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Dd.4.23 OR ENGLISH CITTERN MUSIC REVISITED

By PETER DANNER

Among the musical treasures contained in the Cambridge University Library is a particularly interesting anthology of music for solo cittern known as Dd.4.23. This is the largest known collection of its kind,[1] consisting of eighty-two separate pieces by such composers as Holborne, Robinson, Dowland, Byrd, and Parsons. Because it contains a wide range of musical types by a variety of composers, this collection may serve as a valuable introduction to the music written for this most interesting "stepchild" of the lute: the fig-shaped cittern.

Dd.4.23 is one of a group of nine related manuscripts at Cambridge that Richard Newton, who has studied them at length, states "comprise what I believe to be the largest and most important body of Elizabethan instrumental music that has come down to us, not excepting even the famous Fitzwilliam Virginal Book."[2] Included in this group are four lute manuscripts (Dd.2.11, Dd.9.33, Dd.5.78.3, and Nn.6.36), the incomplete set of four part books (Dd.3.18, Dd.5.20, Dd.5.21, and Dd.14.24), as well as the previously mentioned volume of cittern music. Newton found that not only do all the manuscripts contain related material, but even more important "they are also written throughout (with minor exceptions) in one and the same hand."[3]

Since the Cambridge lute books account for almost half of our Elizabethan lute repertory, the discovery of their origin is important. It was long thought that they were associated with an area close to

[1] Brian Jeffery, "Anthony Holborne," *Musica Disciplina*, Vol. XXII (1968) gives a cursory description of this manuscript. His statement (p. 153) that "Holborne's *Cittharn Schoole* contains 58 pieces, more than are contained in any other single source...whether manuscript or printed," therefore, is not accurate on quantitative grounds.

[2] Richard Newton, "English Lute Music of the Golden Age," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* (1939), p. 72.

[3] Newton, p. 73.

Cambridge itself.[4] This was partly due to an understanding that the Cambridge manuscripts formed part of the library of Bishop John Moore of Norwich and Ely that was given to the University by George I in 1714. Another fact leading to this conclusion was the association of the manuscripts with Richard Reade, whose name appears in some of the consort pieces. Reade was assumed to have been the "waghte of Cambridge" mentioned in the household accounts of Hengrave Hall for the year 1573.[5] Hengrave Hall, near Bury St. Edmunds, is noted in music history for the many years John Wilbye served as composer in residence. Sidney Beck has offered the name of Richard Reade as the scribe of the Cambridge manuscripts on the strength of his association with Hengrave and on the theory that John Johnson, the famous lutenist whose music is found in many of the Cambridge manuscripts, had a connection with this famous musical household.[6]

However, in a brilliant example of historical detective work, Ian Harwood discovered that the Cambridge manuscripts have no connection with either Cambridge or Hengrave.[7] The Reade of the household accounts was not Richard but Henry. The Johnson was not John or his son Robert but, as Edmond Fellowes pointed out years ago, Edward.[8] Furthermore, it is doubtful that the Cambridge manuscripts ever belonged to Bishop Moore. Harwood traced the manuscripts to Oxford and, on the basis of handwriting and other evidence, concludes that the true compiler was one Matthew Holmes.[9] Holmes was Precentor and Singingman at Christchurch from 1588 until 1597, at which time he took over the same duties at Westminster Abbey where he remained until his death in 1621. Holmes obviously had access to the best of contemporary lute music, and lute players will be forever in his debt. Taken as a group, the Cambridge manuscripts are a fair indication of the repertoire of a professional lutenist; significantly, they contain not only consort music but an entire book of solo cittern music.

[4]Cf., Sidney Beck, *The First Book of Consort Lessons* (New York, 1959), p. 20 ff. Beck cites Newton and Thurston Dart as being of the same opinion.

[5]Beck, p. 21, quoting J. Gage, *History and Antiquities of Hengrave* (1822), p. 201.

[6]Beck, p. 20.

[7]Ian Harwood, "The Origin of the Cambridge Lute Manuscripts," *The Lute Society Journal*, Vol. V (1963), pp. 32-48.

[8]E. H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers* (London, 1948), p. 247.

[9]Harwood, p. 39.

From the great number of literary references to the cittern, the instrument must have been extremely popular during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[10] A cittern was a standard feature in every well-equipped Elizabethan barber shop, and it gained the reputation of being the "poor man's lute." As Robert Donington points out, the cittern was not "particularly expressive, unless unusually well played. It was an extraordinarily popular lowbrow instrument in Elizabethan days."[11] Nevertheless, it attracted the attention of some of the most important English lutenists, principally Anthony Holborne and Thomas Robinson, both of whom composed music of considerable difficulty for it.

Although the cittern was played on the Continent,[12] England was where it attracted the most attention. The English appear to have acquired a penchant for instruments that used wire rather than gut strings. A number of these lute-like instruments, all with flat backs, were in fact uniquely English—among them the orpharion and the pandora (or bandora).[13] The cause of this phenomenon is difficult to explain. Thurston Dart suggests that they were favored by many because they were strong, cheap, and because the wire strings rarely broke.[14] At the same time, one should note that wire strings, particularly when attached to friction pegs, are much harder to tune than gut strings because of their higher density. Perhaps the English had greater difficulty in obtaining good gut strings than their Continental counterparts and turned to wire as a convenient substitute.[15] Furthermore, wire strings allow for greater trueness of

[10]See Thurston Dart, "The Cittern and its English Music," *Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. I (1948), pp. 46-63.

[11]Robert Donington, *The Instruments of Music* (London, 1962), p. 77.

[12]The most important collections of continental cittern music are: Fredric Viaere, *Nova et Elegantissima in Cythara* (Louvain, 1564); Sebastian Vreedman, *Nova Longeque Elegantis sima Cithara* (Louvain, 1568); Pierre Phalese, *Hortutus Cytharae* (Antwerp, 1570), an anthology of 180 pieces; Palo Virchi, *Il Primo Libro di Tabolatura di Citthara* (Vineggia, 1574), for 6-course cittern tuned D, F, b, g, d', e'; and Sixt Kargel, *Toppel Cythar* (Strasburg, 1575 and 1578), for 6-course cittern tuned B, G, D, g, d', e'.

[13]See Donald Gill, "The Orpharion and Bandora," *Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. XIII (1960), pp. 14-20, and D. Gill, "The Sources of English Solo Bandora Music," *Lute Society Journal*, Vol. IV (1962), pp. 23-27.

[14]Dart, p. 47.

[15]English commentators from Dowland to Mace all recommend only Continental strings. Mace states that damp weather (well known in England!) can ruin gut strings in 15 minutes [Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), p. 66].

pitch in the upper positions than do gut. The cittern has a very narrow range; the English music never exceeds two octaves and even this requires the use of very high frets. Fingerings as high as "p" and even "q" are fairly common in cittern music.

The bass on the cittern is not only limited by the instrument's high tessitura and narrow range, but by a curious tuning which is somewhat reminiscent of the ukulele in that the fourth course is higher than the third. The tuning used in England, which to follow the terminology of Praetorius is called "Italian" tuning, was: b, g, d', e'.[16] We can consider this tuning a G-major triad with a "chanterelle" course tuned one whole tone higher. This tuning sharply confined the number of tonal centers available to the composer and led to the use of a great number of 6-4 chords–an important characteristic of cittern music. The Italian tuning is a modification of another and apparently earlier "French" tuning used in France and the Lowlands: a, g, d', e'. In *Harmonie universelle*, Mersenne shows an instrument with inlaid frets using this tuning, as well as an Italian cittern of six courses.[17]

The period during which Mathew Holmes copied Dd.4.23 and his other now famous manuscripts coincides with the period during which the cittern enjoyed its greatest popularity. Of earlier English cittern music, we have only the set of nine relatively uninteresting pieces, dating from the reign of Henry VIII, found in the back of the Mulliner Book.[18]

Dd.4.23 is dominated by the music of two composers: Anthony Holborne, to whom thirteen pieces can be attributed, and Thomas Robinson, responsible for at least eleven more. Each of these composers published important books of cittern music during this period.[19] Some of the music from these books is duplicated in Dd.4.23. Holborne's *Cittharn Schoole*, published by Peter Short in 1597, includes thirty-three solos for cittern arranged according to difficulty, as well as twenty-five duets for cittern and bass. These bass lines help to fill out the narrow high range of the solo

[16]Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, Vol. II (Wolffenbüttel, 1618), p. 55.

[17]Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, Traité des Instruments* (Paris, 1636), pp. 97-98.

[18]A modern edition may be found in Denis Stevens, *The Mulliner Book: A Commentary* (London, 1952).

[19]Other cittern books published in England in the 1590's include William Barley's *A new booke of Citterne Lessons* (1593)–now lost–and Richard Allison's *The Psalmes of David in Meter* (1599).

instrument. Holborne's book is dedicated to Thomas Lord Burgh, whose name also appears in Dd.4.23. Lord Burgh was Governor General of Ireland, as well as Lord Governor of certain forts "in the countrie of Holland in the Lowe Contryes."[20] Burgh's association with the Dutch Wars likely explains his interest in the cittern. Of all the Continental cittern books, by far the largest number were published in the Lowlands; Lord Burgh probably acquired a taste for the cittern while stationed there.

Robinson published his *New Citharen Lessons* in 1609. Like his celebrated lute book *The Schoole of Musicke* (1603), his book on the cittern is written in the form of a dialogue between teacher and student. Although his music is less complex than Holborne's, it contains a greater variety of music, including duets for two citterns and songs with cittern and viol. Robinson also includes six unusual pieces for a fourteen-course arch-cittern,[21] as well as "Strange lessons with strange tunings for the foure stringed Citharan, the like never found out before for sweetnes and goodnes to play (even an organe kind of play) alone."[22] Modesty apparently was not one of Robinson's failings!

The pieces in Dd.4.23 are not set down in any order of difficulty: instead simple popular tunes such as "Greensleeves" and "Go from my window" are mixed with pieces of considerable difficulty. The titles of some of the pieces were written in a hurry and are difficult to decipher and many of the composers are identified only by initials. The manuscript consists of a total of thirty-three oblong folios. At some date, a second hand has numbered the folios for a total of thirty-four. This numbering shows that the original folio 15 is missing.

The manuscript is composed of eighty-one pieces, including three Italian pieces taken from Paolo Virchi's cittern book of 1574. These latter include a "Padouana de la Milanesa," a "Saltarello de la Milanesa," and a "Saltarello novo." They are written in six-line Italian tablature in a second hand and bound upside down in the manuscript. The other seventy-eight pieces, written in four-line French tablature, give a good idea of the style of English cittern music during Elizabethan times. The use of polyphony is very limited. The texture usually consists of a melodic treble line accompanied by a somewhat limited vocabulary of underlying

[20] Holborne, *Citharn Schoole* (London, 1597), fol. A2.

[21] Tuned G, A, Bb, C, D, E, F, G, d, f, b^b, g, d', e'.

[22] Tuned f, g, d', e'.

chords.

Ex. 1. Robinson, "Gailliard," f. 18

At times, however, the texture becomes remarkably complex for such a basically simple instrument. This is particularly true of the two fantasias by Holborne.

Ex. 2. Holborne, "Fantasia," f. 14v

As one can see from these short examples, cittern composers were rarely bothered with the niceties of voice leading in the traditional sense. Indeed, with the limited resources of their instrument, they could not be. Parallel fifths abound (as in Example 1) and awkward leaps are common. Furthermore, as we have already pointed out, many chords appear only in 6-4 forms, another unorthodox characteristic that did not bother the citternist.

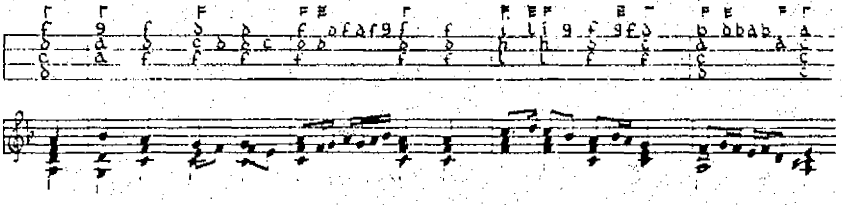
In addition to range and tonal limitations, the music in Dd.4.23 shows one further restriction: Whenever two or more notes are sounded together, they invariably are found on adjacent strings. This fact is worth bearing in mind in relation to an important question of cittern technique: Was the instrument played with the fingers or with a quill plectrum? Dart observes that the only English sources that specifically call for the use of a quill are later Restoration sources. He states, "A quill was never used by the more serious citternists...."[23] Gerald Hayes agrees that the English played only with the fingers:

[23]Dart, p. 47.

"The tone, when half-plucked and half-stroked by the side (and not the point) of the finger is singularly sweet, and free from that tinny jangle so hard to avoid with a plectrum."[24] Certainly some cittern music was played with the fingers, since in *New Citharen Lessons* Robinson gives right-hand fingerings for a few of the pieces. However, Dart's statement that "the layout of the music demands that the strings be plucked individually not collectively,"[25] is not borne out by the music in Dd.4.23. (And if Holborne and Robinson were not "serious citternists," who was?) Praetorius,[26] Mersenne,[27] and Kircher[28] all state that the cittern was played with a quill on the Continent. In the final analysis, it appears that the composers in Dd.4.23 would not have so consciously avoided disjunct strings if they had not meant the music to be played with a plectrum.

The use of chord patterns in cittern music is highly idiomatic and can be studied in detail with the music in Dd.4.23. Although a wide variety of chordal patterns are encountered, only a few are used with any regularity. Occasionally, these more common chords demand considerable stretches with the left hand and require rapid changes of position on the part of the performer. As he is continually using the same formations, however, an agile player could quickly become accustomed to them. For example, in this excerpt from the "Olde Meddley" (f. 7v), there is a difficult leap at the beginning of the third full measure. The F-major chord, however, uses the same finger pattern as the C-major chord found in the first measure and moves back to it on the last beat of the measure.

Ex. 3. "Olde Meddley," f. 7v, m. 1-4



[24]Gerald Hayes, "Instruments and Instrumental Notation," *The New Oxford History of Music*, Vol. IV (London, 1968), p. 726.

[25]Dart, p. 47.

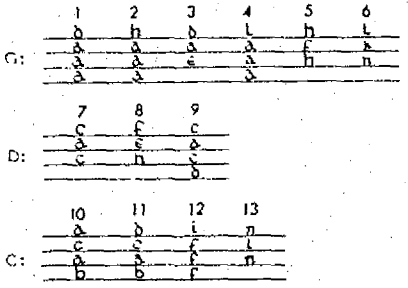
[26]Praetorius, p. 6.

[27]Mersenne, p. 98. In his example of cittern tablature, however, Mersenne indicates what appear to be right-hand fingerings.

[28]Anthanasius Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis* (Rome, 1650), p. 453.

Almost all of the pieces use G as a tonic center. Two exceptions are the short untitled piece by Robinson (on f.18) that is in D and the setting of "Greensleeves" (f.24) in C. The rest are about equally divided between the minor mode (usually with a mixolydian flavor) and G-ionian. This rigid key limitation is what leads to the consistent repetition of the same chord patterns even when a great many other chords are possible.

By far the most common chords are the major triads on G, D, and C. Each of these chords has a number of possible formations, given here in the order of decreasing frequency.



Other standard chords are three forms of D minor, three forms of Bb, and A (both major and minor).

Among the most interesting pieces in the cittern manuscript are those that are settings of well-known lute pieces. Some of these--such as Robinson's setting of the "Captain Digori Piper's Galliard" by John Dowland (f.4v) or the setting of John Johnson's "Galliard to Delight" (f.21v)--although difficult to play, are remarkably close to the lute versions in complexity. Compare the beginning of the Johnson piece with the version in the Pickering Lute Book (Example 4).[29] It is mainly at the cadences, when the cittern's weakness in voice leading shows up, that the two versions vary.

The cittern repertoire, like that of the lute, falls roughly into three main categories: fantasias, dances, and song settings. In addition to these are a significant number of pieces based on *passamezzo* grounds. There are four settings of the *passamezzo*

[29]Egerton ms. 2046, f. 32.

Ex. 4. "Galliard Delight"

itself,[30] as well as two different "Quadro Pavanes."[31] The Holborne "Passemeasures Pauen" (f. 13v) is highly fluid and very difficult. The bass line is broken and next-to-impossible to follow. Besides these pieces, there are settings of the "Spanish Pavane" based on another ground, the *folia*,[32] and a version of "Tres Choses" that uses a sequence of three grounds. The second section of "Tres Choses" is a *passamezzo moderno* and the third is based on the *romanesca*.[33]

The majority of the dances are in three sections as are most lute dances. Unlike lute dances, however, few of those for cittern have repeats in diminution. One of the few exceptions is the "Queenes Galliard" (on f. 12v), which is one of the most ambitious pieces in the collection.

[30]There are actually five *passamezzi*, but one of the Holborne pieces is a duplicate.

