JOURNAL of the LUTE SOCIETY of America, Inc.

JOAN MYERS, Editor

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LUTE SOCIETY of America, Inc.
The Lute Society of America was organized in 1966 to cultivate, promote, foster, sponsor, and develop understanding, taste, and love of the musical arts, and especially to promote interest in the lute and related stringed instruments; to increase and stimulate public interest in the playing of the lute and its music; to coordinate groups of lutenists and to render assistance by furnishing a central place where such groups may apply for information.

Membership in the Society is open to anyone interested in the lute and its music. Such persons shall become members in good standing upon payment of dues for the current year. Annual dues are $7.50. The Society is a non-profit organization, and all contributions in excess of dues are tax-deductible.

The Lute Society of America publishes this Journal annually. The Society also publishes a Newsletter which is sent to members irregularly, at least four times per year. Editions of lute music are also published by the Society; at least one copy per year is issued free to members, and other copies are available to members at a reduction of 25%. A list of members is published in the Spring, containing a list of lute makers, repairmen, suppliers of lutes, strings and accessories, teachers of the lute, and other pertinent information. Meetings for playing the lute, and discussion of its history, technique, etc. are held at irregular intervals wherever there are enough members to make it desirable, and notices of these meetings are printed in the Newsletter. The Society also operates a microfilm library of lute sources and conducts an annual Summer Workshop.

Application for membership in the Society (and contributions to the Society) may be made to the Membership Chairman, P.O. Box 194, Topanga, California 90290. News items and other matters concerning the Society should be addressed to the Secretary, Miss Donna Curry, P.O. Box 194, Topanga, California 90290.
This fifth issue of the Journal of the Lute Society of America is cause for celebration. Not only has our society survived the first five traumatic years of infancy, but it is now prospering and growing rapidly. The Journal, a good indication of the Society's success, now attracts the writings of fine scholars from around the world. As the membership continues to grow, we should be able to expand the Journal to include different kinds of articles and additional art work. We are particularly pleased this year to have glossy plates, thus substantially increasing the quality of our illustration reproduction.

The contributors to the 1972 Journal are a distinguished group of scholars and performers. Peter Danner is well known to most members of the Society for his dedicated work as treasurer and microfilm librarian, as well as for his past contributions to the Journal. In this issue, he brings together for the first time much of the available information on the lute as it was played in the fifteenth century—a most intriguing period to the modern lutenist. He also compiles the finest bibliography of guitar tablatures thus far available and reviews a new edition of the collected works of Francesco da Milano. Daniel Heartz is professor of music at the University of California at Berkeley and has done research on lute music for many years—with a fine group of articles and editions to his credit. His article "Mary Magdalene Lutenist" should be fascinating to performers, scholars, and iconographers alike. Stanley Buetens, lutenist, professor of music at San Jose State University, and president of the LSA for the past four years, deserves much of the credit for nurturing the Society's growth and, especially, for encouraging the development of a scholarly journal. Here he reviews the most important bibliographic source of lute music, the second edition of Ernst Pohlmann's Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone. Robert Strizich has been interested in the lute and baroque guitar for many years and is responsible for the recent edition of the Oeuvres de Robert de Visée. One of the few modern performers on the baroque guitar, he is spending the current year studying and researching lute and guitar sources in Switzerland. His article on the ornaments of Spanish baroque guitar music is of particular interest to modern
guitarists who enjoy the music of Sanz and his contemporaries. Michael Loraine is a professor in the Near Eastern Languages and Literature Department, University of Washington, Seattle. His translation of a Persian poem reveals the high esteem given the lute in twelfth-century Persia. Lyle Nordstrom, professor of music at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan, is a versatile performer on most of the Renaissance and baroque instruments. His inventory of the Cambridge “Consort Books” is a fine piece of scholarship and should encourage publication of many more of the marvelous pieces for “broken consort.” H. Bruce Lobaugh is professor of music at the University of Saskatchewan, Regina, Canada. His review of Dr. Klöckner’s dissertation on Adrian Denss is a follow-up to his article that appeared in the Journal in 1969. Finally, Dániel Benkő is, as far as we know, Hungary’s only twentieth-century lutenist. We are especially pleased to have his article on one of the few manuscripts containing lute music that survives from his country.
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Articles, matters involving editorial policy, and music and books for review should be sent to the Editor, Miss Joan Myers, 13840 Cicerone Lane, Los Altos Hills, California 94022.

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BEFORE PETRUCCI: THE LUTE IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

By Peter Danner

In the fifteenth century, European navigators embarked on their now celebrated voyages of discovery into uncharted waters. Anyone who attempts to explore lute music during the same period will find himself well able to sympathize with many of their difficulties. Because no actual lute tablatures remain from before the sixteenth century, the musical explorer too finds himself in unmapped territory. Like the mariners of old, he must learn to make his way wherever and however he can.

The lute spread from Spain during the fourteenth century most likely in the hands of the wandering minstrels who traveled from court to court.\(^1\) By the following century references to the lute are found throughout Europe both in paintings and in the literature of the period.\(^2\) These references, however, are rarely as specific as we would wish. Not only do we lack actual examples of lute music, but we find the sources, particularly those from before 1450, are often couched in allegorical rhetoric and lack any clear indications either of lute performances or of the role of the instrumentalist in general. Only by piecing together many bits of information, as in a mosaic, are we able to put together a consistent picture.

Nevertheless, if we stand back and view the fifteenth century as a totality, a certain picture does emerge. This century (often called the Quattrocento by art historians) is the bridge between the collective scholastic culture of the Middle Ages and what, for lack of a better term, is often called the “humanistic world” of the Renaissance. When the musical humanist Johannis Tinctoris states in 1477 that “there does not exist a single piece of music, not

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\(^1\)In the Middle Ages a distinction was usually made between the “troubadour,” who rarely performed his own music, and the “jongleur,” who did.

\(^2\)Among pre-fifteenth-century literary references might be mentioned the Roman de la Rose (c. 1260) and Novella X of Boccaccio’s Decameron. Machaut mentions the lute in his poem “Remede de Fortune.” In Chaucer, there is but a single reference to the lute: in the “Pardoner’s Tale.” See Gustave Reese, Music in the Middle Ages (New York, Norton, 1940), pp. 383-84 and p. 408.
composed within the last forty years, that is regarded by the learned as worth hearing, he is expressing a new consciousness felt by musicians in the fifteenth century about their art. Among the manifestations of this new humanistic consciousness, must be counted the growing interest in solo music that began to develop in the second half of the century.

