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JOURNAL
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LUTE SOCIETY
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JOAN MYERS, *Editor*

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NOTES ON FOUR SIXTEENTH-CENTURY TUSCAN LUTEBOOKS

By Carol MacClintock

It is a curious fact that although an extraordinary number of printed Italian lute collections remain from the sixteenth century, relatively few manuscript sources from the same period exist. Of the twenty-four manuscripts in Italian tablature listed by Johannes Wolf in his *Handbuch der Notationskunde,* less than half date from the latter part of the sixteenth century.

Some of the larger, more important printed collections have been published in transcription and many more have been the subject of studies and dissertations, so we have a fairly good idea of the repertory and of the style of the period. The manuscript sources, however, have been largely overlooked. One may ask why this is so. The reason is not difficult to ascertain. Most of the manuscripts are small, rather tattered and worn books that once belonged to amateurs or to competent but not virtuoso players. Very often they are poorly written and difficult to read. The repertoire contained in most of them is by no means as sophisticated as that found in the volumes published by acknowledged masters, nor is the technical level greatly advanced. It is easy to see why earlier scholars thought them to be of little interest or worth.

Nevertheless, not all of them deserve to be scorned, for their contents cast much light on the music enjoyed by the common people—artisans, small merchants, and the like—and the tablatures give us a good idea of the general level of the players' ability and of the technique required to accompany *villanelle* and popular songs and to play music for dancing. Further, such manuscripts often preserve items not found elsewhere or variants of well-known pieces, particularly dances. In the case of vocal music, full texts often are given in the lutebooks, enabling us to complete textual underlay where only incipits or first stanzas may be given in other sources.[1] Dances in their skeletal, basic form, not overlaid with passages or

[1]This was the case with Giaches de Wert's setting of "Occhi de l'alma mia (*Canzonette,* 1589). I was able to give the full text from the lute MS Lucca 774.

ornamental cadences, can be found in these lutebooks, as can Tenors and Bass melodies, which often seem obscure in the elaborate versions of the prints. In many instances, dances differ radically in both harmonic and melodic structure from those that are more familiar; an example is the *chiarenzana* of Lucca 774, which does not resemble any other known *chiarenzana,* or the *tordiglione* of Magliabechiano XIX.179, which is in ¢ instead of the more usual 3/4 meter. Above all, these sources may provide excellent music for instructional purposes and even for concert performance, for many of the little pieces are well within the competence of a beginning lute player and have a certain naive charm.

To be sure, often there are obstacles in working with such manuscripts. The most common problems are rhythmic signs displaced or missing and notes written on wrong lines or omitted completely. There also may be problems of reading or deciphering symbols due to ink blots or to ink having come through from the other side of the page. Sometimes a corner may be torn away, taking with it the opening or final notes of a piece. But no matter; transcription of such manuscripts is fascinating, and usually the problems can be solved.

In light of the above statements, I wish to point out four manuscripts that are of considerable interest. Three are in Florence and one in Lucca. They are: Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Fondo Magliabechiano XIX. 109, 168, and 179; and Lucca, Biblioteca Communale MS 774. From their contents, which are similar and which concord with printed sources of the 1580's, as well as from the date 1582 found in MS 168, we can safely assume them all to have been written within the same decade. The provenance of the three Florentine manuscripts is the Medici collection; that of the Lucca manuscript is uncertain, but it must have belonged to someone in well-to-do Lucchese society. Each book contains dances, instrumental pieces, and songs, some fully texted and with a vocal part in mensural notation, others merely intabulated with vocal text given below. There are also many untitled pieces, chiefly dances.

In appearance, all four manuscripts are similar: small, oblong paper volumes measuring roughly 5 by 7 inches with three, four, or six six-line staves to a page. The three Florentine volumes are notated very clearly and neatly; the Lucca manuscript less so, with many pages showing ink blots and careless placement of rhythmic signs as well as figures scratched out, scrawls, and "doodles" here and there. Each is written in Italian tablature. Three use the conventional rhythmic signs, but Magl. XIX. 179 has notes to indicate rhythmic values. Tempus signs almost never occur. Barring is regular for the most part, but is often omitted in *contrappunti* and pieces of the

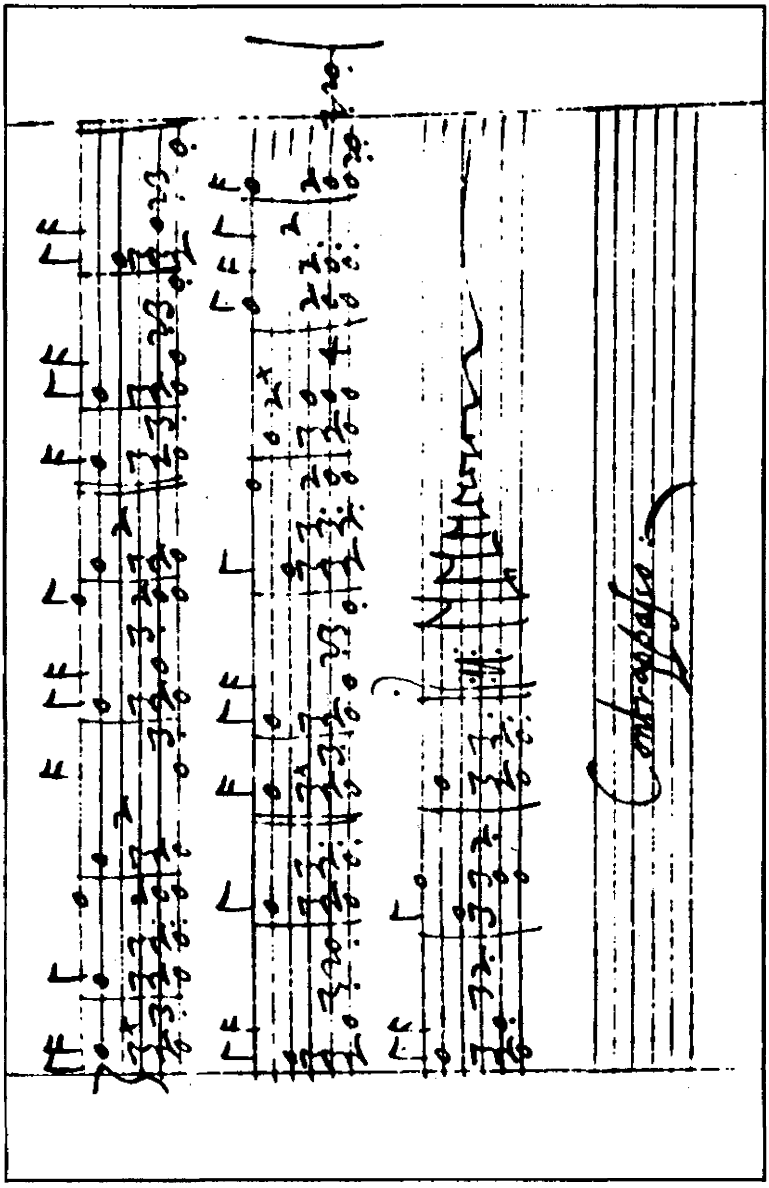
nature of *tastar de corde* and *ricercari.* Repeat signs, fermatas, dots to indicate right hand fingering, and little x's or +'s to show that a finger must be held down, occur regularly in all the manuscripts. In general high positions are not employed, but occasionally the fret numbers go as high as 12. Contrary to what one might expect, there is practically no ornamentation in any of the pieces—certainly what we think of as "normal" ornamented cadences and passages are very rare. Two factors may explain this: First, the music was written for amateur players who had little skill in difficult and subtle ornamentation, and second, in the case of the dances, the music was intended to be played for dancing, not merely to be listened to. Despite this simplicity, the repertory is extensive and varied and, to this scholar at least, interesting.

The manuscript Magliabechiano XIX. 109 contains sixty-eight items. It is written in a clear, neat hand—in fact, in two different hands—and is very legible. There is no table of contents or index; however, Becherini has given a listing of the contents on page 45 of her catalogue of music manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence.[2] The first seventeen items are for voice and lute; the lute accompaniment is given and the text of the songs written beneath the tablature, but the vocal melody is lacking. The singer (who was perhaps also the lutenist) was expected to know his part. Number 3, "Se sciorr' si vedrà," has a concordance in the Bottegari lutebook, so it is possible to reconstruct that item. It will, however, take a great deal of searching to find the vocal melodies of the other sixteen. All the lute parts are quite chordal, obviously accompaniments, and stay well below what must have been the melody.

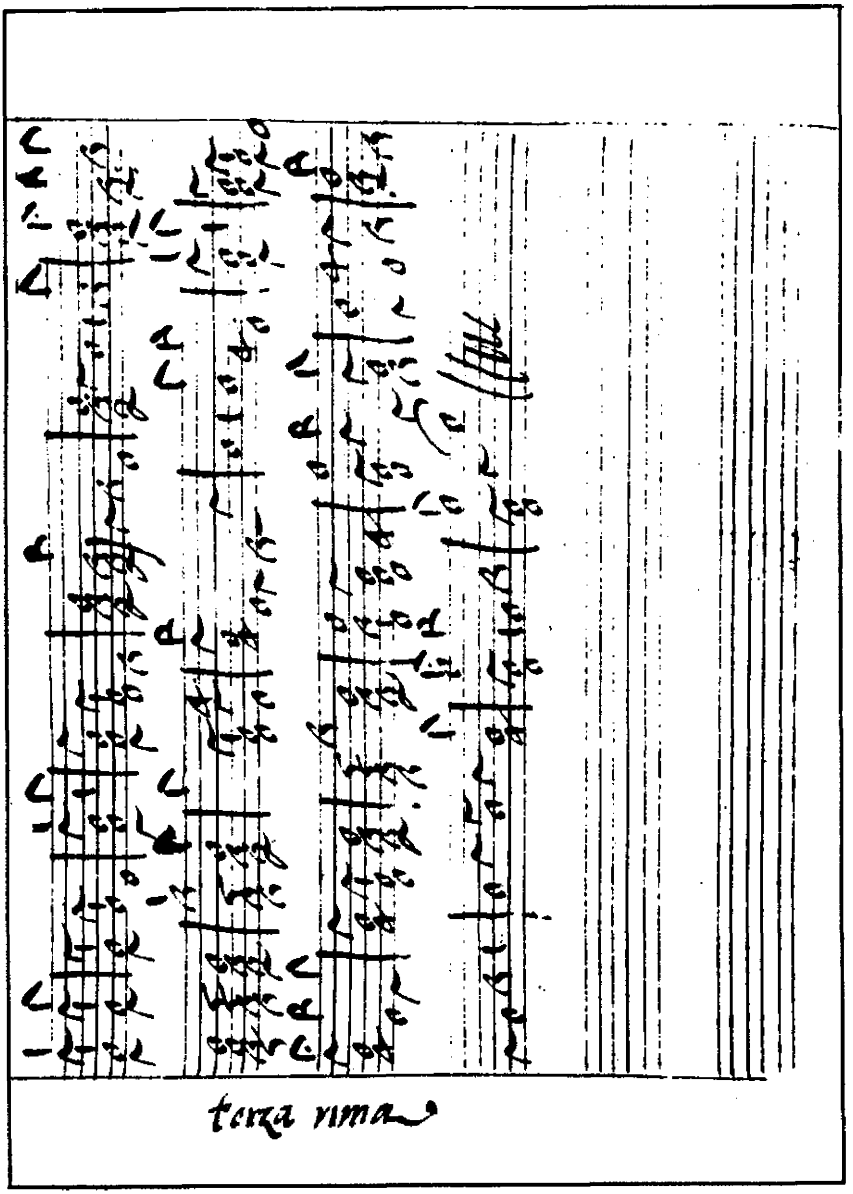
Numbers 19 through 35 are instrumental pieces—five *galliards,* a *pavane,* a *passo e mezzo,* and several with no titles. From Number 36 to the end most of the compositions bear no title, but it is clear that they are dances or *ricercari* or free compositions, not intabulations of vocal works. The most interesting item in this group is Number 40, a long "Fantasia" (or "Ricercar") in twenty-two sections or *partite,* with each section carefully numbered. The opening measures are given in Example 1. The only other piece that has a title is Number 56, "Ricercata del secondo tono."

The degree of difficulty of most of the pieces in the collection is moderate; however, a few of the compositions would require an advanced technique, for they use frets 8, 9, x, 11, and or , which I assume to mean 12. There are no peculiarities in the manuscript. Mensuration signs occur in only one intabula-

[2]B. Becherini, *Catalogo dei manoscritti musicali della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze* Kassel Bärenreiter, 1959).



Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Central Fondo Magliabechiano XIX. 168, fol. 6



Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Fondo Magliabechiano XIX. 109, fol. 13v

tion, where ¢ changes to 3 and back to ¢. Not a single piece shows any florid embellishments or rapid *passaggi.*

Ex. 1. "Fantasia" (Florence, B. Naz. Magl. XIX. 109), fol. 21v

Magliabechiano XIX. 168, dated 1582, also holds a repertory of interest to the lutenist. Becherini's catalogue of its contents is fairly complete. The manuscript contains only three songs. These, like the ones in MS 109, are lute accompaniments with text, lacking the vocal melody. The remainder of its contents are dances, ricercars, and intabulations of well-known madrigals. A number of pieces have no title. Of these, the one on folio 3 is a "Romanesca," that on folio 4-4v a "Passo e mezzo," and the one on folio 13v-14 appears to be a ricercar. Several instrumental pieces from printed lute books are included–a "Spagna" and a "Ricercar" by Francesco da Milano, and the galliard "La Rocha e 'l fuso," which appeared in many sources between 1546 and 1582. The "Contrappasso" in this manuscript (Example 2) concords with the "Contrappasso" in both Lucca 774 and Magl. XIX. 179. Their source may have been Caroso's "Contrappasso balletto" in *Il Ballerino* of 1581. These three *contrapassi* are among the very few examples of the music for this dance, about which little is known.[3] All the pieces are of moderate difficulty and, like the preceding group, quite devoid of elaborate ornamentation.

[3]See C. Sachs, *World History of the Dance* (New York, Norton, 1937), p. 307.

Ex. 2. "Contrappasso" (Florence, B. Naz. Magl. XIX. 168), fol. 6

Magliabechiano XIX. 179 is the smallest of the three Florentine sources. It is undated, but its repertory places it in the 1580's. Although listed by Becherini, it is not inventoried. Its contents follow:

No.	1	Untitled dance
	2	Anime liete (intabulation of a canzonet; no text)
	3	Contrappasso
	4	Spagnoletta
	5	Pavaniglia
	6	Corrente
	7	. . . ano gagliarda
	8	. . . di Spagna
	9	Untitled
	10	Untitled
	11	Passo e mezzo d'ignoto
	12	Untitled
	13	La Pervignana
	14	Untitled
	15	Monaca (with Ritornello)
	16	Three short untitled compositions
	17	Pavana di Sr. Giovanni

The untitled pieces are chiefly dances. As in the other manuscripts, the compositions are attractive and do not demand a virtuoso technique. "La Pervignana" is especially worth mentioning. Whether the title refers to a person, a dance, or a bass melody is impossible to say. It is forty-eight measures in length, consisting of two strains of twelve measures each, both repeated with variants to

make an A A' B B' structure. The opening strain is given in Example 3.

Ex. 3. "La Pervignana" (Florence, B. Naz. Magl. XIX. 179), fol. 9-10

Lucca 774 is the largest and perhaps the most interesting of the group. It is also the most untidy and at times difficult to read. The eighty-four compositions provide a varied repertory that reflects the tastes of the period. Because a full inventory of the manuscript will appear in the *RISM* series in the near future, we shall merely give a survey of types and a brief listing. There are:

14 Passo in mezzo ("passo *in* mezzo" is always used here)
10 Galliards
8 Romanesche
5 Contrappunto sopra il Tenore dell Abb(ate?)
3 Contrappunto (on another bass)
2 Fiorentina
Guerra d'amore (inc.)
Contrappunto sopra il Tenore Grande
Tordiglione
La Moresca (inc.)
Gamba con la Gagliarda
Bagni d'asciutto
Tu ti parti cor mio
Il ballo delle Torcie
La Speranza
Chiarenzana Pelliciotta
Tornando da Bologna
Bascie Marchese
Spagnoletta
Barriera
Santo Ercolano (*pavane*)
All' arme, all' arme
Fantina e la Gagliarda
Bergamasca

* F♯ in original.

