver coins and the pastor 600 *daler* silver coins. In 1745 Kellner resigned from his post as organist at St Jacob's church and was succeeded by Lüdert Dijkman.



Kindstugatan with the German church in the background. Kellner owned the house third from the left of the church. In 1741-1742 he lived in the second from the left of the church. Photo: Author 2011.

He held his post as *carillonneur* until December 1747 when he finally

⁶⁸ *Stockholms stadsarkiv. Kronotaxeringslängd. Stadens inre kvarter 1744 fol. 55v., ibid. 1745 fol. 49v., ibid. 1745 fol. 154. ibid. 1746 fol. 28.*

resigned. In a letter to the council of the German church he states that he had served the church for 37 years and now was so old and infirm that he had been forced to take as an assistant Christian Friedrich Seeliger, son of the organist at the German church. Christian Friedrich Seeliger was in fact grandson to Christian Kellner, and David Kellner suggests that Seeliger should succeed him as *carillonneur* at the German church. Apart from his musical activities Kellner together with his wife also seems to have had a form of pawnbroker's shop during the 1740s, which gave them an income of interest amounting to 4100 *daler* copper coins.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Jakob och Johannes församlingar KII:Ia:2 p. 125. *ibid.* Tyska församlingen KIIC:2:4 p. 94, KIIC:2:6 p. 93 and LIf:57 No 313. *ibid.* Bouppteckningar 1748/2 fols. 645-649, 660-674.

94
Der Most schmeckt, Anspatzblase Lumen
Lind Anspatz Lufte Lufte Lufte
Anspatz Lufte

Es werden bey uns sieben und dreyßig Jahre lang, daß
auf das Blutenspiel gespielt, und bin nunmehr so alt
dabey geworden, daß ich wegen meiner Unvermögenheit des An-
ganßten 18. October d. h. Monst. Christian Friedrich Selliger, der
vor vielen andern besonders d. z. gefallen, zur Hilffte setzen will.
Der ist auf eine Zeit lang an meine Stelle tretend abzuwechseln
und so weit befehlet; wie er denn auf so weit gekommen,
daß wenn auch am Blutenspiel zu spielen, er selbst wieder
im Stand zu bringen vermag. Und weil, er sich verhofft, die-
ser befehlene Dreyßigste vorzufragen, daß ich Erlaubung die be-
stimmte Zeitlang willig d. z. zu sein, so habe ich, wenn er
dagegen mir vermag, so zu thun, daß er nach meinem Eide
mir succediren wird; als habe somit die folgenden Herrn
ältesten und Vorsteher d. z. geschworen, so zu thun, so gut
zu thun und auf diese vorerwähnte Condition diesen Christian Frie-
drich Selliger die Succession zu befehlen, so zu thun, so gut
zu thun. Diese Deklaration wurde sehr einfach petiti und
mit allen d. z. und mit seiner Befestigung sehr versehen

Der Ehren, Wohlthätigen und Hospit-
alitäten Herrn Althausen in Stuttgart

Dieft geboortstee
Dinner

David Kellner.

*David Kellner's letter of resignation.*⁷⁰

As a final tour de force Kellner had his lute pieces printed under the title *XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke, bestehend in Phantasien, Chaconnen, Rondeau, Giga, Pastorel, Passe pied, Campanella,*

⁷⁰ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*, Tyska församlingen KIII c:2:4

Sarabande, Aria & Gavotte (Sixteen selected lute pieces consisting of Phantasien...) (Hamburg, 1747) and published by Christian Wilhelm Brandt. The appearance of this little book consisting of 48 pages is odd in more than one respect. I have found nothing in Kellner's earlier life, apart from the use of lutes in *Der frohlockende Parnassus...* and the short notice in the *Treulicher Unterricht...* on Weiss, that indicates him playing or being in the least interested in the lute. The only other sign of such an interest is the lute listed in the estate inventory of Dorotea Kellner. To the modern mind it perhaps seems odd that a keyboard (organ, harpsichord, clavichord) player also could be a player of plucked instruments such as the lute. However, if you pay more attention to the ancient musical sources you will find many examples showing the kinship between the lute, the clavichord and perhaps particularly the *cembal d'amour*.⁷¹ There is some unconfirmed information that his lute book also appeared in a keyboard version in 1747 and that a copy of this was once in the library of the *Conservatoire Royal de Musique in Brussels*, but this information may be due to a simple mistake. As shown below the estate inventories of the Kellner family both contained a lute and a *claver* (clavichord). The music in *XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...* is also written for an 11-course lute when due to the late date one would have expected a 13-course instrument. Furthermore, the style of the collection is rather different from the *galant* style current in Germany at this time.

The XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke... in fact consists of seventeen pieces and there have been considerable confusion in the bibliographical descriptions of the book. The music is written in French lute tablature for a lute in d-minor tuning with the bass courses tuned diatonically. Kellner's obvious intention was to achieve the utmost possible variation both in style and form between the pieces in the collection. The six phantasias are all different from one another in length, key, number of interior sections as well as model of figurations. He was also trying to compose the ultimate chaconne with 27 variations on eleven pages of the book, that is nearly a quarter of

⁷¹ Crowell, G. The Clavichord as a Plucked String Instrument. *De Clavicordio* VII(2005) pp. 183-194.

its total content! Kellner pays a special tribute to his instrument the carillon in his *Campanella* with the simultaneous ringing of many notes within a simple harmonic frame.

Some of the pieces in Kellner's lute book are also to be found in manuscript sources in *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, München (D-Mbs), *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka*, Warszawa (PL-Wu), *Biblioteka Jagiellonska*, Krakow (PL-Kj) and *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka*, Wrocław (PL-Wru). The concordances are the following:

Campanella / *del* / *Sigre Weiss* (*Campanella* D dur, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 40-41), **D-Mbs 5362** (c. 1740) No. 115 (fol. 56v)

Rondeau / *del* / *Sigre Weiss* (*Rondeau*, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 34-35), **D-Mbs 5362** (c. 1740) No. 118 (fol. 58v)

Phantasia (*Phantasia* F dur, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 8-9), **PL-Wu RM 4140** (olim *Mf.* 2008, originally from Greszczow/Grüssau Bibliothek des Benediktiner-Konvents, c. 1730-1760), No. 8 (fol. 12-13)

Passepied (*Passepied*, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 39), **PL-Wu RM 4140** (olim *Mf.* 2008, see above), No. 174 (fol. 134-135)

Phantasia (*Phantasia* F dur, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 8-9), **PL-Wu RM 4141** (olim *Mf.* 2009, originally from Greszczow/Grüssau Bibliothek des Benediktiner-Konvents, c. 1730-1760), No. 7 (fol. 12-13)

Passepied (*Passepied*, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 39), **PL-Wu RM 4141** (olim *Mf.* 2009, see above), No. 172 (fol. 199)

Courante (*Courante*, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 42), **PL-Wu RM 4142** (olim *Mf.* 2010, originally from Silesia, Greszczow/Grüssau Bibliothek des Benediktiner-Konvents, c. 1700-1735), No. 126 (fol. 116-117)

Sarabande (Sarabanda, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 44), **PL-Wu RM 4142** (olim *Mf.* 2010, see above), No. 127 (fol. 118)

Variatio (Double, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 44), **PL-Wu RM 4142** (olim *Mf.* 2010, see above), No. 128 (fol. 118)

Aria (Aria, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 45), **PL-Wu RM 4142** (olim *Mf.* 2010, see above), No. 129 (fol. 119)

Gigue (Giga, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 46), **PL-Wu RM 4142** (olim *Mf.* 2010, see above), No. 130 (fol. 120-121)

Prélude (Phantasia Amoll, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 1-3), **PL-WRu 60019** (olim *Ms. Mf.* 2002, originally from Silesia, Greszczow/Grüssau Bibliothek des Benediktiner-Konvents, Lautenbuch 2. c. 1739-1747?), No. 101 (fol. 99-100)

Phantasia (Phantasia F dur, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 8-9), **PL-WRu 60019** (olim *Ms. Mf.* 2002, see above), No. 42 (fol. 32)

Phantasia (Phantasia C dur, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 14-17), **PL-WRu 60019** (olim *Ms. Mf.* 2002, see above), No. 93 (fol. 89-90)

Chaconne (Chaconne A dur, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 22-33), **PL-WRu 60019** (olim *Ms. Mf.* 2002, see above), No. 27 (fol. 16-19)