Before Tinctoris, the lute appears not to have been regarded as a solo instrument. On the one hand, it was used as an instrument to accompany a singer (as, for example, among the Minnesingers), while on the other, it was used to play single lines in ensembles presumably involving a fair amount of improvising. Only in the latter part of the century do we find evidence that the lute was played as a solo instrument. Gradually it shifted from being played in a single-line style to a style of self-contained polyphony. Out of this new practice grew the solo repertoire that has come down to us beginning with the tablatures of the first decade of the sixteenth century.

The earlier monophonic use of the lute helps to explain the fact that even though the lute is often mentioned before 1500, no independent repertoire or notation is to be found. Oswald Körte has pointed out that there was little need for an elaborate tablature system as long as the performer was concerned with this type of music. The lutenist was mainly an improviser.

Iconography has proved particularly helpful in informing us about early instrumental ensembles. Illustrations of fifteenth-century players almost invariably show a group of musicians performing together. One of the most common themes is that of the ethereal band shown in paintings such as Fra Angelico’s “Coronation of the Virgin.” A lute-playing angel often appears among such heavenly hosts. Even in secular paintings, the lute is often pictured but is seldom shown alone.

In pictures of fifteenth-century court life many instruments appear, including lutes, rebecs, harps, flutes, shawms, bagpipes, and a wide range of percussion instruments. Even so, certain instruments are usually grouped together in specific ways. For example, although the lute is often shown being played together with a flute or a psaltery, it rarely appears with a shawm. This is consistent with what we know about the classification of instruments in the fifteenth century.


4 Oswald Körte, Laute und Lautenmusik (Leipzig, 1901), p. 77. This idea is also expounded in Arnold Schering, Studien zur Musikgeschichte der Frührenaissance (Leipzig, 1914), p. 118.

century into two groups known as *haut instruments* and *bas instruments*—that is, "high" and "low," referring not to an instrument's pitch but to its volume. Martin le France, who like Tinctoris felt a new musical spirit by mid-century, refers to "haut et basse" in connection with the music of Binchois and Dufay.

For they have a new practice of making pleasant concordant sounds: in high and low music, in applying musica ficta, in rests, in mutations [of the hexachord].

At this time, two shawms and a slide-trumpet made the most common ensemble of *haut instruments*, while a group of, say, flute, lute, and harp might comprise a group of *bas instruments*. In Renaissance pictures of dances, *haut* groups were particularly common and are usually shown playing from a balcony or out-of-doors.7

*Bas* groups were used for more intimate entertainments. Because they were not commonly used for large-scale state functions, they are seldom mentioned in the court memoirs and chronicles of the period. In both the French and Burgundian courts, the harp apparently remained the favorite *bas* instrument until the end of the century.8 In pictures, however, the lute is usually shown being played with the harp. The *bas instruments* were often connected with minstrelsy. Philippe de Mézières advised King Charles VI of France:

Another thing fitting for you is to have minstrels to play on low instruments for your every recreation and to sooth your royal person after councils and labors of the royal majesty.9

The lute must have figured prominently in chamber concerts. One such concert, performed during a royal reception given the Holy Roman Emperor by King Charles V, is described by Christine de Pisan.

After supper, the King retired into the parliament chamber, and with him the son of the Emperor and as many barons as could enter, and there, as was the custom, there played minstrels on low instruments

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as sweetly as they could, and there were seated the two kings on two high chairs each embroidered with a fleur-de-lis.  

In addition to telling us of the types of instruments used by fifteenth-century musicians, pictures give us some indication of the lute technique of the period. Lutenists are usually shown using a long quill plectrum. Sometimes the plectrum is shown held between the thumb and index finger, just as a modern guitarist would hold a flat pick. Often, however, the long stem of the quill is illustrated extending between the index and middle fingers or even between the middle and ring fingers of the right hand. One clear early example of the use of the plectrum is shown in the allegorical painting "The Triumph of the Church over the Synagogue" by a follower of Jan van Eyck dating from about 1430, where we see a trio of angels playing bas instruments. The lutenist is holding a long plectrum between the index and middle fingers (see Plate F). Another example of the same practice is in an illustration from the fourteenth-century Czech Olomaucká Bible. Israël van Meckenem's engraving of a lutenist and singer, the player is casually, holding his plectrum between his middle two fingers as if smoking a cigarette. (See Plate G.) Such wide use of the plectrum adds support to the contention that the Quattrocento lute was looked on as a single-line rather than as a polyphonic instrument.

What type of music might we expect a lutenist of that period to be playing? For the lutenist, perhaps the most significant form was the polyphonic chanson developed at the Burgundian court by a number of renowned composers including Binchois and later Hayne van Ghizeghem and Busnois. The vast majority of these chansons were in three parts, although it was rare for all three voices to be sung. In the Burgundian song books that have come down to us, usually only the top voice has an underlying text, the other voices being played instrumentally. The Burgundian style emphasized the top voice with a slower, subordinate instrumental tenor and countertenor below it. At the elaborate Banquet of the Oath of the Pheasant given by Philip the Good in 1453, we get one of the few examples of a performance with voices.

11 For examples of this, see Wangermée, op. cit., p. 99, and A. Buchner, Musical Instruments Through the Ages (London, Spring Books, 1958), plate 137.
12 Wangermée, p. 80.
14 Wangermée, p. 120.
descriptions of chanson performance when we read of a chanson being performed by two voices and a lute: "Fut joue doun leux bonne voix."\(^{16}\)

The names of many Burgundian lutenists have come down to us beginning with one Prost mentioned as early as 1413.\(^{17}\) On Philip the Good's marriage to Isabella of Portugal in 1430, the new Duchess brought two Portuguese minstrels to Burgundy in her retinue. These minstrels, Jehan Fernandez and Jehan de Cordeval, show up in the accounts from 1433 to 1450 described variously as "joueur de luth," "joueur de vielle," or later simply as "joueur de bas instruments."\(^{18}\) Hayne van Ghizeghem apparently also enjoyed a considerable reputation as a lutenist at the Burgundian court. In the Déploration on the death of Ockeghem, the poet Crétin creates the image of an idealized concert given in honor of the great master. He could think of no one more fitting than Hayne to close it with his lute:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hayne, en la fin dict avecques son luz} \\
\text{Ce motet, } \textit{Ut heremita solus} \\
\text{Que chescun tint une chose excellente.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Hayne, at the end, performed with his lute} \\
\text{the motet } \textit{Ut heremita solus} \\
\text{which everyone held to be an excellent thing.}\(^{19}\)
\end{align*}
\]

The dance of the Quattrocento was the basse dance. Although dances were usually performed by \textit{haut instruments}, Edmund Bowles claims that noblewomen preferred their court dances played on \textit{bas instruments}.\(^{20}\) In the performances of either chansons or basse dances, lutenists must have relied heavily on the art of improvisation. A consideration of the basse dance is important, therefore, because most of what we know about fifteenth-century instrumental improvisation has come directly from the study of such dances.