Contrappunto di P. M.
Alamanna
Saltorello
Canario spagnuolo
Contrappasso
Contentezza d'amore–Balletto
La Corrente–balletto francese

13 songs, lute accompaniment and text; 3 with vocal parts in mensural notation

As can be seen from the above, most of the compositions are dances, with a few intabulations of vocal pieces. A brief "Pavaniglia" and "Fiorentina" will serve to illustrate the general nature of the collection (Examples 4 and 5). Some of the dances would seem to be

Ex. 4. "Fiorentina" (Lucca 774), fol. 11v

Ex. 5. "Pavaniglia Spagnoletta" (Lucca 774), fol. 19v

unique. I find no concordances for "Santo Ercolano," "Chiarenzana Pelliciotta," "Bascie Marchese," and "Tordiglione" in the literature I have been able to search; there may be others that are unique.

The four manuscripts together offer a rich repertory indeed for the lutenist.* Let us hope that some of our lute players will avail themselves of these collections and bring again to light music that charmed another age.

*The writer hopes to bring out a selection of pieces from the four manuscripts discussed.

THE LUTE IN THE CZECH LANDS AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

By Adrienne Simpson

Before 1620

Only a small quantity of lute music is preserved in the Czech lands,[1] and very little of what exists comes from the Renaissance period. On first thought this seems surprising, since it is obvious that the lute was well-known there from early times. Pictorial evidence certainly survives; perhaps the nicest example is one of the illuminations in the vernacular Olomoucká Bible of the fourteenth century where a musician is shown playing a lute-type instrument which he appears to be plucking with a quill.[2] We know that the musical establishments of the Czech nobility often included lutes and, presumably, lutenists. Some of the inventories have survived to prove this fact; the inventory of the Rožmberk band, which included several lutes in its collection of some 175 instruments, has become quite well-known.[3] Records, in the form of legal documents and similar non-musical items, also exist that bring alive the names of Czech lutenists of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In addition, two lutenists from Leipzig, Valerius Otto and Matthaus Reymann, are known to have worked in Bohemia around the turn of the seventeenth century. Otto, who was organist at the Tyn church in Prague, is better known for his compositions for viols,[4] but lute pieces by him are still extant. Reymann seems to have been music-master in the family of Peter Cejka of Olbramovic. His book, *Noctes Musicae,* which was published in Heidelberg in 1598, is dedicated to several members of the Cejka family. Probably other

[1] The "Czech lands" comprise Bohemia and Moravia. Slovakia, the third part of present-day Czechoslovakia, is not only ethnically different but its political and cultural development was, for many centuries, entirely dissimilar.

[2] This bible is in the Státní vědecká knihovna (State scientific library) in Olomouc as Ms. M. III.1. The illustration comes from fol. 276 a.

[3] Jaroslav Vanicky, "The Rožmberk Band and its Inventory," *The Consort,* Vol. 22 (1965), pp. 17-30.

[4] Valerius Otto, *Newe Paduanen, Intraden und Currenten* (Leipzig, 1611).

Instrumentalists in consort, from a Czech manuscript, the Olomouc Bible of the fourteenth century

foreign lutenists were also in service in Bohemia and Moravia during the period prior to 1620.

The earliest surviving lutebook in the country is a copy of Judenkünig's *Ein Schöne kunstliche Underweisung* (Vienna, 1523) that was preserved in the monastery library of Staré Brno,[5] while the earliest tablature of Cezch origin is believed to have been a manuscript from the library of one Zachariaš of Hradec. This passed at his death (1589) to the library of the Jesuit College in Jindřichův Hradec, but its whereabouts cannot now be traced. This leaves as the presumed earliest Czech source the substantial, though incomplete, manuscript now housed in the Music Department of the National Museum in Prague.[6] Its provenance is unknown, there is no date, and it has been considerably damaged by water so that some of its surviving eighty-three leaves are indecipherable. Most of the contents consist of intabulations (in German tablature) of madrigals or villanellas and arrangements of German folksongs. There are also dances: galliards, courantes, a "Paduana Hispanica," and a branle gay. The sarabande by Gaultier is probably a piece by Ennemond Gaultier, who was in Vienna at the end of the sixteenth century. Only one piece helps with dating—the so-called "Batori-Tanz" which, Vogl conjectures,[7] was probably written to celebrate the visit to Prague of the Hungarian prince Sigismund Bathory in 1597. Particularly interesting is the "Praeludium Stephanii Laurentii Jacobides." Jacobides appears to be a native Czech composer; at least the name is a fairly common one in Prague records of the period. He could possibly have been the compiler of the manuscript since no compositions attributed to him exist in other sources.

The earliest complete lute manuscript of Czech origin is another collection in German tablature, for seven-course Renaissance lute, written out by Jan Arpin of Dornsdorf.[8] Again there is no date, but Arpin died in 1606, and it is possible, on stylistic grounds, that some of his collection was compiled before 1600. There is a clear division in the manuscript after which the numbering begins anew, so it certainly seems as though he added a second, later part to his work. Obviously the book served a teaching purpose: The compositions appear in graded order of difficulty and several "master and pupil" duets are placed at the beginning of the manuscript. Whether Arpin was the master or the pupil is not possible to determine, but the

[5]Now in the Brno University Library, Ms. ST 2 4221.

[6]Music Department, National Museum in Prague, Ms. XIII B 237.

[7]Emil Vogl, "Lautenisten der böhmischen Spätrenaissance," *Die Musikforschung*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (1965), pp. 281-290. This article gives the fullest information on some of the early Czech tabulatures.

[8]Now in the Zwichau Ratsschule Bibliothek, Ms. CXV3, catalogue number 50.

accuracy of the hand is not that of a novice. From a Czech point of view the book is interesting for the number of national dances and intabulations of Czech folksongs that it includes, among them an intabulation of the famous Czech love song "Dobrou noc má mila." Otherwise the contents are fairly typical of the repertoire of the period: passamezzos with saltarellos attached, galliards and other dances, intabulations of Italian madrigals, and, less typical, some Polish dances.

Only one other collection of Czech lute music antedates 1620. This is the lutebook of Mikulaš Smal of Lebensdorf, also written in German tablature for a seven-course instrument.[9] Its history is much better documented than that of the Arpin book. Smal, whose date of birth is unknown, appears to have been something of a black sheep. Brought up in a Protestant family, he became a Roman Catholic and probably served the Jesuits most of his life. From 1608, he had connections with Martinic, the Imperial Hofmarschall for Bohemia and, either then or slightly later, he became a member of the Hofmarschall's retinue. Martinic's flagrant infringements of Bohemian rights led to his "defenestration" by a Prague mob on May 23, 1618. From this event the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War is usually dated. Smal proudly proclaims his connection with Martinic on his title page (indeed, the Martinic arms appear on the book's cover, which indicates that it formed part of the Hofmarschall's library and may have been written out at his request). The next page has the supposed commencing and concluding dates of the work–1613 and 1615 respectively. In contrast to the Arpin book, there is no evidence of nationalism in the contents. Intabulations of German songs, including spiritual songs such as "Uns ist ein Kindlein heut geboren," predominate. There are dances of many kinds–*correntos*, galliards, bergamasks, even a so-called Spanish dance–while Italian taste is represented by six passamezzos, with from three to six variations each, and some independent passamezzos and saltarellos.

The reasons for the small amount of lute music surviving in Bohemia before 1620 are twofold. The first lies in the fundamental difference in the output of Czech composers during the Middle Ages and Renaissance as compared with the output of composers in other European countries. Apart from a few medieval instrumental melodies and a few tablatures, no instrumental music survives in the Czech lands earlier than the seventeenth century; in fact, apart from songs of the minnesingers and a few folksongs, no secular vocal music survives either. This argues a preoccupation with things spiritual–demonstrable when the long drawn-out conflicts between

[9]State and University Library, Prague, Ms. XXIII F 174.

Hussites and Taborites, Jesuits and Bretheren are remembered. The once powerful Hussites certainly frowned upon instrumental music. It also argues a long tradition of extempore playing. This must have applied to the town bands that we know existed in the sixteenth century, as well as to the unpretentious ensembles kept by the lesser nobility. The only musicians likely to be literate were those who played instruments possessing full polyphonic and harmonic possibilities. So, in a sense, lutebooks such as those of Arpin and Smal must stand as the most complete secular representations of Czech Renaissance musical culture.

Another reason for the lack of surviving material is connected with the geographical and political position of the Czech lands. They were, for centuries, a major European battlefield. Wars undoubtedly had the effect of isolating the country from cultural developments elsewhere in Europe, so it is not surprising to find, for instance, that German lute tablature lingers there until well into the seventeenth century.[10]

But the last efforts of the Czechs to free themselves from Habsburg domination, which began with the "defenestration" of 1618 and ended with defeat in the nasty little skirmish called the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, had even more far-reaching consequences. It caused wholesale destruction and depredation in the country during the period of the Thirty Years' War. Cultural life almost ceased to exist until the position stabilized and, when it did, the patrons and requirements had altered. For this reason it is possible to make a rather clear division between Czech Renaissance and Baroque culture, with 1620 as the crucial year. It is impossible to guess how much musical material was destroyed in the strife, but a certain amount of destruction must have occurred.

After 1620

In contrast to other European countries, the golden age of lute music in the Czech lands comes in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The new arbiters of taste in Bohemia and Moravia after the disastrous Thirty Years' War were the imported nobility—adventurers from Italy and Austria who were rewarded for their support of the imperial crown with the estates of the dispossessed Protestant Czech nobility. It is hardly surprising that

[10] In the National Museum in Prague, Ms. V C 25, is an anonymous Bohemian treatise on lute playing ("Naučeni jak se ma na loutnu učiti hráti") which first gives directions for playing from German tablature and follows it with elementary instructions for the French tablature. The binding of the manuscript is dated 1642, although the contents may well be slightly earlier. The treatise is chiefly interesting for its fully-fingered version of "Puer natus in Bethlehem."

this influx of foreigners into the highest positions brought a new outlook and a new style, completing the destruction of cultural life as it had been known before the war.

One of the great collections of lute music from which the taste of the time can be gauged is that of Roudnice, a castle belonging to the Lobkowitz family. Here one finds listed in the inventories instruments by "Lucas Maler und Magno Dieffopruecher," together with a large number of printed and manuscript tablatures for lute and guitar.[11] The printed books, all of French origin, show immediately how complete the conquest had been. The earliest is Denis Gaultier's *Pièces de luth de D.G. sur Trois differents modes nouveaux* printed in Paris in 1669. Three other important prints in the Roudnice Library are: Denis Gaultier, *Livre de Tabulature des pièces de Luth de Mr. Gaultier, Sr. de Nève et de Mr. Gaultier son Cousin* (Paris, *circa* 1664); Jacques Gallot, *Pièces de Luth, composée sur differents Modes par Jacques de Gallot* (Paris, 1670); and Charles Mouton, *Pieces de Luth* (Paris, 1699). The manuscript collections continue the story with pieces by Le Beuf, Du Faut, Gaultier, Mouton, Gallot le jeune, Gallot le vieux, Arobet, C. de Tallard, and St. Luc. The latter is undoubtedly Jacques-Alexandre St. Luc (born in 1663) who is known to have had connections with the Lobkowitz family. The Roudnice archives, with over ninety compositions, provide the major source for this little-known lutenist. There are two manuscripts devoted solely to him, both entitled "Pieces de luth acc. d'un Violin et le Basse par le Sieur Saint Luc," and his solo lute music appears in a third manuscript, together with pieces by de Tallard.[12]

The most interesting early eighteenth-century collection of lute music is that from the Benedictine monastery of Rajhrad. This music was described by Jaroslav Pohanka,[13] but his discussion was confined to the four tablatures from this source that are in the Music Department of the Moravian Museum in Brno. Since he wrote, other books from the collection have come to light. As a collection, this body of tablatures supplements the picture of musical taste given by the material from Roudnice and shows the change in emphasis brought about by the passage of time. (The last Roudnice sources are *circa* 1700, the earliest book from Rajhrad is 1695.)

The complete list of tablatures known to have been in the

[11]All the tablatures from Roudnice are now in the State and University Library in Prague or in the National Museum in Prague.

[12]The call marks are: National Museum X L 210 (the solo music) and State and University Library II Kk 49 and II Kk 54.

[13]Jaroslav Pohanka, "Loutnové tabulatury z Rajhradského kláštera," *Casopis Moravského Musea,* Vol. XL (1955), pp. 193-203.

Rajhrad library, with present locations and comments on the contents, is as follows:

1. Philipp Franz le Sage de Richee, *Cabinet der Lauten* (Breslau, 1695). This was seen by Johannes Wolf and noted in his *Handbuch der Notationskunde,* II, p. 101, but is now missing.

2. Ferdinand Ignaz Hintherleithner, *Lauthen-Concert* (Vienna, 1699). This comprises ten partitas for violin, lute, and bass. It is now in Bratislava, Katedra hudobnej vedy a výchovy, without a call mark.

3. Johann Georg Weichenberger, *Lauten Concert* (Vienna, *circa* 1700). Music for violin, lute, and bass. Now in the same library as Tablature 2 above, with no call mark.

4. Wenzel Ludwig Freiher von Radolt, *Die Aller Treüste Verschvigneste und nach so wohl Fröhlichen als Traurigen Humor sich richtente Freindin* (Vienna, 1701). This comprises compositions for two lutes with violin and bass. It is in the same library as Tablature 2, again minus a call mark.

5. Manuscript collection of pieces by Du But and Weichenberger, *circa* 1700. It is now in the Music Department of the Moravian Museum, call mark A 371.

6. Manuscript collection, *circa* 1700, containing music by Aureo Dix and others. It is now in the Music Department of the Moravian Museum, Brno, call mark A 372.

7. *Lautenbuch des Casimir Comes a Werdenberg et Namischt, von 1713.* Named composers in this manuscript include Josef I, Fux, Lauffensteiner, Ph. Weilland, de W., Frischauff, and J.A. Questenberg, as well as many anonymous pieces. The book is now in the same library as Tablatures 5 and 6. The call mark is A 13 268.

8. Anonymous collection for mandora, a manuscript dating from after 1700, now in SAB E 6, box 296, K 139.

9. Manuscript collection, past-1700, for sixteen-course Angelica. Composers include M. Conte Castell, Richelieu's lutenist Louis, and Losy of Losynthal. Now in the same library as Tablatures 5, 6, and 7, call mark A 3329.

10. Wolf lists one more lute tablature ("Tabulatur des 17. Jhrh, deutscher Herkunft"), but this has not been located.[14]

All of these lutebooks assume an eleven-course instrument tuned Cc, Dd, Ee, Ff, Gg, Aa, dd, ff, aa, d', f'. The octave tunings are, of course, typical for the time. Equally typical, the pieces are rich in *agréments.* It can immediately be seen that the scope is wider here than in the Roudnice collection and that, although French composers are not neglected, emphasis has passed to the Viennese. Several Czech composers are represented and they are worth

[14]Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde,* Vol. II (Leipzig, 1919), p. 105.

examining in greater detail.

Jan Adam Questenberg (1678-1752) was the Count and owner of Jaromeřice, one of the major centers of baroque musicmaking. The minuet (Number 29 in Tablature 7) is the only composition known to be by him, although the Roudnice archive contains a piece dedicated to him by St. Luc. The composer of the dance pieces appearing under the cipher "de W." is, fairly certainly, Kazimír Václav of Verdenberk, the owner of the book, who died in 1731, and was, like Questenberg, a member of the new Czech nobility. Another aristocrat who wrote lute music, although none appears in the Rajhrad archive, was Philipp Hyacinth of Lobkovic (1680-1734), author of a suite in B major for lute.[15] But these three, and others more enigmatic such as Zlinsky and Cervinka, whose names also appear in manuscripts of the period, are as nothing compared with the two great exponents of Czech baroque lute music, Losy and Dix.

