No. 1
1968

JOURNAL
of the
LUTE SOCIETY
of America, Inc.

Articles

JEAN-BAPTIST BESARD, Renaissance Gentleman .......... Julia Sutton

THE THIRD LUTE SUITE BY BACH,
   Three Manuscripts and Their Implications ............. Alice Artzt

VIHUELA TECHNIQUE ....................................... Joan Myers

NOTES ON THE JANE PICKERING LUTE BOOK,
   With Special Emphasis on the Music for Two Lutes .... Thomas F. Kelly

LUTE SOCIETY
of America, Inc.
JEAN-BAPTISTE BESARD, Renaissance Gentleman

Julia Sutton

Gentleman, lawyer, physician, and lutenist, Jean-Baptiste Besard was born in Besançon, Franche-Comté (ca. 1567), spent a rather peripatetic adult life in Rome, Cologne, and Augsburg, edited a collection of historical documents, and produced three books on music and one on medicine. The musical works include two large collections of lute music and one lute instruction manual which were widely disseminated in their day and now are important factors in the current lute revival. It is therefore pertinent to look into Besard's biography in some detail.

Despite his five publications, which contain some autobiographical information in their typically effusive dedications to prospective patrons, and some biographical information in the usual laudatory poems to the memory of friends, extensive information concerning Besard's life is not available. Fétis, Castan, La Laurencie, Eitner, Chilesotti, and Boetticher, among others, have written brief biographical notes based on the meager data they have been able to obtain. When comparisons are made among these biographical articles, however, it is apparent that the record is still not clear, especially with regard to Besard's publications. A limited independent search for information by this writer seemed warranted, therefore. Such a search has served in part to verify much of the information supplied by Castan, especially that based upon documents in Besançon, but it has also shed some new light upon Besard's stay and publications in Augsburg. The following, then, is a brief account of the authenticated facts of Besard's life, with some assumptions based upon this information.

According to Castan, the records show that Besard's father, originally from Jussey, in Franche-Comté, married Marguerite Gignouly of Besançon (no date given), purchased property there in 1580, acted in 1595 in an official capacity as collector of part of the town's ransom for Henri IV of France (who was threatening the town with a siege) and had four children, Jean-Baptiste being the only boy. There is no baptismal record for Jean-Baptiste, but his graduation from the nearby University of Dôle in 1587 with the "double degree of Licentiate and Doctor of Laws" prompted Castan

1 Castan, op. cit., p. 26: "Les détails qui vont suivre ont été puisés dans les Archives de la ville de Besançon."

2 It is with regard to the Augsburg publications of 1617 that most of the inaccuracies appear, e.g., that the Isagoge was a second edition of the Thesaurus (Castan, op. cit., pp. 277): that the Isagoge was Besard's second treatise on lute pedagogy (La Laurencie, op. cit., p. 96): that Robert Dowland's "Necessarie Observations Belonging to the Lute and Lute-playing," in the Varieties of Lute Lessons (London, 1619) was a translation of the Isagoge (Reese, Music in the Renaissance (New York, 1954), p. 844): that the Isagoge was published in 1614 (Boetticher, op. cit., col. 1815): that the Antrum philosophic was a book on medicine and alchemy (Castan, op. cit., p. 28). The exact contents of the Novus partus have been known to a few scholars (Chilesotti among them), but Boetticher op. cit., col. 1816 is wrong in his comparison between the composers in it and in the Thesaurus, and Leure (art. "Francisca," MSR, IV, col. 637) is wrong in saying that Besard apparently did not know of Francisca. Significant errors by these and other scholars will be noted in the body of the text, but it is hoped that in the main a straightforward exposition of the facts will be sufficient.

3 Besançon is the capital of Franche-Comté, which in Besard's time still considered itself part of Burgundy: Burgundy proper, however, had been seized by France in 1477, while Franche-Comté did not become a part of France until 1678. Besançon is now in the département of Doubs.

4 Castan, loc. cit., p. 29.

5 Castan, loc. cit., gives the entire certificate for Besard's graduation, as found in the Acta rectoria universitatis Bolonie: "Fruditiissimus dominus, macon norum prohibite conspicus, Joannes-Baptiste BESARD, Vesuntinus, a clarissinis dominis juris antecessoribus dignus declaratus est cui licentiae simul et docturae laurea in utroque jure conferetur, quam idcirco deincepe moni mortii hujus anni octesagesima septimam in frequenti legum auditorio consecutus est.-- (Sign.) CL. JAVIL, prorector."
to suggest that Besard must have been at least twenty years old by then, so that his year of birth would have been ca. 1567. This date is still accepted as reasonable.13

On February 5, 1602, Jean-Baptiste Besard married Pauline Jacquez, daughter of a noble Besançon family connected with the legal profession.14 The only clues to Besard's whereabouts between his graduation in 1587 and his marriage in 1602 are to be found in his later publications, where he refers to his studies in Rome.15

In 1603 Besard, now in Cologne, brought out the collection of lute music for which he became famous, the Thesaurus harmonicus divini Laurencini Romanii, nec non praestantissimorum musicae, qui hoc seculo...excellunt, selectissima omnis generis cantus in testudine modulatura continens... This major collection of 403 compositions consisted of ten books, nine of them made up of homogeneous groupings of pieces according to type, and the tenth a miscellaneous collection. The music was primarily for solo lute or lute and voice (there were just three compositions for two lutes). Twenty-one different composers were named (there were also 55 anonymous compositions).16

Appended to the ten books of music was a set of instructions on how to play the lute, the De modis in testudine libellus, which attained considerable independent importance.17 Printed by Gerhard Grevenbruch,18 in movable type, the immense influence of the Thesaurus is proven by the numerous copies of individual compositions from it that appeared in many later MSS and printed works.19

According to the most recent edition of Baker's Biographical Dictionary,20 Besard went to Rome to study following his marriage in 1602, and then published the Thesaurus in Cologne in 1605. Such a sequence of events seems, however, quite farfetched, and is not mentioned by any other authorities. The sheer size and importance of the Thesaurus, as well as its Catholic

... and up-to-date character, suggest that it was the product of several years' work in sophisticated surroundings. Aside from Besard's own statements, unfortunately, no other record of his stay in Rome has been found.

In 1604 Besard edited the fifth volume of the Mercurii Galli Secundus, which appeared at Belgio potissimum Hungia et quoque: Germania, Poloniae, Hispam, Italia, Anglia, atfegy Christiani orbis Regnum, & Prioritate ab anno 1598 usque ad annum gestorum. Also printed by Grevenbruch in Cologne, it was part of a series of collected European treaties and international legal documents. Since the title page of the Thesaurus indicates that Besard printed it at his own expense,21 Castan suggests that he may have paid for its publication by serving in the capacity of editor for the Mercurii,22 but there is no direct evidence to support this view.

In the preface to the Mercurii Besard refers to an absence of several years from Besançon,23 and mentions his activities in music and the publication of the Thesaurus. Ties to Besançon were still close, apparently: both the Thesaurus and the Mercurii were dedicated to men with Franche-Comté connections.24

Whether or not Besard had his wife with him in Cologne, or later in Augsburg, cannot be determined, since all the autobiographical and biographical references fail to mention any family. The records in Besançon continue, however;

Their marriage contract, drawn up on February 5, 1602, stipulated a dowry of 526 francs 10 gross in favor of the bride, the dowry being increased by 100 francs, brought by her father, the dowry by right of a marriage portion. Later, Péronne acquired 1000 francs, in right of her mother (du chef de sa mère), arising from the sale of a house.25

No records have been found of Besard's whereabouts between the publication of the Mercurii in 1604 and his next publications in Augsburg in 1617, although we may guess that he returned to Besançon for a brief visit in 1605 in order to conduct the business mentioned above. In 1613 his father died, thus passing on to Besard his letters of nobility; the proceeds from the sale of his property, 7000 francs, were legally divided among the four children.

14 Castan, op. cit., p. 29.
15 E.g., Antrum philosophicum, fol. a.
16 Joseph Garton, J. B. Besard's Thesaurus Harmonicus (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Indiana, 1952) has transcribed a portion of these compositions and made a study of the Thesaurus. Laurencinus has been commonly supposed to have been Besard's teacher, and many of the pieces in the Thesaurus are attributed to him; but Garton, op. cit., p. 25, says that he was unable to verify the assumption that Laurencinus actually instructed Besard.
17 An English translation of these instructions was subsequently printed in Robert Dowland's Versete of Lute Lessons (London, 1610).
19 Boetticher, op. cit., col. 1816.
21 The following appears at the bottom of the title page of the Thesaurus: "Exquisite Gerhardus Grevenbruch, sumptibus Authoris, Anno redemptionis MDC. III. Cum gratia & privilige Sec, Cess, Rarest, ad decentiam."
22 Castan, op. cit., p. 27.
23 Fol. A5r: "Cum iam praterlapis aliquid annis a patre longincaus barumque regionum diutum Hospis..."
24 The Thesaurus was dedicated to Philippe-Guillaume of Nassau, the youngest son of William the Silent, "mais attaché néanmoins au service de l'Espagne" (Castan, op. cit., p. 27). Besard also takes the title of Viscount of Besançon ("Visconcti Antonioponti, & Vesontine"), which Castan (loc. cit.) says he possessed as the indirect heir of the house of Chalon, younger branch of the former ruling family of Franche-Comté.
25 The Mercurii was dedicated to Antoine de la Beaume-Saint-Amour, abbé of Luxeuil in Franche-Comté, which is 77 kilometers northeast of Besançon.
At this time, Péronne Jacquot Besard apparently used the services of her jurist father, Claude Jacquot, to claim 2466 francs 10 gros from the inheritance as owed to her by her husband. 26 While the separation of financial property between husband and wife was not unusual at that time, Péronne's need for her father's services in a claim on the inheritance suggests that her husband might have spent her marriage portion, and that this was the only way she could regain it. These records of family business also seem to suggest that Péronne remained in Besançon while her husband was in Cologne, but they are really too sparse to be conclusive. There are no records in Besançon of any children born to Péronne and Jean-Baptiste. 27

A search by the writer in the Augsburg Stadtarchiv through the town records of 1604 through 1620 (the years when Besard might have been in Augsburg) has failed to turn up any signs of his residence there. These records included yearly listings of the military census, of taxable-property holders, and those who acted in any official capacity for the city. One can only surmise that if Besard actually lived in Augsburg during any of those years it was as a guest or member of the household of a prominent citizen, as will be explained below. At any rate, in 1617 Besard had two musical books and a medical book printed by David Franck the Elder of Augsburg. 28 The musical works were published by Stephen Michelspacher of Tyrol; 29 the large medical book was printed at Besard's own expense. 30

The three works published in Augsburg were: Isagoge in artium testudinarum dedication dated June 30, 1617); the Antrum philosophicum (dated July 1617); and the Novus partus libri concertationes musicae (dated September, 1617). The two musical works (the Isagoge and the Novus partus) have been the subjects of separate studies. 31 It will suffice here to say that the Novus partus, the more important of the two, is an eclectic collection of 59 compositions divided into three sections: twelve pieces for three lutes and two or three voices or viols, twelve for two lutes, and thirty-five for solo lute, plus an enlarged and amended version of the lute instructions that had originally appeared in the Thesaurus in 1603. The Isagoge is simply a free and enlarged German translation of the newly edited instructions in the Novus partus,

The three works of 1617 appeared within a four-month period; their rapid order of publication, therefore, must have had little to do with their order of writing. This assumption is born out by the Isagoge, published first, where the statement is made that it is a trans- lation into German of the lute instructions from the Novus partus, published third. Nevertheless, the biographical information gleaned from these three works will be discussed in the order of their publication, since the dating of each of the dedications may be of some help in determining the circumstances of Besard's life at that time.