The basse dance was a \textit{cantus firmus} dance around which the performers as well as the dancers improvised their music and steps, relying on the gift of "memoria"—the ability to learn by heart all the

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\(^{17}\) Edmund Bowles, "Instruments at the Court of Burgundy (1363-1467)," \textit{Galpin Society Journal}, Vol. VI (1953), p. 44.

\(^{18}\) A list of the "menestrels" at the court of Burgundy is given in Marix, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 264-75.


\(^{20}\) Bowles, "Hunt and Bas . . .," p. 139. Bowles also makes a case for the term "basse dance" being derived from "bas instruments" rather than the more usually accepted explanation of the "low" gliding steps characteristic of the dance, p. 139.
combinations of the form.\textsuperscript{21} Many of these \textit{cantus firmi} have been shown to be based on tenors taken directly from Burgundian chansons.\textsuperscript{22} From this fact we get a hint of how easily music (and one assumes improvisation performance practice) crossed from one form to another. The dance manuals of the time give in notation a number of monophonic tenors in which the rhythm is given only in undifferentiated breves. Around these, the musicians improvised their lines. Fortunately, a number of elaborated versions of these \textit{cantus firmi} survive, as well as polyphonic arrangements, giving us a clue as to the manner in which fifteenth-century lutenists may have improvised their parts. For example, in the \textit{Buxheimer Orgelbuch}, a number of such tenors are treated in elaborated fashion. Number 119, "Mi ut re ut," is based on the basse dance "Venise"\textsuperscript{23}:

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{ex1.png}
\caption{Ex. 1.}
\end{figure}

One of the most important of all basse-dance tenors is "La Spagna," on which a number of fifteenth-century polyphonic arrangements have survived. Furthermore, it was a theme that showed up in the earliest Italian lute tablatures, including Spinacino, the Thibault Lute Manuscript, and the Capirola Lutebook. Gombosi has listed a total of 361 separate fifteenth- and sixteenth-century settings.\textsuperscript{24} Among them is a late fifteenth-century two-part arrangement in Perugia ms. 431 for unspecified instruments that gives some idea of the type of instrumental improvisation performed during this period. The piece is ascribed to one "M. Gulielmus."\textsuperscript{25}


\textsuperscript{25} The entire piece is given in Bukofzer, pp. 199-200.
The long florid line and the use of hemiola rhythms look forward to the type of ornamentation found in the early Italian lute settings. Daniel Heartz has shown how the early German lutenists also incorporated the basse dance into their repertoire as in the "Hoftanz" of Hans Judenkunig.

A consideration of the lute in Germany is of importance; although none of their music has survived, German lutenists in the fifteenth century seem to have been particularly active. In fact, as European courts appear to have preferred Flemish vocal composers, so the fashion seems to have dictated German lutenists. In March of 1401, we find one Henry "alamand menestrier de cordes" at the court of Savoy. In the late 1460's, Henri and Lyenart Büchlin played at the Burgundian court. At the court of Provence, a lutenist named Lallement, who was likely also German, shows up on the salary lists of 1469-1470. The French king Charles VIII had a lutenist named Antoine Her in 1491 who was paid the princely sum of 10 livres a month. In Italy, one Janes Tedesco was employed by the Sforza family in Milan.

The Germans were also celebrated lute-makers. One of the first we know of was Ambrose Heinrich Helt of Nuremberg, active in 1414. Other fifteenth-century makers included Andres der Bilderhouver (1427) of Strassburg, Hans Meisinger (1447) of Augsburg, and Hans Frey (d. 1523) of Nuremberg who was the father-in-law of Albrecht Dürer. In 1469, the Duke of Burgundy is known to have purchased three lutes decorated with his coat of arms.

29Laurencie, p. 16.
31Nicholas Bessaraboff, Ancient European Musical Instruments (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1941), p. 231.
from a German dealer named Molhans. 32
Perhaps the greatest, at least the most celebrated, lute-maker of all time was Laux (or Lucus) Maller, or Mahler, who settled in Bologna sometime in the fifteenth century. 33 His fame was such that he was still mentioned by Ernst Baron as late as 1727. 34 Thomas Mace mentions him as having been the greatest of all lute-builders.

There are diversities of Mens Names in Lutes; but the Chief Name we most esteem is Laux Maller, ever written with Text Letters: Two of which Lutes I have seen (pittifull Old Batter’d Crack’d Things) valued at 100 l. a piece. 35

A few of Maller’s lutes still survive, including one in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

Maller is credited with developing the classical lute form of the Renaissance in the years before 1500. 36 Before this time, lutes seem to have varied widely in size and shape. For the first half of the Quattrocento, particularly in Burgundy, the body of the instrument was often much rounder than it later became. Such a rounded body is shown in Plate F. This instrument also shows two sound holes betraying the lute’s Eastern origins. 37

Although at one time the lute had but four courses, by the fifteenth century five were normal. In the early sixteenth century, German lutenists continued to refer to the chanterelle as the “Quint-Saite,” showing the tradition of the five-course instrument even after more courses had been added. This tradition is also borne out by German tablature that was obviously designed for a five-course instrument. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, six courses had become standard, as Sebastian Virdung tells us in Musica getutscht.

Some lutenists play on nine strings which have only five courses, some play on eleven strings which have six courses. One doesn’t learn as much, it seems to me, with nine strings. 38

Virdung also mentions that some lutes already had seven courses. 39 The number of frets, if contemporary pictures are to be

33 For a synopsis of the confusion of dates surrounding Maller, see Ernst Pohlmann, Laute Theorbe Chitarrone, 2nd ed. (Breman, Edition Eres, 1972), p. 342. He cites Rosario Profeta as being of the opinion that Maller was active in Bologna between 1420 and 1475.
34 Ernst Baron, Historische-theoretisch und praktische Untersuchung (Nuremberg, 1727), p. 92.
36 Bessaraboff, p. 222.
37 Wangermée, p. 80. For further discussion, see Dénis, p. 40.
38 Sebastian Virdung, Musica getutscht und ausgezoge . . . (Basel, 1511), f. I iii.
39 Virdung, f. I iii (v).
believed, varied widely. Sometimes we find as few as four, while the
diagram of Henri Arnault, who was at one time physician and
astrologer to the Burgundian court and therefore in a position to
have observed such things, shows a very long neck capable of
carrying a dozen frets.\textsuperscript{40} Normally, however, we can assume that the
typical fifteenth-century lute had five courses and no more than
eight frets. Such as instrument is shown in Israël van Meckenem's
delightful engraving mentioned above (Plate G).