Jan Antonín Losy (1650-1721) was an aristocrat, later succeeding to the title of Count of Losynthal. His lifelong enthusiasms were for philosophy, which he studied at Prague University, and for music, especially lute music. He traveled in Germany, Italy, and France, absorbing the musical styles of these countries, and his interest in the music of Lully made him instrumental in introducing French taste into Bohemian musical culture. The typically French suites that he wrote for the lute gained wide popularity all over Europe. Today examples of them are preserved not only in the Rajhrad archive, but in the National Library in Vienna, in monastery libraries at Klosterneuburg and Kremsmünster, and in Berlin, Besançon, Nuremberg, Paris, and Schwerin. Often they appear in transcriptions for the guitar, while the Rajhrad archive contains Angelica transcriptions. More recently his music has been edited in staff notation in the Czech series *Musica Antiqua Bohemica* and the *Denkmäler Tonkünst in Osterreich.*[16]

One of Losy's close friends was the Prague lutenist Aureo (or Aureus) Dix. Dix is a frustratingly shadowy figure. Even his date of birth is conjectural (*circa* 1669), but his death occurred in 1719, a fact attested to by records in the church of St. Stephen in the New Town area of Prague. Only three sources of his music remain. They show that he deserved his title of "supreme Prague lutenist"—a title found in all contemporary references to him. The major source is the Rajhrad Tablature Number 6, which contains two complete suites, one in A major, one in g minor. Both consist of the usual sequence of

[15]Vienna Nationalbibliothek, supp. ms. 1078.

[16]Jan Antonín Losy, *Pièces de Guitarre,* [sic] *Musica Antiqua Bohemica* Vol. 38 (Prague, Státní Hudební Vydavatelství, 1958). A. Koczirc, *Osterreichische Lautenmusik zwischen 1650 und 1720, DTO,* XXV, Vol. 50 (Vienna, 1918).

Ms. A 372, Music Department of the Moravian Museum, Brno

dance movements, but in a very clear-cut, unornamented style, quite different from that of Losy and his other lutenist contemporaries. One piece, "Allemanda Aurej," is contained in a Prague manuscript.[17] The third source, a manuscript originating from the monastery at Grüssau, now in the Music Department of Warsaw University, provides seven more dance pieces in a collection that otherwise concentrates on the music of Denis Gaultier.[18]

Two other late seventeenth-century lutenists should be mentioned here: Antonius Eckstein (*circa* 1657-*circa* 1720), another lutenist of the Prague school whose compositions have largely vanished without trace, and the Benedictine monk Pater Ivan Jelinek (1683-1759), who created a considerable amount of music in an old-fashioned style from the isolation of his monastery near the Moravian capital of Brno.

In the eighteenth century the popularity of the lute sharply declined all over Europe and few names remain to consider. The most outstanding Czech exponents were the Kohout family. Jakub Kohout, the father, learned to play from Ernst Gottlieb Baron somewhere near the year 1710. Baron's contacts with Bohemian lutenists seem to have been strong, for his book, *Historische-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten,*[19] is a mine of information about Losy, Dix, and others. Jakub Kohout's younger son, Josef, worked in Paris for most of his life and wrote chamber music for "clavecin, harpe ou luth," while his oldest son, Karel (1726-82), was well-known in Vienna as a lute virtuoso. He composed concertos, quartets, and trios for lute and strings.[20] Although there were lute players in Prague until the first decade of the nineteenth century, they are more worthy of curiosity than evaluation. The story of Czech lute music really ends with two contemporaries of Karel Kohout, both of whom worked abroad. Jan Jiří Neruda was director of the Dresden Court Chapel until his death in 1780. His concerto for lute accompanied by violins, violas d'amore, two horns, and bass survives today in the library of the Brussels Conservatoire.[21] Václav Josef Spurný worked in Paris, but his concerto for obbligato lute with two violins and bass

[17] Prague National Museum IV E 36.

[18] Warsaw University Music Department, Ms. Grüssau 2010.

[19] Ernst Gottlieb Baron, *Historische-theoretische und praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nuremberg, Rüdiger, 1727).

[20] A modern edition of one concerto is in A. Koczirc, *Wiener Lautenmusik des 18. Jahrhunderts,* Das Erbe Deutscher Musik (Vienna/Leipzig, 1942).

[21] Brussels Conservatoire Ms. 4088.

is now in the Rostock University Library.[22] The history of the lute in the Czech lands, so often strange when compared with other European countries, thus concludes in a flourish of virtuosity.

[22]Rostock University Library mus. saec. XVIII 59/1

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THE MUSIC IN ITALIAN TABLATURES FOR THE FIVE-COURSE SPANISH GUITAR

BY RICHARD HUDSON

Italian music for the five-course guitar appears in over fifty printed books and more than a dozen manuscript sources of the seventeenth century, beginning with Girolamo Montesardo's *Nuova inventione d'intavolatura per sonare li balletti sopra la chitarra spagniuola* (Florence, 1606) and extending to the *Capricci armonici sopra la chitarra spagnola* (Bergamo, 1692) of Ludovico Roncalli. The earliest tablatures were instruction books for amateurs, presenting *rasgueado* or chordal pieces from the Italian and Spanish dance styles. The later sources, in which a *punteado* or lute-like style was combined with the *rasgueado* chords, contained compositions for skilled performers, emphasizing contemporary French dances as well as independent instrumental pieces, some of which derived from earlier *rasgueado* forms. I would like to describe the general development of Italian guitar music during the seventeenth century, the manner in which it incorporated the forms of three national dance styles, and the way in which some of the harmonic schemes evolved into significant baroque forms.

The history of the five-course Spanish guitar spans almost exactly the Baroque period in music history. Figure 1 shows its relationship to other types of guitar, giving for each the dates of the earliest and latest sources. The music for the sixteenth-century Spanish vihuela appears in the works of Milán (1536), Narváez, Mudarra, Valderrábano, Pisador, Fuenllana, and Daza (1576). Although there are a few pieces for the four-course guitar in the books of Mudarra (1546) and Fuenllana (1554), most of the music for this instrument was published in Paris (composed by Morlaye, Gorlier, Le Roy, and Brayssing) or in Louvain and Antwerp (a 1570 collection printed by Pierre Phalèse and Jean Bellère[1]). The earliest

[1] *Selectissima, elegantissimaque, gallica, italica et latina in guiterna ludenda carmina,* transcribed in *Flandrisches Gitarrenbuch,* F. J. Giesbert, ed., 2 vols. (Mainz, B. Schott's Söhne, 1969). For a description of the sources of both the vihuela and the four-course guitar, see Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed before 1600* (Cambridge,

music for the five-course guitar occurs in Juan Carlos Amat's *Guitarra española,* first published at Barcelona in 1586 (according to a letter contained in the later editions that still exist).[2] Succeeding Spanish tablatures for the instrument are not numerous: Briçeño (1626), Sanz (1674), Ruiz de Ribayaz (1677), Guerau (1694), Santiago de Murcia (1714), and Minguet (1774).[3] The Italian guitarist Francesco Corbetta popularized the instrument in France around the middle of the seventeenth century, and a series of French tablatures followed: Médard (1676), Grénerin (1680), De Visée (1682 and 1686), Derosier (1688), Carré, Matteis, Le Cocq (a 1729 collection by various composers), and Campion (a printed book in 1705 and a manuscript dated 1731).[4] Late in the eighteenth century, after the sources for the five-course guitar had ceased in Spain and Italy and France, the modern six-string instrument appeared, as indicated in the title of Antonio Ballestero's *Obra para guitarra de seis órdenes* (1780).[5]

Most of the surviving music for the five-course Spanish guitar originated in Italy; and the tablatures from 1606 to 1692 reveal a rich and varied musical development. I would like to organize the music of the guitar books in two ways: first, according to its

Mass., Harvard University Press, 1965). He lists the contents of each source in detail, gives its present location, and cites modern facsimile and transcribed editions. This book, of course, also includes the many printed lute tablatures of the sixteenth century.

[2]A reproduction of the copy at the Sibley Music Library, Eastman School of Music, has been published on microcard: University of Rochester Library, *Microcard Publications in Music, Collection of Early Music Books,* UR-54 2977. Excerpts from the book are printed in Felip Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona,* Vol. I (Barcelona, Palau de la Diputació, 1908), pp. 181-188.

[3]This date appears on the title page of the guitar portion of his *Reglas y advertencias generales que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores* (copy in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional), although at least some sections of the work were first published in 1752 and 1754. To these printed Spanish sources may be added the following manuscripts: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MSS M. 811 (dated 1705) and M. 2209 (by Antonio de Santa Cruz); and Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, No. 73 in the Pedrell *Catàlech* cited in the preceding footnote (Vol. I, p. 98).

[4]Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Vm.[7] 6221. There are a number of other guitar manuscripts in the same library, among them Vm.[7] 675 and Vm.[7] 6222, both undated.

[5]Two types of guitar have been omitted from Figure 1, since they are each represented by only a single source: the seven-course guitar, four *fantasie* for which occur in the *Intabolatura di lauto . . . Libro decimo* (Venice, 1549) of Melchiore de Barberiis; and the six-course guitar, music for which appears in Italian lute notation in *Secondo libro d'intavolatura di citara . . . raccolti da diversi autori* (Venice, 1602), copy in Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale. The history of lute music can be added to the chronology of Figure 1 by noting that in Italy the rich succession of tablatures that began in 1507 with Spinaccino continued until the early seventeenth century, when the instrument was almost completely replaced by the Spanish guitar. In a similar manner, published French lute music, commencing with the Attaingnant book of 1529 and extending well into the Baroque period with such composers as Denis Gaultier (1669) and his students, ceased abruptly when the five-course guitar became popular.

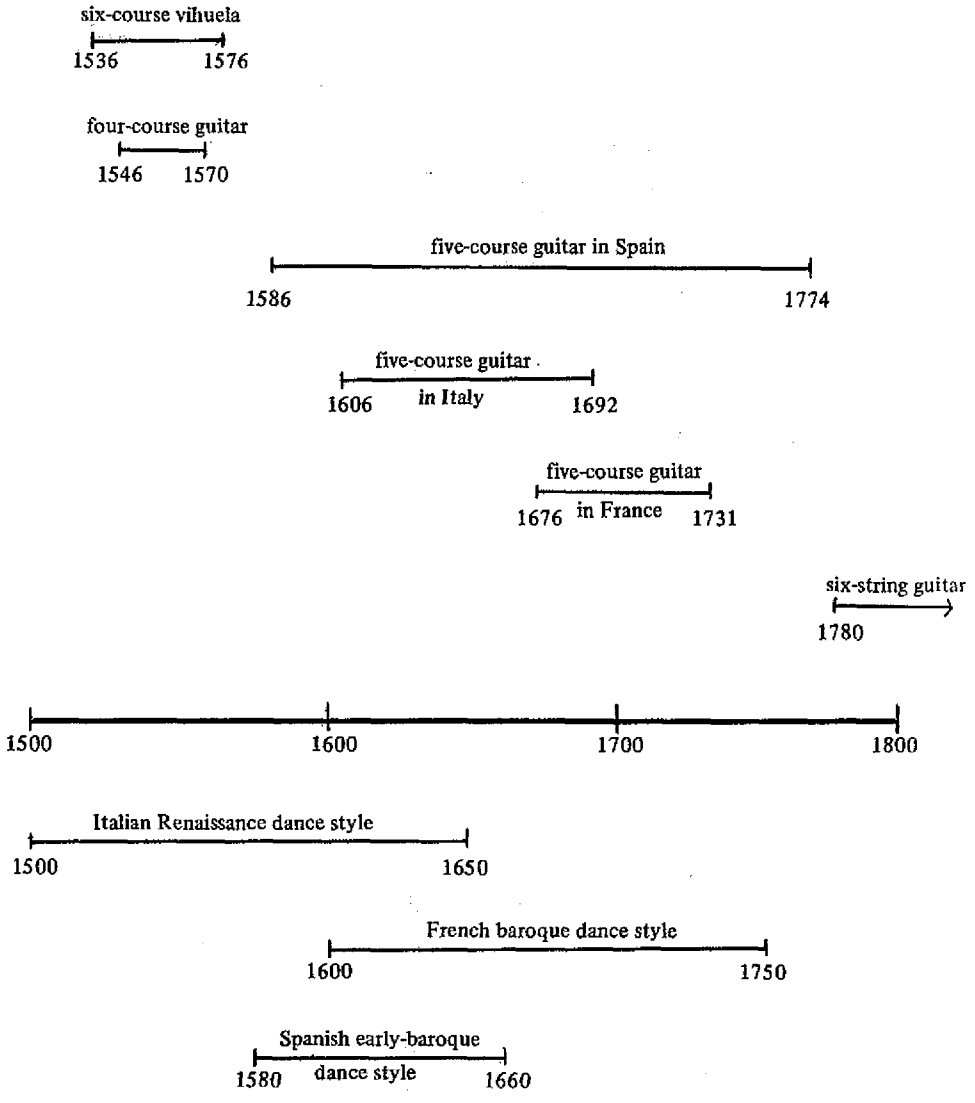


Fig. 1 The types of guitar used during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, and the dance styles that influenced Italian music for the five-course guitar

relationship with the Italian, Spanish, and French dance styles; and, second, with respect to two basic types of format—the instruction books of song and dance accompaniments that characterized the earlier period from 1606 to 1637, and the collections of serious art music that were more common from 1640 on. Figure 1 shows, in addition to the various types of guitar, the three dance styles involved in Italian guitar music. It was the overlapping of these styles with each other and with the life span of the *chitarra spagnola* in Italy that determined the particular manner in which the music of the tablatures developed. Figure 2 presents a summary of the principal forms belonging to each dance style. Figure 3 shows how these forms were incorporated into the two types of guitar book. I will turn first to a brief description of each of the dance styles, and then show how their forms coexisted in the Italian guitar books during the course of the seventeenth century.

The Italian Renaissance dance style existed from about 1500 to 1650. Although most of the surviving compositions are specifically dances (and for this reason I use the phrase "dance style"), a number of titles and the occasional appearance of the phrase *aria da* (or *per*) *cantar(e)* give evidence of a concurrent tradition of accompanied solo song. This popular Italian style thus included both songs and dances, as well as special instrumental music to be played before, between, or after the rounds or verses. The process of musical composition involved chordal frameworks and chordal or melodic methods of filling them in.[6] There were four standard chordal schemes, three for the mode *per B molle* and one for the mode *per B quadro*;[7] each contained eight root-position triads that could be spaced at equal or unequal intervals throughout a piece. The framework of a form was created by imposing a particular rhythmic structure upon one of the schemes. Hence, in most cases (and especially after around 1550), each example of any particular form would display the same succession of framework chords arranged in the same manner regarding the time intervals between them, as well as the same meter and overall phrase structure. In addition, there is evidence in some forms of an accompanying melodic framework.

The forms of this style that occurred most often in the guitar books are listed in Figure 2. The most popular dance after the middle of the sixteenth century was the *passamezzo*. Musically there were two types, each in duple meter, but each based on a different chordal

[6]I describe this process in more detail in "Chordal Aspects of the Italian Dance Style 1500-1650," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, Vol. III (1970), pp. 35-52.

[7]See my article "The Concept of Mode in Italian Guitar Music during the First Half of the Seventeenth Century," *Acta musicologica*, Vol. XLII (1970), pp. 163-183.

scheme: the *passamezzo antico* (or *passamezzo per B molle*) and the *passamezzo moderno (per B quadro)*. In each type the framework chords were set at equal intervals, thus determining a composition that was eight measures, or multiples thereof, in length. This harmonically and structurally determined piece could then be repeated a number of times as the accompaniment for a series of stylized dance steps, inserting between renditions two smaller units that were called *riprese* or *ritornelli.* The *ripresa* was also constructed according to harmonic principles and related to the rhythmic length of the main piece in certain prescribed ways.[8] In Figure 2 the various types of *ripresa* are shown in parentheses. A dance in duple meter was often paired with a triple dance, such as the *gagliarda* or *saltarello,* that utilized the same chordal framework. Longer chains of *riprese* often appeared at the end of such pairs.