The Isagoge in artum testudinarum, das ist: Unterricht über das künstliche Seitenspiel der Lauten is dedicated to four young men, or perhaps boys, three of them brothers; "To the noble, honorable, barons Adolf /obel/ and Daniel/ Geronimo/ and Samuel Puroner (or Puron?) /Brothers/ my noble patrons," 32 In this typically repetitive, effusive, and formal dedication, Besard refers so often to his patrons' youth that one assumes them to have been very young indeed, perhaps children. "Their beloved parents" are included in the request that they "note and receive in the most favorable way/ on their part/ my thoughts on this aspect of the noble and free art of music, " .. . I having come to them/ have accomplished something with them with my humble instruction . . ." that he is aiming to leave Augsburg shortly, " .. . now almost ready to depart . . ." in order to "seek a patron." He hopes that these instructions will be of value to other youths, for " .. . just as the lords were actually taught and instructed by me/ so also other Germans in absentia (although the latter had never been/)... at my own interest and training in the lute, as well as the earlier publication of the instructions in the Thesaurus and the forthcoming publication of the Novus partus:

In addition to my other principal studies for several years/ I have found my special delight in the above mentioned lute-playing/ and have not only/ run through pretty nearly everything useful and ornamental/ that other experts have thought out and invented/ but also without boaste- ing have worked out all sorts of convenient inventions/ and artificial aids/ this material was then published by me about fourteen years ago in Latin/ and now again is being printed in this esteemed city of the Holy Roman Empire/ with gracious permission. 33

Besard apologizes for not having dedicated the Latin work to these youths. This could not be, "for other reasons (although it has never appeared before in Germany)." Besard does not explain these reasons, but we may guess that the need for additional patrons was an important one.

The full title of Besard's musical book is:

Antrum philosophicum, in quo pleraque arenas physica, quae ad vulgatae human corpora affectus curandos attinet, sine multa verborum apparatu, ad experimentum.

Translation from the German by Professor Samuel Sunberg, German Department, City College of the City University of New York.

This statement may be responsible for one misconception about the Isagoge, i.e., that it is a republication of the lute instructions from the Thesaurus. See above for the facts.
The promise of the description of experiments apparently led Castan and others to state, without looking into the book, that it deals with medicine and alchemy. In fact, however, the experimental section is concerned entirely with chemical and physical experiments that were sources of wonder at the time, and has nothing whatever to do with alchemy. The book is large (240 pages). Except for the sixth chapter, which describes the above-mentioned experiments, it is an entirely serious compendium of known diseases and their medication, arranged alphabetically from architae to venenum remittitae, and including prescriptions and the directions for making up their chemical components. Various references to the sun, the moon, and the planets, used to designate metals (e.g., Ψ = Venus = Copper), also might have led to the prevailing misunderstanding about this book.

We have no record of Besard’s study of medicine, nor do we know when and how this study was undertaken. None of the laudatory poems in the Thesaurus refer to Besard as a physician, although such a reference does appear in the Nodus partus. It seems logical to assume that such a study was undertaken during his student days in Rome, but it is certainly equally possible that he became a physician some time between 1603 and 1617.

The Antrum philosophicum has a typically fawning dedication to Duke Philipp II of Pomerania and his three brothers:

Serenissimo reverendissimo Princeps, ac Dominis, Dn. Philippo II; Dn. Francisco Episcopo Camerinae; Dn. Bogislaw; Dn. Videlrico, fratris Germani; Steffini, Pomeranici, Cassubiorum, & Vandallorum Ducibus, Rugiae Principibus, Gutzciucae Comitiis ac Terrarum Laburgenstam, & Butolesiis &c., Dynastis; Dominis suis etiamiamis Johannes Baptista Besardus Faecilitatem.

In this dedication, of which only the opening is quoted above, Besard makes use of what he terms a long friendship with Philipp Hainhofer to presume to dedicate his work to Duke Philipp and his brothers. He states that he left Cologne for Augsburg to be with Hainhofer ("Heinhofer"), his friend and former fellow student in the liberal arts, and he hopes that these noble princes will become his generous patrons. Again Besard mentions that he once lived in Rome. In a separate and enigmatic address to the Reader, Besard also implies that bad fortune has forced him to move from city to city.

Already a number of years have elapsed, dear reader, from the time when, devoting myself at home publicly and privately to legal studies (to which I had also joined the practice of the liberal arts from the earliest childhood), I undertook to travel to various sections of the Christian world, not so much by the desire for travel as by a sudden happening and an unlucky stroke of fortune. But when, upon my return, I saw that some were ignorant of my intentions, I so interpreted it as if this had happened through the length of time and the domestic situation rather than through some small loss of my reputation or through a fickleness of mind. I have always lived with the ardent hope that the logical justification of my cause would finally be known to them, and especially that the worthier fruits of my efforts be finally given to our country and state, for whom it is fitting to do forth the efforts of my life at every point.

Of this matter let Germany be my witness; she looked kindly upon two works which I brought forth in honor of those who cherish the musical arts; she received with favor my summary of the histories. Why should I not bring forth my works of greater importance, my choicest secrets which from time to time have come into my grasp from the greatest men, for the benefit of the republic for whom we have all been born?

Is it not then better, even if the treatises appear to be of foreign origin, that these few flowers (not many but of learned men), culled from the very vast fields of Nature, are assembled, as far as was in my power, within this volume, should now be scattered abroad for the benefit of men rather than hidden evilly in the misty darkness and be eternally buried?

If you approve of this undertaking, friendly reader, I shall no longer waste time upon those above-mentioned individuals who have attacked my travels abroad and who evilly represent my sincere efforts, undertaken in your behalf, as a sickness of mind.

But you, on whose behalf I did sweat, if Zoilus should rise up, if he should rasp forth harsh and unpolished orations, he should mock my treating of unaccustomed matters, and if, on the other hand, he should accuse me of revealing the lofty ideas set forth by the

homine mihi amicissima intellexi, quae ad hono dedicatum Serenissimo reverendissimo et illustri D. Philippo Hainhofer,Celass. vestris faciendam, vehementer me inflammerunt."
philosophers and of profaning too freely their secrets, then you, I say, to whose loyalty I entrust myself, you take up my cause and protect my loyal attempts.

A brief digression here into the life of Hainhofer (1578–1647), a man whose career was somewhat tangential to Besard's, and who left voluminous records, will serve to illustrate many of the circumstances of early-baroque life in Augsburg.

He was part diplomat, part art dealer, known at all courts of Europe, the recognition source of information on all matters relating to the sale of art objects (and on world affairs), the man who arranged commissions to the workshops of Augsburg and who bought up antiques. He was an untiring observer and notaker, to some extent less uncritical than other agents, and honored everywhere because of his disinterested attitude. Diaries of twenty-three of his trips have been preserved, as well as considerable parts of his enormous correspondence. (40.) 145 letters to the Duke of Pomerania alone between the years 1610 and 1617.12

In 1607 and 1604 Hainhofer wrote, or had someone write for him, a large collection of lute music which apparently was never printed.13 It consisted of twelve books of varying sizes, in two volumes (564 pages), and was in Italian tablature.14 Of its character and contents Wilhelm Tappert had this to say:

Spelling was not Herr Philipp Hainhofer's strongest point, and the contents also fail to show in any way a particularly advanced education— but the man had money— and that sufficed anytime and anywhere! What gave the collection its nearly inestimable value at the time, its beautiful copper engravings, is now missing. Over 200 engravings by best masters must have been included in it. When Leining was appointed librarian at Wolfenbüttel (May, 1770), 50 of the finest and rarest engravings had already been transferred to the museum in Braunschweig; in 1862, 156 (more) of these pages were removed ... The music ... betrays neither technical accomplishment nor good taste in its selection ... It is not apparent which pieces Hainhofer composed ... Musical standards in the home of this rich man must have been deplorable.15

Hainhofer's chief claim to fame, however, seems to have been his responsibility for the pommerische Kunstschrank (Pomeranian art cabinet).

Around 1600 the chief center of all the applied arts was Augsburg. This was where work was done for emperors and kings, princes and patricians. Here also the 'greatest master-piece' of all was made, in which all branches of the craft participated: the pommerische Kunstschrank ... This cabinet, a full-blended example of the artistic taste of the time, is the most complete and best-preserved specimen of those cabinets that were situated in 16th and 17th centuries with all the typical polish and brilliance of German artistic skill during this rich period. These cabinets were provided with innumerable drawers that were meant to hold all of the small articles of daily household equipment belonging to an aristocratic gentlewoman's toilet articles, brushes and combs; a medicine cabinet with canisters, scales, mortars, compresses, blood-letting cups, and lancets; all sorts of materials for writing, drawing and measuring; mathematical instruments; dishes and glassware; tools of every type; beautifully carved chess pieces—all these are contained in the artfully arranged boxes and drawers of the pommerische Kunstschrank.44

This elaborately inlaid and decorated cabinet also contained numerous minute objects: a printing establishment; a mint; a dairy farm complete with animals, humans, and storks; and miniature jousting riders, made of ivory and operated by clockwork so that 'when the riders were placed on a flat surface and blown upon, they would run away erratically.45 The Kunstschrank also contained a mechanical organ which played organ pieces by the famous Augsburg composer Christian Erbach.46

Hainhofer received the order for the cabinet from Duke Philipp II of Pomerania in 1612,47 and hired 26 craftsmen to do it.48 Completion was slow, however. "Achilles Langenbucher's life was choked from morning to night, saying his miserers at the inn,"49 Hainhofer wrote apolo-
Mira risculus, spirantesque cedus frontem,
Quam si reliquam deae tabellae servas?
Hic illa est, late cuius nomen habere per urbem.
Non exspectate dat Jacae Fama rego.