[31]"Quadro" refers to the *passamezzo moderno* as contrasted to the *passamezzo antico*. The word comes from the B natural (i.e., *B quadratum*) that is its main characteristic. See Otto Gombosi, "Stephen Foster and 'Gregory Walker,'" *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX (1944), p. 145.

[32]See Diana Poulton, "Notes on the Spanish Pavane," *Lute Society Journal*, Vol. III (1961), pp. 5-16.

[33]Masakata Kanazawa, ed., *The Complete Works of Anthony Holborne*, Vol. I (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 225.

One or two of the pieces do not seem complete in themselves. The continuous chords in Parson's "In Nomine" (f. 23v) are without doubt a cittern part to a consort piece. Another piece more famous in a consort version, "The Lord of Oxenford's Maske" (on f. 19), is a complete setting by Thomas Robinson for solo cittern.

In sum, Dd.4.23 shows that cittern music, although not approaching the artistry and sophistication of lute music, nevertheless developed into a highly skillful if minor branch of Elizabethan art. A tradition of cittern music was established that was strong enough to be sustained until the end of the seventeenth century. The true significance of the cittern in Tudor music has yet to be fully evaluated.

INVENTORY OF Cam. U. Dd.4.23

Folio	Title	Composer or arranger	Remarks
1	[Galliard]		AA'BB'CC'
1v	Marigold Galliard		ABC
1v	Mr. Birds Galliarde	[William Byrd?]	ABC
2	Sprignole pauen		AB
2-3	Walter Earles pauen		AB
2v-3	Pass[a] meas[ure]	A[nthony] H[olborne]	
3v	A fancy dedicate to the Lo. Borough	A[nthony] Holb[orne]	
4	Mr. Heyes Galliard		ABC
4	Robinsons fancy	[Thomas Robinson]	
4v	Pipers Galliard Jo[hn] Dowland	Thomas Robinson	ABC
4v	Old huntup		
5	Mr. J. Boroughs Galliard	[Anthony Holborne]	ABC
5v	Go from my window		
6	Sick sick		
6	Grimstock		
6v	Mr. Phs toy		
6v	Prety Nancy		
7	Caneciepte Rob. Aseue	[Askue]	
7	A Gigge		
7v	The Olde Meddley		
8	[Galliard]		ABC
8	[Galliard]		ABC
8v	Lullaby		
8v-9	[Untitled piece]		
9	Allmayne	Ant[hony] H[olborne]	ABC

Folio	Title	Composer or arranger	Remarks
9v10	Tres Choses		
10v-11v	The Quadriw [sic] Pauen		
12	Galliard	Ant[hony] Hol[borne]	ABC
12	Galliarde	Ro[bert] Knolles	ABC
12v-13	Y Queenes Galliard		AA'BB'CC'
13	Holburnes Allmayne	Anthony Holborne	ABC
13v	Passemeasures Pauen	Anth[ony] Holborne	
14v-15	Fantasia	Anth[ony] Holburne	
15	An Allmaine	Ant[hony] Hol[borne]	ABC
15v-16	Passemeasures Pauen	Anth[ony] Holburne	Same as 2v-3
16v-17	Quadrew Pauen	Robt Pryme	
17	my Lord Borough Galliard	[Anthony Holborne]	ABC
17v-18	[Untitled piece]		
18	Galliard	Thomas Robinson	A
18	[Allamande]	T[homas] R[obinson]	AB
18v	Primiero		
19	Mask	T[homas] R[obinson]	Earl of Oxenford
19v	allmaine		AA'BB'
19v-20	Amternoll[?] [fragment]		
20	Medley	Phs[?]	
20v	Passemeasures	[Thomas] Robinson	
20v	[Short untitled piece]	T[homas] R[obinson]	
21	Galliard	T[homas] R[obinson]	AB
21	[Galliard]	T[homas] R[obinson]	AA'BB'
21v	Galliard Delight	[John Johnson]	ABC
21v	[Galliard]		AA'
22	How green the Tree		
22	Complaints	J[ohn] Dowland	
22	[Fragment] "How will		
22v	fansie		
22v	Callino		
22v	Rogero		
23	Monsieurs Allmane		AA'BB'
23	The Shininge Sonne		
23	My La[dy] of Oxfords Short Allmayne		A
23v	In nomene for conforte	[Robert] Parsons	Concort part
24	Tertiana		
24	Greensleeves		
24	Tarltons ioilly		
24v	Galliard	Thom Imienta[?]	

Folio	Title	Composer or arranger	Remarks
25	A pauen	W S	ABC
25	The sp[anish] pauen	T [Thomas Robinson?]	
25v-26	Passemeasures		
26v	Dowlands Pauen	John Dowland	ABC
27	Galliarde	Jo[hn] Dowland	ABC
27	Galliard	Jo[hn Dowland]	ABC–A second setting of the Piper Galliard
27v	Saltarello novo	[Paolo Virchi]	2nd hand, Ital. tab.
28	Saltarello de la milanessa	[Paolo Virchi]	2nd hand, Ital. tab.
28v-29	padonana de la Milanesa	[Paolo Virchi]	2nd hand, Ital. tab.
29v	[Blank]		
30	Chippassa		
30v	Mrs. White	[John Dowland?]	
31	What is a day or a night or an hower		
31v	The queenes Allmaine		
32	Dobsons Allmayne		
32v	Souches march		
33	[Untitled piece]		

ADRIAN DENSS'S FLORILEGIUM (1594)

By H. BRUCE LOBAUGH

Denss's *Florilegium omnia fere generis cantionum suavissimarum ad testudinis tabulaturam accomodatarum...*[1] was printed by Gerard Grevenbruch in Cologne in 1594. Little is known about Denss beyond the facts surrounding the publication of *Florilegium*, evidently his only published work. One source suggests that Denss could have resided in western Germany about the time his book was published.[2] That Denss was acquainted with Cologne and its environs is likely, since he dedicated his book to two individuals, D. Arnoldus and D. Andrea, who were associated with the archbishopric centered there. If "Denss" is the same name as "Dens" (a Peter Dens, a theologian, was born in Boom, near Antwerp, in 1690), one could suspect that Denss came from the low countries and possibly from the Antwerp region. A Dutch biographical dictionary has called him a "Nederlandisch" lutenist, on what basis I do not know.[3] Most likely "Adrian" would not have been an uncommon name in that area.

Denss was well acquainted with the work, if not the person, of Emanuel Adriansen, whose example, as he clearly states in his preface, he was following in putting forward his collection. He was possibly acquainted with several other composers in the Cologne area, such as Jean de Castro, a composer of sacred music who was active in Cologne from 1591 to 1599, and who described himself in 1588 as a *kapellmeister* of the electoral court at Cologne. Quite likely he knew Joannin Favereo, whose book *Il primo libro di Canzonette...* was printed in Cologne by Grevenbruch in 1593, and who described himself on the title page of this book as *sotto-mastro* of the chapel of the Elector of Cologne. Denss intabulated two pieces

[1]A translation of the title follows: A flowering of nearly every kind of the most delightful songs adapted to the tablature of the lute.

[2]Wolfgang Boetticher, "Adrian Denss," *Die Musik im Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Vol. III, Friedrich Blume, ed. (Kassel and Basel, 1952), col. 197.

[3]Abraham J. van der Aa, ed., *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlander*, Vol. I (Haarlem, 1852-78), p. 37.

from Favereo's work.

Other composers whose pieces Denss intabulated include Gaspar Costa (twenty-three of his canzonettas appear in *Florilegium*), Matthias Ferrabosco (represented by nine canzonettas, as well as given credit for the "Gagliarda di Ferabosco" that appears with the dance pieces), Gastoldi (eight of his pieces are intabulated), Lassus (seven of his are included), Vecchi (seven pieces), Bellasio, Borgo, Donato, A. Gabrieli, Hassler, Lechner, Marenzio, de Monte, Mosto, Nanino, Nola, Renaldi, Riccio, Torti, Vespa, and Victoria. The bulk of these eighty-six intabulations of vocal works are in the light madrigal or canzonetta style, including five with German and five with French texts. Four motets are also included.

The remaining sixty-four pieces are not vocal intabulations. They include the following: allemandes (twenty-two), fantasias (eleven), galliards (ten), *passamezzo* suites (eight), courantes (five), branles (four), voltas (two), a "Ronde," and a "Pauern Tantz," not all of which are listed in Denss's table of contents. Of these pieces, Denss gives credit to two other lutenist-composers for five of them. Gregory Howett, who was in the employ of the court at Wolfenbüttel from 1591 until as late as 1614, is credited with two fantasias. Howett was also evidently a companion and co-performer of John Dowland and is mentioned in the preface of the latter's *First Booke of Songes or Ayres* (London, 1597). The second of Howett's fantasias appears in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (London, 1610). Denss credits three courantes to Victor de Montbuisson, lutenist for a time at Kassel (at least in 1598 and 1600).

Interestingly, a manuscript, B 1030, formerly in the Landesbibliothek in Dresden, was evidently in part a transcription of a portion of *Florilegium* into German tablature. Nearly half of the manuscript (about forty dance pieces) consists of items bearing nearly identical titles in almost the same order as they are found in the Denss book. One clarification should be made of a title that evidently was illegible to Jenny Dieckmann when the manuscript's contents were listed in *Die in deutscher Lautentabulatur überlieferten Tanz...* (Kassel, 1931): The "Allemande de F d (?) ur" on folio 98 of B 1030 is obviously the "Allemande de Fleur" found on folio 88[r] of *Florilegium*.

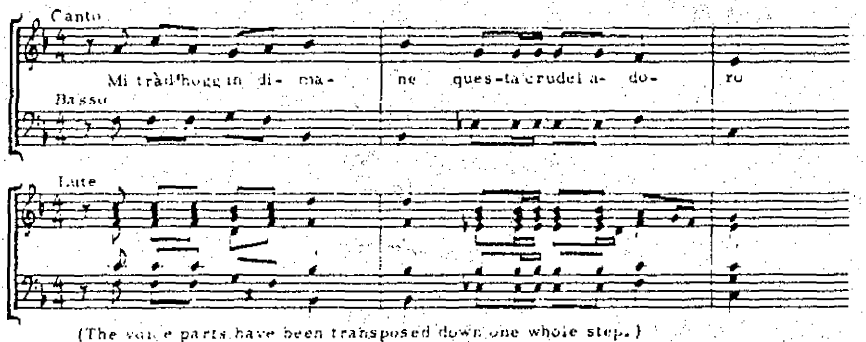
Florilegium, seven copies of which still exist at various places in Europe, is a clearly and rather carefully printed book in the later French "G" tablature.[4] An added seventh course, usually tuned to F,

[4]There are copies at Vienna, Cologne, Leipzig, Munich, Trier, Wroclaw, and at the *Herzog-August-Bibliothek* in Wolfenbüttel. The latter has supplied a film copy of *Florilegium* for this study.

is indicated by "a" beneath the staff. No symbols for ornaments or hold marks are included in the tablature. Voice parts are included with each intabulation (except Lassus's "Vray Dieu disoit une fillette") with the adjacent pages containing them inverted, so that the lutenist faces his fellow performers across a table.

Of the intabulations—which occupy nearly two-thirds of the book—forty-six appear with cantus and bassus voice parts taken from what were originally three-, four-, or five-voice compositions. Another twenty have the top, bottom, and one other voice from four-, five-, or six-voice pieces. Another twenty have all of the original three voice parts. Most of the lute parts are either a whole step, a fourth, or a fifth below their corresponding voice parts. The lute parts in all but a very few places attempt to suggest all of the original voices. By themselves, they might stand as rather prosaic-sounding lute solos, on occasion filling in at cadences where the voices alone form octaves or open fifths with a four- or five-voice harmonization, as seen in Example 1. Here, the *canto* part is evidently not uppermost at all times in the lute part—likely the middle voice (not available at this writing) crosses over. When performed with voices, the effect of these convenient *Haus-musik* arrangements would be (as would that of the similar ones in Adriansen's books of 1584 and 1600) to provide a rather modern-sounding polarization toward the outer voices.

Ex. 1. G. Gastoldi, "Mi tra d'hoggi" a 3 (as it appears in *Florilegium*)



(The voice parts have been transposed down one whole step.)

Denss is rather restrained in his use of coloratura in his intabulations, limiting himself to filling in melodic thirds, embellishing cadences, or other minor decorations. In a few cases, such as the opening of Victoria's "O quam gloriosum," he ornaments the long note values of the subject with more lengthy embellishment formulas (see Example 2, measures 3 and 4, which show the use of

Ex. 2. T. L. de Victoria, "O quam gloriosum" a 4

(Only the outer voice parts, those marked "Descantus" and "Bassus," appear in Florilegium.)

the same formula three times in rapid succession). A similar opportunity to decorate a slow motet beginning in Lassus's "Gustate et videte" was ignored. In the secular pieces employing four, five, or six voices, there is considerable literal representation of the vocal parts, devoid of embellishment, which has been described in this journal in the case of Adriansen's ensemble music (see Example 3).[5]

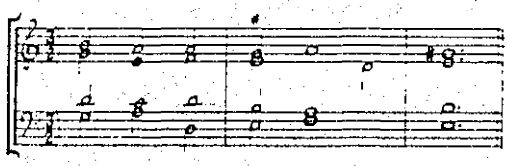
Denss's use of accidentals offers little aid for the frustrations surrounding the subject of musica ficta. In sacred pieces, Denss provides a great majority of the alterations "needed" but not found in the voice parts, so that when he omits a sharp provided by a modern editor (see Example 4, measure 2), one is led to believe that the sharp might better be left out. On the other hand, in the secular pieces, which are sprinkled with all kinds of accidentals in their original voice parts, one can find not only instances where for some reason a perfectly reasonable sharp or flat was omitted (and then provided by Denss), but also more rare examples where he does not add one that seems equally reasonable. There are still more rare examples of Denss's removing an accidental found in the voice parts.

[5]Joan Myers, "Performance Practice Indications in Emanuel Adriansen's Lute Ensemble Music," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, Vol. II (1969), p. 21.

Ex. 3. P. de Monte, "Que me servent mes vers" à 5

(Only the outer voice parts, marked "Canto" and "Bassus," appear in Florilegium)

Ex. 4. T. L. de Victoria, "Domine non sum dignus," m. 29-31

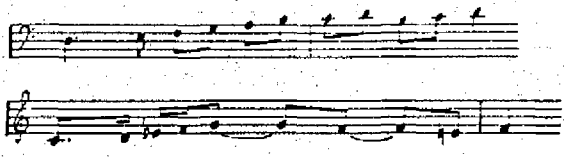


In any case, Denss does not take the liberty of virtually rewriting pieces both harmonically and melodically as did at least one other composer of the time (Johannes Rude, *Flores Musicae*, 1600). One is very much inclined to follow what Denss suggests.

In his fantasias, Denss for the most part conservatively follows the motet style, although in the interior of the pieces the subjects become short and the imitation is less complete. He is less likely than Adriansen to relinquish counterpoint in favor of a texture more suited to the special techniques of the lutenist. Instead he often continues to present new imitative points or to treat a single theme at length. A persistent feature is the motet-like coda featuring slowed rhythm and plagal final cadences. Some of the codas involve the return of earlier themes in stretto.

Fantasias 9 and 11 are of a somewhat different case. Fantasia 9 is actually the tenth fantasia, as there was a printer's error in the numbering. The themes (see Example 5) are quicker, more

Ex. 5. Adrian Denss, themes from Fantasias 9 (*sic*) and 11



instrumental in character, and exhibit much more evidence of typical lute style in the sequences and parallel tenths. An imitative point begins the pieces, but the motet image is considerably diminished. The fantasias offer a relief from the rather sober preceding pieces because they are enlivened by some attractive harmonic sequences and a more lively texture.

The *passamezzo* suites consist of the *passamezzo* itself and its related galliard. After the galliard of the second suite, Denss has inserted a "Gagliarda di Feraboscо" that is in the proper key (G) but otherwise unrelated. Its sections lack the standard sixteen-measure length very carefully followed by Denss elsewhere, and the harmony breaks with the traditional patterns. Elsewhere, the harmonic patterns are clearly delineated and careful attention is given to the melodic *antico* and *moderno* schemes (there are four suites of each type). Operating within these limits, Denss is still able to invest the suites with considerable interest by means of his melodic and harmonic skill and by varying the textures of individual sections (see Example 6). He obviously owes a debt to Adriansen in these *passamezzi* (particularly in the prominence of the parallel tenths), but he bridges the gap between the harmonic "cells" of the pattern in a much more modern-sounding fashion: that is, with a

Ex. 6. Adrian Denss, Passemezo in D la sol re, b mol

tonic-dominant effect rather than with Adriansen's persistent parallelisms.