Songs were constructed in a similar manner and also supplied with *riprese.* The *aria della romanesca* was the most popular of the vocal schemes. The word *aria* (originally meaning "scheme") was probably an abbreviation for *aria da cantar* (a scheme for singing), since it always seems to refer to vocal music. Usually only the instrumental accompaniment of such forms has survived, although purely instrumental variations on the vocal schemes may contain a hint of the melody that was sung. Ordinarily dances in Italy were not accompanied by singing, although some of the earlier titles suggest vocal participation. There was, however, great interest in the singing of poetry. The various musical schemes that became popular during the first half of the seventeenth century (see Figure 2) were therefore utilized sometimes for dancing and at other times for singing. The scheme labeled "Aria di Firenze" in one tablature would appear in another source as "Ballo di Firenze." The titles of the *monica* and *ruggiero* suggest vocal origin; the *pavaniglia* a dance. Some of these forms occurred occasionally during the sixteenth century, but they

[8]See my article "The Ripresa, the Ritornello, and the Passacaglia," to be published in a future issue (probably Fall, 1971) of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society.* The sections of music made up of *riprese* were purely instrumental insertions, during which there was usually neither singing nor dancing. Within a dance, such an interlude might have provided the dancers time to move to the proper positions for repeating the cycle of dance steps. In both songs and dances, *riprese* acted to set off the separate repetitions of the main piece. The term *ripresa* appeared in 1536, unlabeled examples even earlier. By 1581 the word *ripresa* was sometimes replaced by *ritornello*—a completely equivalent term, as far as I know. A special Spanish type appeared in 1606 called the *pasacalle,* which apparently had, as we will see, a somewhat more limited function and a more uniform harmonic construction than the sixteenth-century *riprese* and *ritornelli.* All three terms occurred in the Italian guitar books before 1640, and I have used the word *ripresa* in this article as the generic term for all of them. Each referred to a structural unit (usually two or four measures in length) within an instrumental prelude, interlude, or postlude and not (as the word *ritornello* was used in Italian monody and later in baroque vocal music generally) to the entire section of music. This fact accounts for the otherwise strange appearance of a plural title for a single group of *riprese.*

Fig. 2. Dance forms in the Italian guitar books (*riprese* are shown in parentheses; all the other Spanish and Italian forms are musical schemes to accompany songs or dances)

	Italian Renaissance dance style 1500-1650	Spanish early-baroque dance style 1580-1660	French baroque dance style 1600-1750
Forms from the sixteenth century	*(ripresa)* *passamezzo per B molle* *passamezzo per B quadro* *gagliarda* *romanesca*		
Forms popular the first half of the seventeenth century	*(ritornello)* *monica* *tenor di Napoli* *pavaniglia* *spagnoletta* *aria di Firenze, di palazzo, del gran duca* *ruggiero*	*(pasacalle)* *zarabanda* *chacona* *villano* *folia*	*allemande* *courante* *sarabande* *gigue*
Forms from the second half of the seventeenth century			*gavotte* *menuet*

all seem to have become enormously popular during the early years of the next century as schemes for both songs and dances. Except for the *spagnoletta*, they all use duple meter. They have multi-phrase structures, with sections sometimes repeated and with a harmonic framework based on varied forms of the regular chordal schemes. They thus continue the Italian practice of providing each form with a definite harmonic and rhythmic structure.

There is some evidence of Spanish influence in the development of this predominantly Italian dance style. The chordal schemes first

occurred in the *Cancionero de Palacio* of the late fifteenth century.[9] The sixteenth-century vihuela composers also wrote pieces based on chordal frameworks, such as *Conde claros, pavana italiana* (the equivalent of the Italian *pavaniglia*), and *Guárdame las vacas* (with the same chordal scheme as the *romanesca*); unlabeled *riprese* were often included. The main instruments involved in the Italian (or perhaps Italian-Spanish) Renaissance dance style were, thus, the vihuela in Spain and the lute, various ensembles, and stringed keyboard instruments in Italy. Around 1580, however, a new dance style in Spain introduced a new instrument that specialized in the sonorous and percussive playing of chords. Considering the fact that musical construction in the Italian dance style was based primarily on chords, it is not surprising that the new five-course guitar, which appeared at the same time in Spanish-ruled Naples, should have been adopted in Italy during the last fifty years of the Renaissance dance style as the principal instrument above all others. Along with the *chitarra spagnola* came its native musical forms, which existed side by side in the guitar books with those from Italy.

The Spanish dance style of the early Baroque extended, as shown in Figure 1, from about 1580 to 1660. During this period certain dances called *bailes* were frequently mentioned by the great Spanish writers of the day, such as Cervantes, Quevedo, and Lope de Vega. The word *baile* designated a certain wild type of dance that involved all sorts of movements, including the swaying of the hips, the tossing of the hair, and expressions in the eyes. Such a manner of dancing was in striking contrast to the dignified bending and gliding of the contemporary French and Italian dances. The *bailes* seem to have inspired a sense of great exhilaration and good humor; they were, at the same time, enormously obscene and were continually banned by the authorities. At first the *zarabanda* was the *baile* most loved and most lascivious. By 1611, however, the leading position had been taken by the *chacona.*[10] A host of other *bailes* also existed, among them the *folia,* imported from Portugal. Those that occurred most often in the guitar books (see Figure 2) were the *zarabanda, chacona, folia,* and *villano.*[11]

These Spanish dances were, in general, extremely animated and noisy. They were accompanied by the Spanish guitar and such

[9]See John Ward, "The Folia," *Kongressbericht der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, 5. Kongress,* Utrecht, 1952 (Amsterdam, 1953), pp. 416-417.

[10]Sebastian de Covarrubias Horozco, *Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española* (Madrid, 1611), modern edition, with the additions of 1674, Martin de Riquer, ed. (Barcelona, S.A. Horta, I.E., 1943), p. 394.

[11]Concerning the *bailes* and references to them in contemporary literature, see Emilio Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de entremeses,* Vol. I (Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. XVII [Madrid, Casa Editorial Bailly/Baillière, 1911]), pp. ccxxxiii-cclxxiii.

percussion instruments as castanets and *sonajas* (pieces of metal mounted on a wooden ring). They were all sung dances and usually had refrains, suggesting performance by a soloist and chorus.[12] They were in triple meter and, for the most part, in the mode *per B quadro* (similar to the major mode). They were based, like the forms of the Italian style, on recurring harmonic frameworks, but tended often to involve the ostinato repetition of a single four-chord phrase. Thus the *zarabanda,* the *chacona,* and the *villano* were all represented in the earliest tablatures as single phrases of music, with each form having a harmonic or rhythmic structure different from the others. Later these forms sometimes included several phrases that were similar harmonically, an indication perhaps of the manner in which the guitarist improvised variations on the simple ostinato patterns. The *folia,* on the other hand, always displayed a structural design of two parallel phrases or periods.

Associated with this popular dance style was also a particular type of poetry that was sung to similar music. A *ripresa* called the *pasacalle* was provided for such songs, but not, as far as I know, for dances.[13] The *pasacalle,* like most of the functional Italian *riprese* and *ritornelli* of the seventeenth century, was based on the simple progression I-IV-V-I, which was one of the most common of the many possible harmonic schemes of the sixteenth-century *ripresa.* It was probably played two times in succession, both before a song began and again between each verse; a longer group may have followed the final stanza.

The songs and dances of the Spanish dance style had a distinctive spirit of their own. As we have seen, however, certain details of musical construction appeared also in the contemporary Italian style: the use of an instrumental *ripresa* or *pasacalle,* the construction of musical forms on constant harmonic and structural frameworks. In addition, some of the harmonic progressions of the Spanish forms seem directly related to the four main chordal schemes of the Italian Renaissance dance style. The music of the French baroque style, however, differed in some significant ways from both the Spanish and Italian. The French style developed in the

[12]Several texts for each of the four dances of Figure 2 are included in Luis de Briçeño, *Metodo mui facilissimo para aprender a tañer la guitarra a lo español* (Paris, 1626), copy in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.

[13]In the earliest Spanish source, Amat uses instead the term *paseo.* I have described the relationship between the *pasacalle* and *paseo* in "Further Remarks on the Passacaglia and Ciaccona," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. XXIII (1970), pp. 302-305. I recently discovered additional evidence of their identity in the work by Pablo Minguet y Irol cited in footnote 3. On folio 3 of the section devoted to the guitar, Minguet, in his description of the construction of the *pasacalle,* quotes extensively from Amat's book, but replaces the word *paseo* by *passacalle* (spelled, as it sometimes is in Spanish sources, with two s's).

ballet de cour beginning around 1600 or slightly before, and continued, although new dances were adopted from time to time, until the end of the Baroque period about 1750.

One can trace the development of this style in the ensemble ballets of Praetorius' *Terpsichore* (Wolfenbüttel, 1612),[14] in lute sources such as the *Tablature de luth de differens autheurs* (Paris, P. Ballard, 1631)[15] or the works of Ennemond Gaultier,[16] in the keyboard books of Louis Couperin, Chambonnières, and others, and, of course, in the ballets of Lully. During the first half of the century the principal dances were the *allemande, courante, sarabande,* and *gigue* (see Figure 2). Numerous examples of the first and a few of the *courante* had appeared since the middle of the sixteenth century in sources from France and the Low Countries. The *sarabande* was imported early in the seventeenth century from Spain and the *gigue* somewhat later from England (it appears in the lute works of Gaultier *le vieux,* who died in 1651). During the second half of the century, at the time of Lully and the court of Louis XIV, new dances appeared, such as the *gavotte, menuet, bourrée, passepied, rigaudon, chaconne,* and even *passacaille.* The latter, as we have seen, had not formerly been a dance at all.

French dances, unlike those in Spain, had no texts. Unlike both the Spanish and Italian dances, the French were not constructed on either harmonic or structural frameworks. They were usually in sections, with each sometimes repeated, probably with improvised variation the second time. The number of sections varied, but most often there were two. Each *allemande* from a single source, for example, might have two or three parts and a different number of measures within corresponding sections. Both the *allemandes* and *courantes* seem to strive deliberately for this sort of diversity. Although the *sarabandes* tend to emphasize particular phrase structures, they also on occasion deviate from the usual patterns. Thus the number of measures or sections was not a constant feature among pieces bearing the same title, and this fact must have required a concept of choreography quite different from that of the Italian dance style. Lacking either a harmonic or structural framework, a French dance was characterized mainly by a rather specific mood, by tempo and meter, and sometimes by special rhythmic features

[14]Modern edition in *Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke von Michael Praetorius,* Vol. XV (Wolfenbüttel-Berlin, 1928-40), pp. 131-168.

[15]Many pieces from this source are transcribed by André Souris in *Oeuvres de Chancy, Bouvier, Belleville, Dubuisson, Chevalier* (a volume in the unnumbered series *Corpus des luthistes français,* which is a subseries in the *Collection le choeur des muses* [Paris, Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1967]).

[16]See *Oeuvres du vieux Gautier* (spelled here without an "L"), a volume published in 1966 in the same series and by the same editor as the book cited in the preceding footnote.

such as the second-beat accent that often occurred after the middle of the century in the *sarabande.*

The dances of the French baroque style were elegant, refined, and restrained. They therefore contrasted sharply to the vivacious and uninhibited dances of Spain. In spirit the Italian dances were somewhere between these two extremes, but probably, if the courtly figures in Caroso's *Il ballarino* (Venice, 1581)[17] are an indication, much closer to the French. In spite of some similarities, then, a considerable amount of diversity existed between the French, Spanish, and Italian dance styles at the time the five-course guitar was introduced around the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was the convergence of these three styles, finally, that set the pattern for the musical development of the *chitarra spagnola* in Italy.

The Italian guitar tablatures fall into two rather clearly defined categories: the instruction books and the musical collections. Figure 3 summarizes the contents of each type in relation to the three dance styles and also lists some of the published and manuscript sources and their locations.[18] The earlier period extended from 1606 to

[17]Facsimile edition in *Monuments of Music and Music Literature in Facsimile,* Series 2, Vol. XLVI (New York, Broude Brothers, 1967).

[18]I have included in Figure 3 only those books that I have examined myself. The tablature published in 1661 under Pietro Millioni's name is almost identical in every respect to the work of Pico. There are additional books by some of the composers on the list: Abatessa (1627 and one undated), Corbetta (1648 and 1674), Granata (1664 and 1674), Millioni (Book 5 in 1627), and Monte (undated), as well as by other composers: Asioli (1674 and 1676), Sfondrino (1637), and Valdambrini (1646 and 1647). Some of the books listed above or in Figure 3 appeared also in other editions. The work of Millioni and Monte, first published in 1637, reappeared in seven other editions, the latest in 1737. Although I have indicated in Figure 3 the library from which I obtained a copy of each work, other copies exist in many cases also at other locations. I have given only the last names of the composers and the dates of their printed books, since several fairly complete lists of the guitar sources exist:

(1) Johannes Wolf, *Handbuch der Notationskunde,* Vol. II (Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen, Vol. VIII [Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1919; reprint, Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963]). On pages 157-208 is a detailed and excellent description of the various types of guitar notation, on pages 209-218 a list of sources, giving for each its location.

(2) Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon,* 10 vols. (Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898-1904). Titles and their locations are given in an alphabetical listing by composer.

(3) Wolfgang Boetticher, "Gitarre," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (MGG),* Vol. V (1956), cols. 174-202. Sources, but not locations, are listed, as well as modern transcriptions and literature about the instrument.

(4) Helga Spohr, *Studien zur italienischen Tanzkomposition um 1600,* unpublished dissertation, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg i. Br., 1956. Although this work also involves music for other instruments, the bibliography of sources on pages 143-156 includes most of the guitar tablatures, among them a number of manuscripts not listed by Wolf or Boetticher.

(5) Gaetano Gaspari, *Catalogo della Biblioteca del Liceo Musicale di Bologna,* Vol. IV

about 1637; the later from 1640 to 1692. Several books from 1639 and 1640 exhibit traits from both periods. The tablatures of the two periods display considerable divergence with respect to purpose and notation, as well as in musical styles and forms.

The title page of Montesardo's book of 1606 announces a "new invention of tablature for the Spanish guitar, without numbers and notes, by means of which everyone will be able to learn by himself without a teacher." The tablatures of the earlier period were written for amateurs, for those with no previous musical training. The new notation included letters to indicate chords, upward or downward lines to show the stroke direction, and occasionally some hint of meter or rhythm. Each chord filled all five courses and acted functionally, regardless of the lowest sounding pitch, as a triad in root position.[19] The chord alphabet continued to be used throughout the century. Around 1620, shifted chords were introduced, so that when the symbol *H* appeared with the number 5 above it, for example, the player arranged his fingers as though he would play the *H* chord and then shifted the position on each course five frets (counting the beginning fret as 1). This resulted in a chord with the same spacing as an *H* chord, but sounding a major third higher. A series of shifted chords was theoretically possible for each

(Bologna, 1905), pp. 165-176. This library, now called Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, has an extensive collection of Italian guitar books.

There is now in progress a project that will bring all of this information up to date. The *International Inventory of Musical Sources* (usually referred to as *RISM*, the acronym of its French title) will eventually include a large set of volumes arranged alphabetically by composer, giving for each a list of works and their location. This set will therefore contain most of the printed guitar sources. In addition, two special *RISM* volumes, prepared by Wolfgang Boetticher, will include all manuscript tablatures before 1800. These volumes will be entitled *Musikhandschriften in Lauten- und Gitarrentabulatur der 16. bis 18. Jahrhunderts* (*RISM*, Series B, Vol. VIII, Parts 1 and 2). The first volume, to appear soon, will list each manuscript with a brief description; the second volume will describe the contents of the manuscripts. Libraries all over the world have participated in the *RISM* project and have sent records of their holdings to the central *RISM* headquarters in Kassel. It is an ambitious undertaking and will require some time for completion. Guitar research will be aided tremendously, however, when the volumes finally do appear.