Cernea dona Theonis, Pallas, Phoebiique tulere
Certam, Hanc decan plurc. BESARDES hic est.

I. H.

Plate I. Frontispice of Novus Portus
getic to the Duke at one point.52 When the cabinet was finally completed in 1617, at the cost to the Duke of 20,000 Gulden, it was delivered in Stettin personally by Hainhofer; it is noteworthy that two wagons were needed to carry all the equipment of his party.53

Despite Teppert's low opinion of Hainhofer's musical taste (see above, p. 5), in 1629 Heinrich Schütz accepted the patrician's hospitality when he was in Augsburg en route back from his second trip to Italy. Furthermore, Hainhofer was still in correspondence with Schütz in 1652, with regard to the purchase of books of madrigals and motets by Gesualdo and others.54

Hainhofer's reputation and contacts enabled him little during the final years of the Thirty Years' War, and his end was ignominious. When the forces of the Counter-Reformation finally took heavily-walled Augsburg, they "forced him out of all his civil offices," and he died in poverty in 1647, one year before the peace of Westphalia.55

That Hainhofer's lute collection of 1603 and 1604 was in Italian tablature would support Besard's claim that he and Hainhofer had been fellow students in Rome prior to 1604. Possible significant evidence of a long and close connection between Besard and Hainhofer is also to be found in Hainhofer's MS itself: while I have not yet been able to obtain a copy of this rare MS, a photograph in my possession of part of Book III shows it to be an exact copy of Besard's lute instructions from the Thesaurus, with the examples transcribed from French into Italian notation. Hainhofer's possession of a copy of the Thesaurus so quickly after its publication may reflect either his typical habits of acquisition, or a close acquaintance with its author.

It seems highly probable that Besard's Antrum philosophicum (July, 1617) was in the two wagons that accompanied Hainhofer to Stettin in August of 1617.56 Not only was the Antrum dedicated to Philip II and his brothers, with conscious use of Hainhofer's name, but its contents, purporting to be a complete compendium of the medical knowledge of the day, were in line with the type of objects we know were delivered to the Duke. We may surmise further that the recipients of the Antrum showed their gratitude as generously as Besard had hoped, for the dedication of the Novus partus, (September, 1617) makes no mention of the plan put forth in the Isagoge (June, 1617) to leave Augsburg in search of a patron.

The Novus partus itself does not throw much new light on Besard's life. The typical laudatory poems at the beginning refer to Besard's devotion to both Hainhofer and the Antrum. The full-page portrait of Besard (see plate I) carries beneath it his motto, "ET PALLAIDE ET PHOEOB" (referring to the patron diestes of law and medicine). Surrounding the portrait, an etching, are the words, "NOBILIS ET CLARISSIMVS TOANNEAE BAPTISTAE BESARDYS CIVIS BIVNIVS AC LL. DOCTOR.57 The portraitist was Lucas Kilian, the most prolific and famous of the Kilian clan of etchers.58 Kilian also did the title page of the portrait, Castan wrote.

His portrait . . . certainly makes him appear as a man of fifty; he is shown bare to the waist, dressed as a gentleman, with a double chain slung across one shoulder and a riding glove in his right hand. His face, intelligent in expression, but vulgar in its features, appears to reflect the instincts of a free liver and adventurer.59

Besard dedicated the Novus partus to Graf Ernst III of Holstein, Schaumburg, and Stenberg. Graf Ernst, a well-known music lover and a Lutheran, reigned from 1610-1622 in Bückeburg, present capital of Schaumburg-Lippe.60 His musical tastes were quite broad, we gather; famous English musicians such as Brade and Simpson were in his employ, and from 1615 to 1617 the young Schütz was his Kapellmeister.61 In 1617, he was promoted to the rank of patrician along with Leonhard Lorens, a member of the town council of Augsburg, over the failure of the Munich cornettist Johann Martin Caesar to show up for work in Bückeburg. We might assume that Lorens was responsible for Besard's contact with Graf Ernst, but in truth we have no clues whatsoever in this matter.

Besard's dedication of the Novus partus to Graf Ernst refers to his own early studies of the lute and to his Thesaurus:

. . . having been so instructed by the examples of excellent artists in the cultivation and use of the lute as much as possible without detracting from the pursuit of more serious studies, I so applied myself from childhood on, and made such successful progress, that as a man devoted to the public good and as an ordinary human being I published a Thesaurus harmonicum some time ago . . . .62

All three of Besard's publications of 1617 seem to provide evidence that he had been in...
Augsburg long enough to make friends there. The single laudatory poem in the Isagoge is by "Marcus Heningus Augustanus." In the Antrum philosophicum one of the five signatories to the laudatory material is "Christoph Conradus Neythart & Baustaten Patricius Aug." This signature also appears in the Novus partus. A French poem of praise in Novus partus is signed "P.N. C.d. A.," which could perhaps be interpreted to mean "Philipp Hainhofer Citizen of Augsburg." Further connections are to be found among the three works with respect to Besard's friends, although without evidence of their citizenship in Augsburg, i.e., the translator of the Isagoge signs himself "I.N.," and there is a "Iones Nothemenius" in the Antrum; in addition an "M. Moses Herman" appears as author of poems in both the Antrum philosophicum and the Novus partus.

Following the publication of the Novus partus Besard's trail is entirely lost. On the evidence supplied here, then, he was a late-Renaissance gentleman, nobly and richly born, who received the conventional humanistic education of his class, including training in the lute. After receiving his Licentiate and Doctor of Laws degrees in 1587, he probably spent ten or more years in Rome, leading the life of a well-to-do student, and studying medicine and the lute. At the approximate age of 35 he married a woman from Besançon, but, perhaps because the marriage was purely one of convenience, he left Besançon for Cologne shortly thereafter. Here he arranged to have his large Thesaurus, collected over the years in Rome, printed at his own expense. The editing of the Mercurius in 1604, which required the skill and knowledge of a lawyer, may have been undertaken to pay for the publication of the Thesaurus. In 1604 legal arrangements carried out to assure his wife's marriage portion hint that he might have been somewhat spendthrift or at least not entirely self-supporting. Sometime between 1604 and 1617 Besard moved to Augsburg, possibly to live with or to use the influence of his friend Hainhofer in obtaining patrons. He apparently continued his professions of law and medicine, at the same time instructing at least four young students in the lute. He succeeded in getting a publisher to finance the printing of the Isagoge and Novus partus in 1617, and had his medical book, the Antrum philosophicum, printed at the same time. His place and date of death are unknown.

65 Isagoge, fol. B1v.
66 Antrum philosophicum, fol. b3v.
67 Novus partus, fol. A6v.
68 Novus partus, fol. B4v.
69 Antrum philosophicum, fol. b4v.
70 Antrum philosophicum, fol. b4v; Novus partus, fol. B2v.
THE THIRD LUTE SUITE BY BACH,
Three Manuscripts and Their Implications

Alice Artzt

Johann Sebastian Bach is not generally thought of as a lutenist. Although Spitta concedes that Bach wrote for the lute and possessed one in his collection of instruments, he does not accept this as an indication that Bach played the lute. He further reminds the reader of Bach’s interest in the “lautenclavicymbel” and suggests that the lute partitasmight have been written for that instrument. Spitta seems to have been unaware of the existence of the “Testimonial for J. L. Krebs” in which Bach as Krebs’ teacher recommends him as a distinguished musician, qualified to perform on several instruments, among them the lute. This letter, as well as Bach’s possession of a lute, is generally cited as proof that he was a competent lutenist. An even more convincing proof lies in the Bach lute compositions themselves, which are adapted so well to the lute that they substantiate the contention that Bach was, if not a virtuoso lutenist, at least thoroughly familiar with its technique.

Many of Bach’s works for lute are arrangements of works for other instruments. The “Third Suite for Lute” in G minor is such a piece, being a reworking of the “Fifth Suite for Violoncello” (mistuned C, C, d, g) in C minor. It is generally assumed, by all but lutenists, that this suite was originally conceived for cello and later transcribed for lute. The cello version dates from Göthen around 1720 and is in the handwriting of Anna Magdalena Bach. The lute manuscript of which the Bach-Gesellschaft seems to have been unaware, is in the handwriting of J. S. Bach. It is copied out onto two staves (tenor and bass clefs, Bach’s usual procedure with lute music) and is entitled: “Pièces pour la Luth à Monsieur Schouster par J. S. Bach” and also “Suite pour la Luth par J. S. Bach.” Much speculation has arisen concerning the identity of M. Schouster, primarily in hope of establishing a probable chronology for these pieces. Although Brüger tentatively identifies M. Schouster as a friend of C. P. E. Bach’s in Dresden, nothing definite has been discovered.

A third manuscript of this suite is found in the French lute tablature entitled “Pièces pour la Lut par Sr. J. S. Bach” which must have been copied before 1761 since it is mentioned in the catalogue of Breitkopf in Leipzig in that year. In spite of having acquired in 1757 a new set of type for printing lute tablature, Breitkopf never found time to publish this suite. Neumann believes that this tablature copy originated well before 1761, but does not give more specific information.

This arrangement of the lute suite is written for the standard baroque lute with thirteen chords of strings tuned: A, B⁰, C, D, E, F, G, A, d, f, a, d', f'. While the f' and d' were single strings, the rest were double, and these, except for the a, f, and d, were tuned in octaves.