Considering the lutenistic activities of the Germans, it is not
surprising that the first mention of lute tablature as well as the
earliest references to solo performance involve them. Credit for
inventing German tablature is given to the blind organist Conrad
Paumann of Nuremberg around the year 1450. The source of our
information is once again Sebastian Virdung, who published the first
known example of German tablature in 1511. Virdung relates:

\begin{quote}
I hear that a blind man, who was born in Nuremberg and was buried
in Munich, called Meister Conrad of Nuremberg, had written the
entire alphabet on the neck of the lute … and this sequence of
letters has been since developed.\textsuperscript{41}
\end{quote}

This story was reiterated by Martin Agricola (who based his own
book on Virdung), although he expressed surprise that a notation
would have been invented by a blind man.\textsuperscript{42}

Paumann was primarily an organist and the most significant
instrumental composer of the fifteenth century. Like most
performers of his day, he was capable of playing many instruments.
In addition to his skill at the organ, he is referred to as having been a
“virtuoso on the harp, theorbo-lute and flute” (which we might note
are all \textit{bas instruments}).\textsuperscript{43} Although he was blind from birth, it is
perfectly conceivable that Paumann did develop German lute
tablature, perhaps as an outgrowth of his involvement with German
organ tablature. In fifteenth-century organ tablatures, the upper
(right-hand) part was written in mensural notation while the lower
(left-hand) part was written in letter form.\textsuperscript{44} A lute player working

\textsuperscript{40}Paris, B. N. Ms. Latin 7295. This design, dated c. 1450, is shown and described at
(1960), pp. 3-8.

\textsuperscript{41}Virdung, f. K iii (v).

\textsuperscript{42}Martin Agricola, \textit{Musica instrumentalis deutscl\(\ddot{\text{}}\)h} (Wittenberg, 1528), f. xxix (v).
Agricola’s remark can be paraphrased: “If a blind man teaches apprentices who can see, and
make them also blind by leading them astray, they must not be surprised if they get laughed
at.”

\textsuperscript{43}Nicolas Slonimsky, ed., \textit{Baker’s Biographical Dictionary of Musicians}, 5th ed. (New

\textsuperscript{44}See the discussion on early German organ tablatures in Willi Apel, \textit{The Notation of
with left-hand alphabet notation might easily see that such a system could be adapted to the left-hand functions of the lute. Paumann's compositions are contained in the celebrated Buxheimer Orgelbuch (circa 1460) and the Fundamentum organisandi. These organ manuscripts were copied by several hands, and one can visualize the blind organist dictating his compositions to his students and admirers.\textsuperscript{45} It is probable that Paumann did the same thing with lute compositions that are now lost. Many of the organ pieces, in fact, can readily be transcribed for the lute as they stand; and it might be noted that the one lute piece in Virdung's book of 1511, a German religious song ("O haylige, onbeflecte, zart junckfrawschaft marie"), appears both in organ and lute tablatures as well as in mensural notation.\textsuperscript{46} Furthermore, in 1512, Arnold Schlick, who at some time in his life also went blind, published the first German anthology of instrumental music and included both keyboard and lute pieces in tablature. The relationship between organ and lute must have been quite close at this time.

In the second half of the fifteenth century we begin to find evidence that a solo literature was developing for the lute. In its development, the Germans were clearly in the vanguard. Information about actual performance and music is, however, still sketchy. The clearest account we have is the section on instruments from De Inventione et Usu Musicae by Tinctoris. Writing in 1484, he remarks about the lute:

The lyre which is called the lute, we use at feasts, dances and public and private entertainments, and in this, many Germans are exceedingly renowned. Thus some teams will take the treble of any piece you care to give them and improvise marvellously upon it with such taste that the performance cannot be rivalled. Among such, Pietro Bono (Avogari), lutenist to Ercole, Duke of Ferrare, is in my opinion pre- eminent.\textsuperscript{47}

This is the clearest picture we have of the earlier improvised form of lute playing in single lines. Tinctoris then goes on to speak of a second type of lute playing:


\textsuperscript{46}The lute version is given in Virdung, fols. M ii (v)-M iii; the organ tablature on fols. J i (v)-J ii; and the mensural notation version on fols. H iii (v)-J i.

Furthermore, others will do what is much more difficult; namely to play a composition alone, and most skilfully, in not only two parts but even in three or four. For example, Orbus, the German, or Henri who was recently in the service of Charles, Duke of Burgundy; the German was supereminent in playing in this way.48

Tinctoris is clearly making a distinction between two types of performance—the earlier monophonic manner represented at its best by Bono and a new solo manner of playing typified by certain German players. Tinctoris reinforces the idea that solo lute playing first developed in Germany. The Henri he mentions was probably the same Henri Büchlin who was in the Duke’s service in 1469.

About Pietro Bono, to whom Tinctoris referred in particularly glowing terms, we know perhaps more than about any other fifteenth-century lutenist. Through him it is possible to get some idea of the changing role of the professional lutenist in Italy at the time the humanist movement was in full swing. Bono was born in 1417 and was apparently celebrated as a singer as well as a lutenist. By 1455, he was already well established at the court of Ferrara. In his dance treatise, which bears this date, Antonio Cornazano remarks:

I will quote a Ferrarese proverb, which is this: Who would be transported from this World to the Beyond must listen to the playing of Pierobono: Who would find the Heavens opened must experience the liberality of Duke Borso.49

Cornazano has left a description of Bono’s playing at the wedding banquet of Francesco Sforza in a long ode about the Sforza family, La Sforzianade. Since Cornazano was but nine at the time, we can assume that he is describing a later performance and indulging in a bit of artistic license to fit his theme. Although he may be far from accurate in other matters as well, his description is worth quoting as it is one of the few accounts we have of a fifteenth-century cantore a liuto. At the banquet, Bono is pictured seated on a high bench singing a number of contemporary love stories including the story of the groom’s father. Cornazano tells us that Bono accompanied himself on a stringed instrument that he calls a “cetra.” This is likely the lute cloaked as a classical allegory. Bono’s final song, a “singular canzone,” made use of extensive proportions and syncopations and its tenor was fugally imitated on his instrument:

proportionando e sincoppando sempre,
e fugiva el tenore a i suoi cantoni.