Campanella (Campanella D dur, presto assai, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 40-41), **PL-WRu 60019** (olim *Ms. Mf.* 2002, see above), No. 26 (fol. 15)

Phantasia (Phantasia A moll, *Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke*, 1747, p. 1-3), **PL-Kj 40633** (olim *Mus.ms.* 40633, Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, formerly private library of Werner Wolffheim, acquired in 1932, c. 1750-1755, originally written in Dresden 1753)

No. 2 (fol. 1v-3)⁷²

The greatest number of pieces by Kellner is to be found in PL-Wu RM 4142 and PL-WRu 60019 which both come from Silesia and the Bibliothek des Benediktiner-Konvents in Greszczow (Grüssau). The manuscripts PL-Wu RM 4140 and PL-Wu RM 4141 also comes from the same library. The manuscript PL-Kj 40633 is also of Silesian origin. As can be seen several sources are of Silesian origin which seems reasonable considering Kellner's contacts with Dresden. None of the pieces are attributed to Kellner. In most cases the manuscript versions are true to the printed edition with the exception of the *prélude* in PL-WRu 60019, which is quite different. The *phantasia* has been transformed by someone into a genuine prelude. There is nothing that suggests that this version stems from Kellner himself and no connection between Kellner and this manuscript can be established.

In another manuscript we find two pieces by Kellner, but interestingly enough both are attributed to Sylvius Leopold Weiss. They are found in D-Mbs 5362. Both pieces are very true to the ones in Kellner's printed book. Nothing is known about the provenance of this manuscript, but in this case it seems unlikely that the Kellner pieces were copied from *XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...* as they are so clearly attributed to Weiss. One could of course speculate whether these pieces in fact were composed by Weiss and just included in Kellner's book (*auserlesene* means selected), but until we can test this hypothesis on other sources it seems safest to attribute them to Kellner.

The first *Phantasia*, in a minor, in Kellner's printed book is copied into PL-Kj 40633 ff. 1v-3r. It is the second piece in the collection, which as shown above probably was written in Dresden ca. 1750-1755. The MS is written by two scribes. The first hand copied on ff. 1-35v 56 pieces, all in a minor and for an 11-course lute. The repertoire is oldfashioned for the middle of the 18th century: apart from the Kellner *Phantasia* and many anonymous pieces, there are works by

⁷² Much of the concordance information has been collected from *Sources manuscrites en tablature. Luth et theorbe (c. 1500-c.1800). Catalogue descriptif*. Volume II-III/2. Baden-Baden 1994 and 1999. Some further information has been added by the author.

Baron (an early suite), Weichmanberg (=Weichenberg?), Losy, Eckstein, Pasch, Hinterleitner, Gallot, Mouton, and Vieux Gautier. The second scribe, who probably is identical to H.F.W. Raschke, on ff. 36-40 wrote 11 lute pieces and intabulations of instrumental pieces by Rasche, Bronikowsky and anonymous.⁷³

Similarities can also be found between Kellner's *Aria* on page 45 in his *XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...* and a *Menuet (Ergänzungsseite 31)* in the manuscript additions to Jacques Bittner's *Pieces de lut* in the collection of Dragan Plamenac, Yale University, USA.⁷⁴

It is not known how many copies were printed of the *XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...*, but only two are preserved, now housed in the University Library of Uppsala, Sweden, and in the British Library, London. The lute pieces are the only known compositions by Kellner which of course does not rule out the possibility that he composed much more music, now lost or unidentified.⁷⁵

David Kellner died on 6 April 1748 and was buried on 10 April. He had reached the age of about 78, a notable age at this period, and he had spent more than 50 of these years in Swedish service. His estate inventory shows that he left a considerable fortune, mainly consisting of a property worth 12000 *daler* copper coins and 77500 *daler* copper coins in cash, which in today's currency together would be c. 3,4 million SEK. The inventory does not however give much information about his musical interests, except for a *Claver* (probably a clavichord and why not one built by Philipp Jacob Specken?) estimated at 60

⁷³ Jan Burgers has kindly supplied me with this information. Wienandt, E., 'David Kellner's Lauten-Stücke' in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 10 (1957) pp. 29 ff. Eitner, R., *Biographisch-Bibliographische Quellen-Lexikon* 5 (Graz, 1959) p.340. *Biblioteka Uniwersyteka*, Oddzial Zbiorów, Wrocław, Poland, Ms. Mf. 2002 (60019 Odds. Mus.). *Biblioteka Uniwersytecka*, Warsaw, Poland, MS 2008 (RM 4140) and MS 2009 (RM 4141). *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Munich, Germany, Ms.mus.5362.