[19]For the sounding pitches of some of the chords, see the *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, Vol. III (1970), page 39, footnote 11. In this same article the incipits to Examples 2, 3, and 5 show the original notation. Each course of the guitar had two strings except the highest. During the earlier period, the pairs of strings on the lower two courses were each tuned in octaves. In the later period, however, when the *punteado* style became important, one or both of the two lower courses were apparently tuned in unison at the higher pitch. Concerning the problems of determining the proper tuning and the consequent difficulties in transcription, see Sylvia Murphy, "The Tuning of the Five-Course Guitar," *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. XXIII (1970), pp. 49-63; and Richard Keith, " 'La Guitare Royale'–A Study of the Career and Compositions of Francesco Corbetta," *Recherches sur la musique française classique*, Vol. VI (1966), pp. 73-93.

letter of the alphabet.[20]

In Figure 3 the guitar sources from the earlier period are divided into groups to indicate various types of notation. The printed books and manuscripts in the top section use only the regular alphabet of chords. The second group adds the shifted and sometimes the dissonant chords. The third group represents the very beginnings of the *punteado* style, with the occasional introduction of a few single notes. These are indicated in the books of Carbonchi (1643) and Calvi (1646) by a number to designate a fret on one of the upper two courses. In the manuscripts from the same group, two numbers are given, the upper indicating the fret, the lower the course. The last two manuscripts in Figure 3 for the earlier period show short groups of single notes for the highest course written in Italian lute notation (numbers, to indicate frets, placed on a five-line staff representing the courses). This type of notation, together with the chord letters, became standard in Italy from 1639 on for the combined *punteado-rasgueado* style.

During the earlier period, however, the noisy and percussive *rasgueado* chords were the principal units of construction in the music of the guitar books. As we have seen, the Spanish guitar brought with it the forms of its native land. In Italy, however, the instrument was incorporated into a style that had already been in progress for a century. Therefore, the tablatures of the earlier period present a mixture of both Spanish and Italian pieces.

Montesardo established the custom of beginning a book with a long series of *passacagli sopra tutte le lettere dell'alfabeto,* one or more Spanish *pasacalles* for each letter. These were useful for teaching the guitar chords, and they also provided the player with the single units that could be repeated in groups (adding improvised variations, if he were sufficiently skilled) as a prelude, interlude, or postlude for a song or a dance. Most often the term was spelled in the tablatures with a masculine ending: *passacaglio* in the singular; *passacagli,* the plural. In a few cases the term appeared with specific vocal compositions;[21] but most of the *riprese* connected with actual

[20]Less frequently used were the *lettere tagliate* described by Foriano Pico in *Nuova scelta di sonate per la chitarra spagnola* (Venice, 1628?), page 7. A small "t" or a cross beside a letter indicated a chord in which one of the normally stopped courses was left open, producing a dissonance. Although Pico mentions only four such chords, Foscarini (L'Academico Caliginoso detto il Furioso) later gives an entire *alfabeto dissonante* for fourteen of the letters on page 1 of both *Il primo, secondo e terzo libro della chitarra spagnola,* and *I quatro libri della chitarra spagnola.* (Curiously, the copy of each in the libraries indicated in Figure 3 is bound incorrectly with the title page of the other.)

[21]The abbreviation "Pass." followed by four chord-letters often appeared along with song texts to indicate the *passacagli* that were to be used. See, for example, the large collection of Spanish and Italian poetry in Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana MSS 2793 and

pieces in the guitar books, although having music identical to the *passacagli,* were either unlabeled or were marked by the term *ripresa* or *ritornello.* Following the alphabet series in the guitar books were sometimes *passacagli passeggiati* or "varied" *passacagli,* referring mainly to the insertion of variation chords. They consisted of a single phrase or short chains of two or more. As the period progressed these chains became longer and more complex and led finally to one of the important instrumental forms of the later period.

Also in the typical guitar book would be a series of examples for the *ciaccona,* as well as for the *zarabanda* and the *folia.* These series sometimes consisted of identical pieces written in a number of different keys; sometimes they showed rhythmic or harmonic variants, often progressing from the simplest to the most complex. At other times various techniques of playing were illustrated, as in a *ciaccona con il repicco.*[22] The *ciaccona* exhibited several harmonic variants and eventually occurred in short chains of several phrases. Its music was occasionally designated for use as a *ripresa.* The *folia* was likewise represented by a group of examples, displaying considerable rhythmic and harmonic variety within a simple basic framework.[23] The *ciaccona* and *folia,* like the *passacaglio,* were especially subjected to musical manipulation by the guitar composers of this earlier period.[24] The Spanish *zarabanda,* and other dances such as the *villano* and *canario,* usually appeared in a relatively simple, unvaried form.

The song and dance forms of the Italian style appeared side by side with these Spanish pieces. From the sixteenth century came the

2804. Guitar chord-letters are written also above the words of the opening lines of each text. The *pasacalle* or *passacaglio* seems to have been associated exclusively with a certain category of Spanish and Italian (and perhaps also French) verse. In this article, I will not consider the sources that show guitar chords with texts or with vocal pieces in mensural notation. These sources are included by both Wolf and Boetticher in the works cited in footnote 18. The Spanish guitar was often employed in Italy during the Baroque period as a continuo instrument, and some of the later guitar books give instructions for realizing a figured bass.

[22]The *repicco* and *trillo,* the two main *rasgueado* ornaments, are described by Sylvia Murphy in "Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music: Notes on *Rasgueado* Performance," *The Galpin Society Journal,* Vol. XXI (1968), pp. 24-32.

[23]The *folia* of the early guitar books was not identical to the *folia* that became popular after 1672. There were essential rhythmic, harmonic, and melodic differences between the two types, which I describe in "The Folia Melodies," an article recently submitted for publication. Concerning the earlier *folia,* see my article "The *Folia* Dance and the *Folia* Formula in Seventeenth-Century Guitar Music" to appear in *Musica disciplina,* Vol. XXV (1971).

[24]See Thomas Walker, "Ciaccona and Passacaglia: Remarks on Their Origin and Early History," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. XXI (1968), pp. 300-320; also my Ph.D. dissertation, *The Development of Italian Keyboard Variations on the Passacaglio and Ciaccona from Guitar Music in the Seventeenth Century,* University of California, Los Angeles, 1967 (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms, No. 68-219).

two types of *passamezzo*, presented sometimes *semplice* with only the framework chords, or (more often) *passeggiato*, employing the technique of chord insertion in its most complex manner. A *gagliarda* was sometimes paired with a *passamezzo*, but this dance also occurred separately with a free sectional design typical of the French style.[25] The *romanesca* also appeared in the guitar books either *semplice* or varied, but with chord insertions less complex than in the *passamezzi*.

More numerous, however, were the sectional forms that became especially popular at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The *pavaniglia, spagnoletta, aria di Firenze,* and *ruggiero* retained their popularity up to around 1639, and sometimes appeared even later in the conservative books of Carbonchi (1643), Calvi (1646), Marchetti (1660), and Ricci (1677). The *monica* and the *tenor di Napoli* declined after 1629. Each of these forms was represented in the typical tablature by one to eight examples that differed in key, in the use of regular or shifted chords, or in slight details of harmony or rhythm. Sometimes the duple-meter *monica, pavaniglia, aria di Firenze,* or *ruggiero* would be followed by a *rotta* that incorporated the same music in triple meter; such a piece would be designated, for example, as a *rotta di ruggiero* or *rotta della monica.* The *favorita* and *fantinella* (both based on the same chordal scheme as the *romanesca*), and the *ballo del fiore* and *paganina* (on the scheme of the *passamezzo per B molle*) appeared occasionally in sources before 1630. Also there were sometimes shorter frameworks such as the *bergamasca, calata, brando di Malta,* and *tordiglione.*

These Spanish and Italian compositions constituted the bulk of the music in the guitar tablatures from 1606 to 1637. They were functional pieces to be played, presumably, in connection with singing or dancing. Most of the pieces represented the musical schemes to actually accompany a dance or song; others provided music to be played between verses or rounds. The sung dances that came from Spain seem to have had no texts in Italian sources. Perhaps they were danced without song; perhaps the musical schemes were used for singing poetry without dancing. There is always the possibility that at some point the pieces were freed from both

[25]Both types appear in Foscarini's *Intavolatura di chitarra spagnola, Libro secondo* (Macerata, 1629). See the "Gagliarda de passi e mezzi per B.M." on page 23, and the "Gagliarda francese" on page 44 or 49. In French baroque sources the *gaillarde* gradually diminished in frequency as the four dances shown in Figure 2 increased in popularity. The sixteenth-century French *gaillarde*, although sometimes based on the Italian chordal schemes and sometimes even provided with *reprinse* (the French *riprese*), often displayed the freely sectionalized construction typical of the seventeenth-century French dances. The *gagliarda* is shown in Figure 2 as part of the Italian dance style, since this was the route through which it entered the guitar tablatures.

dancing and singing and became independent instrumental compositions. From time to time throughout this early period a few French dances appeared. We have already noted the *gagliarda,* which had existed in the sixteenth century as part of the French, Italian, and finally English dance styles. Somewhat less frequent in the guitar books was the *corrente.* A few sources between 1623 and 1637 included the *zarabanda francese,* a new type of French saraband that retained for awhile some features of the harmonic framework of the original Spanish *zarabanda,* but rapidly assumed the free sectional structure which, as in the *gagliarda francese* and the *corrente francese*, characterized the forms of the French baroque dance style.[26] This was the style that dominated the later Italian tablatures for the five-course Spanish guitar.

Two types of composition filled the Italian guitar books from 1640 to 1692: French dances and independent instrumental pieces. The books were no longer for amateurs, but for highly skilled performers. They were no longer primarily concerned with functional music for dancing and singing, and perhaps even the dances were now independent compositions. They were no longer restricted to *rasgueado* chords, but combined with them the lute-like *punteado* technique. Some pieces were even exclusively *punteado.*

Several sources represent a transition between the two periods. Corbetta, in *De gli scherzi armonici* (Bologna, 1639), a book devoted primarily to the earlier style just described, included six pages in which Italian lute notation joined the guitar chords in a number of *correnti, sarabande,* and a *ciaccona.* In *Sonate di chitarra spagnola* (Florence, 1640), Antonio Carbonchi used French lute notation (frets indicated by letters) for some simple *rasgueado* pieces and also for some French *sarabandes, courantes,* and *allemandes* and many sets of variations (each with about ten to sixteen phrases) on the *ciaccona* and *passacaglio.* Although undated, the third and fourth books of Foscarini seem to belong to this same period of transition. In the preface to the edition of Books 1-3, he described the *punteado* pieces as merely an "embellishment" to the work, since they were more suitable for the lute than for the guitar. The edition of Books 1-4 commences with the usual *rasgueado* pieces of the earlier period, but quickly turns to a presentation of French dances and instrumental forms, including numerous sets of elaborate variations (with up to thirty-six phrases in each piece) on the *passacaglio* and

[26]See my article "The *Zarabanda* and *Zarabanda Francese* in Italian Guitar Music of the Early Seventeenth Century," *Musica disciplina,* Vol. XXIV (1970), pp. 125-149.

ciaccona.[27]

The French dances in the guitar books of the later period were mainly those that finally formed the nucleus of the late baroque suite: the *allemande, courante, sarabande,* and *gigue.* During the first half of this period the *corrente* (using the term now as it was usually spelled in the Italian tablatures) occurred most often. There were also many examples of the *sarabanda* and some of the *allemanda* (*alemanda, alemana,* or *alemanna*). Isolated examples of each had appeared even before 1640: the first guitar *corrente* in 1606, the *allemanda* in 1620, and the *zarabanda francese,* 1623. During the second half of this later period, the *allemanda* gained in popularity and the *giga* (*gigha* or *gigua*) was introduced. All four of the standard dances finally occurred together in the tablatures, and Roncalli in 1692 included also the *minuet* and the *gavotta,* two of the newer French dances from the court of Louis XIV.[28] The Italian versions of the dances sometimes differed from their French counterparts. The Italian *corrente,* for example, was notated in a simple triple meter and probably moved with a fairly brisk tempo. In France the *courante* appears to have had a more moderate tempo, with hemiola alternation between $\frac{3}{2}$ and $\frac{6}{4}$.

These brief and usually binary dance forms were joined in the guitar books by a number of instrumental forms. The *preludio, toccata, sinfonia, ricercata,* and *capriccio musicale* seem to be relatively free, rhapsodic pieces, often with rapid figuration. In addition, there were numerous sets of variations on forms that had evolved from the earliest guitar books: mainly the *passacaglio,* but also the *ciaccona,* and occasionally the *folia.* These were no longer functional pieces connected with a song or dance, but independent artistic compositions. For the *passacaglio* and *ciaccona* a common technique of variation had gradually developed, involving what I have described elsewhere as an "ostinato of derived and selected formulae," in which the various harmonic (and later bass) patterns that had evolved for each form recur at random, but in such a way

[27]The precise rhythm in this music is often difficult to determine, since Foscarini, unlike succeeding composers, did not use bar-lines in the notation of the combined *punteado-rasgueado* style of most of his compositions. Bar-lines appear only in a few exclusively *punteado* pieces.

[28]The contents of Italian instrumental collections other than those for lute and guitar are given in Claudio Sartori, *Bibliografia della musica strumentale italiana stampata in Italia fino al 1700* (Florence, Leo. S. Olschki, 1952). In general these sources, like the guitar books, reveal a gradual and finally almost complete domination of the French style. The guitar tablatures in some cases anticipated by a few years trends that were evident later in the collections for other instruments. In the latter, the *corrente* and *allemanda* began in 1615, the *sarabanda* in 1638, the *giga* in 1667. From around 1630 to 1667, the *corrente* dominated; from 1668 to 1695, the four standard dances were all important. The more recent dances, such as the *gavotta, minuet,* and *borea,* began to appear from 1684 to 1693.

that *passacaglio* formulae dominate in a set of variations on the *passacaglio.*[29] The earlier custom of beginning a guitar book with a series of alphabet *passacagli* sometimes inspired later composers to arrange their more elaborate sets of variations in a similar manner. Pellegrini began his *Armoniosi concerti* (1650) with a *ricercata,* followed by nineteen pages of "Passacagli per tutte le lettere, e per diversi altri tuoni cromatici." Bartolotti's *Libro primo di chitarra spagnola* (1640) commences with a two-page set of variations for each of the twenty-four major and minor keys. Major and minor pieces alternate, but within each mode the keys progress by the circle of fifths; each set modulates to the key of the next. Most of the progressive guitar books of this later period include three to nine different variation sets on the *passacaglio*; those on the *ciaccona* are far less numerous and are lacking entirely in the latest tablatures.

These sets of variations must be clearly distinguished from the dances called *chaconne* and *passacaille* in France. These two dances evolved also from the forms of the early guitar books, but often adopted special characteristics not found in Italy. They frequently display a *rondeau* form, in which one or more phrases constitute a refrain that recurs between each *couplet,* the phrases of which may vary in length and even modulate.[30] The Italian pieces, on the other hand, are continuous and usually far longer chains of variations. Pellegrini (1650) probably meant to emphasize this difference when he entitled a piece "Chiaccona [sic] in Parte variate alla vera Spagnuola."

The French dances and independent instrumental pieces were arranged in various ways within the guitar books. The strongest interest in grouping dances as movements in a unified suite existed in Germany. In France itself the published keyboard dances were simply arranged with those of a type together or in large groups with the same key. The Italian guitar books from 1640 to 1692 reflect both of these attitudes. Granata (1646) sometimes includes as many as six consecutive *correnti,* but usually mixes the pieces in no apparent order. A similar random mixture seems to exist with Pellegrini (1650) and Granata (1680). In Bartolotti's book (1640) the dances are mixed, but six times the following sequence occurs: *allemanda–corrente–corrente–sarabanda.* Bottazzari (1663) similarly offers, in addition to a number of apparently separate

[29]See "The Passacaglia and Ciaccona in Italian Keyboard Music of the Seventeenth Century," *The Diapason,* Vol. LX, No. 12 (November, 1969), pp. 22-24, and Vol. LXI, No. 1 (December, 1969), pp. 6-7; also the article mentioned in footnote 13.