Galliards not associated with suites offer particularly good examples of Denss's skill in writing tuneful melodies and in handling the mixed modal-tonal harmonic materials of his time. One such colorful harmonic scheme is seen in Galliard 10 (see Example 7), in which C and A-flat are touched as harmonic centers before the arrival of F in measure 8. The galliards also offer some examples of the

Ex. 7. Adrian Denss, Galliard 10

practice of bending the usual *aabbcc* pattern of the form and of the incursion of imitation. Galliard 2, for instance, treats a single five-note theme throughout its entire length (its scheme is $\frac{aa'}{14} \| :b: \| \frac{}{9} \|$).

Six of the allemandes are titled, indicating the likelihood that they draw upon migrant popular tunes of the day. The "Allemande d'Amour" appears in the Thysius Lute Book (as do the "Allemande d'Alliance" and the "Allemande de Fleur") as well as books by Phalese (1571) and Waissel (1573). The "Allemande Brunette" perhaps reflects a melody associated with the "Brunette" court poems of an earlier day and now popularized. I have as yet been unable to trace the "Allemande Ich dancke Gott" (one of the best pieces in the book) or the "Allemande Imperial." Both reappear in the lost Dresden B 1030 manuscript.

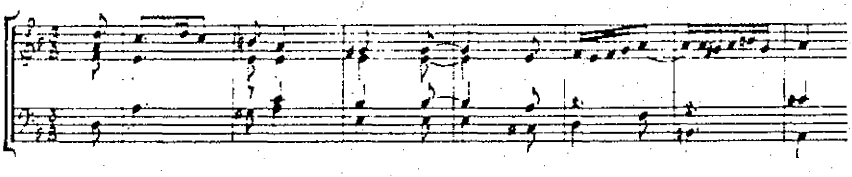
Close to half of the allemandes are quite tonal in character. Denss presents in typical and attractive rollicking manner the broken-style cadences often found in allemandes. After-dances in triple meter are found with number 4 (called "Ripresa," it echoes both melody and harmony of the allemande); number 17 (called "Reprinse," it presents a simplified version of the allemande melody over an ostinato F-C-F bass); and numbers 14, 16, and 19 (called "Variatio," they provide occasional changes in texture and harmony,

but not more florid melodic ornamentation of the original).

The "Pauern Tanz" and the branles and voltas have the same *aabb* form as the allemandes, but are much simpler in texture and melodically tend toward repeated patterns of limited range. A triple "Reprise" follows the "Pauern Tanz" (it is an unornamented version), followed by a triple "variatio" (which is an ornate version of the "Reprise"). Both have the static F-C-F bass.

If one may judge from the notation in which they appear, both the quick and the slower forms of the courante are present. The three slower ones (3|𝅗𝅥·𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 (𝅗𝅥) |) are by Victor de Montbuisson. They have showy scale passages, more modal-sounding harmonies, and are less attractive than two courantes by Denss (3𝅗𝅥|𝅗𝅥·𝅗𝅥𝅗𝅥|). Denss proves himself to be light, tuneful, and agile in his harmonic support (see Example 8).

Ex. 8. Adrian Denss, Courante



The "Ronde" dance is not significantly different from longer double branles. Since Denss obviously liked to use different terms ("Ripresa," "Reprinse," "variatio," "Reprise") for similar dances, this could actually be a branle or at least a similar round or circle dance, consisting of a series of repeated sections of varying lengths: 4 𝄇 8 𝄇 12 𝄇 2 𝄇 4 𝄇 4 𝄇 8 𝄇.

Although I am not a performer, I believe I can offer some assessment of the skill required for the execution of the pieces in this book. A few dance pieces (the "Pauern Tantz," the "Ronde," and some of the branles and allemandes) toward the end of the collection may profitably be taken up by performers of only moderate ability, since they have long stretches of only two- or three-part texture. The greater portion of the book, however, is for a lutenist of considerable accomplishment. The fantasias, *passamezzi*, and in particular the intabulations - where occasionally a succession of chords requiring *barres* is found - demand a full technique, including excursions to the extremes of range.

Although we have only this one collection of Denss on which to judge him, I am quite willing to rank him with better-known masters of his day, particularly on the basis of his dance pieces. I am hopeful that his work will one day appear on the programs of practicing

lutenists, and toward that end I also hope that the collection can be made available in useful form sometime soon.[6]

[6]An arrangement of some of the dances for recorder quartet, suggested by the four-voice texture of much of the collection, is available from Berandol Music of Toronto and is entitled "Ten Renaissance Dances."

CACCINI-DOWLAND: MONODY REALIZED

By JOAN MYERS

The search for stylistically correct realizations of early seventeenth century Italian figured bass accompaniments, particularly those of Caccini songs, has long preoccupied both musicologists and performers. Many of the monodic songs of this period are intended to be highly expressive outpourings, and their accompaniment must enhance the singer's declamation. Unfortunately, no written-out Italian models of the period exist for us to emulate. However, a contemporary English source, largely ignored by scholars today, exists that offers excellent examples of such accompaniments for the lute -not only of Italian songs, but also of French and Spanish songs. Since Caccini himself asserts that his songs are best accompanied by the theorbo, this collection is of particular importance to lutenists. Of special interest is the rendering in tablature of a realization of two of Caccini's most famous songs, "Amarilli mia bella" and "Dovrò dunque morire." The work is *A Musical Banquet* (London, 1610), edited by Robert Dowland.[1] The title page reads as follows:

> A/ Musicall/ Banquet./ Furnished with varietie of delicious/Ayres, Collected out of the best Authors in/ English, French, Spanish and Italian./ By Robert Douland./ London:/ Printed for Thomas Adams./ 1610.

The composers of the accompaniments in the collection are unknown, except for those whose works were borrowed from another tablature source (such as Gabriel Bataille's "Si le parler et le silence" and Pierre Guedron's "Vous que le Bonheur rappelle"). The French, unlike the Italians, still wrote out their accompaniments in tablature at this time -a practice soon abandoned. It seems likely that many of the other accompaniments were composed by Robert Dowland himself, since he was a notable composer in his own right; but we have no evidence to verify this supposition. As for the versions of "Amarilli mia bella" and "Dovrò dunque morire," there is

[1] A modern edition with piano transcription has been published by Stainer and Bell, Ltd. (London, 1968), Peter Stroud, ed.

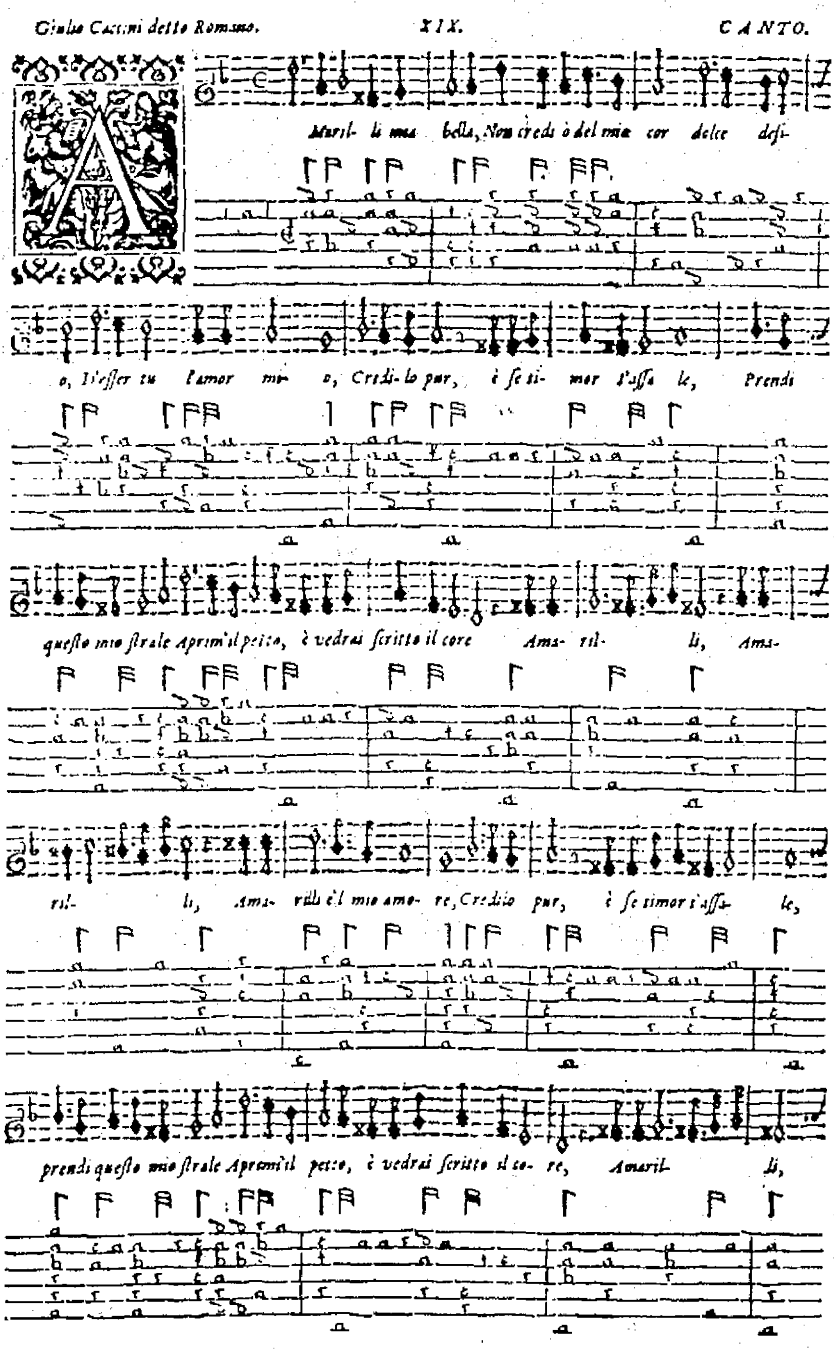
no proof that the accompaniments as given would have been approved by Caccini; but they were done by a contemporary who obviously was a fine musician and who probably had a good knowledge of Italian practice. They certainly deserve more careful scrutiny than modern scholars and performers have heretofore given them. This article will examine these two songs, comparing them with Caccini's original notation and with his stated aesthetic ideals and instructions. A more complete study of the entire collection could profitably be made.

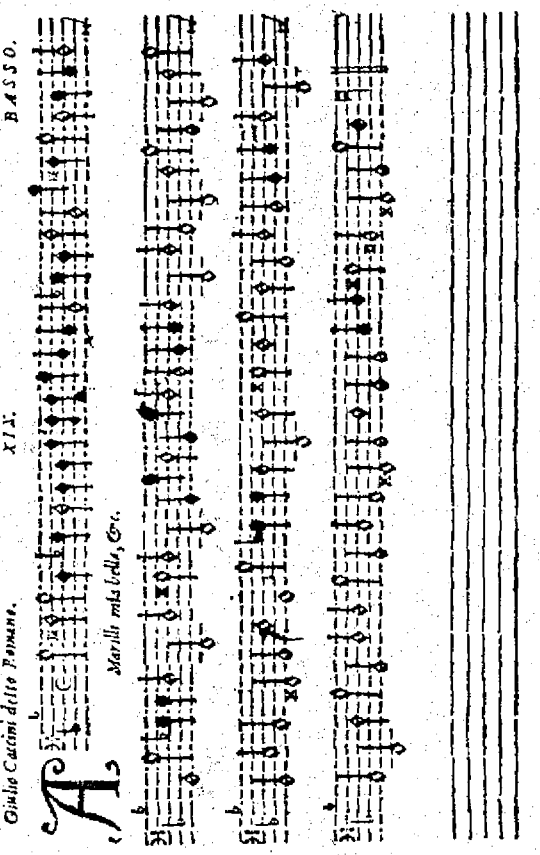
Each song in *A Musical Banquet* is printed with a fully realized lute accompaniment in typical French-English tablature. As seen in the accompanying facsimile page of "Amarilli mia bella" (Example 1), Robert Dowland prints the lute part in score below the voice part, making it quite possible for a singer to accompany himself. The first note of the voice part is shown by the *a*, second line, tablature at the beginning of the lute staff. The bass part, printed without figures, is obviously intended for the viola da gamba or similar melodic instrument and is printed at right angles to the voice and lute parts for the ease of performers sitting around a table. This format of voice, lute, and bass is, of course, typical of the many English lute songs printed in the early seventeenth century.

A comparison of the lute setting with the original Caccini "Amarilli mia bella" (Example 2) from the 1602 *Nuove Musiche* shows that the canto voice part and the bass of the lute part have been copied exactly. An occasional added octave leap has been added in the viola da gamba part at cadences. The words are also printed accurately. "Dovrò dunque morire" has three slight discrepancies in the canto melodic line, two of which involve an omission of dotted figures in favor of straight eighth and quarter notes. The third, shown in Example 3, is a change of an E to an F, possibly just an oversight or printer's error, or more likely an "improvement" in view of the D harmony below.

Ex. 3. "Dovrò dunque morire" (*A Musical Banquet*), m. 4

Ex. 1. "Amarilli mia bella" (*A Musical Banquet*, 1610), no. XIX



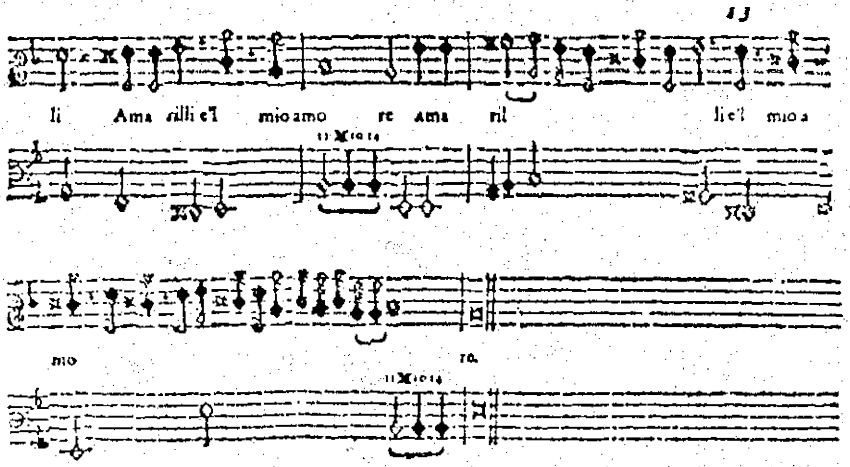

BASSO.
XIX.
Giulio Cacini detto Romano.
Marilli mio bello, &c.

Ama- ril
li,
Amarilli c'l mio a- mo- re. Ama- ril
li c'l mio a-
mo-
re.

Transcription

[1] Extra eighth note is in original

Ex. 2. "Amarilli mia bella" (*Le Nuove Musiche*, 1602), pp. 12-13



Before discussing the *Musical Banquet* realization of Caccini's figures, Caccini's ideals and instructions should be noted. He professed a declamatory style of singing in which the words had to be understood. He was against the confusion of several voices singing at once in the involved counterpoint typical of madrigals of the previous decades.

> It being plain, then, as I say, that such music and musicians gave no other delight than what harmony could give the ear, for unless the words were understood, they could not move the understanding. I have endeavored in those my late compositions to bring in a kind of music by which men might, as it were, talk in harmony, using in that kind of singing, as I have said at other times, a certain noble neglect of the song, passing now and then through certain dissonances, holding the bass notes firm, except when I did not wish to observe the common practice, and playing the inner voices on an instrument for the expression of some passion, these being of no use for any other purpose...
>
> At Rome, when the said madrigals and air were heard in the house of Signor Nero Neri by many gentlemen accustomed to gather there, and particularly by Signor Leone Strozzi, all can testify how I was urged to continue the enterprise I had begun, all telling me that they had never before heard harmony of a single stringed instrument with such power to move the passion of the mind as those madrigals, both because of their style and because, when madrigals published for several voices were sung by a single voice, as was then a common practice, the single part of the soprano, sung as a solo, could have no effect by itself, so artificial were the corresponding parts.[2]

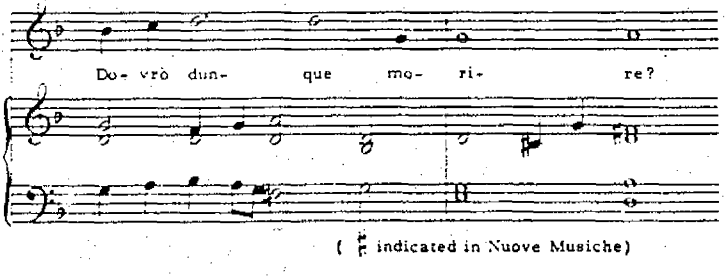
[2]Giulio Caccini, "To the Readers," *Le Nuove Musiche* (Venice, 1602).

Finally, Caccini's few comments about his figured bass are given here in their entirety, for the dim light they throw on his desires and intentions.