⁷⁴ Treder, M. Die handschriftlich ergänzten Tabulaturen für die 11-chörige Barocklaute zum Druck *Pieces de lut* (Jacque Bittner) in der Sammlung Dragan Plamenac (Yale University/USA). *Lauten-Info* No. 3, 2010, p. 12 and *Tabulaturbeilage zum Lauten-Info* No. 3, 2010.

⁷⁵ Kellner, D., *XVI. auserlesene Lauten-Stücke, bestehend in Phantasien, Chaconnen, Rondeau, Giga, Pastorel, Passe pied, Campanella, Sarabande, Aria & Gavotte* (Hamburg, 1747).

daler copper coins. The list of books in the inventory mention one German and one Swedish bible, some books of sermons, one on geography, one on genealogy, one encyclopedia and one dictionary of law and the above mentioned French dictionary. There are also 27 small books in different languages and among these certainly were several of Mattheson's works, possibly together with other music books. It's a pity that these are not specified and as shall be shown the inventory was probably not even complete. David and Dorotea Kellner did not have any children together and the legacy was divided between Dorotea, Johann Kellner (Kellner's brother who was still living in Stockholm) and Anna Christina Kellner, Christian Kellner's daughter. Dorotea Kellner died a few months after her husband and was buried on 14 July 1748. Her estate inventory supplies us with some new information. Among the household utensils the *Claver* reappears together with a tuning hammer and under the separate heading *Musicaliske Instrumenter med mera* (musical instruments and such like) we find *1 st luta med foder 1 st do fleute* (one lute with case and one ditto flute). It seems reasonable to believe that these instruments stem from David Kellner and that they were simply overlooked when his inventory was made. Dorotea's fortune amounted to 126500 *daler* copper coins and she bequeathed 6000 *daler* copper coins to poor children in order that they should be brought up like Christians and educated at the German school closely associated with the German church. Dorotea Kellner's remaining legacy was divided between her grandson Friedrich August Christian Josef von König, *Directeur des plaisirs* in Dresden, and Johann and Anna Christina Kellner.⁷⁶

David Kellner and posterity

Without doubt the most significant work of Kellner is *the Treulicher Unterricht...* It was reprinted several times after his death and certainly the most successful book on this subject in the eighteenth century. The fourth German edition appeared in 1749 and the second Dutch one in 1751, this time published by J. Covens junior. It then

⁷⁶ *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Register till Tyska församlingens begravningsbok 1747-1791 p. 84. *ibid.* Bouppteckningar 1748/2 fols. 645-689v, Lüdecke, J.A.A., *Dissertatio historica de ecclesia teutonica et templo S:tæ Gertrudis Stockholmiensi...* (Uppsala, 1791) p. 67. *Stockholms stadsarkiv*. Bouppteckningar 1748/2 fol. 674

took nearly 30 years before the fifth German edition was printed in 1773 by Christian Herold Witwe followed by the sixth in 1782. The seventh edition was enlarged with *Neue Melodien zu einigen Liedern des neuen Hamburgischen Gesangbuchs* by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and appeared in 1787. Most remarkable is the fact that *Treulicher Unterricht...* even was translated into Russian and published under the title *Vernoe nastavlenie v sosinenii general-basa... Sosinennoe gospodinom D. Kelnerom...* (Moscow, 1791) and edited and translated by N. Zubrilovy. With the exception of the facsimile reprints available today the last printed edition appeared in 1796 published by J.G. Herold in Hamburg. This list of editions shows the impact and continuing demand Kellner's book once had. As I have shown earlier it was still used at least in Sweden as late as the 1830s, even if it was not so successful in this country as it had been in Germany and the Netherlands.⁷⁷



⁷⁷ Kellner, D., *Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass...* Vierte Auflage (Hamburg, 1749). *ibid.* Fünfte Auflage (Hamburg, 1767). *ibid.* Sechste Auflage (Hamburg, 1782). *ibid.* Siebente mit vierzehn Melodien von C. P. E. Bach vermehrte Auflage (Hamburg, 1787). *ibid.* [Eight edition] (Hamburg, 1796). *ibid.* *Vernoe nastavlenie v socinenii general-basa...* (Moscow, 1791).