[30]See the many examples in Robert de Visée, *Oeuvres complètes pour guitare,* Robert W. Strizich, ed. (Le pupitre, Vol. XV [Paris, Heugel & Cie., 1969]). The French also had much longer *chaconnes,* such as those of Lully.

Fig. 3. Description of the Italian guitar books 1606-1692

	MUSICAL CONTENTS	PRINTED BOOKS	MANUSCRIPTS
EARLIER PERIOD 1606-1637 Instruction books for amateurs, with accompaniments for songs and dances Mostly *rasgueado* Chord letters and stroke signs	Forms from the Italian Renaissance dance style Forms from the Spanish early-baroque dance style: (*passacaglio*) *zarabanda* *ciaccona* *villano* *folia* Later, a few forms from the French baroque dance style: *zarabanda francese* *corrente francese*	Montesardo 1606B (incomplete), V (complete) Sanseverino 1620L Colonna Bk 1 1620L, Bk 1-4 1637L & B Milanuzzi 1623H, 1625B Costanzo 1627B Millioni Bk 1-3 1627B, Bk 4 1627L, [1661B] Pico 1628 (?) P Foscarini Bk 2 1629D (has microfilm copy) Millioni & Monte 1637L Abatessa 1637B, [1652B] [Marchetti 1660B] [Ricci 1677L]	R, A. Ms. 247 (by Romanus, 1619) F, Mss. 2774 and 3145 N, Ms. Landau 252 (by Celli, 1625) N, Ms. Magl. XIX, 143
		[Carbonchi 1643R] [Calvi 1646B]	F, Mss. 2793, 2804, 2849, 2951, and 2973 III E, Ms. It. Cl. IV, 1910 (coll. 11701) C, Ms. 586 (H72)
			A, Mss. Barb. Lat. 4177 and 4178
TRANSITION 1639-1640		Corbetta 1639B Trombetti 1639B Carbonchi 1640N Foscarini Bk 1-3 B, Bk 1-4 L [Pesori 1648B]	
LATER PERIOD 1640-1692 Collections of pieces for skilled performers *Punteado* combined with *rasgueado* Italian lute notation with chord letters and stroke signs	Forms from the French baroque dance style: *allemanda* *corrente* *sarabanda* *giga* In the later books: *gavotta* *minuet* Independent forms: *preludio, toccata, sinfonia, ricercata, capriccio;* sets of variations on the *passacaglio, ciaccona,* and *folia* The above forms are sometimes grouped as a unified suite	Bartolotti 1640B Corbetta 1643B, 1671W Granata 1646B, 1651B, 1659B, 1680B Pellegrini 1650B Bottazzari 1663B Roncalli 1692B	M, Ms. Mus. F. 1528

Fig. 3 continued

Brackets around some of the sources designate isolated conservative books that appear after 1637, or a transition book after 1640.

The letters following the years for printed books and preceding the manuscript numbers refer to the following libraries:

A = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
B = Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale
C = Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale
D = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek
E = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana
F = Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana
H = Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
L = London, British Museum
M = Modena, Biblioteca Estense
N = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
P = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
R = Rome, Biblioteca Musicale Governative del Conservatorio di Musica "S. Cecilia"
V = Vienna, Archiv der Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde
W = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

dances, eight *allemanda–corrente–sarabanda* groups. The table of contents in Granata's 1651 tablature, however, lists definite suites, the movements of which consist of an introductory instrumental piece followed by two or three dances, such as "Preludio–sua alemanda–sua corrente–sua sarabanda," "Capricci di ciacone [*sic*]–sua alemanda–sua corrente," or "Passachali [*sic*]–sua brando–sua corrente." The last Italian book for the five-course guitar (Roncalli, 1692) also shows the pieces grouped specifically together in the index. The suites are longer here and include some of the newer dances. A typical suite by Roncalli would contain, for example, "Preludio–alemanda–corrente–gigua–sarabanda–gavotta." Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS Mus. F. 1528 probably comes from around the same year, since it also includes the *minuet* and *gavotta,* as well as the four standard dances and a number of independent compositions. In this source, however, the pieces seem mixed in no particular order. It is difficult to know in such an arrangement whether the composer meant each *preludio,* for example, to belong in any sense with the succeeding dances, which might be in the same or a different key.

After 1640, the guitar books thus mirrored primarily the French dance style, which had influenced in some way the late baroque music of most of the major European countries. The

passacaglio and *ciaccona* variations, on the other hand, represented an Italian and Spanish tradition that could be traced back to the earliest tablatures for the five-course guitar.

Although French dances dominated the tablatures of the later period, there were a number of links with earlier guitar music. The accompaniments to the dances of the *zarabanda, ciaccona,* and *folia* first occurred, as we have seen, in the *rasgueado* instruction books of the early seventeenth century. Here also appeared the functional units called *passacagli,* which could be incorporated in groups to form preludes, interludes, and postludes for songs. The subsequent development in the guitar books of these four forms followed different paths: The *folia* was used as the subject for a set of variations. The *passacaglio* and *ciaccona* developed a special ostinato technique. The original Spanish *zarabanda* rapidly evolved into the sectional *zarabanda francese* or *sarabanda* and became one of the standard dances of the baroque suite.

French books for the five-course guitar were filled with dances and *préludes.* Spanish sources after 1670 occasionally reflect the French style (Murcia in 1714, for example), but most often conserve some of the guitar forms of the past and also present new Spanish dances that became popular around 1660, such as the *gayta, jácara, torneo, mariona, paradetas, zarambeque, marizápalos,* and *fandango.* The conservative nature of these books is shown by the instructional prefaces, as well as by sets of variations, not only on the *pasacalle* and occasionally the *chacona,* but on other forms that had disappeared from the Italian books, such as *rugero, españoleta,* and *villano.* Also included were older dances such as *pavanas, gallardas,* and *canario,* and sets of variations on both types of *folia.* Spanish sources tended to preserve far longer the characteristics of the early guitar forms. One may still find there the original harmonic schemes of the *chacona, pasacalle, zarabanda,* and *folia.* These were the four forms, as we have seen, that underwent the most complex musical development in France and Italy.

Most of the musicological study of the five-course guitar has concerned the French sources. Some of this music, in spite of considerable difficulties in transcription, has become available in modern editions.[31] Gaspar Sanz's tablatures have recently been

[31]For the works of De Visée, see the preceding footnote. Oscar Chilesotti has described and transcribed separate pieces in: "La chitarra francese," *Rivista musicale italiana,* Vol. XIV (1907), pp. 791-802; "Notes sur le guitariste Robert de Visée," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft,* Vol. IX (1907-08), pp. 62-74; and "Notes sur les tablatures de luth et de guitare," *Encyclopédie de la musique,* Albert Lavignac and Lionel de la Laurencie, eds. (Paris, C. Delagrave, 1922-31), Part I, Vol. II, pp.

republished in Spain.[32] The guitar works of Jan Antonín Losy, a Czechoslovakian composer, have been transcribed.[33] The Italian sources, however, have been almost totally unexplored.[34] Recent musicological studies in some of the forms of guitar music, as well as a growing interest by guitarists in the history of their instrument, have resulted in bringing to light the numerous seventeenth-century Italian tablatures for the five-course guitar. Although the *rasgueado* pieces of the early period may be most significant for the musicologist, the music from the later period would no doubt be of interest to all those who like to hear and play the guitar. The exploration of this music is just beginning, and many scholars will be required to study its various aspects. I have attempted in this article to present the most general sort of introduction to the music of the five-course Spanish guitar in Italy. I hope that other scholars, particularly those who play the guitar themselves, will be inspired to pursue further the music and history of this popular baroque instrument.

676-684. (For other information on the guitar in the same *Encyclopédie,* see Part I, Vol. IV, pp. 2095-2100, and Part II, Vol. III, pp. 2004-2010.) Also see Richard Keith, "The Guitar Cult in the Courts of Louis XIV and Charles II," *The Guitar Review,* No. 26 (June, 1962), pp. 3-9; and his article cited in footnote 19.

[32] *Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española* (Saragossa, 1674), facsimile of the third edition of *Libros* I & II (1674), and the eighth edition of *Libro* III (1697), Luis Garcia-Abrines, ed. (Saragossa, Institución "Fernando el Católico" de la Excma. Diputación Provincial [C.S.I.C.], 1952; another edition, 1966).

[33] In *Pièces de guitare,* Jaroslav Pohanka, ed. (Musica antiqua bohemica, Vol. XXXVIII [Prague, 1965]).

[34] Chilesotti published in 1881 a transcription of Roncalli's book, the latest of the Italian tablatures. A few separate pieces of Roncalli and Corbetta appear in the sources listed in the *MGG* article "Gitarre."

SONG ACCOMPANIMENTS FOR LYRA VIOL AND LUTE

By Mary Cyr

Many features of lute technique may also be found in music for the lyra viol, sometimes called the "viol played lyra way." Notation in tablature, chordal texture, ornamentation, and variable tunings were all characteristic of music for the lyra viol as well as for the lute. Both instruments also were used in similar ways—as solo instruments, in consorts, and as an accompaniment to the voice. The lyra viol, however, has received little attention, and the lute is generally thought to have totally eclipsed the viol as an instrument for vocal accompaniment. Yet, the large number of songs with lyra viol accompaniment written during the seventeenth century reveals the surprising popularity of that combination, sometimes with the viol as an alternate to the lute, but frequently specified as the preferred instrument.

One reason for the modern neglect of the lyra viol is that its accompaniments often appear thin in texture when compared to those for lute. But the lyra viol has certain advantages. Though limited in chordal spacings, it has a greater sustaining power than the lute. With its possibility for greater dynamic range, the lyra viol is capable of producing an accompaniment with considerable variety in sound.

The lyra viol was, like the division viol, somewhat smaller in size than the consort bass. The strings were quite thin and probably at a rather low tension in order to allow for the great variation in tunings.[1] Like the division viol, the strings were placed quite near the fingerboard "for ease and convenience of stopping."[2] Tobias Hume preferred to double the three lowest strings of the viol for a fuller sound:

[1]There were more than forty different tunings. See Frank Traficante, "Lyra viol tunings: 'All Ways have been Tryed to do it,' " *Acta Musicologica*, Vol. XLII (1970), pp. 183-205.

[2]Christopher Simpson, *The Division-Viol*, 2nd ed. (1665), p. 2.

> If you will heare the Viol de Gambo in his true majestie, to play parts, and singing thereto, then string him with nine strings, your three Basses double as the Lute, which is to be plaide on with as much ease as your Violl of sixe strings.[3]

Since the technique of a bowed instrument requires that chords be played on adjacent strings, an accompaniment for lyra viol must be framed specifically for the instrument. The lute might also play the same accompaniment, but in most cases the result will seem thin and unsatisfactory. Several questions come to mind: Why was the viol preferred for some songs? Do the lute and lyra viol versions differ in style for a particular song accompaniment? Let us examine some of the songs preserved in manuscript and printed sources and consider their proper performance.

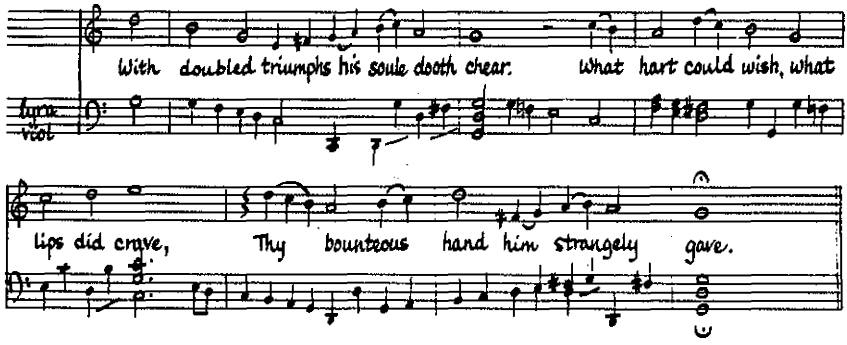
The sacred collection of Robert Tailour, *Select Psalms of David* (1615), includes twelve accompaniments in tablature for lyra viol, though several ways of performing them are possible, "in Five parts, as also to the Viole, and Lute or Orph-arion." The treble part for each song appears with the lyra viol accompaniment below on the same page, followed on succeeding pages by the other vocal parts and a version of the accompaniment for lute. The accompaniments exhibit a variety of texture and figuration. There is, however, a fundamental difference between the lute and lyra viol versions. The lute and voice together form a continuous three-part texture, with the lute supplying a two-part harmonic and contrapuntal accompaniment (see Example 1).

Ex. 1. "Eternal Lord, th'illustrous fame" (Robert Tailour, *Select Psalms*)

[3]Tobias Hume, "To the understanding Reader," *The First Part of Ayres* (1605).

The three-voiced texture is clearly heard since the bass and middle voice of the lute are spaced rather far apart. The lyra viol part, even when chordal, does not have this contrapuntal feature; instead the chords are spaced to provide a full and resonant sound on the instrument. In "The King (Lord) toward thy face" (page 73), the lyra viol part is almost consistently a single line, with an occasional double stop and a three-note chord at the ends of phrases (see Example 2). The accompaniment provides quarter-note movement in counterpoint with the voice. The slash marks (/), indicating that the viol player should keep his finger on a note to allow the sound to continue, are carefully indicated and provide an occasional wider spacing to the harmony.

Ex. 2. "The King (Lord) toward thy face" (Robert Tailour, *Select Psalms*)



With the great vogue for Italian songs early in the seventeenth century, many different accompaniments were written for the same song; enough of these are preserved so that comparisons are possible. Joan Myers has discussed the lute accompaniments in Robert Dowland's collection, *A Musical Banquet* (1610), particularly those of Caccini's songs, in a previous article in this journal.[4] A small manuscript of solo songs and music for viol, B. M. Ms. Egerton 2971, contains four Italian songs with accompaniments in tablature for lyra viol.[5] Of these songs, Caccini's "Amarilli mia bella" is of particular interest since it furnishes a useful comparison to the version in the Dowland collection. Dowland's accompaniment varied in texture between three-part harmony, with chords of up to six notes

[4]Joan Myers, "Caccini-Dowland: Monody Realized," *Journal of The Lute Society of America*, Vol. III (1970), pp. 22-34.

[5]"Dolcissimo sospiro" (fol. 24v), "Ma grideran per me le piaggi" (fol. 26v), "Crud'Amarilli" (fol. 27v), and "Amarilli mia bella" (fol. 28v).

depending upon the emotion and expression of the vocal line. The figuration in the lute part is simple, with an occasional passage in thirds or sixths with the voice. The lyra viol accompaniment in Egerton 2971 is much thinner, sometimes reduced to simply a bass line. Cadences are harmonized fully in four-part harmony, but internal harmonies are occasionally supplied as double stops or by a melodic moving part (see Example 3). Like Dowland's lute version, there are occasional passages in thirds and sixths with the voice.

Ex. 3. Caccini, "Amarilli mia bella"

a) B.M. Ms. Egerton 2971, fol. 28v-29

b) Robert Dowland, *A Musical Banquet* (1610), no. XIX

When the vocal line has an elaborate flourish, the bass usually holds a single note, allowing the figuration to proceed freely. The viol player might have enhanced his single note, as Simpson suggested, making "smooth and swelling notes when we would express Love, Sorrow, Compassion, or the like."[6] An interesting feature of the lyra viol accompaniments in Egerton 2971 is the ornamentation indicated by signs.[7] A performer might have elaborated his part in a manner similar to the vocal line; an ornamental flourish in one part occurs usually when the other part is not ornamented. Though the lyra viol version is simpler, the result in performance would be entirely pleasing nonetheless.