> Inasmuch as I have been accustomed, in all the compositions which have come from my pen, to indicate by figures above the bass part the major thirds and sixths where a sharp is set down, and the minor ones where there is a flat, and in the same way [to indicate] that sevenths and other dissonances should be used in the inner voices for accompaniment, it now remains to be said that the ties in the bass part have been so used by me because, after the consonance only the note figured is to be struck again, it being the one most necessary (if I am not mistaken) for the chitarrone in the particular capacity of the latter, and the easiest to use and put into effect, that instrument being better fitted to accompany the voice, especially the tenor voice, than any other. For the rest, I leave to the discretion of the more intelligent to strike again, along with the bass, such notes as may accord with their best judgment and which will best accompany the solo voice part, as it is not possible, so far as I know, to designate them more clearly without tablature.[3]

When we now look at the *Musical Banquet* accompaniments, we find that, for the most part, the composer has followed Caccini's figures. Indeed, in only one example out of both songs is a Caccini figure completely disregarded: This is in the first measure of "Dovrò dunque morire" where a ♯ in Caccini's original is not followed in the lute part (see Example 4). This may have been an accident; in any case, it is an unimportant deviation—the sharp probably was only added by Caccini to avoid the tritone with the following E♭.

Ex. 4."Dovrò dunque morire," m. 1



(♯ indicated in Nuove Musiche)

Several examples can be found in both pieces of different octaves being used than those Caccini indicated. The composer of the *Musical Banquet*'s accompaniments did not consider Caccini's

[3]Caccini, "To the Readers."

indications of octave compulsory and did not hesitate to change them to suit his own taste or lute style. Often the lutenist changed a 6 5 to a 13 12; strangely enough, there are only three examples of 13 12 figures in all the *Nuove Musiche*. More important is the change of Caccini's 11 #10 14 # at cadences to 11 #10 14 7 # in the lute accompaniment. The result of this change is to keep the accompaniment below the voice part on the cadence chord. Caccini apparently preferred having the lute part a third higher than the voice, a practice evidently not in favor in England.

Ex. 5. "Amarilli mia bella," m. 5

In some instances the lutenist has added to or changed the harmony when there is no figure given by Caccini. This is not surprising since Caccini often fails to indicate obvious first inversion chords, as well as sharped thirds that are given in the voice part. Thus, in "Dovrò dunque morire," the following tonic inversion is found (see Example 6).

Ex. 6. "Dovrò dunque morire," m. 13

A similar example may be seen in measure 13 of "Amarilli mia bella." Interestingly, however, not all suspicious chords are

automatically made into inversions (see the second beat of measure 1, Example 4). Modern accompanists and writers, notably F. T. Arnold,[4] are frequently guilty of this automatic assumption, forgetting that the tonal ideals of the eighteenth century are not necessarily valid for the still-modal early seventeenth century.

Accidentals are added in the *Musical Banquet* settings in only a few consistent places. Sharps are added when they are indicated in the voice part, of course, as in measures 6, 8, and 11 of "Amarilli mia bella," although there are also many instances where the lute part has no third in such cases ("Amarilli mia bella," measures 1, 9, 10, and 12). There is also an example of a cross relation with a sharp in the voice part (the first two quarter notes of measure 7, "Amarilli mia bella"). In addition, the *Musical Banquet* settings have sharps in all chords at the end of phrases (where they are missing in Caccini's original). The beginning chord of the next phrase is generally left minor, even when it is the same harmony that ended the preceding phrase (unless of course Caccini has indicated a sharp).

Voice leading in the *Musical Banquet* accompaniments is generally very good with no awkward leaps and few parallelisms. Instances of parallel fifths and octaves occur occasionally, but never with the voice part. Most of the parallelisms that do occur are a result of the composer's evident desire to keep the lute part below the voice; in only one instance in both pieces does the top line of the accompaniment go above the voice line, the third beat of measure 1 of "Amarilli mia bella." As mentioned before, the composer even changed Caccini's fourteenths at cadences to sevenths in order to avoid the lute part cadencing a third above the voice.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the lute accompaniments is what the composer has done about texture and figuration—those qualities that distinguish an accompaniment and make it musical and interesting. Harmony was a means to an end for Caccini. As he states in his "Foreword," the inner voices, those added by the accompanist, are used "for the expression of some passion, these being of no use for any other purpose." Thus, rather than using strict three- or fourth-part writing, the composer varies the number of notes in a chord according to the dynamics and melodic flow of the song. At the beginning of phrases where the voice would be singing softly, the lute part often has a three-note chord (measures 1 and 10 of "Amarilli mia bella"). On the other hand, a declamatory phrase begins with a five- or six-note chord, arpeggiated on the lute. Phrases usually end softly with a three- or four-note chord in the

[4]F. T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment From a Thorough-Bass*, Vol. I (New York, Dover Publications, 1965). See pages 43 to 44 for Arnold's realization of "Dovrò dunque morire."

accompaniment. In "Dovrò dunque morire," the composer frequently uses the opposite technique, letting a phrase begin with a three-note chord and end with a four-, five-, or six-note chord. In both pieces the effect is one of variety and expressive enhancement of the voice line, without any of the modern compulsion for strict four-voice counterpoint.

Immediately before a cadence in both pieces the texture is quite thin, probably to allow for any flourish added by the vocalist. These places generally correspond to the tied bass notes in Caccini's original notation. The accompanist has filled in only the notes indicated by Caccini's figures, in keeping with Caccini's explanation that these notes are "the most necessary...for the theorbo in its special capacity and the easiest to use and put into effect." Arnold ignores this advice in his keyboard realization of "Dovrò dunque morire" and uses full four-part chords at these points, getting himself into several difficulties with uncertain chords in the process. The *Musical Banquet* version seems more plausible, at least for the lutenist and possibly for the keyboardist as well.

The added figuration in the lute part is generally simple, consisting only of occasional passages in thirds or sixths with the voice ("Amarilli mia bella," measures 6 and 9). Little or no figuration connects one phrase with another: the composer obviously preferred the natural pause indicated by the words. As Caccini said, "I have endeavored in those my late compositions to bring in a kind of music by which men might, as it were, talk in harmony..."

The figuration of these Caccini songs is notably different from that of the other songs in the collection. They have none of the imitation and involved figuration that characterizes the lute accompaniments to the English songs in the book. Nor do they have the guitar-like arpeggiation found in the Spanish song "Vuestros Ojos tienen D'Amor" or the fairly strict four-part simple chords of the French *airs de cour*, such as "Vous que le Bonheur Rappelle." Even the other Italian songs in the *Musical Banquet* have a different type of accompaniment, since they are in the old madrigal style; the harmonies are simple and the part writing more strict and straightforward. The fact that these two Caccini songs do have a distinct style of accompaniment, separating them from the other songs in the collection, indicates that the composer, if not Italian, was at least familiar with the Italian style.

We thus see that although the *Musical Banquet* accompaniments do not follow the wishes of Caccini in every minute detail, they do render the songs in the style and spirit in which Caccini probably would have performed them. Their composer not only did a careful and musical job of realizing Caccini's harmonies, varying the part

writing to suit the melodic declamation, but also added figuration where appropriate. Hopefully both performers and scholars will avail themselves of these model accompaniments in their continuing quest for knowledge about the music of this fascinating period.

LSA SUMMER WORKSHOP 1971

at STANFORD

The second annual Summer Workshop in Lute will be held again at Stanford University from June 21, to July 5. Featured this year is a dance class in Renaissance dances. There will be lectures, private lessons, beginners class, duet workshop, trio and quartet workshops, large ensemble, warmup time, lutemanship class, concerts by students and faculty. Housing and board available on campus. Free housing can usually be found for those desiring it. For additional information, fees, housing costs, and for reservation of a spot write to Stanley Buetens, Summer Workshop in Lute, Music Department, Stanford University, Stanford, California 94305

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CHORDAL ASPECTS OF THE ITALIAN DANCE STYLE 1500-1650

By RICHARD HUDSON

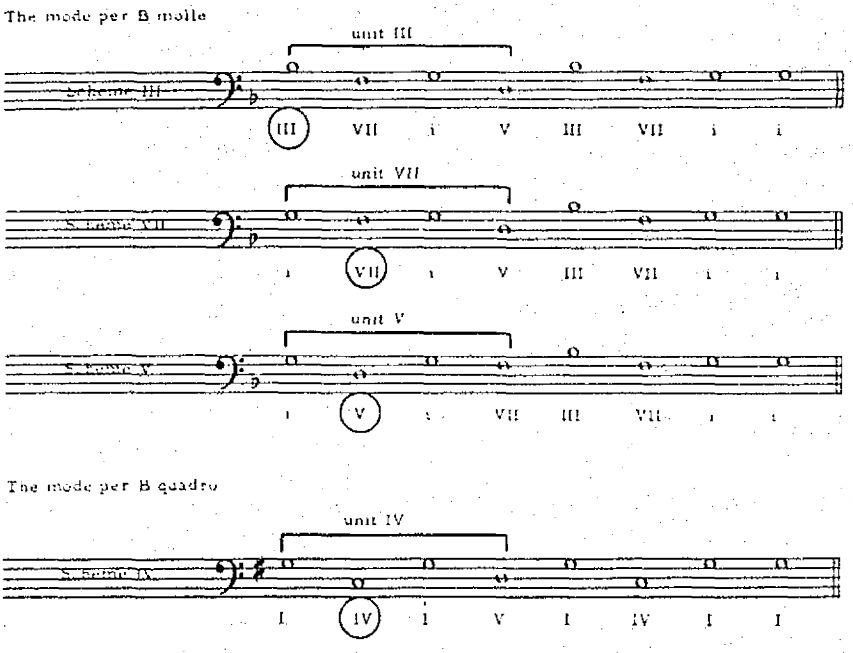
Early in the sixteenth century a special compositional technique developed in Italy for music associated with social dancing and instrumentally accompanied singing. The essential features of the style persisted until the middle of the seventeenth century and spread finally to France, Spain, England, Germany, and elsewhere. The music was composed for lute, bandora, vihuela, cittern, the stringed keyboard instruments, ensembles, and in the seventeenth century for the Spanish guitar. Although a substantial amount of this music has been preserved in manuscripts and printed books, as a functional type of music it was no doubt often improvised. Hence the compositional technique involves short, simple frameworks and rules for filling them in. Both the frameworks and the methods of variation are essentially chordal or chord-centered; it is especially this aspect of the Italian dance style that I wish to describe here. First, I will identify the framework. Then I will present the methods of expanding them: first, chordal variation, then melodic variation, and finally both acting together. I will conclude with some ideas concerning mode and the extent of the Italian dance style in musical literature.

The frameworks are specific successions of root-position triads, not connected necessarily with any particular rhythm. Example 1 shows the four principal schemes or chord-rows: three for the mode *per B molle* (or B-flat, referring to the interval of the minor third), and one for the mode *per B quadro* (B-natural or a major third).[1] I have designated them Schemes III, VII, V, and IV in reference to the first chord (shown in a circle) that distinguishes each from the others.[2] The second half of each *B molle* scheme is the same; hence,

[1]Major triads are labeled with upper case Roman numerals, minor with lower case.

[2]Today they are usually called *romanesca*, *passamezzo antico*, *folia*, and *passamezzo moderno*, respectively, with reference to the most popular form that at some time utilized each chord-row. Each, however, appears also in other forms.

Ex. 1. The modes and chord-rows of the Italian dance style



they are identified mainly by their first four chords (labeled in Example 1 as "units"). Units III and VII differ only in the initial chord. If the second and fourth chords of Unit VII are exchanged, Unit V results. The three *B molle* chord-rows all embody the fundamental chordal relationship of *i* to *III*. In contrast, the mode *per B quadro* centers around the basic chord progression V-I or IV-V-I.

The schemes seem to have evolved gradually, appearing first in a few pieces in such keyboard collections as the Venetian dance book from around 1520 described by Jeppesen[3] and Attaingnant's

[3]Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, Ms. Ital. IV. 1227 (*collocazione* 11699), transcribed by Knud Jeppesen in *Balli antichi veneziani per cembalo* (Copenhagen, Wilhelm Hansen, 1962). See the "Passo e mezzo" (p. 13, no. 19), for example, based on Scheme VII, or "Todero" (p. 18, no. 26), in which Unit VII appears twice. Two *B quadro* schemes, which may have been the predecessors of Scheme IV, occur in an even earlier source, the *Intabulatura de lauto* (Venice, 1508) of Joan Ambrosio Dalza, transcribed by Helmut Mönkemeyer in *Die Tabulatur*, Vols. VI-VIII (Hofheim am Taunus, Friedrich Hofmeister, 1967). Concerning the schemes in his *pavane*, see *Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola. Lute-Book (circa 1517)*, Otto Gombosi, ed. (Publications de la Société de Musique d'Autrefois, Textes musicaux. Vol. 1 [Neuilly-sur Seine, 1955]), pp. LXIV-LXXIV. In the Capirola book, note the appearance of Unit VII in the last two lines of the "Padoana alla francese II" (no. 28), pages 80-83 of the transcription.

Quatorze Gaillardes... (Paris, 1531),[4] as well as in Casteliono's *Intabolatura de leuto de diversi autori* (Milan, 1536)[5] and in Luis de Narváez's *Los seys libros del Delphin de música* (Valladolid, 1538)[6] for vihuela. During the sixteenth century, Schemes III, VII, and IV seem to have been preferred. By the 1560's, Schemes VII and IV dominated dance music through the *B molle* and *B quadro* versions of the *passamezzo*. (The name *passamezzo moderno* or *nuovo* for the latter may indicate that Scheme IV developed later than Scheme VII.) Scheme III seems to be connected with the accompaniment for songs and appears in the *romanesca* and the Spanish song "Guárdame las vacas." Scheme V, although it can be traced back to the late fifteenth century,[7] occurs less often during the Renaissance than the other schemes. However, in the seventeenth century, probably because of its more tonal properties, it becomes the principal *B molle* chord-row. The dance of the *folia*, which was imported into Italy early in the seventeenth century along with the Spanish guitar, had the chords of Scheme V as one possible variant of a simpler harmonic framework. It was probably not until after Farinelli and Corelli later chose this particular variant to represent the *folia* that the Scheme adopted the name of the dance.[8] In any event the schemes were all well-known by the middle of the sixteenth century and are clearly presented by Diego Ortiz in his *Tratado de glosas sobre clausulas y otros generos de puntos en la musica de violones* (Rome, 1553).

[4]Printed in *Keyboard Dances from the Earlier Sixteenth Century*, Daniel Heartz, ed. (Corpus of Early Keyboard Music, Vol. VIII [American Institute of Musicology, 1965]). The "gaillarde" on page 8 (no. 6) uses Unit VII; that on page 5 (no. 3) Scheme V.

[5]I have obtained copies of this book from Vienna, Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek and Florence, Conservatorio di Musica "L. Cherubini." Unit VII occurs in the "Pavana chiamata la Milanesa" and its "saltarello" (fols. 9-11); both the "Saltarelo [sic] chiamato Baggino" (fols. 15v-16v) and the "Saltarelo chiamato el Mazolo" (fols. 23v-24) commence with Scheme IV; the "Saltarello [this time with double-L] che glian strazza la socha" (fols. 44v-45v) begins like Scheme III. The latter composition appears also in *Intabolatura de lauto de diversi autori* (Venice, 1563) and is transcribed by Gerald Lefkoff in *Five Sixteenth Century Venetian Lute Books* (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1960), no. 12, pp. 58-59.

[6]Transcribed by Emilio Pujol in *Monumentos de la música española*, Vol. III (Barcelona, 1945). Scheme III appears in the "Cuatro diferencias sobre Guárdame las vacas," no. 50, pp. 85-87, Unit VII in "Otras tres diferencias," no. 51, pp. 87-89.

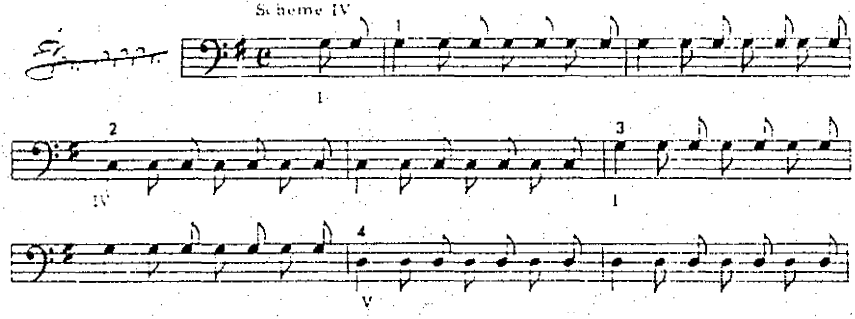
[7]See Otto Gombosi, "Folia," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, IV (1955), cols. 479-484.

[8]See my article "The *Folia* Dance and the *Folia* Formula in Seventeenth Century Guitar Music," to be published in *Musica Disciplina*, XXV (1971).

where he calls them collectively "Italian tenors,"[9] but does not name them individually.