Title page of the second Dutch edition of Korte en getrouwe onderredtinge Van de Generaal Bass... 1751. Author's collection.

The *Treulicher Unterricht...* is mentioned in several sources during the 18th century. There is a short summary of the first edition in the first volume of Lorenz Mizler's *Musikalische Bibliothek...* Mizler recommends the book for beginners and suggests Mattheson's *Organisten-Probe...* for further reading. He also mentions the critical review by Mattheson in the *Niedersächsische Nachrichten...* Jacob Adlung refers to Kellner several times in his *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit...* (Erfurt, 1758). A positive opinion about *Treulicher Unterricht...* is expressed by Christoph Gottlieb Schröter in his *Deutliche Anweisung zum General-Bass...* (Halberstadt, 1772) and he writes that it

enthält seiner Kürze ohngeachtet viel gutes... Dieser kriegerische Geist hat mehr geleistet, als man von ihm vermuthen konnte (contains many excellent things despite its shortness... This martial man has achieved more than one would have expected from him).⁷⁸

Kellner's *Treulicher Unterricht*... was used by at least two famous composers. One copy of the 1732 edition was in the library of Johan Helmich Roman, the "father" of Swedish music and Roman refers to it himself in a manuscript.⁷⁹ A copy of both the first and the second German edition was in the library of Daniel Gottlob Türk.⁸⁰ Joseph Haydn's copy of the fourth edition of *Treulicher Unterricht*... is full of annotations made by the composer. This indicates that the book was not only used by amateurs, even if it was primarily intended for them.⁸¹ Kellner's book was certainly also used by amateurs who could afford to buy it, for example the Swedish Gudmund Jöran Adlerbeth (1751-1818) director general of the Swedish National Heritage Board whose copy is located at *Landsbiblioteket* in Växjö.⁸²

Even if Kellner's lute music is quite often played today (his complete

⁷⁸ Mizler, L., *Musicalische Bibliothek oder Gründliche Nachricht, nebst unpartheyischen Urtheil von Musikalischen Schrifften und Büchern, Erster Band... Erster Theil* (Leipzig, 1736) pp. 25 ff. *ibid.* *Des dritten Bandes Zweyter Theil...* (Leipzig, 1746) p. 252. Adlung, J., *Anleitung zu der musikalischen Gelahrtheit...* (Erfurt, 1758) p. 634. Schröter, C. G., *Deutliche Anweisung zum General-Bass...* (Halberstadt, 1772) p. IX. Ödman, J. I. N., *Dissertatio historica de musica sacra...* (Lund, 1745) p. 3

⁷⁹ Bengtsson, I., J. H. Roman och hans instrumentalmusik (Uppsala, 1955) p. 67. Helenius-Öberg, E. Johan Helmich Roman... (Stockholm 1994) p. 94., 186.

⁸⁰ Türk, D.G. *Verzeichnis der musikalischen und andern Bücher, so wie auch der gedruckten und geschriebenen Musikalien des seligen Professor der Musik und Universitäts-Musikdirector Dr. Türk, welche in Halle an der Saale den 13. Januar 1817 und folgende Tage Nachmittags von 2-5 Uhr auf der grossen Steinstrasse Nr. 176, gegen gleich baare Bezahlung in Preuss. Cour. Meistbietend versteigert werden sollten. Das Verzeichnis ist auf dem Markte Nr. 738 zu bekommen.* (Halle, 1816. Facsimile Amsterdam 1973) p. 16.

⁸¹ Geiringer, K., *Haydn - A Creative Life in Music* 3rd rev. ed. (Berkeley, 1982) pp. 29 f. Deutsch, O.E. Haydns Musikbücherei. *Musik und Verlag. Karl Vötterle zum 65. Geburtstag am 12. April 1968.* Herausgegeben von Richard Baum und Wolfgang Rehm. Kassel.. 1968, p. 220f.