The lute for which the Bach autograph was written cannot have been of this type since the piece frequently requires a low G, unavailable on the usual baroque lute. Since this suite was transposed into the key of G minor, although transposition into the key of A minor would in many ways have fitted better under the fingers, Bach must have had a specific instrument in mind. Brüger notes that the solution to the problem is not simply a matter of tuning the A string down to G, since the open A string is also needed. He suggests that Bach wrote this suite for the theorbo. However if this were the case, one would expect only the notes of the diatonic scale to be required of the bass strings since the absence of a fingerboard for the low bass strings would prohibit the player from chromatically altering them. Brüger’s theory is proved untenable by the appearance of both an E and an F# in measure 175 of the “tres vistes” section of this suite and in several subsequent passages, whereas the bass strings would have to be tuned diatonically in G minor in order to play all but these passages. (An index of the difficulty of stopping such low bass strings, even on a regular lute, is found in the tablature version in which all but one of these alterations are transposed up an octave in order to render them more playable, often to the considerable detriment of the voice leading, as in measure 13 of the “Gavotte III”) (Ex. 1. See excerpts at the end of this article). The lute for which Bach wrote may have been tuned in other than the standard manner throughout in order to accommodate this suite, but was more probably simply equipped with an extra bass string.
This last theory is borne out by the perusal of the tablature version for the standard baroque lute, which follows the Bach manuscript remarkably closely and suits well the lute technique. The principle differences between the two versions will be noted in the basses in the tablature (owing to the lack of a low G, string) and in the liberal addition of ornamentation. Wherever there is an ornament in the Bach manuscript, there is almost invariably an ornament indicated in the tablature version. However, the ornament is not used in both copies. The substitution of appogiaturas for trills and vice versa is the most common of such changes. In measure 4 of the "Prelude" (Ex. 2), Bach asks for an appogiatura, while the tablature indicates a trill. In measure 16 of the same place (Ex. 3) the reverse is true. But in measure 11 of the "Allemande" (Ex. 4) an appogiatura is required by Bach while a long mordent is given in the tablature.

Occasionally a Bach ornament has no counterpart whatever as in measure 2 of the "Allemande" (Ex. 5). Much more frequently it is the tablature which contains additional ornaments. In the "Prelude", a few dotted note passages, short trills are frequently added (see measures 6, 11, 18, and 20), (Ex. 6), as are appogiaturas. The latter are added quite freely whenever they may conveniently be played as in the beginning of the "tres viste" section. Cadential trills missing in the Bach manuscript sometimes appear in the tablature as in measure 52 of the "tres viste" section (Ex. 7). A vibrato is indicated in the tablature three times: in measure 25 of the "tres viste" section and in measures 16 and 32 of the "Gigue" (Ex. 8), all thoroughly appropriate to the context.

Slurs are more numerous and more precise in the tablature copy. The Bach slurs are, for the most part, carelessly and inconsistently added, as if done in a great hurry. In many places they simply indicate that the whole passage must be legato and leave to the player the task of determining the most satisfactory means of accomplishing this. The anonymous transcriber of the tablature version met this challenge in many cases. In passages such as measures 17 and 21 of the "Prelude" (Ex. 9), the long legato Bach slurs have been broken up into smaller units of notes, determined almost entirely by technical considerations.

A few mistakes can be found in the tablature such as the leaving out of notes (e.g., measure 15 of the "tres viste" section), the misreading of the original (e.g., measure 179 of the "tres viste" section), or the miscalculation of the rhythmic values (e.g., measure 26 of the "Allemande"). Other changes such as the addition of an e4 to a D chord in measure 21 of the Prelude may be meant to be played as acciacaturas. The spacings of the chords are sometimes altered, in most cases for technical reasons, and chords are more often broken up or arpeggiated in the tablature than in the Bach manuscript.

This tablature copy is of value primarily in that it demonstrated to the would-be performer the manner in which the suite may have been performed by one of the contemporary lute virtuosi. While the Bach version is thoroughly satisfactory when played exactly as written, it lacks many of the ornaments, arpeggiations, and other devices typical of a masterly baroque performance such as Bach would have expected. It is primarily the presence of these lute idioms which distinguishes the tablature version from that of Bach. Indeed the tablature version varies so little in essence from the original that one could reconstruct from it a quite reasonable facsimile of the manuscript. The only problem which might be encountered would be that of voice leading, owing to the nature of the tablature; however anyone familiar with Bach and with lute music could determine with a fair degree of accuracy which notes should be held.

If the tablature version is a valuable indication of performance practice for the lutenist wishing to play the Bach version appropriately, it is also of some value to the cellist who would gain greater understanding of the "Suite V for Violoncello". In a comparison between the 'cello and lute arrangements, however, the differences are not nearly so uniform throughout the several movements as in the comparison of the two lute versions. Although an expansion of the range, a general filling in of chords, and the addition of bass notes to a greater or lesser degree, distinguishes the lute version from that for 'cello, the reworking seems to have been of uneven quality.

The "Prelude" is changed hardly at all in the lute arrangement. The 'cello piece is simply expanded to fit the wider range and greater chordal capacities of the lute. Hardly any new material either in the bass or elsewhere is added, and even the long melodic line (measures 22-25) is not furnished with a series of harmonic bass notes such as one would expect in a piece for lute. The whole first movement is essentially a French overture with the "tres viste" section written in a quasi fugal style. It seems strange that Bach has not taken advantage of the lute's polyphonic capabilities by making this second section more contrapuntal with a clearer delineation of voices. Bach has added to this section, but the additions take very frequently the form of scattered bass notes or punctuations of the main harmonic progressions, rather than that of true polyphony. These added bass notes do serve to define more precisely the harmonies implied in the 'cello line, and as such are quite useful. But in the matter of giving a clearer picture of Bach's polyphonic concept, which could not be represented in full as in the 'cello, the lute arrangement is at best ambiguous. Measure 26 of the "tres viste" section (Ex. 10) would automatically be classed as a single melodic line, judging from the 'cello part. Yet in the lute manuscript Bach has, by means of rests, carefully given it the appearance of two lines of polyphony. In measure 31 (Ex. 11), which any 'cellist would think of as two polyphonic lines, Bach has partially filled up the gap between the two supposed lines and has set this top line as a unit against a newly added bass note. There are passages where a two part texture is achieved in the lute arrangement, as in measures 150—, and especially in measures 170-177 (Ex. 12), but their incidence is not as great as one would expect. The speed of the "tres viste" section may have played some role in the limitation of contrapuntal additions. However, a perusal of Bach's other lute music shows that he was perfectly capable of writing fast pieces full of complexities.

Brüger was in fact obliged to do this in his first two editions; see Brüger, op. cit., p. 57.
In the "Allemande", since the 'cello version is already quite thickly written, Bach did not attempt to expand the harmonies, or add bass notes. However, the lute arrangement is markedly different from the 'cello version in that it contains a profusion of ornamentation missing almost entirely from the original. In addition to suggesting methods of ornamentation which would conceivably be transferred to the 'cello, the lute version also gives an altered dotted rhythm pattern in passages such as the first measure (_Ex. 23_), to give an added precision and stress to the beat which fits in well with the style of the piece. It would seem to be quite feasible to interpret such passages in this way on the 'cello. Other passages, although often dotted in both copies, are sometimes dotted only in the lute version as in measure 21.

In the "Courante", Bach has added both ornaments and harmonic bass notes to the lute part. He has also filled in some of the harmonies, creating, during most of the piece, a polyphonic texture more complex than that of the original 'cello version. The lute arrangement of the "Sarabande" is almost exactly the same as the 'cello. The "Rondeau", however, is consistent with the lute version, except for the occasional addition of a few basses, is nearly identical to the original.

The "1ère Gavotte" has been given quite a consistent harmonic bass line throughout, but aside from this, follows the 'cello part closely. One digression in the interests of better voice leading is found in measures 21-22 (_Ex. 14_), in the 'cello part, in which the top note of the progression of parallel sixths is forced to leap down a ninth. The lute version allows it to stay in its proper register, and puts the eighth note passage, which had been on top, in the middle of the chorale. A solution which would have been less practical on the 'cello. Measure 35 has been altered in the lute arrangement, also in the interests of clarity in voice leading.

In the lute manuscript of the "Gavotte in Rondeau", Bach has added a truly contrapuntal bass line which greatly increases the effectiveness of the piece. This is accomplished by emphasis of the rhythm, especially in the setting off of the tied notes as is the first full measure, and by enhancement of the harmonic interest. This bass line gains even greater independence in measure 6 (_Ex. 15_), when it fills in the space which contains only two quarter notes in the 'cello copy.

By the time Bach reached the "Gigue", he seems to have warmed thoroughly to his task, for while there is hardly a trace of polyphony in the original 'cello version, the lute version is made up of truly independent two countertexts throughout. Bach has constructed the two parts by breaking the chord line, giving bits to the treble and bits to the bass, and then inserting new material into both parts to fill in the gaps. Ties and contrasting rhythmic patterns have been used to separate the two lines. In places where the 'cello has longer held notes as in measures 55-56 (_Ex. 16_), special pains have been taken to fill up the void. This is probably the only piece in which, if one were given the lute arrangement, one would have some difficulty in reconstructing exactly the 'cello part. One ganis little insight into the way of interpreting the 'cello version from this "Gigue" arrangement, but one does learn much about Bach's compositional procedures.

Another problem raised, and to a certain extent resolved, by such a threofold comparison of manuscripts, is the extent of the dependence on the continuance of voice leading should be sought in pieces such as this suite, in which the polyphony is implied but not always strictly set down. Most 'cellists, when confronted with a passage such as the first three measures 94-98 of the "treset viste" (_Ex. 17_), will try to convert to the listener the impression that the voices, which on paper are left dangling only to be resumed several beats later, do in fact continue to be the same voices are being played. This situation would apply even more to a lutenist, who would have been taught, in accordance with almost every lute instruction book written, to hold onto such notes until the next note has been taken.

He would probably, if reading the tablature copy, pride himself on being able to sustain such notes for what he considered to be their full time value, that is until the voice resumed. Indeed, in the case of bass notes, many of which would be played on open strings, he would find it difficult to stop their sounding. Yet in such passages, in the lute manuscript, Bach goes to great pains to cut off such notes by means of copious rests.

One might argue that Bach thought that the lute could not sustain a sound any longer than a sixteenth or eighth note, and therefore was simply being practical in adding the rests. But this does not appear to be reasonable, for the lute, when well played, is capable of sustaining notes longer than it is generally given credit for, and could certainly manage notes longer than sixteenth or eighteenth notes. Bach was certainly familiar enough with the lute that he would not have made such a miscalculation. In addition, if he had not believed the lute capable of sustaining sounds, would he have written quarter notes, half notes, and even whole notes for it? It does not seem likely.