48 Baines, p. 19.
49 Quoted from Mabel Dolmetsch, Dances of Spain and Italy (London, 1954), p. 13. A picture of a medallion bearing Bono’s likeness appears in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Band 2, col. 118.
After he sang, we are told that Bono entertained with a spirited dance—a "ballo spinto."\(^50\)

Another of Cornazano's writings, *De excellentum virorum principibus*, again mentions Bono as a singer. In his later years, Bono appears to have concentrated less on singing and more on instrumental music, although he seems never to have become a player in the polyphonic manner. As Tinctoris tells us, he made use of a second instrumentalist called a "tenorista." Tinctoris probably heard Bono in Naples when Bono went there with his tenorista in 1473 as part of Sigismondo d'Este's court. We also know from two references in 1486 and 1488 that his tenorista was one Francesco de la Gatta, although we don't know exactly the sort of instrument on which he performed. In 1469, Janes Tedesco is known to have had a tenorista who played the viola and Bono's probably did as well. Whether this viola was plucked or bowed is a matter of conjecture. Tinctoris states:

... in Italy and Spain the viola without a bow is more often used. On the other hand over the greater part of the world the viola with a bow is used not only in this way, but also in the recitation of epics.\(^51\)

Many other Italians were reported to have been skilled at the art of improvisation. There is no need to cite others here except to note one Atalante who was sought after to play the role of Orfeo before the Duke of Mantua in 1490. Atalante is reported to have been taught the lute by no less a personage than Leonardo da Vinci.\(^52\)

Other than Tinctoris, the clearest statement we have of the changing style of lute performance is found in Paolo Cortese's "De Cardinalatu libri tres" of 1510. This is a long account outlining behavior befitting a cardinal of the church—a sort of early sacred version of Castiglione's famous *Il Cortegiano* of 1528. Writing in Latin, Cortese paints himself as a classical purist. In discussing lutes, he even avoids using such a non-classical word as "lute" and refers to them as belonging to "those genres which can be considered as resembling certain fast ships." He compares Bono's monophonic style with the solo performances as did Tinctoris. The former manner he terms "simplex," the latter, "sociata," a manner that seems to describe the style of Spinacino and Dalza.


\(^{51}\) Baines, p. 19.

Which genre, indeed has been more knowingly revived into artistic perfection by our generation, and is acknowledged as the first genre of playing that can be praised for the way in which it is arranged and structured. They say that it was first established by Balthasar and Joannes Maria, both surnamed Germanus, so that the simple repetition in the high region used by the ancients would be joined by a connection of all single sounds from the lower region, and from the latter a combined symphony would flourish more richly.\textsuperscript{53}

There are a number of interesting points in this passage. First, notice the reference to the new age of "artistic perfection" in which the humanists took such pride. Second, we should note that Germans are again given credit for establishing a new manner of lute playing. By "upper" and "lower" region, Cortese is apparently referring to regions of pitch. In effect, he seems to be saying that these new lutenists combined several parts into one. This is made clearer when he compares this "genre of playing" to the older method where Pietro Bono is again cited as the supreme model.

Before them, in fact, Petrus Bonus Ferrariensis and those who derived from him, often availed themselves of the repetition in the high region. Nor was this present mode of harmonizing all the individual sounds yet known, by which the sense of the ear can best be filled with perfect sweetness.\textsuperscript{54}

By "repetition," Cortese must be referring to the technique of variation and ornamentation.

Although there was more than one "Johannes Maria Alamanus" mentioned at the end of the fifteenth century, the one mentioned by Cortese is of particular interest since he was undoubtedly the composer of the celebrated lost lute book published by Petrucci in 1508. Colin Slim has traced him back to a case of assault for which he fled from Florence in 1492.\textsuperscript{55} In 1510, he was at the court of the Duke of Urbino, with whom Petrucci had close connections. It is possible that the Duke had a hand in getting Gian Maria's lute book published.\textsuperscript{56} Gian Maria was apparently adept at playing in both the old single-line style of improvisation and the new, for we still hear of him playing single-line lute as late as 1523. "There was Zuan Maria zudio with his three companions, and they all played lute \textit{a quatro}, he himself with the plectrum wonderfully."\textsuperscript{57}

In 1498, Ottaviano Petrucci was given a twenty-year privilege to

\textsuperscript{53}Pirrotta, pp. 153-54.
\textsuperscript{54}Pirrotta, p. 154.
\textsuperscript{55}His biography is given in H. Colin Slim, p. 562ff.
\textsuperscript{56}Slim, p. 567.
\textsuperscript{57}Pirrotta, p. 158; Slim, p. 567.
print organ and lute tablatures. He never took advantage of the former, and he waited nine years before publishing his first lute book. It is more than likely that he commissioned Spinacino to write the first two books of the series, because Spinacino leans heavily on the compositions contained in Petrucci's earlier publications of vocal music, the *Odhecaton* and *Canti C*. Forty-four of Spinacino's fifty-four transcriptions are based on pieces from these books. However, by 1507, solo lute composition was no novelty. The genres of the next hundred years had already been laid down in the Quattrocento: The lute had already been used as a vehicle for dance music; lutenists already had had much experience in transcribing vocal music; and, finally, an art of free improvisation had developed out of which grew the ricercars and fantasias of the next century.
ORNAMENTATION
IN SPANISH BAROQUE GUITAR MUSIC

By Robert Strizich

Ornamentation is without question one of the most important elements of the music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and yet it is the one aspect of baroque music that is consistently misunderstood and frequently even ignored by present-day guitarists. Often it is looked upon as superficial “decoration” that can be changed or done away with at the slightest whim of the performer.

The baroque guitarists themselves, needless to say, did not feel the same way about ornamentation. Francisco Guerau is perhaps the most eloquent spokesman for their viewpoint:

... that which is the most beautiful and creates the most harmony is the continuous use of the trill, mordent, slur, and arpeggio. Although, in truth, if the music is good, and if it is played in the correct time and the instrument is tuned properly, it will sound well. Nevertheless, using these ornaments, which are the soul of the music, you will see the difference between the one manner of playing and the other.

Santiago de Murcia called ornaments “the spice of that which is played” and Gaspar Sanz maintained that ligaduras or appoggiaturas could be performed with “such elegance that the instrument does not appear to be a guitar, but voices.” In this last statement is an important clue to the essential function of baroque ornaments: They enable the instrument to sing with all the subtle and minute expression of which the human voice is capable. Clearly, the subject of ornamentation cannot be ignored if one is interested in reproducing baroque music with even the slightest regard for authenticity.