The lyra viol accompaniments by Tobias Hume tend to be thicker in texture than those found in the Egerton manuscript. In *The First Part of Ayres* (1605), he includes three songs "to bee sung to the viole, with the Lute, or better with the Viole alone." Since he preferred the lyra viol, he did not include a separate accompaniment for lute. The song "What greater grief then (*sic*) no relief" is almost continuously chordal in the accompaniment. The four- and five-note chords of the first two phrases provide a full, resonant sound by using many open strings (see Example 4). The beginning of the third phrase is again restricted to a single note for the viol, as in the Caccini song discussed previously, and proceeds with stepwise figuration and more frequent chords in the last part of the song. Here the viol part has independent interest in addition to supplying the harmonic support.[8] For the accompaniment to "Fain would I change that note," Hume directs the viol player to alternate a plucked, lute-like accompaniment with the normal bowed one: "You must play one straine with your Fingers, the other with your Bow, and so continue to the end."[9]

The printed and manuscript songs with accompaniment for lyra viol reveal a considerable variety of styles, whether a simple bass line such as "Sweet was the song the virgin sung" from the William Ballet Book,[10] or the thick chordal accompaniments of Tobias Hume. Elaborate ornamentation such as that found in Egerton 2971

[6]Simpson, p. 12.

[7]My discussion of the interpretation of these signs may be found in "A Seventeenth-century source of ornamentation for voice and viol: Egerton 2971," *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, No. 9 (1971).

[8]In his *Poeticall Musicke* (1607), Hume includes the same song and lyra viol accompaniment and adds a bass part and a second part in tablature for lyra viol ("grave Musickes for three Bass-Viols with the Voice").

[9]Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*, p. 112.

[10]Trinity College, Dublin, Ms. D. 1. 21, p. 76.

Ex. 4. "What greater grief then no relief" (Tobias Hume, *The First Part of Ayres*)

emphasizes the skill required for many of the accompaniments. Of particular interest are the songs that have alternate versions of the accompaniment for lute and lyra viol, such as in Robert Jones' *Second Booke of Songs and Ayres, set out to the Lute, the base Violl the playne way, or the Base by tableture after the leero fashion* (1601) and in Robert Tailour's *Select Psalms of David* (1615). Here we find a basic difference in setting due to the nature of the two instruments. The clear, precise articulation of the lute is well-suited to the more contrapuntally active lines found in so many lute accompaniments, while the thinner, less contrapuntal texture of the lyra viol setting is possible because of the greater dynamic variety and sustaining ability of the instrument.

LEFT-HAND FINGERING OF DIFFICULT SINGLE-LINE PASSAGES

By Stanley Buetens

Normally the determination of left-hand fingering of single-line melodies for the Renaissance lute is a matter of common sense and experience. Sometimes, however, the lutenist encounters passages that defy simple logic. These difficult cases are usually the result of rapid hand-position shifts or long passages on one string. We will examine some of these passages and try to find a way of rendering them fluent and musical. It will often be necessary or at least preferable to depart radically from orthodox procedure to achieve these aims.

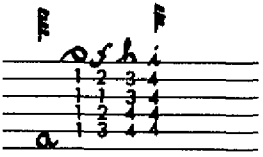
Perhaps the most common troublesome figure, the root of most of the difficulties in the examples that follow, is the two whole-tone pattern seen in Example 1. The fingers no longer can simply be placed on adjacent frets and play the usual half-whole tone or whole-half tone patterns. One finger must make an abnormal stretch. This figure can be fingered one of two ways:

Ex. 1.

Since there is a greater natural spread between the first two fingers, the upper fingering is better. As with all the following examples, however, practice will be necessary to master the unusual fingering.

If we extend the passage up one half-tone (see Example 2), a whole new set of problems and possibilities presents itself. Which is the best fingering:

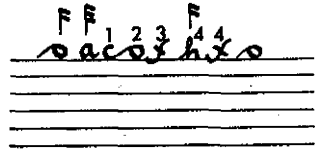
Ex. 2.



The last possibility is the least conventional and may possibly be the best. It requires the most practice, since now two adjacent fingers must make a two-fret stretch. Mastery of this figure, however, will enable the lutenist to play similar passages with great ease and will generally be of great service to him. The other fingering possibilities are acceptable, of course, and are preferred in the following order: *1 1 3 4, 1 2 4 4, 1 3 4 4.*

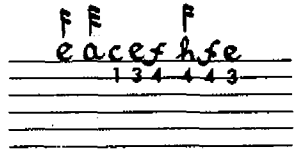
In Example 3, the half-tone is at the bottom of the run, but it can also be fingered like Example 2. The next best way is *c d f h.*
1 2 4 4

Ex. 3.



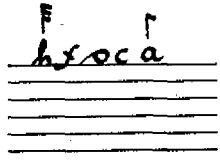
If the mode is changed as in Example 4, I recommend the fingering given. When the half-tone is in the middle of the scale, the technique advocated for Examples 2 and 3 becomes almost too tricky to master and is best avoided.

Ex. 4.



If a passage descends as in Example 5, the reverse usage of the one-finger-to-a-note method advocated above is not recommended; the fingers are much less controllable downward. Nor would I recommend the second choice, *4 3 1 1,* since on a descent the fourth finger acts like the first finger on an ascent. Thus the correct (or best) fingering is *4 4 2 1.*

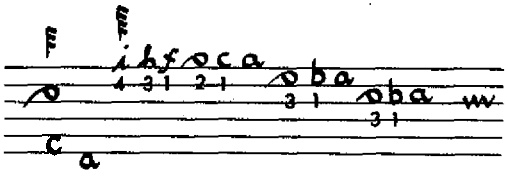
Ex. 5.



In a longer descent on one string (see Example 6), a change of hand position is necessary. The only questions are where and with what finger. Since the first three notes *i h f* fit nicely into a simple

usage *4 3 1,* they should be fingered in this way, followed by a shift to *2 1* for *d c.* We might propose the following rules: In a descending passage, always use the lowest finger possible when shifting down to a higher finger. In an ascending passage, always use the highest number finger possible when shifting up to a lower finger. This permits the most economical hand movement, a very important consideration in a rapid passage like Example 6.

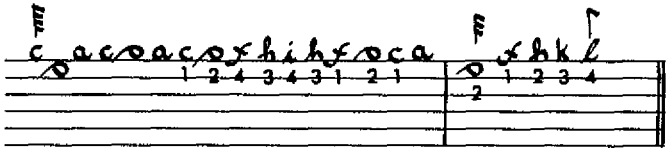
Ex. 6. "Spanish Pavin" (Thomas Robinson, *Schoole of Musicke*)



The one disadvantage to the fingering suggested for Example 6 is that the shift is made on a weak, index-finger note, creating an agogic accent on a weak beat through the slight delay in movement. If this fingering is to be used, it must be done so that there is no perceptible delay with its attendant accent. If this cannot be accomplished, it is better to use a fingering such as *i h f d c.*
4 4 2 1 2

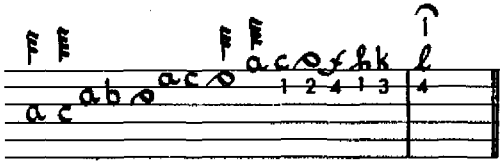
Two other examples from Robinson will illustrate the art of fingering ascending passages. From "A Toy for Two Lutes," we find the following excerpt (Example 7). The third finger is used in the shift to *h*, consistent with the principles given above. Again the shift is made on a weak note, and care must be taken not to accent it. If this fingering is found to be impractical, the alternate fingering below may be used. The shift in the alternative given is made on a strong note, and the third finger still finds its way to the *h*. I prefer the first method, but many will undoubtedly prefer this latter fingering. The last four notes *f h k l* are nicely fingered by the one-finger-per-note technique advocated for Example 2, but they may also be done *f h k l.*
1 1 3 4

Ex. 7. "A Toy for two Lutes" (Thomas Robinson, *Schoole of Musicke*)



Robinson's setting of "Go From my Window" ends as follows:

Ex. 8. "Go from my Window" (Thomas Robinson, *School of Musicke*)



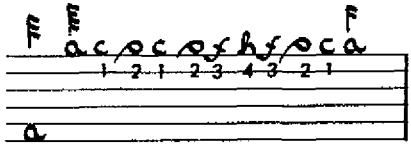
Here a big shift to the first finger on *h* is best, since you can then execute the passage with the common fingerings *1 2 4* and *1 3 4*, fingerings that fretted instrument players can do in their sleep. This convenience is worth the effort of the big movement to the first finger on *h*. No other fingering is nearly as good.

A similar case occurs in "Newman's Pavan" in the Folger Dowland manuscript (see Example 9). This is a tricky passage since the melody descends one tone after reaching *h*. However, the *i* must be taken into account at the time of the first *h*, which should thus be fingered with the third finger.

Ex. 9. "Newmans Pavin" (Folger Ms.)

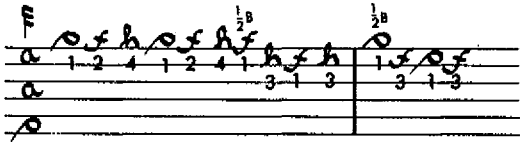
In "Mall Symes," also from the Folger manuscript, the passage in Example 10 is found. If this piece is to be played in a lively tempo, shifting in such a passage will be very difficult or will temporarily slow the meter. If the indicated fingering is used, the passage can be played as fast as necessary. The third finger must be held tight so the stretch of the fourth finger to *h* can be accomplished with the third finger in place at *f* for the descent. Although this is an unorthodox fingering, it works extremely well with some practice, and again no other fingering is as good.

Ex. 10. "Mall Symes" (Jane Pickering Lute Book)



In the following passage from Daniell Bachler's "Pavine" from the Jane Pickering Lute Book (Example 11), the *1 2 4* pattern works well on the *d f h*. The fingers should be stretched over their frets, since each figure is repeated. This will avoid excess movement and make mistakes less likely. In addition, a half barre across two strings as indicated will facilitate the performance of this passage.

Ex. 11. "Bachler Pavine" (Jane Pickering Lute Book)

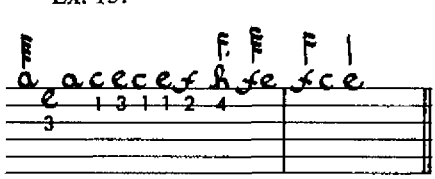


Very few early lute composers or editors gave left-hand fingering in their musical texts. Thomas Robinson, who sincerely tried to present a method of lute playing in his *Schoole of Musicke* (1603), gives left-hand fingering in five of his pieces. Sometimes these fingerings seem very strange to a modern lutenist, but they certainly deserve study and consideration. I would like to discuss only one short phrase which is relevant to this article. This excerpt from "A Plaine song for two Lutes" is found unchanged melodically in both parts of the duet, but curiously enough Robinson fingers it in two different ways:

Ex. 12.

The fingering above is from measure 29 of the first lute part. Notice the strange leap to the first finger on the high *h* and the return to the fourth finger to complete the phrase. In the second part, measure 25, the phrase is fingered as follows (Example 13):

Ex. 13.



This fingering is more like modern practice and undoubtedly would be preferred by most players today. However, Robinson evidently preferred the first fingering, since he fingers other similar passages in the piece the same way. Why did he prefer this fingering? Obviously we can never be certain, but I would like to offer two guesses. First, this fingering is sure and accurate. The first finger is the most easily controlled finger and can be shifted to any position. The piece probably does not go too fast and so there is ample time to make such a large shift. Second, we know that in the Renaissance composers used fingering for accent. A slight hesitation caused by an awkward fingering could give an articulation to a phrase that no other method could. Although this idea is eschewed by modern musicians (except in those rarefied circles trying to recapture the "true" performance practices of the past), it is worthy of consideration, and we should thank Robinson for giving us another side to fingering in his time.

These examples, while few in number, illustrate the main left-hand problems in single-line music. While many of the solutions proposed may be unusual, the problems themselves demand bold measures. With some extra practice on these fingerings, the lutenist will have a facile, unerring technique on any rapid single-line passages found in the entire literature.

REVIEWS

THE LUTE MUSIC OF FRANCESCO CANOVA DA MILANO (1497-1543). Volumes I and II. Edited by *Arthur J. Ness.* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1970) xxxii + 473 pages.

Francesco Canova da Milano (1497-1543), who during his lifetime earned the title "il divino," is generally conceded to have been the foremost lute composer of his age. He is also perhaps the single most historically significant lutenist of the sixteenth century. The influence of his music extended far beyond his native land and lingered long after his death.

Francesco belonged to a generation of Italian musicians who helped shift the focal point of European musical taste from the Netherlands to Italy. Of all native-born Italian Renaissance composers, Francesco was the first to receive international acclaim. Numerous accounts exist testifying to his skill as a performer. He achieved his greatest fame as lutenist to the papal court of Paul III after 1535. At the Council of Nice, where he accompanied the pope in the spring of 1538, his playing brought the highest praise from the French king, Francis I. His improvisation so impressed the Spanish theorist Francesco Salinas that the latter declared him easily the prince among lutenists.

After his death, Francesco's reputation took on legendary proportions. Lucas Guarico, who had been Pope Paul's astrologer, in 1552 remembered Francesco as the "most eminent musician of all; he was superior to Orpheus and to Apollo in playing the lyre and any other instrument whatever." One wonders when Lucas had heard Orpheus play the lyre but perhaps astrologers have an inside track on such things. Galeazzo Florimontio linked Francesco's name with that of Michelangelo, calling them the two greatest artists of the age. Francesco's music was more widely disseminated than that of any of his contemporaries. Between 1536 and 1603, his music was published in over forty known tablature books in countries as varied as Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands. Even fifty years after his death, his music was still being copied into English manuscript books.

From the widespread praise of his lute playing and from the broad dissemination of his music, one can infer that Francesco had a

profound influence on Renaissance lute composition. His greatest achievement was with the fantasia (a form which accounts for three quarters of his musical output), which he raised to the highest artistic level. During a period in which instrumental music was in many ways still in the formative stage, the fantasias and ricercars of Francesco made use of a remarkably wide variety of musical devices: imitation (usually at the octave), non-imitative polyphony, sequential passages, and chordal passages. Francesco was a master of motivic development and metamorphosis with an uncanny skill at seeing the implications in a given motive. One need only compare his ricercars with the more or less improvisational ricercars of Dalza and Spinacino to appreciate the scope of his achievement.

Francesco's significance as a historical figure and the stature of his music make Arthur J. Ness' edition of the *Lute Music of Francesco Canova da Milano* an important publishing event. If nothing else, the Ness edition fills what up to now has been a conspicuous void in the ever-growing list of modern lute editions.

To prepare a modern edition of Francesco's music must have been a formidable task. Not only is the body of music large (the current edition contains a total of 124 pieces, plus an appendix of 32 parodies, arrangements, and so on), but it is spread through an unusually wide variety of sources—Ness lists no fewer than 74 prints and manuscripts in his concordances. Ness has done his work well and the scholar's meticulous attention to detail is everywhere in evidence. It is, therefore, a pity that one can not be more enthusiastic about the final result.

As a volume in the series of Harvard Publications in Music, the format is similar to that used in Masakata Kanazawa's edition of Anthony Holborne's *Music for Lute and Bandora,* except that in the present case four rather than three systems of music are printed on each page. This is just as well for, even as it is, the volume is extremely bulky, running to a total of 505 pages. Apparently because of its length, Harvard calls this work "two volumes," listing it as the third and fourth in the HPM series. To cut down on binding costs, however, it has been published as one book. It would have been better if a two-volume format had been used. As it is, Ness' work is a bit unwieldy, particularly on a music stand. But then I gather this book was never really designed for a music stand in the first place. And this brings us to the book's major drawback. Unfortunately, the work is yet another of those library-oriented books destined to gather dust on the shelves because the format is just too inconvenient for the lutenists who (let's face it) would be the ones to use it. Page turns abound and no attempt has been made to correct errors in the tablature. The player must constantly refer to the parallel keyboard transcription to see if Ness has made any

editorial corrections. This is very inconvenient as even Ness admits on page 10 of the introduction. Ness' tablature in each case "is a diplomatic facsimile of the most accurate or least ornamented version of each work." As far as it goes, this is well and good (and Ness is good enough to leave in the right-hand fingering dots), but there seems little need to reprint obvious misprints and force the performer to seek help in a transcription.