The obvious solution would be to assume that Bach meant what he wrote and to play only the time values indicated, not attempting to sustain at all. But this, though a perfectly reasonable conclusion, will not always reproduce, at least in this suite, the exact result noted by Bach in the lute arrangement. Although Bach almost invariably added rests, he did not always add them consistently. There seems to be no clear cut reason in measures 92-98 of the "treset viste" for Bach's having held the dangling treble note only a sixteenth note's duration while in a parallel construction, the bass notes are held for an eighth note's duration, yet this is what has been written. While in the tablature the rhythmic values in measures 51 and 101 of the "treset viste" are identical, Bach has inserted a rest in one and not in the other. These examples can be taken as evidence either that Bach was careless, and didn't particularly care how long such notes were held, or that he had specific reasons for his inconsistencies. Whichever is true, one is left to rely, in the last analysis, on one's musicianship.

In this article, an attempt has been made to outline the differences between the three nearly contemporary manuscripts of the Bach "Third Lute Suite" (Fifth 'Cello Suite). In the case of the two lute versions, the most important differences lie in the addition, by the anonymous transcriber, of the virtuosoic elements, typical of the late baroque lute play-
ing, namely the breaking of some of the chords and the introduction of ornamentation. (The changes in the bass line are the less important since they came about almost entirely for technical rather than musical reasons). The most noticeable difference between the cello and lute copies lies in the additions to the lute part, in most cases of harmonic bass notes, but sometimes of polyphonic lines with varying degrees of individuality and thematic content. Chords are in many cases filled out in the lute version, and ornaments are more plentiful than in the copy for 'cello. In short, the 'cello copy gives what might be called the "bare bones" of the piece, the lute arrangement expands it, clarifying the harmonies and adding more polyphonic elements, and the tablature adds to this some touches of the current performance practice such as ornamentation and rhythmic alterations. Thus these manuscripts give three complimentary views of the piece, affording to the performer of any one of these versions a more comprehensive insight into this suite than could otherwise be gained.

A LIST OF WORKS CONSULTED


INFORMATION CONCERNING THE MANUSCRIPTS

The violoncello version: Autograph of Anna Magdalena Bach in the Öffentliche Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek. (formerly the Preussische Staatsbibliothek) Berlin.


The Bach lute version: Autograph of Johann Sebastian Bach in the Brussels Museum.

The facsimile used for this paper is in the possession of Stanley Buetens, California.

The tablature version: Original in the Stadtbibliothek Leipzig.

The facsimile used for this article is in the possession of Suzanne Bloch, New York. This version has been printed in tablature, almost exactly following the original, in Franz Julius Giesbert, Schule für die Barocklaute, Mainz, 1938, pp. 107-114.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES:

Example 1, Gavotte II Measure 15

Example 2, Prelude Measure 4
Vihuela Technique

Joan Myers

Recent revivals of Renaissance lute music have seldom included an interest in the music for vihuela, Spain’s guitar-shaped equivalent of the lute. There is however a substantial literature of printed works for the instrument easily performable by the modern lutenist familiar with the Italian-Spanish tablature system. Each of the printed vihuela books includes a short introduction with miscellaneous information about playing technique. These instructions have been gathered here in the hope that they may interest the modern lutenist and encourage him to perform the Spanish vihuela music. In addition, much of the information given in the vihuela books is of general interest to scholars concerned about the performance practice of Renaissance music.

The musical contents of the vihuela books have been discussed by John Roberts in the English Lute Society Journal.¹ This information need not be repeated here, but a list of the vihuela books and supplementary works which deal with technique is included below:

Milán, Luys, Libro de Música de vihuela de mano. Intitulado El maestro... Valencia, 1536. Modern edition by Leo Schrade (Leipzig; Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927) used in this paper.

Narváez, Luys de, Los seis libros del Dalphin de música de cifras para talher Vihuela. Valladolid, 1535.

Nudarrá, Alonso. Tres Libros de Música en cifras para vihuelas... Seville, 1546.

Valderrábano, Enrique de, Libro de Música de Vihuela, intitulado Silos de Serenas... Valladolid, 1547.

Pisador, Diego, Libro de Música de Vihuela... Salamanca, 1550.

Fuenllana, Miguel de, Libro de Música Para Vihuela, intitulado Orphénica lyra... Seville, 1554, 1555.


Venegas de Henestrosa, Luys, Libro de Cifras Nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela... Alcala de Henares, 1557. Modern edition by Ignacio Angles (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1944) used in this paper.

Bermudo, Juan, Comienza el libro llamado deslación de instrumentos musicales... Osuna, 1555. Barenreiter facsimile (1957) used in this paper.

This article will deal only with that part of technique which is directly applicable and valuable to the modern performer. Early instruction books include extensive information on how to fret the instrument, how to tune it ("raise the top string as high as it will suffer..."). Milán, p.XVI), and how to intabulate vocal music to play upon the vihuela. These subjects will not be discussed here.

However, a brief mention must be made of the importance given to intonation in the vihuela books. The intonation of notes of the diatonic scale and accidentals posed a problem for sixteenth century performers and theorists. Today these subtle pitch distinctions seem like mere quibbling, since all semitones are equal and usable in the modern system of equal temperament. To the sixteenth century musician, however, semitones were unequal, and some were even unusable, intonament. Pythagorean temperament with its equal tones, sharp thirds, and perfect fifths was still the preferred tuning in mid-sixteenth century Spain.² According to this system, the usable semitones on the keyboard are CS-D, F#-G, A-Bb, D-Eb, and G#-A.

The vihuela thus presents an interesting tuning problem, since its frets would seem to cause an essentially equal temperament in which the tones are divided into two equal semitones. Bermudo says it is clear that in practice these semitones are not equal; it is impossible to divide the tone into two equal parts. Players must adjust their instrument so that they can obtain the proper semitones for the piece they are playing. Unlike keyboard instruments which have a fixed temperament, the vihuela can be adjusted so that each fret can be either fa or mf (e.g., G# or A♭) depending on the requirements of the piece. This adjustment can be made in several different ways. Players can vary the pitch slightly by the pressure of their fingers on the fingerboard and by moving their fingers slightly back from or over the frets (Bermudo, f.44). Diez Ortiz in his Tratado de glosa (Rome, 1553; Barenreiter edition, 1961) recommends a similar procedure for viola da gamba. Bermudo says that the pitch cannot be changed very much by this means; but even if the semitones are not exactly perfect, at least they are not uncomfortably out of tune.

For more advanced performers, learned in musical theory, Bermudo gives rules for mathematically determining the position of the frets so as to best obtain the correct semitones. His rules and diagrams show that the frets which are predominantly fa (flat) are higher (closer to the bridge) and thus sharper than the predominantly mf (sharp) frets.

Apparently good players also made use of movable frets to improve their intonation. Milán remarks about one of his fantasias in a


mixture of the phrygian and hypophrygian modes, "the fourth fret should be raised a little so that the note on that fret is strong and not weak" (p.30). On a vihuela tuned in A, this fret controls C#, F#, D#, and G#, all of which should be slightly sharp for the phrygian according to intonation. Bermudo describes in some detail the placement of accidentals for each of the vihuela tunings so that players could easily have referred to his diagrams and instructions to determine which frets to move for the different modes.

Bermudo also mentions that good players were quite aware of the possibility of obtaining the differently pitched enharmonic notes by using different strings of the instrument. Both C# and D#, for example, could often be obtained on the same instrument merely by choosing two different strings. (In the A tuning, the sixth fret on the fourth string is D#, and the second fret on the third string is C#.)

Although the modern performer is no longer concerned with the Pythagorean temperament of unequal semitones, it is interesting to note the great concern the vihuelists had with intonation and the number of ways they had for obtaining the correct relationship of usable and unusable semitones.

Another important concern of the vihuelists, closely related to technique, is that of tempo for their pieces. Most of the vihuelists indicate tempo in one way or another. Since these indications constitute a primary source of information on tempo in sixteenth-century music, they have been summarized here for their general interest to scholars and performers.

An understanding of compás (equivalent to tactus as described by such writers as Agricola, Gasparini, and Zarlino) is essential to the study of tempo. The vihuelists all define compás in practically identical language: "to raise and lower the hand or foot in an even tempo," (Milán, p. xvi). The predominant tactus used by the vihuelists is compás de dos, or semibreve. Proportion signs are used only rarely and then usually to indicate simple 3/1 or 3/2 proportions.

Four of the vihuelists—Milán, Narváez, Muddarà, and Valderrábano—give tempo indications (with explanation) for most of their pieces. Proof of tempos is usually provided by the signs, although the significance of such signs is not always clear. For example, Daza uses two signs, C and ζ, but does not explain their meanings; possibly his book was the last to be published in the century, the meaning of the signs had become self-evident.

Milán describes the tempo of each of his pieces or groups of pieces individually, without the use of mensuration symbols. Typical comments include: "A somewhat fast measure," "somewhat joyfully," "the more quickly it is played the better," "neither fast nor slow, but with a measured compás," etc. Generally speaking, the easy pieces at the beginning of the book are played quickly and the difficult, even contrapuntal pieces should be played slowly and in a measured style. Pieces which contain a mixture of slow chords and rapid divisions are to be played with "all the consonances (chords) with a slow measure and all the diminutions (diminutions) with a hurried measure" (p. 24).

The other vihuelists who indicate tempo use signs and explain their meaning in the preface to their books. For quick reference, these are summarized below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Narváez</th>
<th>Muddarà</th>
<th>Valderrábano</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ζ muy de espacio</td>
<td>ζ despacio</td>
<td>ζ espacio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(adagio)</td>
<td>(adagio)</td>
<td>(adagio)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C ni muy</td>
<td>η muy a espacio</td>
<td>η muy a espacio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aprésis</td>
<td>aprésis</td>
<td>aprésis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(moderato)</td>
<td>(moderato)</td>
<td>(moderato)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ζ muy aprésis</td>
<td>ζ muy aprésis</td>
<td>ζ muy aprésis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(allegro)</td>
<td>(allegro)</td>
<td>(allegro)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Daza's signs then are probably defined as follows: C = adagio (despacio), ζ = allegro (aprésis), but these definitions are certainly questionable without more direct evidence. Valderrábano often qualifies his tempo signs, e.g., "the compás should be played somewhat agitated, because if it goes slowly it will not seem good," "somewhat aprésis," etc.