Discussions of the music of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries generally take into consideration only the predominant musical styles of the era—the French and Italian; it is not often realized that in Spain a third and equally distinctive (though historically less important) national style existed. The musical forms cultivated in this Spanish style were mainly dance pieces of Iberian origin that were very close in spirit to the popular
Spanish music of the era. While some of these dance forms, such as the chacona, passacalle, folia, and canario, emigrated from Spain and eventually found their way into the music of other European countries, the majority were isolated musical phenomena that remained outside of the mainstream of European music. Consequently, the names of many of the dances that abound in the Spanish guitar books of the era—the mariona, matachín, villano, jácara, and so forth—are almost totally unfamiliar today, except to those with exposure to the Spanish baroque guitar or keyboard literature. Much of this music is of a light, semi-popular, and, for the late seventeenth century, slightly archaic flavor. Nevertheless, it often exudes a disarming simplicity and grace and many of the longer pieces, such as the chacona and passacalle, display a scope and seriousness of purpose rivaling the elegant works of the sixteenth-century vihuelistas.

Many similarities exist between the ornamentation used in the Spanish works and the ornamentation employed in French and Italian music. It is to be expected, however, that such an individual style as that cultivated by the Spanish would develop some distinctive approaches to ornamentation. Indeed, one finds that there are important differences in attitude towards and execution of ornaments, particularly the trino, or trill. These differences both distinguish Spanish ornamentation and call for a separate treatment of the subject.

The present study will examine the notation, execution, and function of the six main ornaments (habilidades or afectos) used in Spanish baroque guitar music—the trill, mordent, slur, appoggiatura, vibrato, and arpeggio. The five most important Spanish works for guitar from the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries will be consulted: Gaspar Sanz's Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española (Zaragoza, 1674 and 1697), the Luz y norte musical of Lucas Ruiz de Ribayaz (Madrid, 1677), Francisco Guerau's Poema harmónico (Madrid, 1694), and the two books of Santiago de Murcia entitled Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra (Madrid, 1714) and Passacalles y obras de guitarra (1732). The first three of these composers—Sanz, Ruiz de Ribayaz, and Guerau—include detailed descriptions of the execution of ornaments in their works. De Murcia gives no explanations concerning ornamentation in either of his books (although in his Resumen he refers the reader to Guerau for information on the subject). However, his works will be discussed not only because of the light they shed on later trends in Spanish guitar ornamentation, but also because they contain some of the finest Spanish baroque music for guitar. The eight additional works for guitar from the period that complete the Spanish baroque literature for the instrument are, for various reasons, either not
pertinent or helpful to the present inquiry and will therefore not be considered here.¹

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TRINO-TRILL

In the Spanish guitar tablatures, the trino is designated in one of two ways: either by a small T placed near the number upon which the trill is to be performed (employed by Sanz and Ruiz de Ribayaz), or by the sign × placed just to the right of the number (employed by Guerau and de Murcia). In the works of de Murcia, a tiny number is placed below the trill sign indicating the fret on which the auxiliary note is to be played (see Example 1J and 1K).²

The basic problem that must be solved in dealing with the trill in Spanish guitar music is whether it is to begin with the upper auxiliary or the written note. Lest this question seem excessively academic, it should be remembered that each type of trill has very different musical implications. The main-note trill is predominantly melodic in its effect: It allows the emphasis to fall on the written note and tends to function simply as a decorative activation of that note. The upper-note trill, on the other hand, is harmonic as well as melodic in function: It emphasizes the unwritten upper note and behaves as a sort of “activated appoggiatura” (see Example 1A and 1B). The harmonic implications of the trill beginning with the upper note can be seen most clearly at cadential trills where the upper (usually dissonant) note receives the emphasis; in this case, the trill serves as a device to sustain the effect of the “appoggiatura” until the

¹The additional works are as follows: Juan Carlos Amat, Guitarra española y vândola (Barcelona, 1586; Lérida, 1627; reprinted by Fray Leonardo de San Martín, Gerona, 1629, and Valencia, 1639); Nicolas Dozí de Velasco, Nuevo modo de cifrar para tañer la guitarra (Naples, 1640); Anonymous, Libros de diferentes cifras de guitarra escogidas de los mejores autores (1705), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. M. 811; Pablo Minguet, Reglas y advertencias que enseñan el modo de tañer todos los instrumentos mejores (Madrid, 1752-1754); Anonymous, Método de guitarra (1763), Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. M. 1233; Andrés de Sotos, Arte para aprender la guitarra (Madrid, 1764); Joseph Guerrero, Arte de la guitarra, undated Ms. from the seventeenth century in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, Ms. 5917; Antonio de Santa Cruz, Livro donde se verão passacalles de los ochos tonos ..., undated Ms. M. 2209 in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional.

²This is not, of course, the proper place to discuss the interpretation of baroque guitar tablatures. Those readers desiring an explanation of the principles of French and Italian guitar tablatures should consult Johannes Wolf, Handbuch der Notationskunde, Vol. II (Leipzig, 1919), pp. 157-208.

There were three main tunings for the five-course baroque guitar. The examples in the present study have been transcribed using the tuning that is in my opinion most appropriate for each composer: Sanz, c', bb, gg, d'd', aa; Guerau, e', bb, gg, dd', aa; de Murcia, c', bb, gg, d'd', aa. For the most complete and reliable discussion of this matter to date, see the article by Sylvia Murphy entitled “The Tuning of the Five-Course Guitar” in the Galpin Society Journal, Vol. XXIII (August, 1970), pp. 49-63.
final moment of resolution (see Example 1C). Even when the upper-note trill occurs in the middle of a melodic line, it is still heard as a fleeting appoggiatura; indeed, in at least one French guitar book of the era, the appoggiatura is actually indicated as a possible interpretation of such a trill (see Example 1D).

In Spanish guitar music, however, one encounters an almost complete absence of opportunities for the type of cadential trill mentioned above that is so characteristic of the French and Italian music of the period. Instead, the Spanish trino is most often found in mid-phrase where it could possibly be heard as a harmonic ornament, but where the use of the more melodic, decorative main-note trill might also be appropriate (see Example 1E). Very frequently, trinos are found in situations where a main-note trill is perhaps the only type that would make musical sense, as in the passage from Gaspar Sanz shown in Example 1F, where a melodically ornamented tonic note is certainly the intent, not an appoggiatura.