The chord-rows may be disposed rhythmically in various ways. The chords of Scheme V usually appear with unequal time values. At the other extreme, the *passamezzo* and the triple dances paired with it use Scheme VII or IV with each of its eight chords equally spaced to match the choreography of the dance. Since the *passamezzo* enjoyed a long period of popularity extending well into the seventeenth century, we have many examples of music written in this manner. Such pieces are important for the scholar, because the equal spacing of the chords facilitates the study of the compositional process. Example 2 presents a portion of a *passamezzo moderno* for guitar, built on the framework chords of Scheme IV. Here each triad

Ex. 2. Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2804 (c. 1630), fol. 25, "Pass'emezzo semplice," first half



occupies two full measures, except for the anacrusis to the first. (In other *passamezzi* each chord may span one, three, four, or more measures.) The numbers above the staff indicate when each framework chord makes its structural appearance. The eight chords, each heard for two measures, thus determine a sixteen-measure composition, which accompanies certain prescribed dance steps and is usually repeated a number of times. Between repeats and at the end appear purely instrumental sections called *ripresse* or *ritornelli*,[10] with special music of their own.

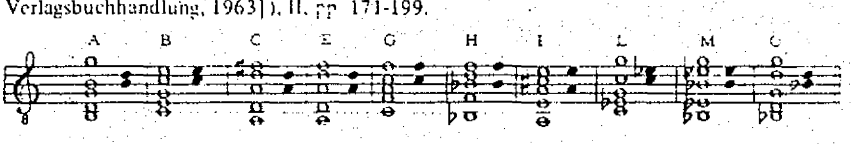
During the first quarter of the seventeenth century the guitar was played exclusively in the *rasgueado* or chordal style. The music is

[9] "Tenores italianos," p. 50 (*Tabla del segundo libro*). The schemes occur in a series of *recercadas*, pages 107-136. A modern edition of the entire work is edited by Mas Schneider (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1967).

[10] I am currently preparing an article on these forms, whose history spans the entire period of the Italian dance style.

strictly confined to triads; melody is totally lacking. The guitar chords are therefore transcribed in Example 2 by showing the root of each triad and a Roman numeral, with the stems indicating the direction in which the hand moves over the strings.[11] In Italy around the turn of the century the guitar almost completely replaced the lute and its relatively contrapuntal style. The great number of instruction books published in Italy during the first half of the century indicates that the Spanish guitar became one of the most popular instruments for accompanying dances and songs. I first encountered this purely chordal world of guitar music in my study of the *passacaglia* and *ciaccona*, for the earliest examples occur here. I then turned my attention to two other guitar forms, the *sarabande* and the *folia*, which had likewise come to Italy along with the instrument. It was only later, however, that I realized that in spite of the fact that the four musical forms I had studied pointed toward the future and belonged to Baroque music history, the basic guitar style itself and the hundreds of *passamezzi* and *romanesche* that fill the tablatures actually belong in spirit and in compositional technique to the Renaissance dance style that began early in the sixteenth century. Therefore, seventeenth century guitar music constitutes the final manifestation in music history of this dance style. Certain Spanish and Portuguese guitar forms entered Italy at the same time, but these forms were in turn often influenced by the demands of the Italian style. Important for the scholar, however, is the fact that early guitar music, because of its unusual chordal limitations, reveals

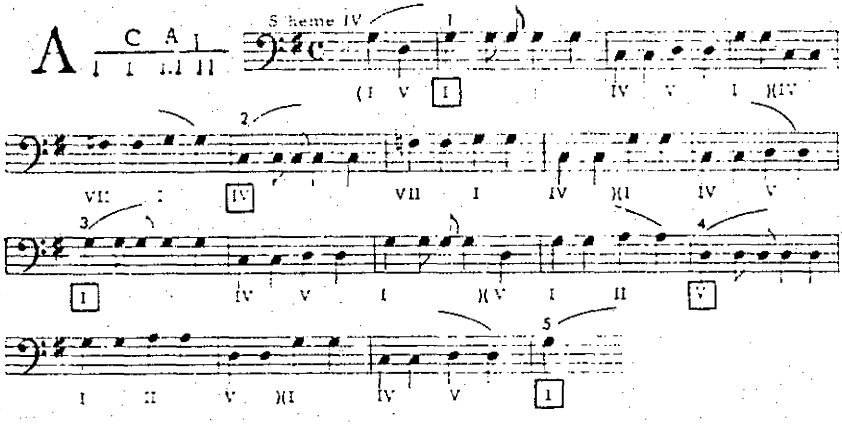
[11] Richard Keith, in "'La Guitare Royale'—A Study of the Career and Compositions of Francesco Corbetta," *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, VI (1966), pages 74-75, compares the *rasgueado* stroke to the effect "still heard in the *flamenco* music of Spain. It is produced by a rapid but measured unfurling of the fingers of the right hand over the strings... It occurs usually on accented beats and is followed by either an additional upward stroke by the thumb or a downward one by thumb and forefinger." During the second quarter of the century the strictly chordal *rasgueado* technique was gradually modified by the *punteado* style, the playing of selected notes on separate courses. The actual sounding pitches of the chords used in the musical examples of this article (Examples 2, 3, 5, and 8) are given below, as they occur in Girolamo Montesardo's *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura* (Florence, 1606) [copy in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale] when the lowest course is tuned to A. A whole note indicates the basic pitch for each of the five courses, a blackened note the pitch an octave higher that sounds on the second string of the two lowest courses. Each chord fills the full range of the guitar, with no regard for which note of the triad is the lowest. The opening chord of Example 2, then, is the first one below, labeled "A," according to the letter notation of the tablatures. For further information concerning the notation of Italian guitar music, see Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen, Vol. VIII [Leipzig, Brietkopf und Härtel, 1919; reprint, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963]), II, pp. 171-199.



some special compositional devices of this style with unusual clarity. Once observed here, one can then recognize that they operate in the same manner in earlier lute and keyboard music, although often disguised by the presence of greater melodic activity.

Rarely are *passamezzi* as simple as the excerpt in Example 2, in which only chords of the row occur. The composer or the improviser usually varies this framework in two ways. The melodic method of variation (to be discussed later) can be observed most clearly in sixteenth century pieces, where the chordal method is only occasionally employed. Chordal variation, however, can be studied most easily in early seventeenth century guitar music, where melody is completely absent. Although the melodic method is therefore necessarily lacking from *rasgueado* guitar music, the same principles of chordal variation that are revealed by guitar music operate also in sixteenth century dance music. Example 3 shows the first half of a *passamezzo passeggiato* (meaning "varied," referring to chordal variation) in which a substantial number of new chords have been added to the chord-row. This example retains the simple framework

Ex. 3. Giovanni Ambrosio Colonna, *Intavolatura di chitarra alla spagnuola* (Milan, 1620), copy in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, p. 41, "Pass' é mezzo passeggiato per B quadro," opening half

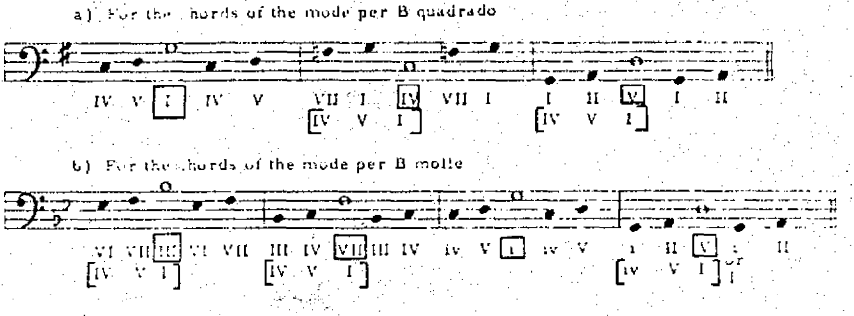


seen in Example 2, but the triads of Scheme IV are now spaced four measures apart. Two features are worth noting: the selection of the chords to be added, and their location.

In this special system of chordal variation new chords are added according to these rules: Each chord of the framework may be preceded or followed (and returned to or not) by a chord that bears

to it the relationship V-I, two chords that relate as IV-V to I, or on occasion (but not as frequently) more complex groups such as iii-IV-V-I. This is not unlike secondary dominants or secondary groups in tonal music theory. Example 4 shows a sort of catalog of the possibilities: In (a) the three chords that appear in Scheme IV are preceded and followed by other chords that relate to them as IV and V to I; similarly, (b) shows variation chords for the four triads

Ex. 4. The technique of chordal variation



involved in Schemes III, VII, and V. The framework chords are written as whole notes, the variation chords as stemless black notes. Directly below the staff appear the actual chord numbers; the numerals in brackets indicate the manner in which the variation chords relate to the framework chords. Each framework chord thus has a separate system of satellite chords that circle around it and reinforce its effect. The variation chords are determined in reference to single framework chords, whereas the relation between the framework chords is fixed by the choice of the chord-row.

Returning to Example 3, then, one can observe the application of this method of variation. The exact number of variation chords changes from piece to piece. Compared to other *passamezzi* in the guitar books, this particular example is richly varied. Below the staff, I have shown the structural occurrence of each framework chord by enclosing its numeral in a square; the duration of its effect, including the action of its variation chords, is marked by parentheses. For example, the opening framework chord is I, shown in a square at the beginning of the first full measure. Its effect has been prolonged, however, by the insertion of variation chords, as well as several returns to I. The variation chords are these: The second chord (V) illustrates the simplest and most fundamental type of variation by a chord whose root lies a fourth below; the progression IV-V in the second full measure shows a more complex variation group. Similarly, the second chord of the framework (IV) is varied by VII

and I, the fourth (V) by I and II. The added chords thus follow exactly the system shown in Example 4.

Example 5 shows chordal variation applied to the *B molle passamezzo* which is based on Scheme VII. The excerpt in Example 5a employs as variation chords only secondary dominants: V to vary i, IV to VII, V to i again, and II to V. Here each chord of the row spans two measures. Example 5b, like Example 3, is a more complex composition in which the framework chords are four measures apart and are varied by secondary IV-V groups as well as secondary dominants. Occasionally the variation group IV-V-I is altered by the insertion of I between IV and V (see the eighth full measure in Example 5b). Sometimes more complex groups occur, as in the passage just before framework chord 8: III-iv-i-V moving to i.

Any given chord may in the course of an entire composition play a number of different roles. In Example 3, for instance, the I chord at the beginning is the framework chord. In measures 4-6 and 12-14, however, I becomes a variation chord: in the first case a secondary dominant to IV, in the other a secondary subdominant to V. Similarly, IV, which in measures 3-7 is the framework chord, is in the second measure the subdominant to I. In Example 5b, iv (a minor triad) appears as the subdominant of the first framework chord; IV (a major triad) acts with framework chords 2 and 6 as a secondary dominant to VII. In the guitar music of the seventeenth century a variation group attached to a minor triad most often includes a minor iv chord. This practice, however, evolved gradually, for often during the sixteenth century the progression would be IV-V-i, sometimes IV without a third at all, or at the end of a *B molle* piece IV-V-I.

Examples 3 and 5 thus illustrate how the variation chords are selected for the two modes of the Italian dance style. Another principle of musical construction concerns the location of these chords, especially in achieving a typical effect of anticipation. Example 2 showed that an equal amount of time belongs to each framework chord. In Examples 3 and 5b, the opening measure of each four-measure phrase is usually devoted exclusively to the framework chord, which is further emphasized by a special rhythmic pattern. The variation chords then occur during the last three-quarters of each phrase. However, the parentheses that are placed around the chord numerals in Examples 3 and 5b show that the period of time in which variation chords circle around any one particular framework chord does not necessarily coincide with the specific amount of time that theoretically "belongs" to it (with reference to Example 2). If there were no variation chords in Example 5b, then the first framework chord would fill the first four

Ex. 5. Benedetto Sanseverino, *Intavolatura facile* (Milan, 1620), copy in London, British Museum

a) P. 53, "Pass'è mezzo sopra l'O," first half

b) P. 56, "Pass'emezzo diminuito sopra l'O"

full measures. VII would occupy the next four, i the next four, and so on. When the technique of variation chord insertion is applied, however, the four measures otherwise belonging to one framework chord may be filled as follows: The first contains only the framework chord; variation chords belonging to this framework chord commence in the second measure and continue until some variable point from the middle of the third measure on; at this point new variation chords take over that belong to the *next* framework chord and precede its structural appearance, which occurs in the opening measure of the following phrase.

In Example 3 the plan is this: In the first full measure of each phrase only the framework chord appears; during the second measure and half or three-quarters of the third occur variation chords that circle the framework chord; the remainder of the phrase is devoted to variation chords that belong to the next framework chord. The phrases of Example 5b are treated less uniformly; here the "anticipation" chords occupy a different length of time from phrase to phrase. In the opening phrase, i and its variation chords persist up to the middle of the fourth full measure. In the following phrase, however, VII and its satellite chords extend only to the middle of the third measure, where variation chords belonging to the third framework chord (i) commence. When moving from framework chords i to V or III to VII (chords a fifth apart), it is not possible to determine exactly to which framework chord certain variation chords belong. In phrase 5 of Example 5b, for instance, the effect of III might be extended to the middle of the fourth measure. The same ambiguity exists in phrase 3 of this example. In general, however, the technique of chordal variation is applied clearly and consistently in the guitar music of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, with such flexibility in selection and location as is shown by Examples 3 and 5.

The same chordal process appears also in sixteenth century examples of the dance style, but usually more restrained, and often hidden by the effects of melodic variation. Georg Reichert has described the technique of melodic figuration in the works of Gorzanis:[12] the basic principles that he observed apply, I believe, to the Italian dance style in general. Furthermore, melodic variation corresponds to chordal variation in two fundamental respects: (1) In each, the added elements (chords or notes) revolve around each

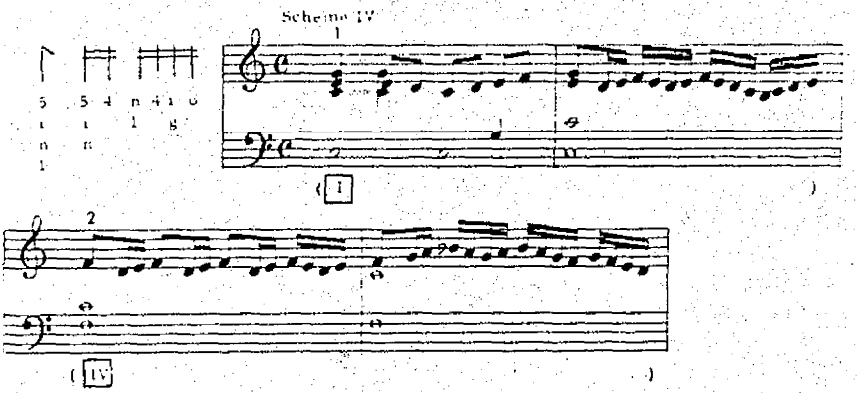
[12] "Giacomo Gorzanis' 'Intabolatura di liuto' (1567) als Dur- und Molltonarten-Zyklus," *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer* (Regensburg, Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1962), pp. 428-438.

framework chord as a separate and temporary center, and (2) there is frequent *anticipation* by the added element of the next framework chord.

Each framework chord within a composition is associated with a scale that governs the movement of melody. If the framework chord is a *major triad*, the scale may be *ionian* (like the tonal major scale), *mixolydian*, or sometimes *lydian*. To a minor framework chord will belong a *dorian* or *aeolian* scale. Example 6a shows the first two framework chords of a lute *passamezzo* on Scheme IV. The first framework chord is a C *major triad*, which is melodically

Ex. 6. Matthäus Waissel, *Tabulatura* (Frankfurt an der Oder, 1573), copy in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (German lute tablature)

a) No. 31, fol. 13, "Passe,mezo," beginning of second variation



b) Fol. 14, "La sua padoana," opening measures

ornamented for two measures by figuration based on an ionian scale on C. When the second framework chord (an F major triad) appears in measures 3 and 4, the melody is regulated by an ionian scale on F, which includes a B-flat.

The *passamezzo* of Example 6a is followed by "La sua padoana," which begins as shown in Example 6b. Here each framework chord fills four measures. Again the scale for the I chord is ionian on C, and for IV ionian on F. The third full measure includes a B-natural, as a part of the scale that centers around the first framework chord. In the fourth full measure, however, a B-flat appears; this is an anticipation of the scale that belongs to the next framework chord, which makes its structural appearance in the following measure. In the second phrase the B's are flatted until the last measure, where a B-natural anticipates melodically the third framework chord, another C major triad. Melody thus circles around and anticipates framework chords in much the same manner as variation chords. Lute tablatures, as well as German keyboard tablatures, provide a particularly accurate source for the study of Renaissance melody, since, unlike the contemporary vocal notation or instrumental scores that use notes on staves, the accidentals are depicted precisely, requiring no addition of flats or sharps according to musica ficta. One other aspect that might properly be considered melodic is the occasional occurrence of chords that are not part of the chordal variation process, but that result from simultaneous melodic movement in several voices as they bridge the intervals between framework chords or embellish a cadence point. The chords in the last two full measures of Example 6b illustrate first a neighbor chord (g minor) and then two passing chords on e and d.