⁸² Landen, L. Den Adlerbethska samlingen. *Landsbibliotekets gamla samlingar. Om handskrifter och böcker ur Landsbibliotekets i Växjö gamla samlingar.* Växjö 1994, p. 114

works have been recorded and his lute book is available in facsimile as well as in transcriptions for the guitar) it must be considered much less significant than his thorough bass method from an historical point of view. When his lute book was published the lute was in decline. His lute pieces did not conform to the galant style of Falckenhagen and Hagen. It seems as if the *XVI. Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke...* quickly passed unnoticed into oblivion, and the only signs of attention being the few pieces that were copied into manuscript sources.

David Kellner's works

This list encompass all printed works by David Kellner in chronological order, including new editions.

Klag- und Trost-Gedicht welches über den gar sehligen Abschied aus dieser Zeitlichkeit der Weyland hochwohlgebohrnen Frau Baronin Frau Christina Elisabeth Taube... bey dero prächtigen Beerdigungs Ceremonie... (Tartu, 1697).

[*Poetische Gedichte* (Tartu, 1699)]. No copy located.

Untherthänigste Freuden Bezeugung über den Weltberühmten Sieg... Carolus XII. bey Riga genseit der Düna... (Tallinn, 1701).

Freuden-volle Betrachtung Der Wundernswürdigen und Weltberussenen Tapferkeit wodurch... Carolus XII... Die Sächsische und mit der Polnischen Cron-Armée vereinigte Krieges-Macht... gänzlich geschlagen... (Tallinn, 1702).

Die Nothflagge des Gebeths Umb Hülffe des Allerhöchsten im Stürm-Wetter vielen Trübsahls (Stockholm, 1710).

Da Ihro Konigl. Majestät Der Grossmächtige Carolus der XIIte... Im November. des 1714. Jahres. . Aus der Türckey In Dero Erb-Ländern Wieder ankam (Stockholm, 1714). *Unterthänigste Zeilen bey Der hohen Vermählung des Durchlauchtigsten Fürsten und Herrn Friederichs... und Ihro Königl. Hoheit der Durchlauchtigsten Princessin Ulrica Eleonora... Anno 1715* (Stockholm, 1715).

Der frohlockende Parnassus in einem musicalischen Concert, am höchst-erfreulichen Nahmens-Tage des Grossmächtigsten Königes Friderici I... (Stockholm, 1720).

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... (Hamburg, 1732).

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... Zweyte und vermehrte Auflage. (Hamburg, 1737). (Facsimile reprints were published in 1979 by Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim. and in 1985 by Kultur- und Forschungsstätte Michaelstein)

Trogen Underrättelse uti General-Basen... (Stockholm, 1739).

D. Kelner, korte en getrouwe onderregtinge van de generaal bass of bassus continuus... (Amsterdam, 1741).

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... Dritte Auflage (Hamburg, 1743). (A facsimile reprint was published in 1980 by Laaber-Verlag in their series *Dokumente früher Musik und Musikliteratur im Faksimile*, Bd. 9.)

David Kellners XVI. Auserlesene Lauten-Stücke, bestehend in Phantasien, Chaconnen, Rondeau, Giga, Pastorel, Passe pied, Campanella, Sarabande, Aria & Gavotte (Hamburg, 1747). (A facsimile reprint was published in 1985 by Minkoff, éditeur, Geneva and by Tree Edition, Lübeck)

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... Vierte Auflage (Hamburg, [1749)).

D. Kelner, korte en getrouwe onderregtinge van de generaal bass of bassus continuus... (Amsterdam, 1751).

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... Fünfte Auflage (Hamburg, 1767).

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... Sechste Auflage (Hamburg, 1782).

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... Siebente mit vierzehn Melodien von C. P. E. Bach vermehrte Auflage (Hamburg, 1787).

Vernoe nastavlenie v socinenii general-basa... (Moscow, 1791).

Treulicher Unterricht im General-Bass... (Hamburg, 1796).

I wish to acknowledge my debt to Robert Eklund who made me aware of the Mattheson works formerly in the possession of David Kellner. I also wish to thank Matthew G. Spring for proof-reading my manuscript and for valuable suggestions. Arvo Tering in Tartu has supplied me with important biographical information on David Kellner. Due to a grant from the Swedish Institute I have been able to do research in Estonian archives.

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