Thus, as one examines the Spanish guitar music of the late seventeenth century, one comes to suspect that the main-note trill was generally employed. Unfortunately, the three guitar treatises that discuss ornamentation—those of Sanz, Ruiz de Ribayaz, and Guerau—do not give conclusive evidence one way or the other. Gaspar Sanz says of the trino only that "you can always play it even though you do not find it notated" (Sanz, page 8), thus inviting the ad libitum insertion of this ornament by the performer. Guerau’s description is of no help in this regard since it omits the crucial detail of exactly how the right hand correlates with the left-hand movements described.

You will also find a small line with two little points, in this manner (\(\{\)), which in Italy is indicated with a T and two little points. This is called the Trino or Alcado, and is executed with the left hand, placing the most convenient finger on the fret which the number indicates, and with another finger of the same hand plucking (hiriendo) the string without stopping, one or two frets higher, whichever is required by the harmony (Guerau, folio 5v).

Ruiz de Ribayaz perhaps describes a main-note trino rather than an upper-note trill. Nevertheless, his wording is not clear enough to

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3 In baroque lute music, the superior appoggiatura was also an alternative realization of the trill, generally on short notes where there was not sufficient time to execute a full trill of two or more repercussions. See, for example, the instructions of Denis Gautier shown in facsimile in André Tessier, La rhétorique des dieux et autres pièces de luth de Denis Gautier (Paris, 1932), p. 123.

4 Seventeenth-century Spanish tends to be very difficult to render directly into modern English and, therefore, many sections of the quoted passages have been paraphrased. Those who wish to consult the original wording will find page references at the end of each quotation.
D. "Advis au lecteur" (Francesco Corbetta, *La guitare royale*)

E. "Españolitas" (Sanz, *Libro II*, p. 5), mm. 9-15

F. "Rugero" (Sanz, *Libro II*, p. 4), mm. 1-2
G. Fernandez de Huete, *Compendio numeroso*, pp. 1-2

H. "La garzona" (Sanz, *Libro II*, p. 12), mm. 1-5

I. "Folias" (Sanz, *Libro II*, p. 3), mm. 33-36

J. "La pabana des sesons" (De Murcia, *Resumen*, p. 65), mm. 1-4
K. "Zarabanda despacio" (De Murcia, Passacalles y obras, fol. 101), mm. 1-12

constitute positive proof.

In all the places where one finds some T's placed before the numbers one must make a trill on those numbers that have them. The manner of trilling is, to pluck the string on which one is to trill with the right hand, and shake the finger which pertains to the number... of the left hand. The manner of shaking the finger is to place it, and lift it two times, without interruption in the tempo, nor does one have to pluck with the right hand more than once for each trill (Ruiz de Ribayaz, page 17).

Obviously, definitive help is not forthcoming from the Spanish guitarists. However, two treatises by non-guitarists from the early eighteenth century do seem to provide substantial evidence to confirm our suspicions about the seventeenth-century Spanish trino. The first of these is an instruction book for baroque double harp by Diego Fernandez de Huete entitled Compendio numeroso (Madrid, 1702). At the beginning of this volume are instructions concerning the execution of ornaments, plus a table of intabulated examples illustrating mordents and trills, both of which de Huete classifies as trinados. The tablature and its transcription are shown in Example 1G. Here the first trinado and the first trinado con carrerilla are actually mordents (simple and elaborate, respectively), but the rest of the examples all represent true trills, each of which

5 Original copies of both of these treatises are in the Music Library of the University of California, Berkeley.

6 For an explanation (albeit somewhat incomplete) of the principles of Spanish harp tablature, see Wolf, pp. 301-302.

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begins with the main note.

The second treatise to come to our assistance is the Escuela música of Pablo Nassarre (Zaragoza, 1723). This large theoretical work of four libros contains information on general music theory, solfège, counterpoint, and composition. The libro tercero contains several pages with instructions on keyboard ornamentation. There are no musical examples, but the clarity of the descriptions leaves no doubt as to the exact nature of the trino. Nassarre describes the execution of a main-note trill in the following words:

When it is performed with the right hand, the trill is executed regularly with the third finger, and the accessory note with the little finger. The one which begins and ends has to be always the third finger, and on the key corresponding to the obligatory note. I say obligatory because the key above which is played by the neighboring finger (i.e., the little finger) is voluntary, for not having a trill, one would not play it. . . The fingers of the left hand with which one trills regularly are the thumb and the index, this (i.e., the index) being the one which begins and finishes the trill, playing always the key corresponding to the written note (Nassarre, page 470).

Elsewhere, Nassarre distinguishes two types of trill, the trino and the aleado. He states that "the trino consists of at least five successive sounds, and the aleado of only three" (Nassarre, pages 469 to 470), thus explaining Guerau's use of these terms in the passage quoted above. Nassarre, as well as Fernandez de Huete, does not seem to distinguish between the trill and the mordent and classifies the mordente as a type of aleado.

Its execution (i.e., of the aleado) is of two types . . . one type involves playing the principal key (i.e., the written note) with the third finger, and the key below with the index finger, returning to play with the third finger on the principal note, which is the key that was depressed first. The other type is, after having played the key with the third finger, to play that one just above with the little finger and returning to play the previous key with the same third finger: all of that which I have said applies when it is done with the right hand. When they (i.e., aleados) are performed with the left hand, the principal note is always played with the index finger, the note just above with the thumb, and the note just below with the third finger (Nassarre, page 470).

Thus, little question remains that the main-note trill was the type predominantly used in Spanish music of the era. There is not the slightest doubt that the ornamentation described by Fernandez de Huete and Nassarre is applicable to the guitar works of Sanz, Ruiz de Ribayaz, and Guerau: Fernandez de Huete’s book contains exactly the same types of pieces in the Spanish style as are found in the
works of the three guitarists mentioned. Therefore, all four of these composers are certainly representatives of the same musical tradition. Nassarre's work was written well after the Italian musical "invasion" of the early eighteenth century, but it obviously represents a provincial preservation of the pure Spanish style of the earlier "pre-Italianate" decades.

A word should be said about possible uses of the two types of Spanish trill—the trino and aleado mentioned by both Guerau and Nassarre. The basic principle governing the use of these ornaments seems to be that the three-note aleado is most appropriate for notes of shorter value while the trino of five or more notes is suitable for longer notes, since in Fernandez de Huete's music one finds the simple three-note trill on short notes in mid-phrase and the longer trill on long cadential chords. Trills in guitar music could therefore be realized according to the same principles (see Example 1H). In contexts where trills are marked over notes of the same pitch in close proximity, both types of trill might be employed to provide variation, even though the notes are of the same duration (see Example 1I).