Quite evidently tempo was fairly flexible according to the text of the piece and the ability and feelings of the performer. Muddarà comments:

For if a text is of joyful, nappy nature, the compás of necessity has to go quickly and aprésis. And if another text is completely joyful nor completely sad, it will need another compás which goes neither joyfully nor completely badly. And likewise that which is completely sad needs a despacio measure. (p.3)

Fuenllana gives no tempo indications in his pieces, commenting that: "each one must conform to the disposition of his hands and the difficulty of the piece... I wish to say that the compás should go neither rushed nor very slowly." (f.v.)

In addition to information on intonation and tempo, the vihuela books offer advice on actual playing technique—left and right hand technique and the addition of ornamentation. Still other elements of technique, such as how to hold the instrument, position of the right hand, can be deduced from woodcuts and paintings. Unfortunately however, little iconographic work has been done at the present time, and more facts have yet to be collected in this area. John Ward has examined a few woodcuts in his dissertation on the vihuela and its music. From looking at these, it seems likely that the right hand was held perpendicular to the book, or (rarely) to the strings with the little finger placed on the body of the instrument. This position was certainly used in contemporary lute technique. Different locations of the hand on the body of the instrument are evident in the different woodcuts, varying from close to the bridge to almost over the rose. Whether these different positions were dependent on the person playing, the style of composition, or on subtleties within the piece is unknown. The prefaces to the vihuela books give definite information on left and right hand technique. Left hand technique is apparently more straightforward and thus less discussed: it is based on the predominantly contrapuntal style of the vihuela music. All the references in Bermudo and the vihuela books indicate that beginners were first given two- and three-voice contrapuntal pieces, usually extracted from Mass movements of prominent composers (such as Josquin, Morales or Gombert). They then tack-

led four-part contrapuntal pieces and were finally allowed to compose their own fantasias and variations on pre-existing pieces (such as Mass movements, motets, or chord patterns such as Conde Claros and Guardame las uvas). This training was excellent for developing a strong left hand. The beginners must have learned left hand fingering gradually as they progressed from two-line works to difficult four-part counterpoint. None of the vihuelists indicate left hand fingering or give any examples of it, but their early contrapuntal playing must have soon taught them the available possibilities. Venegas de Henestrosa makes the only mention of left hand fingering, and he only comments vaguely that "in order to ascend and descend the vihuela," one should begin "with the second and fifth, or fourth, fingers of the left hand" (p.159). (Venegas' second finger is the index finger.)

Several of the vihuelists comment that the player should keep his left hand fingers down as long as possible to keep the counterpoint going. Fuenllana gives a clear example of holding a bass note while the melody is going on above. In the following figure:

he says, "In this whole tactus, one must not remove the finger which is on the second fret on the fifth string"(f.6v). Bermudo warns that it is especially important to hold suspensions so that the dissonance can be clearly heard (f.28). Muñoz also mentions the importance of keeping suspensions sounding. In addition he uses a special sign "·" which he uses in many places in his early works to mean that the finger indicated must be held down one full tactus.

Only one other bit of left hand technique is mentioned by the vihuelists. This is the idea of "splitting courses." Both Bermudo and Fuenllana mention that in a difficult chordal passage, it is possible to finger only one string of a course and pluck the other string open, thus producing two different notes on one course. Fuenllana notates a typical chord as follows:

To my knowledge, Capriola is the only lutenist to use this technique in his works.4

The vihuelists offer a great deal of information on right hand technique. They mention the necessity of avoiding unnecessary bass strings with the thumb. Fuenllana says that in the following chord

one must be careful not to strike the open fourth string with the thumb, since this causes a dissonance. He suggests that the player leave the thumb fixed on the fourth string after striking the fifth course.

4Componizione di Maestro Vincenzo Capriola" (ca. 1517), Ms. Newberry Library. There is no indication in any of the vihuela sources of how much, if any, arpeggiation is desired. Obviously, six-note passages must be at least slightly arpeggianted, but there is no direction as to which fingers should be used in a six-note chord. Undoubtedly arpeggiation of four-note chords was a matter of taste.

The Spaniards had a number of techniques for right hand passage work (redobles). Venegas de Henestrosa summarizes these strokes as follows:

Also, know that there are four ways of doing passage work (redobles): one with the second finger of the right hand, which is called redoblar de dedillo; the second is de figueta castellana, which is crossing the first finger (thumb) over the second; the third way is de figueta estranjera, which is on the contrary, crossing the second finger over the first; the fourth is with the second and third fingers, (pp.159-160)

The first of the strokes mentioned by Venegas is probably the most novel, since it seems to be a stroke exclusive to the vihuela; there is no mention of it in any lute instructions. The dedillo stroke evidently consisted of hitting the first and following odd notes of a passage with the index finger and the even notes with the nail of the same finger on its return stroke. Fuenllana comments that this stroke is "easy and agreeable to the ear," but he does not like the sound of the nail on the return stroke, saying that "one of the excellences of the instrument is the blow with which the finger strikes the string" (f.5v-6). He is far from condemning the stroke, however, merely commenting that he does not believe that it is the best available to the player.

Next to the dedillo stroke in importance and popularity is the dos dedos stroke with thumb and index finger (Venegas' figueta strokes). Fuenllana mentions that this stroke is particularly good for the lower three courses. This stroke is of course the favorite of lutenists in the sixteenth century for single-line passage work. Milan mentions both the dedillo and dos dedos strokes, commenting about various of his fantasias; this fantasia is only composed to the use of dos dedos, and he says that these three fantasias are best done with the dedillo (p.32, 29). Muñoz also speaks of both strokes, claiming that the dos dedos is more certain and gives more grace to passages, but remarks to composers that these strokes are necessary at certain times, he says; and he advises using the dedillo for ascending passages and the dos dedos for descending passages and cadential ornamentation (p.3). In summary, Bermudo comments, "It is necessary to learn the dedillo and the dos dedos because for some passages one is necessary, and for others, the other" (f.25).

The final stroke mentioned by Venegas, that with the index and middle fingers, was evidently less in favor, since the only other source to mention it is Fuenllana, and the latter uses a rather crusading tone in speaking of it. Fuenllana says that this stroke has "perfection of velocity and cleanness without the intervention of the nail" (as in the dedillo), and he prefers it to either of the other two strokes (f. vi). Venegas mentions that this stroke is particularly well suited to passage work over a slower moving bass melody (p.150), and indeed it is for this reason that the stroke became popular in lute technique near the end of the sixteenth century.

17
The vihuelists specify that certain fingers are to be used for greater rhythmic emphasis. Thus, using the dos dedos stroke for a passage of eight sixteenth notes, the thumb is to be used for notes 1, 3, 5, and 7, and the index finger for alternate notes. This has the effect of grouping the passage into two note groups. Similarly, Fuenllana comments that when the second and third finger stroke is used, the middle finger is to be used for notes 1, 3, 5, and 7 in a passage of eight eighth notes (f.16). By analogy then, the forward stroke with the finger in the dedillo stroke would be used for the stronger notes and the back stroke with the nail would be used for the alternate notes. This idea of rhythmic grouping with certain fingers considered stronger than others is foreign to the modern guitarist. However, it is a concept which existed for many instruments in the sixteenth century. Newman Powell discusses its use in keyboard technique in his Stanford University dissertation, and George Houle mentions the same type of articulation for wind instruments (obtained by different tonguing) in his article, "Tonguing and Rhythmic Patterns in Early Music" (The American Recorder, VI, no. 2, Spring 1965).

Only one other main element of technique for the vihuela remains to be discussed. This is the type and role of ornamentation added by the performer. This ornamentation is of two types: short, quick ornaments on particular notes, and elaborate divisions between notes. There are no signs in Spanish tablature which correspond to the numerous sharps and crosses designating ornaments in English lute tablatures — probably due to the lack of manuscript vihuela sources. However, Venegas mentions two types of ornaments (quiebro) in his preface:

The quiebro is rocking (menear) the finger on the string and fret that you wish to touch or, holding it in that place, trilling (quebrar) with the second or third fingers, one fret or two above, etc. (p.159)

Venegas' first quiebro seems to be a vibrato, but a vibrato used as an ornament on a particular note rather than as a constant part of the technique. The second quiebro is an alternation of the note written with the note above it, but it is uncertain from Venegas' description which note comes on the beat. Unfortunately, he does not describe either the placement or function of these ornaments.

The vihuelists generally seem to discourage the diminution type of ornamentation, although their numerous comments about it indicate that it was often practiced. Unlike most sixteenth century performers, they feel that such ornamentation is not necessary, and the performer is not shirking his duties by omitting it. Quite likely, the difficulty of playing four-, five-, and six-part counterpoint on the vihuela tended to discourage the addition of elaborate ornamentation. Bermudo, as a theorist, is the most adamant about avoiding glosas or diminutions:

He who wishes to take advantage of this book should take as principal advice: that he not make glosas in music... the worst corruption of music among players is important glosas. (f.29v).

He goes on to say that it is an outrage for a poorly instructed performer to dare to add ornamentation to a work carefully composed by a great composer such as Morales. Fuenllana comments that the player should avoid glosas except "at cadences or at such time as the composition gives the place" (f.25). Valderrábano writes:

I did not put a glosa in all the composition so that it can be played better and with less difficulty; and each one should ornament according to his hand; and because the music which is composed these days has so much counterpoint that it will not suffer glosas. However, in some pieces I did put (ornamentation) which suited to show those who wish to play it. (f.33)

Obviously Valderrábano contradicts himself every other sentence, vacillating between condemning the poor ornamentation of ill-equipped performers and desiring to show that good ornamentation has its proper place. As seen from Fuenllana's comment, cadential ornaments (variations of the Groppo) to ornament the standard suspension cadence were generally expected. Additional ornamentation could be added if it was carefully worked out so that it did not obscure the intent of the composer.

In conclusion then, vihuela technique is similar to lute technique with a few important exceptions. The vihuelists were very concerned with intonation, and they considered playing in tune in each mode to be an important part of technique. Lutenists were undoubtedly also interested in playing in tune, but their instruction books contain little information about the technical means to achieve desired intonation. The concept of compass is basic for understanding the vihuela music (just as it is for lute music), and the vihuelists are unusually precise in comparison to other sixteenth century writers as to tempo. Left and right hand technique seems quite similar to lute style, with the important exception of the dedillo stroke for the right hand. The vihuela music contains an unusually high percentage of pure contrapuntal pieces in comparison with the lute repertoire — particularly intabulations from sacred works. Thus, less ornamentation is expected from the vihuelist than from, say, the Italian lutenist playing ricercari and pass'e. The demands that polyphony make on the performer make the vihuela repertoire a difficult one. Even the pieces marked facil, easy, by the composer are difficult to the accomplished modern performer — a good indication of the level of technique achieved by sixteenth-century vihuelists.