Often both chordal and melodic variation occur simultaneously. This is illustrated by the lute *saltarello* in Example 7. First, chordal variation occurs in the sixth measure, where II acts, precisely as in phrase 3 of Example 5b, as a secondary dominant anticipating the fourth framework chord (V) in the following measure. A secondary dominant effect is gently hinted at also by the G's in the first two measures, the F in measure 3, the B-flat in measure 9, and the F in measure 11.[13] Melodic variation, on the other hand, occurs in this piece either to ornament one framework chord (as in the mixolydian

[13]These variation chord effects have guided the determination of the note values in my transcription. Of course, if the E-flat in the lowest voice of measure 9, for example, is conceived as being sustained throughout the entire measure, then the secondary effect of the B-flat on the third beat is lost and the note become simply an inner voice of an E-flat major triad.

Ex. 7. Melchior Newsidler, *Il primo libro intabolatura di liuto* (Venice, 1566), copy in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Italian lute tablature), p. 25, "Il suo [referring to the preceding "Pass'e mezo antico"] saltarello con la ripresa," first variation

figuration of the final two measures), or to provide an anticipation of the following chord. The latter technique accounts for the E-natural and F-sharp in measures 4-6 (both looking forward to the V chord of measure 7), for the E-flat in measure 8 (pointing toward III), the A-natural in measure 10 (anticipating VII), and the A-flat in measure 12 (preparing the way for i).

Example 7 thus illustrates all the essential procedures of

composition involved in the Italian dance style. A familiar chord-row (in this case Scheme VII) guides harmonic movement in the broadest sense. This framework is varied by either chords or melodic figuration that circle around separate framework chords as temporary centers, reinforcing and prolonging the previously sounded framework chord or anticipating the next chord of the row.

Consideration of such a technique of musical composition leads one to a rather special concept of mode for this music. When we speak of mode in Gregorian chant, for example, we refer to a scale (such as dorian, phrygian, and so on) and its inner organization, which is defined by a *dominant* tone (around which musical flight centers) and a *final* (a note for the resolution of flight), with the implication that the other tones have a different function, which is to provide motion relative to the two structural tones. Similarly, when we use the expression "major mode," we refer primarily to the major scale and its system of melodic structure.[14] The word "mode" therefore refers to the inner relationship between those musical units (that is, notes) from which is built that aspect of music (melody) that is structurally dominating in the music. Turning to the Italian dance style, however, an attempt to conceive of mode melodically is not successful, for, as we have seen, each framework chord may be associated with its own scale. Thus a composition *per B molle* may involve four or more scales, a piece in *B quadro* three. In this style of composition the main structural element in the music is not melody, but harmony, whose component units are chords. Therefore, if the term "mode" in its essential meaning refers to the organization of units within the structurally determining element of the music, then mode in this music concerns the relationships of chords as they act to create harmony.

In another article I have described such a concept of mode in guitar music.[15] As I have indicated, however, I now feel that the concept, although most obvious in guitar music, applies generally to the entire Italian dance style from around 1500 to 1650. The mode *per B molle* centers around the basic relationship between the chords i and III, whose roots lie a minor third apart; each is associated with

[14] It seems to me a rather astonishing circumstance that the tonal homophony of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which makes primarily a melodic appeal to the listener, should be taught most often in music theory courses with almost exclusive reference to chords and harmony. The melody, which is the center of such music, has its structural tones in precisely the same sense as Gregorian chant, but curiously there is not even a standard terminology to refer to them. Musicians centuries hence may wonder at the way in which our preoccupation with tonal harmony obscured our sense of perspective.

[15] "The Concept of Mode in Italian Guitar Music During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," to appear in *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. XLII, fasc. 3/4 (1970).

its secondary dominant (like a variation chord) and these four chords (i-V and III-VII) are incorporated into the three *B molle* schemes shown in Example 1. The mode *per B quadro* centers around the progression V-I or IV-V-I and is embodied in Scheme IV. The chordal variation technique is also, as we have seen, based on the *B quadro* progression IV-V-I, although it is applied in relation to single framework chords. Melodic figuration, when it occurs, is subject first of all to the demands of harmony and, like chordal variation, serves primarily the role of decorating single framework chords. Therefore it seems to me that in this music melody and the scales that describe its manner of operation must give way in any modal concept to the dominating effect of chords and the way they relate together in the construction of harmonic progressions.

I would like to suggest one other idea concerning this dance style: the inclusion of pieces, either instrumental or vocal with instrumental accompaniment, in which the framework chords are not equally spaced. Although the basic techniques of composition are more clearly evident when the chords of the row appear at equal intervals, there are many pieces throughout the entire history of the dance style that seem to apply the same general techniques, but with unequal distribution of the chords.

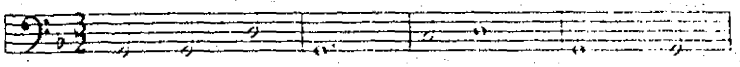
Example 8, whose title gives no hint that the dance style is involved, is an early Baroque monody from a collection of Giovanni Stefani.[16] The title page of the book states that it contains "canzonette ad una voce sola Poste in musica da diversi con la parte del Basso, & le lettere dell'alfabetto per la Chitarra alla Spagnola." The score consists of two staves: The top shows the vocal melody, the lower the continuo part, to be realized presumably by any available continuo instruments, including the Spanish guitar (whose chord letters are given above the top staff). Example 8a shows how the continuo part appears in Stefani's book. In Example 8b I have transcribed the entire song, adapting the continuo for performance on the Spanish guitar. Comparison of Example 8a with the bass part of Example 8b shows that I have added repetitions of the guitar chords, using rhythms that are typical of the instrument and that seem to fit with the vocal part. Some chord letters are lacking in the closing measures, presumably because more complex chords than simple triads are required.

If the composition in Example 5b had had no title, one could

[16] Printed in *Biblioteca di rarità musicali*, ed. Oscar Chilesotti, Vol. III (Milan, G. Ricordi, 1885): *Affetti amorosi di Giovanni Stefani* (reprinted separately, Bologna, Forni, 1969 [*Bibliotheca musica bononiensis, Sezione* IV, N. 24]), p. 11.

Ex. 8. Giovanni Stefani, *Affetti amorosi* (Venice, 1618), copy in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, p. 6. "Bellezze di Laura"

a) Opening measures of continuo, as in original score



b) Complete work transcribed for voice and Spanish guitar

have "reduced" it, as it were, to its basic scheme by eliminating the variation chords. Similarly, if the variation chords are separated from the framework chords in Example 8b, then the harmonic organization of the piece becomes apparent. This is shown, as in the other examples, by enclosing the framework numerals in squares and showing the extent of their duration, along with their variation chords, by parentheses. It thus becomes evident that this song is

based on *B-molle* Scheme V,[17] and that a number of the framework triads are embellished with variation chords in precisely the manner prescribed in Example 4.

Thus, the initial i chord is varied by IV and V, the III chord by VI and VII, the VII chord by IV. The second, third and fourth chords of the row move quickly without variation. The others, however, are considerably prolonged by the action of melodic and chordal variation.[18] The first and fifth framework chords employ secondary subdominant and dominant chords, the sixth only a secondary dominant. The V that varies framework chord 7 (i) is itself varied by its secondary dominant (II). This chordal anticipation of V is accompanied by a melodic anticipation provided by the E-natural. In measure 6, on the other hand, the E is not involved in anticipation of the next framework chord and should therefore probably be flatted, as it is in the following measure. The chords that vary the framework triads in this song are therefore the same sort seen in Examples 3 and 5, the properties of melody similar to those in Examples 6 and 7. It would thus seem proper to consider as part of the Italian dance style not only the *passamezzi* and other pieces that present the framework chords very obviously and at equal intervals, but also the repertoire of music from 1500 to 1650 in which the chords of a row lie at varying distances from one another.

The Italian dance style existed concurrently for over a century with the more serious art music of the day. The fact that the compositional technique of the dance style seems to have run a course separate and distinct from the sixteenth century polyphonic style should not lead to the conclusion that there was no relationship between them. Surely it was often the same person who sang a madrigal at home after dinner, listened to a motet, mass, toccata, or ricercar during a church service, and then danced the *passamezzo* and the *saltarello* at a social gathering. The dance music of any age, because of its special requirements, derives out of the contemporary learned style a simpler system of musical composition that permits endless but varied repetition of stereotyped patterns. The chord-rows themselves must have been the musical element drawn from

[17] On the page following the musical score, Stefani gives four additional stanzas of text, with the instruction that "queste parole si possono cantar sopra l'Aria della Folia {*sic*}." He thus confirms that pieces based on Scheme V, such as this one, were not considered identical to the *folia*. In his *Scherzi amorosi* (Venice, 1622), page 24, Stefani does present a piece labeled "Aria della Folia," but its chordal scheme does not match Scheme V as accurately as the song in Example 8.

[18] A similar uneven distribution of the chords of Scheme V (but lacking the first chord) occurs in Diego Ortiz's "Recercada quarta" (*op. cit.*, pp. 117-119), especially beginning in measure 9; also in "Recercada ottava" (pp. 130-133).

Renaissance polyphony, although the process of derivation is not clear. Once the schemes had been fashioned, special techniques were developed for their variation: Both melody and chords could circle around each framework chord, thus providing a kind of music that would serve a functional need and that could easily be improvised, even by those not skilled in counterpoint. Fortunately, an impressive record of this music remains in the rather large repertoire of written pieces for lute, guitar, keyboard, and various ensembles of instruments. Many compositions were based on each of the simple frameworks, but the techniques of melodic and chordal variation, combined with the effects of rhythm, provided the means for diversity and for imaginative invention within this Italian dance style of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

ON FRETTING A LUTE

By STANLEY BUETENS

"...though you can fret me, you cannot play upon me." Hamlet (Act III, scene II)

Every lutenist, sooner or later, must come to grips with the problem of fretting a lute, whether his own lute or that of a student whose newly arrived lute from Europe has at least seven loose frets. Few other subjects reveal such prejudice and narrow-mindedness on the part of lutenists, largely because of their lack of historical knowledge. In addition, certain techniques that are followed today out of respect for the past are actually only vestiges, since their original purpose is no longer considered valid. To discuss lute fretting thoroughly would require a thick volume, but I hope to present here enough information to enable a potential fretter to reach his own informed conclusions.

The five main problems in fretting a lute are: 1) the kind of fret to be used—permanent or movable (tied); 2) the material to be used; 3) thickness of the frets; 4) method of tying frets (double and single); and 5) placement.

Permanent versus movable frets

As far as I can tell from iconographic and theoretical sources, as well as from surviving instruments, nearly all lutes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had movable (tied-on) frets. Thus, lutenists today who wish to be as historically correct as possible should use tied-on frets, and I have devoted most of my article to this method of fretting. However, many modern lutenists already employ inlaid metal frets, such as those used on the classical guitar. As far as I know they have caused no complaints from players or listeners. I have several lutes, some of which have fixed frets and some of which have tied-on frets. I can testify to the fact that from a player's point of view it does not make much difference. If the metal frets are correctly set in by an expert, they will last almost forever and are always in tune. I once asked Julian Bream why he did not use gut frets. He replied, "So I can be sure the lute is in tune." Nonetheless, I

hope that after reading this article, a lutenist can have his lute in tune with either metal or tied-on frets.

Why did the early lutenists so unanimously choose gut frets for lutes when they knew about inlaid frets? After all, the wire-strung instruments such as the cittern, pandora, and orpharian had metal frets. As early as 1555, Juan Bermudo states, "I am persuaded that if the frets were of metal or ivory, they would cause better music. The dampness of the fret, especially in humid weather, causes great imperfection in music...."[1] Of course, the synthetics, such as nylon, available today obviate Bermudo's worry.

Perhaps the players preferred a movable system of frets so that they could alter their placement slightly to play in different modes and with different instruments employing different tuning systems. No one universal system of tuning existed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; each player could, within limits, choose his own. Iconographic and written evidence indicates that lutes and viols were almost always tuned in equal temperament. In this system the tone is divided into two equal semitones, and enharmonic notes such as G# and $A^{\flat}$ are synonymous. Equal temperament is a compromise, of course, with slightly sharp thirds, slightly flat fifths and no perfect intervals at all; but, while nothing is perfectly in tune, nothing is terribly out of tune either (as is the case with Pythagorean or meantone temperament). Although a lutenist might generally prefer an equal-tempered system when playing by himself or with a singer or viol, he probably had to play in meantone tuning (with pure thirds and altered fifths) when playing with wind or keyboard instruments. We do know that early performers were extremely concerned with intonation–much more so than their modern counterparts–and, given the uncertainty of the tuning systems of that period, had to be able to temper their tuning by moving some frets slightly from time to time.

Unless a lutenist plans to move his frets as the early lutenists did, he may as well choose permanent frets positioned in the equal-tempered spacing given in Figure 4. Of course, frets can also be expertly tied on in this system. Tied-on frets have a more authentic appearance, but in my opinion the sound is not substantially different. Does one or the other system make the lute easier to play? The left-hand thumb does have a much rougher time moving up and down the back of the neck when the frets are tied on. Some argue that this is an aid to hand placement, since the thumb has a tactile reference to position. I think rather that a smooth back of the neck

[1]Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, Juan de Leon, 1555), facs. edn. (Kassel, Barenreiter, 1957), fol. 109v.

appeals to most players when they are playing difficult music with quick position changes. I play all my lutes, some with and some without tied-on frets, equally well—or perhaps equally badly.

If you prefer permanent frets, much of this article may be a waste of time for you, since it deals with the selection, tying, and placement of movable frets. However, if you have cause to suspect the placement of your permanent frets, you should look at the chart of fret factors for equal temperament (Figure 4).

Material

Permanent frets can be made of metal or ivory, as Bermudo suggests, or of wood, bone, or plastic (horrors!). The metal or ivory frets can be inlaid and therefore, for better or worse, have a high degree of finality about them. Wooden frets can be glued on, which makes mistakes less disastrous. Wooden and ivory frets can be easily filed down minutely to correct a height error. Metal frets can also be filed, but not as easily; if too much is taken off, something easily done, the fret is ruined and must be removed and replaced. All the materials mentioned, if they are made of hard metal, hard wood, and so on, will stop the strings cleanly and surely. The only real difference is in their life span. Metal will last the longest, ivory next, and wood the shortest. A well played lute can wear out a set of wooden frets in less than a year. I think, after many years of experience and experimentation, that expertly set in metal frets are probably the best for general reliability.

It should be noted that the last few frets on almost all lutes based on late sixteenth-century or early seventeenth-century models must be glued on, since they cannot be tied around the body of the lute. The exact number of these fixed frets varies depending on the length of the neck but usually is three or four. They should be carved from hard wood by an expert and placed by him with extreme care.

The two materials usually used for tied-on frets are gut and nylon (although I cannot understand why other materials have not been tried). It is generally agreed that gut can be tied tighter by hand than nylon since its maximum stretch point can be easily reached merely by pulling hard. Nylon, on the other hand, if just pulled by hand while tying, will tend to continue stretching and therefore loosen in time. Of course, Bermudo's fear of gut changing with humidity changes is still valid; all those who have used gut can testify to this. If tools such as vice-grip pliers are used in tying, nylon can be stretched to its maximum and made to hold tight. With practice, one can pull nylon this way and no longer be plagued by loosening frets. No remedy exists for the action of temperature and humidity on gut.

A medium I have tried, but which I have never seen on any other lute, is tennis-string nylon. This is a shredded form of nylon and is finished rough, a great virtue since the knot then tends to slip less than with monofilament nylon. Tennis nylon has the toughness of monofilament nylon and the feel of gut. It does not, however, have the durability of monofilament nylon, but it does have a much longer life than gut.

Monofilament nylon certainly gives the best sound, since it is hard and free of fuzzing. Tennis nylon is almost as good but may fuzz a bit in time. Gut fuzzes most easily because it is made of tiny strands that break in a relatively short time. The coating put on gut by some string manufacturers does tend to retard this process.

One definite drawback to the use of tennis nylon is aesthetic. The bright colors and striped patterns in which it normally comes tend to give it a ridiculous appearance. If it could be found in more neutral colors and solid patterns, it would be a nearly perfect medium for tied-on frets.

Thickness

A belief in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was that frets ought to diminish in thickness from the fret *b* upwards. Dowland says:

> ...let the two first frets neerest the head of the Instrument (being the greatest) be of the size of your Countertenor [fourth course], then the third and fourth frets must be of the size of your great Meanes [third course]: the fift and sixt frets of the size of your small Meanes [second string]: and all the rest sized with Trebles [chanterelle]. These rules serve also for Viols, or any other kinde of Instrument whereon frets are tyed.[2]

Thomas Mace says much the same thing as Dowland, but not as precisely:

> First, to chuse your B Fret, so Thick as well you may, (according to the Lying of your Nutt, and Strings;) For the Thicker that Fret is, the more easily may you fit all the Rest: because that in Fretting, every next lower Fret, would be some small matter smaller, than the next above, (quite through:) Yet This Rule is not observ'd by most, who are Careless; so that oftentimes, their Instrument Jarrs, and Sounds unpleasantly.[3]

[2]John Dowland, *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (London, 1610), facs. edn. (Schott & Co., 1958), p. 15.