The transcriptions themselves, for all their scholastic ingenuity, are not without their drawbacks. Ness has modeled his transcriptions on the principles laid down by Otto Gombosi in his edition of the *Compositione di Messer Vincenzo Capirola,* showing yet again how influential that edition has become. For the most part, the note values have been reduced 4:1 so that the *tactus* becomes equal to the eighth note. This gives a distorted view of the true tempo, besides being extremely difficult to read. Even as great an admirer of Gombosi as Daniel Heartz found it necessary to only halve the note values in his edition of the lute music of Attaingnant. Anyone who cares to compare Fantasia 24 in the Ness edition with the same piece (albeit a different version) given by Heartz on pages 120 to 121 of the Attaingnant edition will find that Heartz gives a clearer picture of the piece (even if he has, for some unknown reason, transposed the piece down a minor third). Ness gives us a clue to his reason for using a 4:1 ratio in the introduction where he states, "I have joined motivic details with beams whenever possible." An eighth note *tactus* may not make the rhythm any clearer, but it is bound to give an editor plenty of beams to work with!

Following Gombosi's lead, Ness uses barlines in his transcriptions, not to show the *tempus* but to show "important points of structural cleavage" which, I take it, means the underlying cadential structure. As with the eighth note *tactus,* this adds confusion rather than clarification to the transcription. As Michael Morrow so succinctly put it in a review for the 1962 issue of the *Lute Society Journal,* the result is a "paraphrase" showing "not what the composer intended but, rather, what the editor feels he intended."

Occasionally Ness' attempt to "restore the latent polyphonic texture of the tablature" leads him into sustaining notes that could not possibly be managed on the lute (for example the B-flat in measure 16 on page 77 or the low G in the 39th measure on page 143). Purists might try humming them under their breath. On the other hand, some of the rests appear unnecessary. Do the open bass strings really stop sounding in measures 24 to 26 of Ricercar 53? I doubt it. But then, restoring latent polyphony in lute music is, at best, a tricky business. The main drawback to Gombosi-like transcriptions is that they are apt to make the music appear more

complex and "fussy" than it actually is .

The bulk of the Ness edition is given over to Francesco's ninety-one known fantasias and ricercars presented in the order of their first publication. These do nothing to dispel Francesco's reputation as a master of lute texture. Indeed, seeing his music *en masse* makes one appreciate anew the breadth of Francesco's imagination with his chosen instrument.

A welcome addition to the book is the inclusion of the seven fantasias, in a corrected version, for which Joanne Matelart published a second lute part in 1559. In addition, a delightful canon for two lutes taken from the Cavalcanti Lute Book is given. This latter is heartily recommended to beginning lute players.

It is a pity that such an important publication as this should suffer from as many drawbacks as those mentioned above. Ness is a careful and skilled editor. Like those who will have reason to use this book, he is actually a victim of a musicological fashion out of touch with the public it is supposed to serve.—*Peter Danner*

JOHN DOWLAND. By *Diana Poulton.* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1972) 520 pages.*

In an age of great lutenists, John Dowland (1563-1626) was the greatest of them all. The term lutenist in those days meant above all a composer of lute music and secondarily a player of the lute. Since a player usually played his own compositions, the two functions were inseparable. Whether Dowland was admired more for his playing or for his compositions is hard to say, but one leans more towards the latter judging by contemporary statements to this effect and by the widespread dissemination of his music. However, statements about his lute playing also exist, such as Richard Barnfield's famous couplet:

Dowland to thee is dear, whose heavenly touch
Upon the lute doth ravish human sense.

Dowland, it is safe to say, was unequaled in his time in both capacities.

*This review was made from an uncorrected galley proof.

As a man, Dowland was true to the image created by his art—highly literate, dynamic, well-traveled, blessed with friends (and enemies) in high places. He had a famous melancholy disposition, which may or may not have had something to do with the intensity of his music. He lived at a time of religious conflict (but who did not in Tudor England?) and found himself in the middle of it, perhaps by choice. He was an extraordinary letter writer; and these precious documents provide us with most of what we know about his life, which is considerable compared, at least, to his illustrious contemporary, William Shakespeare, about whose life we know next to nothing.

For thirty years the English lutenist and scholar Diana Poulton has investigated every conceivable aspect of Dowland's life—his friends, his solo music, his songs, his poems, his translations, and practical instructions about the lute. All this research is now contained in her book *John Dowland,* to be published by the University of California Press in March, 1972. The reader must needs remain in awe of her work and her meticulous scholarship evident on every page of the 500-page volume. How fortunate we lute players are to have this work—and how fortunate is Diana Poulton to see her life's work realized so well. Despite the book's rather steep price, thirty dollars, I doubt if anyone at all interested in the lute can afford to be without it. After all, it only represents a payment to Mrs. Poulton of one dollar for each year's work.

Before going any further, a description of the contents of the book would be useful. The first almost one hundred pages are devoted to a study of Dowland's life. Next comes a description of his solo lute music, followed by a lengthy discussion and analysis of the song books, a look at his psalms and spiritual songs, the *Seven Teares* collection and other consort music, a short section on his translations, a chapter on his patrons and friends, a short chapter on his posthumous reputation, and, finally, two appendices on his prose works with a discussion of Dowland's fretting instructions by David Mitchell, and a huge bibliography and source finder for Dowland's works.

Without question the biographical section is the most interesting. It is certainly the most creative and thoughtful and the one in which the true talent of Mrs. Poulton shines—that of biographical detective. Every word ever written about Dowland has been examined and evaluated, every conceivable thread concerning his whereabouts at any time has been followed up to an extent that should make Scotland Yard envious. In so doing, she has answered, perfectly satisfactorily to this reader, some of the major problems in the life of her man. She proves that Dowland was not an Irishman but an Englishman, and I hope this controversy is hereby laid to rest.

She makes a good case for the fact that Dowland was not after all a Catholic, despite his own say so, and presents historical evidence to support her unusual theory. She also advances, though somewhat hesitatingly, another theory to explain this seemingly contradictory state of affairs: Dowland may have in truth been a spy for Queen Elizabeth, only posing as a Catholic to gain access to the circle of expatriate Catholics in Italy plotting to overthrow their queen. She traces Dowland's life and travels from beginning to end, filling in the "missing" years with probable and logical possibilities. Her sweeping knowledge of the period makes her analyses and interpretations fascinating and plausible. Dowland will henceforth no longer be the man of mystery he once was—which I suppose is in a way too bad—but his greatness remains.

Unfortunately, Mrs. Poulton's judgment in the analysis of Dowland's music is not as unerring and convincing as it is in the biographical section. She has examined every piece of Dowland's music in every English and Continental source in which it is found. She then compared them all and occasionally found glaring errors in heretofore accepted musical texts. However, her insistence that there is only one correct text seems naive, and her search to find it often seems unnecessary.

A number is assigned to every Dowland piece in her discussion, but unfortunately we cannot always be sure, with the exception of some of the fantasies, where incipits are given, to what music they refer. For example:

> No. 27, an untitled galliard, is a fine sombre piece in 'short' form. The strains are of unequal and unconventional length, the first having twelve bars, the second eight, and the third fourteen. (Page 145)

That is all there is about poor No. 27, probably doomed to oblivion once again. No music, no incipit, no source. We learn only later (page 480) that the sources for each piece *are* given, but we still cannot always be sure what piece is meant unless we read this section with at least a dozen manuscripts on our lap. Someone not already familiar with the English lute repertory might just as well not bother since he will be hopelessly lost from the outset.

It also seems strange that Mrs. Poulton accepts as Dowland's work any piece with his name on it, whether in his style or not, but does not accept unsigned or unattributed pieces as Dowland's even though, to this observer, they are pure Dowland. All this confusion could have been avoided if we were at any time told what Dowland's style is, with some basic musical description of what makes his style unique and how it compares with that of his contemporaries. One

particular case which Mrs. Poulton makes that I cannot accept is that Robert Dowland's "Lady Clifton's Spirit" in the *Variety of Lute Lessons* is really by John, despite the written attribution to Robert. According to Mrs. Poulton, John gave Robert credit for it to advance the reputation of a not-too-bright son. However, she advances no musical or biographical evidence to support this theory. To this observer quite familiar with the piece, it does not in the least sound like John Dowland's work. The style is highly *brisé*, borrowing from the new French ideas then being circulated in England. John Dowland's music is much more conservative, that is, contrapuntal. The situation repeats itself 150 years later with the sons of J. S. Bach eschewing the contrapuntal style of their old-fashioned father in favor of the new *gallant* practice.

In the third chapter we are treated to a long dissertation on the history of the lute song in Europe. While very interesting and learned, it seems unnecessary here since one is anxious to get on to Dowland and *his* songs. In the analytical part far more attention is paid to the poems than to the music. Mrs. Poulton traces every poem in every version and source, early and late, and dutifully presents them all to the reader. This is unfortunate since most of them are rather poor poems, and this long exercise in comparative literature does not add a wit to the advancement of knowledge of Dowland's songs. It would surely suffice to show what Dowland did with the words at hand and minimize speculation as to whether he used the best of all possible versions. In the musical analysis she often has excellent insights into the settings but also misses a great deal. She takes as her point of departure the Edmund Fellowes editions and proceeds to demonstrate how misguided the old boy was. There is, of course, some justification for this since most of us know the music through his editions, but she does go a bit overboard. Many of the songs are given a short and informative analysis, but some are dismissed with barely a nod:

> 'Now cease my wandring eies' (No. 13). The simple, four-square melody in common time, consisting of two short repeated sections, agrees with all the main characteristics of an almain and may be grouped with Dowland's other songs in dance form. (Page 266)

Not only do such comments tell us next to nothing, but she may even be mistaken in labeling the song an almain—the tempo has to go much too slowly. Surely more could have been said about this exquisite song.

Mrs. Poulton also makes a very strong case in this chapter to the effect that the note B in the opening of the song "Can She Excuse My Wrongs" should be natural because in all the editions of the *First*

Booke of Songes this note was not flatted. Yet, in three sources, two solo and one consort version—the Folger manuscript (signed by Dowland himself), the *Varietie of Lute Lessons,* and the *Seaven Teares* collection—which she repeatedly gives as the most authoritative of Dowland's work, all contain a flatted note. The use of the natural puts the tune in an archaic pure dorian mode, certainly long out of use by Dowland's day (if indeed it ever was), and creates a terrible tritone between this B and the F of the next chord. Also, the C to B semitone is highly accentuated, which is not consistent with its rhythmic function in the phrase. In other songs she is willing to suggest the addition of a flat if it improves the music, so why not here?

The next chapter is very welcome since Dowland's settings of religious works are little known, and we can thank Mrs. Poulton for enlightening us on the subject. It is unfortunate that most of this music has so little use outside a house of worship.

The chapter on Dowland's patrons and friends is interesting in a way, but I think most readers will probably take a mental note that it exists to come back to sometime for reference, rather than to read straight through it. Diana Poulton's zeal in pursuing the life of Dowland has led her to believe that anybody with whom Dowland had any connection, however formal or remote, would be relevant to Dowland's life. I found it rough going and after a while gave up trying to keep items like the following sorted out:

> The 'young' Lady Derby was Elizabeth, the wife of William Stanley, sixth Early of Derby, who succeeded his elder brother Ferdinando to the title. She was, in fact, Robert Cecil's niece, being the daughter of Edward de Evere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and Ann, elder daughter of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh. (Page 397)

If you have a good head for names, this chapter is for you. I wonder if perhaps the English do not have a better appreciation of faceless noble names and their genealogy than do we Yankees.

Much more, of course, could be said about Diana Poulton's book, but better still, buy it and read it. Despite the few faults mentioned above, it is the best work on Dowland to have appeared so far and will probably remain so for many years to come.—*Stanley Buetens*

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Diana Poulton, first Professor for the lute at the Royal College of Music, London, is a co-founder of the Lute Society. Her book is based on more than thirty years of research and forty-five years as a concert lutenist.

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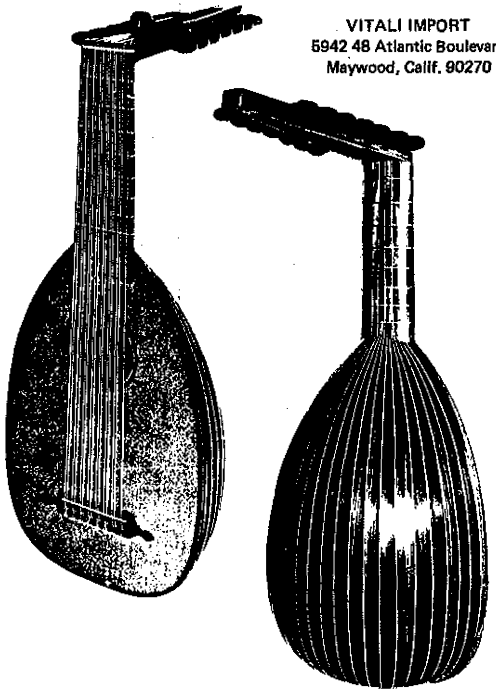

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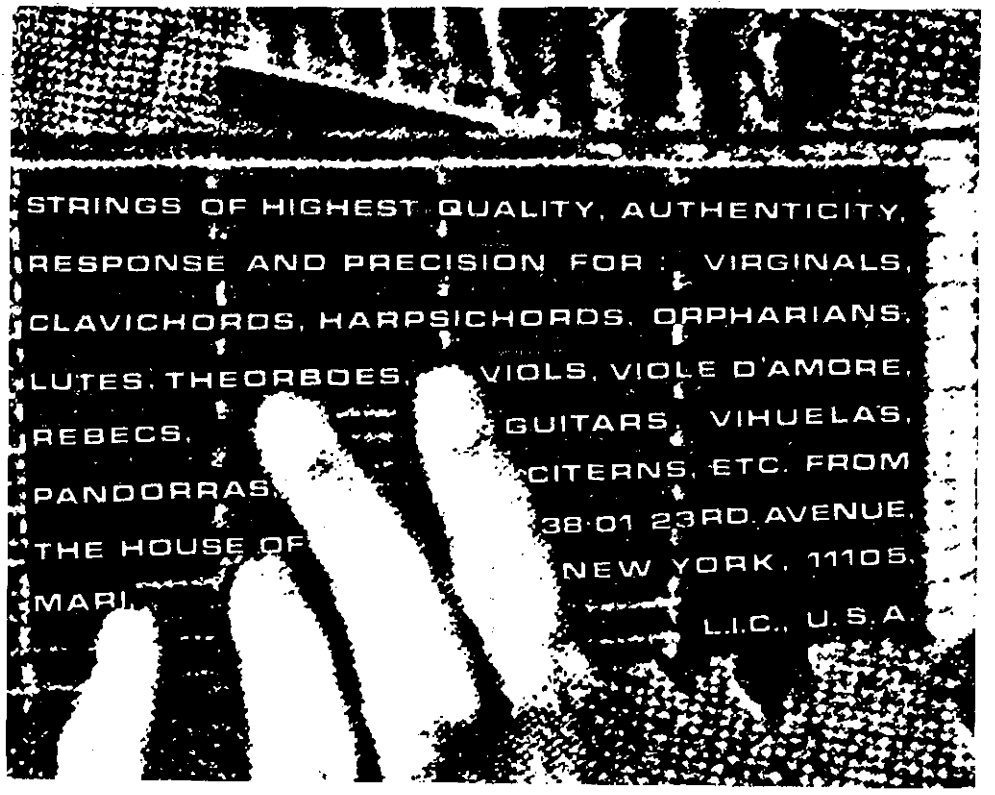

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