NOTES ON THE JANE PICKERING LUTE BOOK,
With Special Emphasis on the Music for Two Lutes

Thomas F. Kelly

The manuscript housed in the British Museum under shelf number Egerton 2046 has a more convenient name derived from the inscription on the flyleaf, which reads "Jane Pickeringe ove this Booke 1616." If this inscription is written in the owner's hand, as seems likely, then it was Jane Pickering herself who copied the greater portion of the manuscript. It is unfortunate that nothing is known of the identity of Jane Pickering. Augustus Hughes-Hughes, the cataloguer of manuscript music in the British Museum, suggests that she is "probably the same Jane Pickering whose father, Sir Thomas, was created a baronet in 1612 and whose aunt Dorothy married Sir Adam Newton, tutor to prince Henry." According to the Dictionary of National Biography, however, Sir Thomas Pickering married in 1616, and his surviving daughter died in 1652. Thus Jane Pickering would have had to inscribe the flyleaf in the year of her birth. Further research into the history of the Pickering family and the Pickerings of Northamptonshire has failed to discover evidence of a more likely Jane. Whoever she was, the compiler of this manuscript has left us a handsome collection from the "golden age" of English lute music.

The book is presently bound in leather. Coats of arms on the front and inside cover, and the initials "J P" on the front cover are tooled in gold. The manuscript is on paper, and is bound in folio. There are thirty-four folios, measuring about nineteen centimeters wide and thirty centimeters high, each numbered in the upper right hand margin. On folio 46 through 54, immediately above these numbers appears another series of numbers 83 to 91, each of which has been crossed out with a single stroke, suggesting that the leaves so numbered were at one time bound in another place, or that the manuscript once contained at least 91 folios, of which some thirty-eight have since disappeared. Folios 46 through 51 (inclusive) are reversed in the present binding, so that they are upside down and appear in reverse order. On recto and verso of each folio are ten six-line staves, drawn by hand.

The music in this book was evidently recorded by three persons at separate times. The major portion of the pieces is recorded in the fine, careful hand identified with Jane Pickering. This section extends from f. 4, through f. 36; another piece in Jane Pickering's hand, a very long one entitled "the battell," is found at the end of the book (ff. 52-54). The other two sections, evidently written later in the seventeenth century, occupy folios 37 through 51.

The music written in the hand of Jane Pickering, which may be dated before 1616, is in careful French tablature, with very few errors. The first fifteen pieces in this section constitute a valuable collection of music for two lutes, presenting both lute parts in all cases but one. This is particularly convenient since many contemporaneous manuscripts present only one part of each duet. These pieces appear with the following titles in the manuscript:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f.4</td>
<td>The pavelo for ij lutes by Johnstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.4'</td>
<td>Lavelo gallyerde for ij lutes by Johnstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.5</td>
<td>The flatt pavon for ij lutes by Johnstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.5'</td>
<td>the galyerd to the flatt pavon for ij lutes by Johnstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.6</td>
<td>Drewries accordes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.6'</td>
<td>Drewries accordes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.7</td>
<td>delatrumba for ij lutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.7'</td>
<td>delatrumba for ij lutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.8</td>
<td>Larosignall for ij lutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.8'</td>
<td>the ground to the quadro galyerd to the treble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.9</td>
<td>larosignall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.9'</td>
<td>a Treble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.9'</td>
<td>the ground to the treble before</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.10</td>
<td>the quadro paving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.10'</td>
<td>the ground to the quadro paving treble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.11</td>
<td>the treble to the spanish Paving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.11'</td>
<td>the ground to the treble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.12</td>
<td>the treble to the pavieng of allasons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Footnotes:
the ground to the treble
the treble to the quadro gallyer
the ground to the treble
a treble by Mr Johnson
the ground to the treble
a treble
the ground to the treble before
the battelle
the battell for 11 lutes

Concordant versions of many of these pieces are to be found in other manuscripts. The first piece in the manuscript is incomplete; f.4, now the first page of music in the book, begins with the last sixteen bars of "the pavecheo for 11 lutes by Johnson." These passages are closely related to a version appearing on p.45 of the Ballet lute book entitled "lavecheo for two lutes." The Brognytn manuscript (pp. 28-29) appears the second lute part only, entitled "laveche paven." Thus the incomplete Pickering version evidently forms a pair with the following "laveche gallyerd." An untitled version of both lute parts to the "lavecheo" galliard appears in the Wickhambook manuscript on ff. 15'-16'. The first lute part is found in the Brognytn manuscript at page 29, entitled "The Galliard to Lavecho.

A "flatt paven" on f.21 of Cambridge University Library Ms. Dd. 3.18 (Hereafter cited as Dd. 3.18) and the "gallyerd to the flatt paven" on f.22 are closely related to the Pickering versions. Possibly for consort, each consists of a single treble line whose figurations follow the two-lute version closely, adopting the notes of that part which has the more elaborate figurations.

"Drewries accordes" has two concordant versions. One, ff.48 of the Ballet lute book appears both lute parts, entitled "a fflancy for two lutes:" the first lute part appears in the Brognytn manuscript at p. 30, entitled "Mr Drewries accord for 2 lutes." If Mr. Drewrie is the composer of this piece, then it seems to be his only surviving composition. It is possible, however, that the piece is dedicated to Drewrie rather than ascribed to him, since all the pieces in the Pickering lute book, with a single exception, mention the composer of the piece after the title—that is, for example, "A pavane by Rosseters" (f.26) and not "Rosseters paven.

The first lute part of "delatrumba" appears in the Brognytn manuscript at pp. 26-27, and in the Tolibasse lute manuscript on ff. 10'-11'. In addition, the version in Dd. 3.18 (ff. 45-46) entitled "De la trombe paven," is related to the Pickering version. Apparently a copypiece, it consists of a treble line only and contains many measures identical with measures in the Pickering lute book.

The ground on f.9 appears in the Brognytn manuscript at p.12. Two versions of the ground are presented, each marked with "finis" and each having the same length and harmonic pat-

tem. The second version is identical with the Pickering ground except that the bars are twice as long. The two grounds together are entitled "The treble to a treble to a treble," by Mr. Johnson. However, no treble is present. The treble and ground appear together in Folger 1610.10 (ff. 6'-7') entitled "the Queenes treble." The treble also appears in Dd. 3.18 beginning on f.4 and continuing on f.5, entitled "A Dump; in the same manner of two lutes in this book" (f.75) calls it "Johnson 2. Dump.

The treble to the Spanish Pavane appears in Dd. 3.18 (ff. 14'-15'); the ground is not present. This treble, like the several others in the same manuscript related to two-lute pieces in the Pickering book, may be intended for consort performance.

"The battelle," undoubtedly the longest piece in the English lute repertoire, appears in a version for solo lute in four manuscripts: British Museum Add. Ms. 38539 (ff. 23'-25'); Cambridge University Library Ms. Dd. 2.11 (ff. 29'-31'); Folger 1610.1 (ff. 19'-21'); and Trinity College, Dublin Ms. D. 3.30 (pp. 60-67).

Two styles of composition may be distinguished among these pieces for two lutes. Several are written in a "trobador" ground style in which one lute plays a harmonic ground while the second plays an ornate division. Pieces in this style are clearly indicated by the titles in the manuscript; one of the parts is designated as "treble ground." These pieces demand a virtuoso ability of one player, requiring only competence and patience of the other. The remaining pieces are written in an "alternating" style which demands equal abilities of both players; the distinction between them is a clarity of musical structure and the emphasis on counterpoint and rhythm. A glance at the opening bars will indicate the common material of these pieces: (see examples at the end of this article.

It has been mentioned that the Lavecheo Pavane ("Pavecheo"), also by John Johnson, is incomplete in the manuscript. The version which can be reconstructed from Ballet and Brognytn, however, displays much closer parallelism with the Lavecheo galliard in Jane Pickering—three equal strains with common melodic and harmonic structure—that there can be no doubt that they form a pair as closely related as Johnson's Flat Pavane and Galliard.

The Quadro Pavane and Galliard, written in the treble-ground style, are united by a common harmonic structure. The ground of each consists of a statement of the passamaggio moderno following

---

9 Dublin, Trinity College Library Ms. D. 1. 21.
10 National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Brognytn Ms. 27.
12 "Strogers gallyerd," f.17.
by a coda half as long, with repeats indicated for both sections; and the two codas have the same harmonic structure. These pieces derive their name from the D natural—"B quadratum"—of the major mode of the passamanozzo moderno in contrast to the minor mode of the passamanozzo antico. To accommodate the through-composed treble, the ground of the pavans must be played as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>16 bars</th>
<th>16 bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pass. mod.</td>
<td>Coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 bars</td>
<td>8 bars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass. mod.</td>
<td>Coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 bars</td>
<td>16 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The galliard uses this arrangement twice, thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8 bars</th>
<th>16 bars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coda</td>
<td>pass. mod.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 bars</td>
<td>Coda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass. mod.</td>
<td>16 bars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The repetition of sections of the ground gives a feeling of varied reprise, although the treble is generally no more elaborate during repetitions than elsewhere.

The single pavanes for two lutes display a variety of construction. Alison’s pavane has the normal structure of three equal (12 bar) strains, each with a varied reprise. The Spanish Pavane is actually a set of six divisions of a 16-bar ground which is a variant form of the galliard,¹⁴ which is called the pavane in the Dd. 3.18 version, consists of three strains, the central one being half as long (8 bars) as the others. The final strain employs the trumpet-like figurations from which the piece probably derives its name.

In addition to the Quadro and Spanish Pavane there are a number of four trebles with well-known grounds are included in this section. The ground on f.9 is the bergamasca; that on f. 14 is essentially the romanessa, with slight harmonic modifications. On f.15 is the ground to "Browning" or "The leaves be green."

It should be noted that, for several of these pieces, the two parts cannot be read simultaneously from the manuscript, since they would necessitate opening the book to two pieces at once. They can, of course, be performed if one of the players has memorized his part beforehand, a simple matter where a short ground is involved. However, none of these pieces—"Lavacheo gallyerd," "Dravories accordes," "De latrombe" and "La rossignoli"—makes use of a ground.