[3]Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676), facs. edn. (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1958), p. 68.

This principle of diminishing frets has both virtues and problems. The main virtue is that a thin fret will be used in the high register of the instrument where pitch is critical. A small change in position of a fret can easily be discerned, and a string tends to touch a thick fret over a larger area than it would a thin one. Also, as Mace accurately observed, the sound is more fuzzy with a large fret, since the angle of the fret to the string is more acute with more of the vibrating part of the string over the contact portion of the fret. Of course, the use of diminishing frets presupposes a perfect action, since the frets will not help to make the action better in the high register. If an action is too high in the high frets, which is extremely common, very thin frets will only increase the distance one must depress a string. With a perfect action, each fret would have to be a bit thinner than the preceding one to avoid buzzing on the next fret. Such an action is hardly possible; even Dowland does not advocate it. Another disadvantage to diminishing frets is that when the frets are moved higher after stretching (see the following section on tying), the whole system is thrown out of kilter.

I have found that by using a medium-gauge fret string I can fret an entire lute, avoiding action or buzzing problems. A fret between the second- and third-course string thickness, depending on the action, should do nicely. Fixed frets are usually the same thickness throughout but are normally adjusted to eliminate buzzing.

Tying the Fret Knot

The most popular fret of the past and present is the double fret with standard knot. Mace gives a perfect description of it:

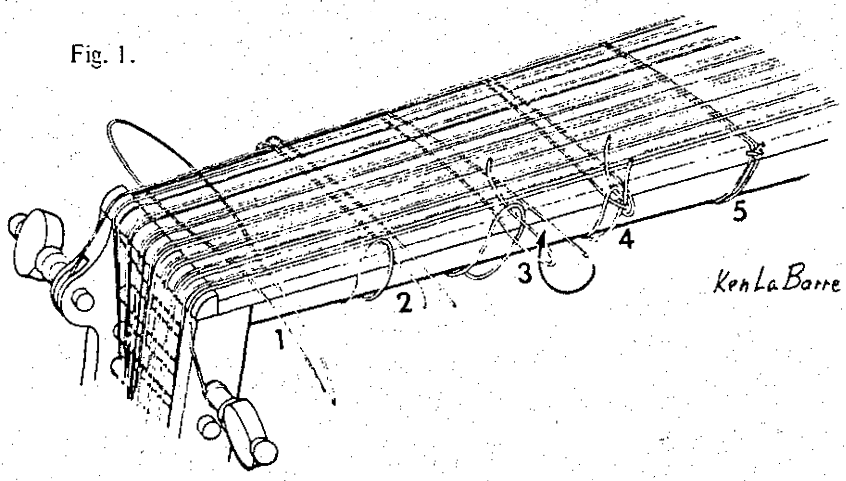
> The way to Tye on a Fret the best way, is Thus; viz. Your Lute standing (as it were) before you upon a Table, upon Its Back, take your Fret, and put It double, under all the Strings, beginning from the Basses, towards the Trebles; then (putting your Left Hand under the Neck) take That Middle Double, and draw it under the Neck towards the Basses, (holding fast the two Ends in your Right Hand) till you have brought them together, (viz. the Middle Nooze, and the Two Ends.)
>
> Then take that End next you, which you held in your Right Hand, and put it through That Nooze, so, that you make another Nooze of That End, and then let the first Nooze go.
>
> Then again, take but the other End, which still remains in your Right Hand, unused, and put It through your last Nooze, taking the Ends, (in each hand one) and let All else go, and (only drawing them straight) your business of Tying is over.
>
> This being done, (now comes the Curiosity, to Stiffen, Fasten, and Fix This Fret) I say, take the Fret (thus far fastned) and draw It

so close (by both ends) as you can well, to stiffen It to the Neck; then, (holding both Ends fast, in your Left Hand) with your Right Hand and Left, force It down so low (towards C. D. E. F. &c.) as you can; then put It up again to the Nutt, where you'l find it much too wide or slack; therefore take the Ends, (in each hand One) and draw It stiff, and close again; then (as before) down with it, so low as you can, and up again: Thus do it three or four times, till at last you find it stiff, and so fast, that it will scarce be stirr'd, to Its place of B. (which is but a very little space.)

But here Note, that at last, before you force it down, to Its place at B. you are (after all stretching) to Tye it, of another hard Knot, and then it is firmly fast.[4]

Here is a drawing of the knot-tying procedure for those who may wish to skip Mace's rather lengthy description.

Fig. 1.



Mace's method of stretching a fret is excellent and works well. I wonder, however, why he did not advocate putting on frets in reverse; that is, the highest one on first. This way the fret may be put on very low and pushed up to its position, thereby stretching it completely. His method of stretching the fret up a few frets, pushing it down again, drawing it tight, and repeating the procedure is undoubtedly the right way to proceed when fretting from b upward.

Some prefer to soak the gut first and to tie the fret while wet. When the string dries, it will hug the neck securely. The disadvantages of this trick are, first, that wetting the gut makes it

[4]Mace, p. 69.

soft and easily broken, thereby reducing the amount of force that can be applied in tying; and second, the water tends to deteriorate the surface of the gut making it more easily fuzzy and hastening its demise. A tiny bit of oil applied to the fret after tying helps to minimize the latter disadvantage.

Nylon can be tied in the same way described for gut, including the stretching procedure. Some use vice-grip pliers in pulling the knot; if this is done skillfully, the frets should not move.

The knot should be secured by leaving a half to three quarters of an inch of string on each end after tying the knot, then burning the ends, one at a time, until only a short amount of string is left (say, one eighth of an inch). The burning expands the fibers of the knot slightly and has a welding effect. On nylon, in addition to burning, I drop on the knot a small quantity of plastic cement, which combines with the surface of the nylon in the knot. When employing these two techniques for securing after tying tightly, the frets, I find, will stay firmly in place.

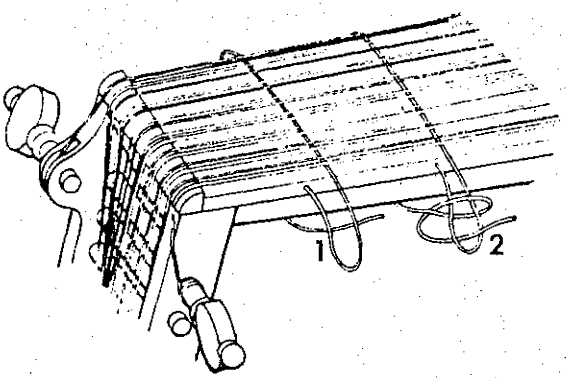
Mace advocates tying a fret singly:

> There is a way which I have lately try'd, and I find it much better, which is, to Fret a Lute with single Strings.
>
> My Reason is, because it is not only sooner done, and with a shorter String; but chiefly, it does (assuredly) cause a Clearer Sound from the String stopt; which must needs be granted, if it be considered, that the String lying upon This only Round single Fret, cannot but speak Clear, when as (on the contrary) it lying upon Two, (as in the Double Fret it does) it cannot be thought to speak so Clear, because, that although it Lye hard and close, upon the uppermost of the Two, next the Finger, yet it cannot lye so very close and hard, upon the undermost: so that it must needs Fuzz a little, though not easily discern'd, and thereby, takes off something of Its Clearness, especially if the Fret be a Thick-broad-Double-Fret.
>
> This I confess is a Curiosity, yet I think it worth Examination, because the Business it self is a Curious Thing.[5]

Although no historical description of how to tie this knot exists, the way shown in Figure 2 will work with practice. What is needed is a knot that will pull tight and stay that way until a second securing knot can be tied on it.

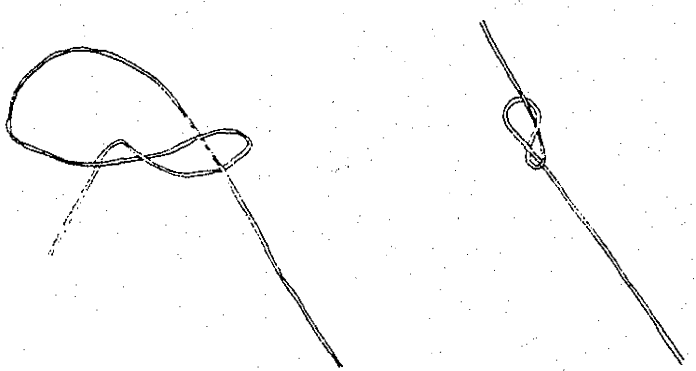
[5]Mace, p. 70.

Fig. 2.



Another way to do the same knot is shown in the following drawings. After doing these two steps, put the long end of the string around the neck and then through the two small loops of the figure eight, in and out or out and in. Hold the form of the figure eight until it is pulled tight. Then secure with another knot.

Fig. 3.



Placement

In the olden days fret placement was quite a problem and every writer on the subject had a different system with different results. It seems unlikely that in today's musical world -where equal temperament is the only allowable system—anyone would want to place his frets in a long discontinued system, especially considering that even the early lutenists preferred equal temperament. Although elaborate systems were given as early as 1636 for fret placement in

an equal tempered scale,[6] these systems have little value today except as historical curiosities. The following table of factors was computed on modern electronic equipment and is exact. Several modern luthiers and guitar makers are using this same chart with complete success. To use the chart, simply multiply each fret factor by the string length of your instrument and you will have the position of the fret from the nut. In measuring the string length, be sure to note if the strings are looped in front of the bridge a few millimeters; this can make a difference. It will pay you to use the metric system in your calculations, since dealing with fractions of an inch is cumbersome. When you have calculated each fret, measure the distance from the nut and mark its spot with a pencil. Only twelve frets are needed for a lute, but I give the whole chart for the record.[7]

Fig. 4. Fret factors for equal temperament

FRET	FACTOR	FRET	FACTOR
1	.05613	13	.52806
2	.10910	14	.55455
3	.15910	15	.57955
4	.20630	16	.60315
5	.25084	17	.62542
6	.29289	18	.64645
7	.33258	19	.66629
8	.37004	20	.68502
9	.40539	21	.70270
10	.43876	22	.71938
11	.47027	23	.73514
12	.50000	24	.75000

Those who wish to investigate other systems besides equal temperament should consult the following sources: John Dowland, *Varietie of Lute Lessons* (London, 1610); Juan Bermudo, *Declaración de Instrumentos musicales* (Osuna, 1555); Sylvestro Ganassi, *Regola Rubertina* (1543); and Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636).

[6]Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle* (Paris, 1636), pp. 65-70.

[7]I am obliged to Ephraim Segerman of the University of Manchester, England, for these calculations.

The use of movable frets to improve intonation in modal playing is a complicated procedure and requires long study, research, and practice. Bermudo gives the best description available but he writes from a theoretician's and observer's point of view, not from a player's. Luis Milan, in his *El Maestro*, tells his readers in the case of one fantasy in the phrygian mode that "the fourth fret should be raised a little so that the note on that fret is strong and not weak."[8] On a vihuela tuned in A this fret controls C# , F# , B, D# , and G# , all of which should be slightly sharp for the phrygian mode according to the Pythagorean tuning system (with perfect fifths and sharp thirds) still used in Spain in the early sixteenth century.

As I have stated, equal temperament—the system used universally today—was also the system used by most lute and viol players of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the sixteenth century we have considerable proof of this in paintings and writings of the time. Vicentino, in 1555, states:

> Dall'inventione delle viole d'arco, et del liuto fin hora sempre s'ha sonato con la divisione de i semitoni pari, et hoggi si suona in infinitissimi luoghi, ove che nascono due errori, uno che le consonanze delle terze, e in certi luoghi delle quinte non sono giuste: e l'altro errore è quando tali stromenti suonano con altri stromenti, che hanno la divisione del tono partito in due semitoni, uno maggiore, et l'altro minore non s'incontrano, di modo che mai schiettamente s'accordano quando insieme suonano.
>
> The viol and lute have been played [tuned] with equal semitones ever since their invention. Today one can play any mode on any fret, which gives rise to two errors: The first is that the interval of a third and, on certain frets, the interval of a fifth are not exact. The second error is that when these instruments play with other instruments that have the whole tone divided by one large and one small semitone they cannot agree on a tuning.[9]

Those who wish to pursue the matter of early tuning systems further should consult the secondary sources given in the following bibliography, particularly J. Murray Barbour's *Tuning and Temperament*.

[8] Luys Milan, *Libro de Musica de Vihuela de Mano, intitulado El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536), facs. edn. by Leo Schrade (Leipzig, Brietkopf & Härtel, 1927), p. 34.

[9] Nicola Vicentino, *L'Antica Musica Ridotta alla Moderna Prattica* (Rome, 1555), facs. edn. (Kassel, Barenreiter, 1959), fol. 146v.

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REVIEWS

THE ART AND TIMES OF THE GUITAR. By *Frederic V. Grunfeld.* (London and New York, Macmillan, 1969) 340 pages.
THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF THE GUITAR. *By Alexander Bellow.* (New York, Franco Colombo, 1970) xxvi + 215 pages.

A need for a comprehensive book in English on the guitar and its literature has long existed. Until now, the best we have had has been Phillip Bone's poineering effort, *The Guitar and Mandolin*, first published in 1914. Although a second edition was published in 1954, little new material was added and Bone remains very out-of-date today.

Now, at a time when interest in the classical guitar is at a new high, two books have appeared, both of which will be of great interest to the guitarist. As both deal not only with the guitar but also with its relationship to other fretted instruments, these books will be of interest to lutenists as well. Both are profusely-illustrated, well-produced volumes. Unfortunately, neither adds much information to what has formerly been available, and many questions relating to the guitar's past remain unanswered.

Frederic Grunfeld is editor of the British society magazine *The Queen* and does not pretend to be a trained musicologist. In *The Art and Times of the Guitar*, he is primarily concerned with treating the guitar as a social phenomenon through the centuries. As such, his book is refreshingly free of the exaggerated claims made for the guitar by books such as A. P. Sharpe's *The Story of the Spanish Guitar*, wherein every performer and composer of guitar music seems to be dubbed "world-famous" or "brilliant." As befits a social history, Grunfeld does not confine himself to the classical guitar but finds room to include references to the Beatles, Carlos Montoya, and Woody Guthrie alongside Andres Segovia, Julian Bream, and Narciso Yepes.

Judging from the bibliography, Grunfeld has had access to a vast amount of historical material, so it is lamentable that he spends so much time replowing old ground. Furthermore, certain passages are apt to give the general reader an unclear picture of important aspects of guitar history. Although Grunfeld says a great deal about

the gittern, the relations he attempts to establish between it and the cittern and guitar remain unclear (page 67). He says little about the role of the *alfabeto* in seventeenth-century guitar music and nothing about the distinction between *punteado* (plucking) style and *rasgueado* (strumming) technique during the same period. He devotes more space to a discussion of Domenico Scarlatti, who wrote no known guitar music, than to Robert de Visée or François Campion, who did. He gives the impression (page 284) that Francisco Tárrega operated in a musical vacuum, when actually Tárrega was influenced by two early nineteenth-century guitarists, Julian Arcas and Jose Viñas.

Lutenists will be sorry to hear that Grunfeld speaks rather disparagingly of the lute (pages 94-109), which he says "excelled as a twanger of courtly counterpoint." Yet, at the same time, he takes great pains to exalt the "courtly counterpoint" of the vihuela. One cannot have it both ways.

The outstanding feature of the book is undoubtedly the more than 200 illustrations that Grunfeld tells us in the preface are the cream of "nearly 2000 items of iconography" he has collected. These include paintings from Vermeer to Picasso and portraits of Sor, Carcassi, and Giuliani, among others. Included are four highly intriguing diagrams of hand positions from Sor's 1830 method without a single word of explanation, although some comment would have been very valuable, particularly as little is known of this master's method of playing.

Grunfeld is careful in citing sources for most of his major points and quotations are identified. His bibliography is outstanding.

Alexander Bellow, in *The Illustrated History of the Guitar*, is not as interested in tracing the social history of the instrument as he is in tracing the evolution of the guitar's physical characteristics. His illustrations, many in color, are largely confined to pictures of historical instruments. He is more careful of certain details than Grunfeld. For example, Bellow cites Giuliani's death date—a very open question—as "1840?" (Grunfeld gives 1828). His argument (page 146) attempting to trace the first guitar with six single strings is good. His discussion of the seventeenth-century Italian guitar school (an area he knows well) is the best to appear to date. He is careful to distinguish *punteado* and *rasgueado* styles (page 100).