The music for solo lute in the hand of Jane Pickering extends from f.15 to f.36. There are sixty-two pieces: eight pavans; eight galliards (of which only one—that by Rosseter, f.26—is paired with a pavane); two fantasias, two courantes; one almaine. Twelve pieces make use of broadside ballad tunes,¹⁵ and the titles of several others suggest popular tunes: "Drau

---


There are seventeen pieces written in this hand, of which five are untitled and have no ascription. Three pieces are ascribed to "Jo: Lawrence:" a courante (f.43), "A Ballat" (f.43), and a sarabande (f.44). These are followed by a series of nine pieces having some connection with a certain Gautier:

f.44 Untitled piece, followed by
f.44: "Coranto Gautier"

One of the toys from this manuscript is reproduced in Diana Poulton, ed., A Suite of Lute Playing (London, 1961), musical examples p. 3.

¹⁷ Lunsden, "Sources," II, cat. no. 379, indicates that they do not represent "Anthony Holborn's Funeral."

---

21
untitled piece, followed by "Tuning Gautier"
f.45'-45  
)f.45'–51'  "A Corranto Gau:"
f.51'  "Besse Bell Gau:"
f.51'  "Transchurnor Gau:"
f.51  "Gautier Tunique Hornerpipe"
f.50' untitled, "Gautier tunings"
f.50'  "Gallarde Gautier tuning"

It is not certain whether this Gautier is the composer of the pieces to which his name is attached. The fact that they occur together, and the presence of a diagrammed "Tuning Gautier" (C D E F / G c f a' c' e') on f.45 indicate at least that they are all to be played in the same tuning. Indeed, the indicated tuning is the only one which yields musically satisfactory results. Investigation of other sources with more definite ascriptions may ultimately reveal whether these are in fact Gautier compositions.

The dating of this section is problematical. Hughes-Hughes, in his inventory of the manuscript, states that "ff. 37–45b and 51b–46 (reversed) appear to have been transcribed about 1664–1678, at which time Denis Gautier (apparently the principal contributor) flourished." 18 Richard Newton suggests that this Gautier may be Jacques Gautier, or "Gautier d'Angleterre," and thus dates the pieces about 1625–1635. 19 Both writers overlook the fact that there are two hands present in this latter portion of the manuscript, and neither questions the validity of the attribution of the pieces with Gautier tunings. In addition, neither mentions Lawrence, whose pieces may help to date this section.

In Lafontaine's summary of the records of the King's Musick, a certain John Lawrence appears several times from 1626 to 1635: he first appears on June 13, 1626, in a warrant to provide two lutes for several musicians, among whom is "John Lawrance." 20 The same name, spelled alternatively "Lawrance," or "Lawrence," 21 appears regularly in the lists of payments for livelleries until 1635. In 1628 he is listed as a musician "for the lutes and voices." 22 On April 30, 1635, was issued a warrant "to swear Mr William Lawes a musician to his Majesty in ordinary for the lutes and voices in the place of John Lawrence deceased." 23 It seems likely that this is the Lawrence who composed the pieces in the Pickering lute book; this latter section may thus roughly be dated before 1635.

From f.49' to f.46 appear several pieces written in a third hand. The style of the music, the profuse ornamentation, and similarities of notation suggest that this section was written at a time not far removed from the date of the preceding section. Unfortunately no composer is named in this group, and the dating must for the moment remain imprecise. There are fourteen pieces, of which eight are untitled. Of these latter, three are unmeasured. Six pieces are given titles: "Prelude," f.49; "Sarabande," f.48'; "Mademoiselle de Veau (?)," f.47; "The King's March," ff. 47–46; "Le Sarabande," f.46; "Sarabande," f.46.

Special tunings are frequent in this latter portion of the manuscript. In addition to the Gautier tuning mentioned above, the Lawrence Courante (f.43) is followed by the words "Harps way," which may be an indication of the more frequent use of the lute in England. The Lawrence Sarabande (f.44) is followed by a "Tuning flat way, or Lawrence:" C Db Eb F / G c f a' c' e'. The King's March (ff. 47–46?) is also followed by its own tuning: C D E F / G c f a' c' e'.

Thus the Jane Pickering lute book in its present form is not entirely the work of its namesake; the major portion of the music, recorded by her, is a good compendium of works from the "golden age" of English lute music, including a valuable collection of pieces for two lutes. The manuscript also contains two brief collections of music from later in the seventeenth century, The lute music of this later period, perhaps because of its association with the "decline" of the lute in England, has not yet received the attention it deserves.

18 Hughes-Hughes, Catalogue, III, 66.
21 Ibid, p. 66.
22 Ibid, p. 91.

MUSICAL EXAMPLES:

THE FLAT FAVON

Lute I

Lute II

f.6'  

f.5  

...
THE GALYERD TO THE FLATT PAVIGN

Lute I

Lute II
This being the first issue of the Journal of the Lute Society of America it is appropriate that something be said about the society itself. Early in 1966 Suzanne Bloch, Stanley Buetens, Hugh Gough and I discussed the need for such a society and set to work to organize it. After a preliminary meeting was held, to which all those we knew who might be interested were invited, we expanded our mailing list, wrote letters, incorporated, and settled down to business.

The Lute Society of America was organized to cultivate, promote, foster, sponsor, and develop understanding, taste and love of the musical arts, and especially to promote interest in the LUTE and other stringed instruments; to increase and stimulate public interest in the playing of the lute and its music; to coordinate groups of lutenists and to render assistance by furnishing a central place where such groups may apply for information; and generally to promote interest of people in fine music. The society is not organized for profit. (Our attorney, Irwin Panken, composed these words, for the most part, when he wrote our charter).

We publish a newsletter which is sent to members irregularly, issued at least four times a year. We also publish sheet music, a minimum of one copy per year to be issued free to members, and other copies to be issued to members at a discount of 25%. A list of members is published in the spring and includes a listing of lutenmakers and repairmen, suppliers of lutes, strings and accessories, teachers of the lute, and other pertinent information. Meetings for playing the lute, and discussion of its history, technique, etc., are held at irregular intervals whenever there are enough members to make it desirable. As the society grows we hope to provide other services for our members.

Membership in the society is open to anyone who is interested in the lute and its music. Such persons shall become members in good standing upon payment of dues for the current year. Annual dues are $10.00.

This journal, free to members, is available to non-members, libraries and other organizations at the price of $5.00. We hope to publish it annually, provided that some major obstacles can be surmounted. Modest as it is, this first issue has been a struggle. Even as we go to press, we are aware that many improvements must be made, (e.g., book and record reviews could be much more than the little notes below). And yet, we haven't done too badly, for our first attempt; the articles herein are certainly of real interest, and we will have difficulty in maintaining, let alone improving, on the quality of our articles.

K. Labarre

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

SGF-1 Sonata for Guitar and Flute (or Tenor Recorder) in G Major by Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760) edited by Stanley Buetens. Originally written for traverse flute and baroque lute but equally successful for guitar with flute or recorder. The original key is maintained so it is still playable on the lute. $2.00.

JSL-1 Lute Racercys by Dalza, Spinacino, Bossonis and Capriola edited by Stanley Buetens. Thirteen early 16th century Italian pure instrumental pieces for lute. Given in French tablature and in a transcription for guitar. A foreword explains the form and history of these pieces and gives an explanation of the tablature. $3.50.

JV-1 Vihuela Series, Volume I, Luis Milan edited by Joan Myers. All six pavans and three fantasias are presented in tablature and in transcription for guitar. $2.50.

All three of the above are available from Instrumenta Antiqua Publications, P.O. Box 199, Menlo Park, California. Other works are in preparation.

Laute Theorie Chitarrone, Die Instrumente, ihre Musik und Literatur von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart, von Ernst Pholmann. This book, in German, seems to be a thorough study of the instruments, their history and technique written by a prominent lutenist. It is the result of many years of research. Much of it should be useful even for those who don't read German, and it should be extremely valuable for those who do. Archiv "Deutsche Musikpflege", 28 Bremen, Hoppenbank 3. DM.35. DM (Deutsche Mark) are worth about $2.25, so the price would be under $10.00.

Harvard Publications in Music, 1. The Complete Works of Anthony Holborne, Volume I, Music for Lute and Bandora edited by Masakata Kanazawa. The title, or more especially the numbering, is confusing. This is the complete (except for two pieces) lute and bandora works of Holborne, "Volume I" indicating that other works of his will follow. This is also the first of a series of publications in music. Present in tablature and transcription, 53 pieces for lute, and 15 pieces for bandora. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. $9.95.

Laute Theorbe Chitarrone, Die Instrumente, ihre Musik und Literatur von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart, von Ernst Pholmann. This book, in German, seems to be a thorough study of the instruments, their history and technique written by a prominent lutenist. It is the result of many years of research. Much of it should be useful even for those who don't read German, and it should be extremely valuable for those who do. Archiv "Deutsche Musikpflege", 28 Bremen, Hoppenbank 3. DM.35. DM (Deutsche Mark) are worth about $2.25, so the price would be under $10.00.
HISTORICAL INSTRUMENT WORKSHOP

RESTORATION AND REPAIR ON ALL MANNER OF HISTORICAL INSTRUMENTS

- Accessories and supplies for players and builders of these instruments.
- Instruments from the workshops of the finest modern makers.
- Keyboard, string, and wind instruments custom made in our workshop.

Inquiries welcome. Catalogue available on request.

P. O. BOX 181
ROOSEVELT, NEW YORK 11575
Donna Curry's
KEYS TO MUSIC
Instruments
Music and Accessories

Herb David GUITAR STUDIO
BAROQUE INSTRUMENTS
MADE • REPAIRED • SOLD
GUITARS • LUTES • HARP
VIRGINALS • HARPSICHORDS
LESSONS • ACCESSORIES
209 South State
665-8001
Ann Arbor, Michigan

KEYS TO MUSIC
Instruction
Service
Instruments
Music and Accessories

Lute
GUITAR
RECORDER
WOODWINDS

By Appointment
213-477-2224
11908 Wilshire Blvd.
Los Angeles, Calif. 90025

The Lute Shop
806 East
Columbus
Cedarburg, Wisconsin 53012

Fine Renaissance & Baroque Lutes
Handmade in our own workshop
from $350 - Trial period offered
Brochure upon request

Lutes can be made to order according to our clients specifications
All kinds of repairs and refinishing ..... truing fingerboards and
adjusting string height for ease of playing is our specialty

Please Note - we are not open to the public and though visitors are
welcome, it is necessary to make arrangements in advance to see us.