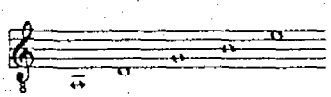
What is missing from Bellow's book is any clear idea of changing musical style and taste. For example, it is rather pointless to list the chamber works of a little known composer such as Charles Doisy without giving some idea of what his music sounds like or what kind of guitar he used. In fact, more should have been said about the actual music in both books. Unlike Grunfeld, Bellow does not discuss

popular or flamenco performers. In his discussion of composers from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Bellow is often guilty of mere cataloging–running through a long list of names without any attempt to sort the wheat from the chaff or to establish any significant developments or outstanding compositions. This is hardly surprising considering the present state of guitar historiography. Until we can establish some kind of bibliographical control over the guitar's huge repertoire, a clear idea of the music will be very difficult. Still, the bombardment of names at the end of Bellow's book makes for rather dreary reading. A better approach might have been to treat all of the composers within a dictionary format (such as was used by Bone) with a separate section on the development of the instrument.

Unlike Grunfeld, Bellow has made little attempt to cite the sources of his quotations. Furthermore, Bellow gives a much less complete bibliography than does Grunfeld.

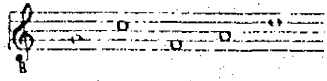
One subject that gets extensive treatment in both books is guitar pre-history. In fact, Bellow has an entire chapter entitled "Egypt." Musicologists such as Curt Sachs have long been interested in the instruments of the ancient world and the present volumes reap the benefits of their research. Both authors have gathered remarkable pictorial collections of Babylonian, Egyptian, and medieval string instruments predating the guitar and lute. Both mention medieval bowed guitars, although surprisingly neither mentions the fact that such an instrument would probably need an arched bridge. In neither book is much attempt made to speculate on the role of such instruments in their respective musical cultures. In both cases mention of the instruments is offered mainly as mute evidence of the guitar's great antiquity.

Even though both books are written for a popular audience, certain other curious omissions are evident. For instance, one will look in vain for a mention of as significant a guitar composer as Johann Anton Losy. This is a minor oversight. Another is much more serious. Both books go to considerable lengths to trace the evolution of the instrument and to show how in the second half of the sixteenth century the five-course guitar grew out of the earlier four-course guitar. It is, therefore, disappointing that neither author deals with the question of tuning the five-course guitar. Both assume that the instrument was tuned in the same manner as the top five strings of the modern guitar:



Although this tuning was undoubtedly used by certain guitar

composers (for example, Juan Carlos Amat), much contemporary evidence suggests that this was not always the case. In *Harmonie Universalle*, Mersenne shows a picture of a five-course guitar tuned as follows:



About this tuning he says:

> L'on void que la son la 5. chorde est plus huit d'un tone que celuy de la 3: ce qui particulier a l'accord de la Guitarre.
>
> One sees that the pitch of the fifth string is one tone higher than that of the third. This is unique to the guitar.

This same tuning, in which both the fourth and fifth course are higher than the third, appears to have been favored also by Gasper Sanz. In his celebrated method, one of the few seventeenth century tutors, he states:

> Pero si alguno quiera puntear con primor, y dulçura, y usar de las campanelas, que es el modo moderno con que aora se compone, no salen bien los bordones, sino solo cuerdas delgadas, assi en las quartas, como en las quintas, como tengo grande experiencia.
>
> But if one wants to play the guitar with beauty and sweetness, and make use of bell-like sounds, which is the modern style which is now used for composing, it is not good to use bordons but only thin strings thus with the fourth, likewise with the fifth, as I have found from my own experience.

Sanz' tuning charts also make it clear that he advocates a tuning similar to Mersenne's. By "el modo moderno," Sanz is apparently making a distinction between *punteado* and *rasgueado* playing. Lower *bordones*, says Sanz, are only acceptable for *rasgueado* music.

Later composers, such as Corbetta and de Visée, appear to have used a lower octave on the fourth course but not on the fifth. Both Corbetta and de Visée felt it necessary to remind the player of this fact in their prefaces. This is the tuning about which Brossard is very explicit in his *Dictionaire* (1703):

> Guitarra. Espere d'Instrument a cinq rangs doubles de cordes, dont la plus *basse* est au milieu a moins qu'il n'y ait un Bourdon une 8e plus bas que la 4e.
>
> Guitar. A species of instrument with five double ranks of strings whereof the lowest is in the middle unless you have a Bourdon one

octave below the fourth.

Diderot's *Encyclopedie*, published in 1757, makes special note of the tuning used by de Visée and mentions him by name:

> Visé, célèbre maître de *guittare* sous Louis XIV, n'en mettoit point au cinquieme rang; mais il y perdoit l'octave du *la*, & par conséquent une demi-octave.
>
> de Visée, celebrated master of the guitar under Louis XIV, didn't place any [bourdons] on the fifth course, but left out the octave of A and therefore lost half an octave.

Since the question of tuning has a major effect upon the character of the music, the reader of either Grunfeld or Bellow should have been given some indication that tunings other than the modern one existed. However, neither book devotes a single word to this problem. As none of the standard reference works such as Sachs, Pujol, or Galpin mention this question of tuning, perhaps it is not surprising that neither Grunfeld nor Bellow noticed it either. Still, considering the fact that both authors obviously had access to such a vast array of source material, it is unfortunate that they perpetuate the notion that the five-course guitar used the same tuning as the modern instrument. Grunfeld actually includes an illustration from Athanansius Kircher's *Musurgia Universalis* (1650) on page 65 that shows Mersenne's tuning; however, he completely ignores mention of it.

The problem of Baroque guitar tunings is still very uncertain. Those interested in pursuing the problem further will find no help in Grunfeld or Bellow, but will have to search elsewhere. Three articles of importance to this discussion have recently appeared. Richard Keith's article "'La Guitare Royale': A Study of the Career and Compositions of Francesco Corbetta" gives some basic information. It appears in *Recherches sur la musiqiie française classique*, Volume VI (1966). In the seventh volume of the same journal (1967), H. Charnasse treats the question much more extensively in an article entitled "Sur l'accord de la guitare." Finally, readers will be interested in Sylvia Murphy's article "The Tuning of the Five-course Guitar" in *The Galpin Society Journal*, Volume XXIII (August, 1970), which, although it does not solve the problem, at least focuses attention on it.

Both Grunfeld's and Bellows' books have many shortcomings. However, they are a step in the right direction. The authors raise questions that are sure to intrigue anyone interested in the history of fretted instruments. Until a scholarly book appears, these two volumes remain the best we have.—*Peter Danner*

OEUVRES DE NICOLAS VALLET POUR LUTH SEUL. Le Secret Des Muses, Premier livre, 1615, Second Livre, 1616. Transcription by *Andre Souris*. Biography and critical study by *Monique Rollin*. (Paris, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1969) xlii + 260 pages.

In the late 1950's, when the Centre National de Recherche Scientifique decided to publish the corpus of French lute music, the project was hailed by all who thought this music should become better known. One cannot help but be impressed that the project is well and still living on the Quai Anatole France. The latest volume in the series, Nicholas Vallet's *Secret des Muses*, has recently appeared. The volume is extremely large, the largest so far, and clearly represents an enormous expenditure of both time and money. The price of only $13 is a bargain and speaks well for such non-profit, state support of the arts. Would that the United States Government supported similar projects in this country. Lutenists can only hope that the French will continue their efforts and hasten to publish many more works. Notwithstanding the often harsh criticism below, we owe the CNRS a debt of gratitude for their impressive and continuing efforts.

Vallet, along with Robert Ballard and J. B. Besard, is an important figure in the history of the late Renaissance lute. His music is always well written, eminently idiomatic, and generally delightful. Vallet certainly must have had a brilliant technique, although most of his music is playable with only moderate ability. Some pieces are quite easy and a few extremely difficult, but most are in between. His pieces are, however, more a player's than a listener's music. Even though Vallet's ability at making diminutions is exemplary, he relies on it a bit too much. He tends rather to sound like Vallet all the time. A more widely envisaged music would be more appetizing, but what Vallet does he does beautifully. I, for one, never tire of playing his lovely preludes, exquisite fantasies, and lively dances, such as the *passamezzo, galliard, courante,* and *volte*. In addition there are lovely pavans, such as the "Complainte," and settings of popular tunes of the day, such as "Boerimeke," "Est-ce mars," and the English "Can she excuse my wrongs" and "Lord Souch." The 260 pages of music in this volume should keep a lutenist happy for a long period of time.

In the fifties there were few lutenists around, and it doesn't seem to have occurred to the CNRS people that some day perhaps there would be. Their project, from the start, was organized from a librarian's point of view; that is, to produce the kind of book that would sell well to libraries. They have persisted in this effort to produce library-oriented books and, unfortunately, have ignored the

fact that there are lutenists today who would like to play this music in a convenient format. The music is presented in newly set tablature with a parallel transcription for keyboard above, thereby giving the transcription more prominence than the tablature. The space required for this double presentation is perhaps two and a half times more than would be necessary for the tablature alone. Since less music than in the original appears on each page, more page turns are required. For example, the "Mendicante Fantasy," which in the original occupies one spread of two pages, here occupies five pages, requiring two page turns. The lute player has no hands to spare for page turning, so obviously the lute player was not in mind when the format was chosen. Who then was in mind? A keyboardist? It seems unlikely that a keyboardist would bother with this music; he has plenty of his own, and besides lute music tends to sound thin and simplistic on a keyboard. I am afraid we have to look further. Perhaps the musicologist is the target. The average musicologist reads conventional notation, but not tablature—the transcription alone would do for him. The format, as I see it, is right for no one except a librarian who has everything in one convenient package and can get by with one catalog entry. This is like manufacturing cars that are convenient only for parking-garage attendants.

I personally do not see any value in resetting Vallet's beautifully engraved tablature. The original is extremely clear, easy to read, and nearly free of mistakes. The CNRS tablature, on the other hand, is small and often very fuzzy. Most lutenists enjoy playing from originals, and there is then no possibility of the typographical errors that have plagued past CNRS editions (although this one is nearly free of them). The resetting in tablature adds nothing new; there is little editing here; so why the great effort to do what was already done by Vallet and done better? Any mistakes in the original could easily be noted in footnotes.

Vallet was one of the few composers who added left-hand fingering, although not consistently. It was done through small discreet dots to the left of a tablature letter. The lutenist could easily ignore these if he wished, since they did not print darkly; but he could, of course, study them to learn Vallet's suggested fingering if he wished. The editor of this work, Monique Rollin, decided that Vallet's system was poor, so she substituted numbers for the original dots. This is all very well, except that the added numbers are considerably larger than the tablature letters, thereby reversing Vallet's intent. The result is that if one has familiarity with Italian or Spanish tablature, the eyes tend to jump to the numbers first, they being larger and darker, and the player is confused. The tablature is often so cluttered with these large numbers, right-hand fingering, and

ornaments that a concentrated effort is required to unscramble it all. Vallet's original is better left alone.

If a transcription is felt necessary, why must it run parallel to the tablature? Why not give it all together in the back of the book? This would allow fewer page turns for everyone. The French Musicological Society did this with its celebrated edition of Gaultier's *Rhetorique des Dieux*, published in two volumes—the first contained a facsimile of the original and the second a transcription.

The CNRS volume begins with an excellent and thorough biographical study of Vallet. Although little is known of him, what is known is very interesting and gives valuable insights into the life of a lutenist in the early seventeenth century. What is missing here is a description, critique, or evaluation of Vallet's music. The average reader would welcome an expert's opinion of Vallet's art.

Next is a commentary on Vallet's fingering and ornaments. Miss Rollin makes it clear that she does not think much of Vallet's fingering for the right or left hand. She complains of his too frequent use of the little finger of the left hand on the *d* fret of the first two courses. Yet this is the fingering preferred by other lutenists of the time, and I personally find it very serviceable and logical. If this is the way the lute was played in those days, we should be thankful to Vallet that he bothered to tell us so. Would that others, notably Dowland, had done the same. Miss Rollin says that certain *tenues* (hold marks) are rendered impossible by Vallet's fingering. I wish she had specified which ones, since I found them not at all contradictory to his fingering. She also complains about Vallet's right-hand fingering at cadences, where the use of the middle and index finger seems to her to be backward. This is true from the viewpoint of the modern guitarist, but not of the sixteenth or seventeenth century lutenist. With this technique, a lutenist could play any music of the time with no adjustment of fingering. It was an admirable system full of order and certainty. If Vallet did not complain about it, or for that matter if any other writer of the period did not, why should Monique Rollin?

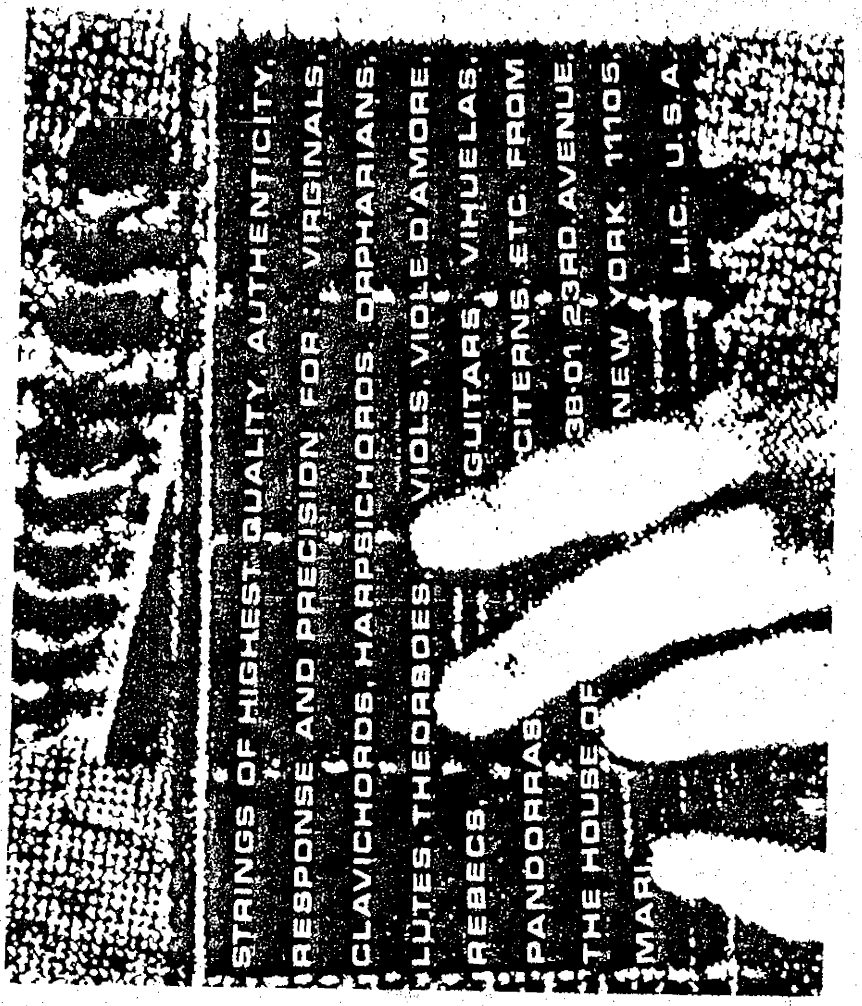
Miss Rollin prefers the Frenchman Besard's precise instructions on the plucking of chords to the naturalized Dutchman Vallet's simple entry in the "Petit Discours." A comparison of them is unfair, since Vallet did not intend to write a treatise on technique as Besard did. Vallet's chart was meant merely to inform the reader of the meaning of the symbols used in the tablature. In this it succeeds perfectly well. Despite Besard's lengthy treatise on fingering, no fingerings are given in the body of music in his *Thesaurus Harmonicus*. Vallet's chart in no way contradicts Besard; the two are in agreement on technique. What bothers Miss Rollin is that Vallet does not explain how to pluck chords of more than four notes. It

seems to this observer that any lutenist who would tackle this music would already know how it is done.

The table of concordances that follows Miss Rollin's comments is valuable and interesting. Many readers will perhaps be surprised to learn how many English pieces are in the collection. However, the early seventeenth century was a period of great English influence in Holland; other collections also give evidence of this.

The introduction ends with a short and cogent statement by the transcriber, Andre Souris. Let me say at this point that the transcriptions are excellent—very straightforward and readable. Souris' work has come a long way since his early Gombosi-like, complexity-creating transcriptions. He starts by saying that Vallet's tablatures "hardly present any problems." Later he says, "Without doubt the *tenuto* sign... is ambiguous because it only shows the holding of a finger..." It is hard to reconcile these two statements. I tend to believe the former and cannot understand why a transcriber of tablature should complain about a composer's own *tenuto* marks. Having these marks sprinkled so liberally in the tablature is a transcriber's and, indeed, also a performer's dream. In any case, I read through the music carefully and did not find one instance where the *tenutos* were erroneous contrapuntally or technically. Vallet was too good a musician not to do it right.

For those who feel a need for the introduction, this book is reasonably priced and should be obtained. It is possible that the average lutenist would be happier with a Xerox copy of the originals made from microfilm. Despite all criticism, however, one should be thankful to the CNRS for publishing this music in any format.—*Stanley Buetens*



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