The Spanish trino probably represents a late survival of the Italian practice of the early part of the seventeenth century. Various types of trills in early baroque Italian music (for example, the tremolo and the ribattuta) began with the main note; not until 1672 do we find an Italian treatise calling exclusively for upper-note trills. Musicians on the Iberian Peninsula, being relatively isolated from the main current of musical events in the rest of Europe, undoubtedly preserved elements of this early style of ornamentation well into the beginning of the eighteenth century. Since the Italians and Spaniards did not indulge in the thorough and extensive treatise-writing so characteristic of their northern Gallic neighbors, it

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7It was the general practice during the era for longer trills to begin slowly and gradually increase in speed. The long trill at the end of Example 1H has been realized according to this principle; all analogous passages would certainly call for similar interpretations.

8This is an idea that has grown out of my own playing experience. It is not, to my knowledge, specifically suggested in any of the baroque guitar treatises, although it would certainly not be at variance with the performance practice of the era.

9See Lorenzo Penna, Li primi albori musicali, Book III (Bologna, 1672), pp. 17, 30, 34.

10Parenthetically, it should be pointed out that the main-note trill also survived well into the early eighteenth century in Germany since it is described in the Prototypon longo-breve organisum of F. X. A. Muschhauser (1703) and the Musica vocalis in nuce of Martin Heinrich Fuhrmann (Berlin, 1715). Its mention in various obscure treatises throughout the baroque era indicates that it may actually have never been entirely supplanted by the upper-note trill. See the list of treatises that mention the main-note trill in Ralph Kirkpatrick's Domenico Scarlatti (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1953), p. 379, footnote 11.
is very difficult to follow and pinpoint these changes of ornamental style.

Little doubt exists, however, as to when the old Spanish style and its ornamentation was superseded by the new international Italian-French style. In 1701, Felipe V, grandson of Louis XIV, ascended the Spanish throne with his Italian queen, Maria Louisa of Savoy, thus precipitating a long period of foreign musical as well as political influence in Spain. Italian musicians literally invaded the country and eventually achieved complete domination of the musical life at the Spanish court. The two most famous of these "invaders" were the fabulous *castrato* Carlo Broschi (known as "Farinelli") and keyboard virtuoso Domenico Scarlatti. In such a musical atmosphere the pure Spanish style was quickly lost, except in the more provincial parts of the country (for example, in Zaragoza, where Nassarre worked). The younger Spanish musicians soon completely adopted the new international style.

Santiago de Murcia was the first important Spanish guitarist to desert the native style and embrace Italian and French models. De Murcia began his career as *maestro de guitarra* to Queen Maria Louisa. His music strongly reflects a desire to please both the Italian tastes of his pupil and the French tastes of her husband. His *Resumen* of 1714 contains many French dance-pieces, such as the *passpied* and the *bourée* (written in a slightly self-conscious combination of Spanish and French styles); and, for the first time in the Spanish baroque guitar literature, French-style cadential formulae appear that obviously call for upper-note trills (see Example 1J). In his work of 1732, the foreign influence is more explicit: De Murcia begins two suites with *alemandas* by his French contemporary Robert de Visée and another suite with the French-style "Tombeau sur la mort de Madame d'Orleans" by Francesco Corbetta; he also includes transcriptions of several pieces from Corelli's violin sonatas (opus 5). French melodic cadential formulae are now found at nearly every cadence, and many of the pieces, such as the *zarabanda* illustrated in Example 1K, show the results of a complete "Frenchification." De Murcia gives no verbal indication of the type of trill to be used in his music, but the style of the music itself leaves no doubt that the upper-note trill is the only appropriate type.

*MORDENTE-MORDENT*

The mordent consists of a rapid alternation between the written note and the note a tone or a semitone below and begins on the beat (see Example 2A). Gaspar Sanz indicates the *mordente* by a small curved line placed above or below a number in the tablature
D. “Passacalles por I° tono” (Guerau, p. 1), m. 14

E. Passacalles por la H” (Sanz, Libro III, p. 6), mm. 80-81

F. “Folias” (Guerau, p. 53), mm. 13-18

G. “Españoletas” (Sanz, Libro II, p. 5), mm. 39-41
(Example 2B), while Guerau and Santiago de Murcia designate this ornament by a small comma placed just to the right of a numeral (Example 2C).

Sanz describes only the morphology of the word “mordent”:

The Mordent finishes on the same fret as the trill and there it snuffs out the sound of the string. Because it gives the effect of “biting” the string, the Italians apply the name mordente to that manner of playing (Sanz, page 8).

Francisco Guerau, the only Spanish guitarist to describe the execution of this ornament, gives the following explanation:

The Mordent ... is performed by placing the most convenient finger two frets, or one, behind that which the number indicates (whichever is required by the harmony), and with another finger one must pluck, with more quickness than in the trill, the string at the fret which the number indicates, finishing the mordent (i.e., replacing the finger) on that fret (Guerau, folio 5v).

Although double or continuous mordents are occasionally called for in baroque music for other instruments (for instance, in the harpsichord works of François Couperin), the single mordent, illustrated in Example 2A, seems to be the type described by Guerau and was probably the variety predominantly used in Spanish guitar music.

Generally, the mordente utilizes the diatonic note below the written one. As Guerau indicates, however, the harmonic context will in some cases dictate otherwise, as in Example 2D, where the mordent obviously calls for the use of the accessory a semitone lower than the written note (that is, F-sharp) rather than the diatonic whole step (F-natural). Often, a note on the first fret of a string will of necessity require a mordent involving a semitone even though the whole tone would be the diatonic solution (see Example 2E).

While the mordent is relatively infrequent in French guitar music of the era, it is, on the other hand, one of the most frequently-encountered ornaments in Spanish guitar music. Both the mordente and trino often appear in great profusion, ornamenting all voices of the musical texture. The passage from Guerau in Example 2F is representative. Mordents also often occur simultaneously in different voices (see Example 2G).  

EXTRASINO-SLUR

The slur is considered an integral part of present-day guitar technique. The baroque guitarists, however, considered the slur a

11 Simultaneous trinos are also encountered in the works of Sanz and Guerau.
separate and special effect and it was therefore classed as an ornament along with the other *habilidades*.

Notated by long curved lines placed over or under the numbers in the tablature that were to be slurred together, the slur was executed in exactly the same manner as is current today. This can be seen from the following description:

The *Extrasino* is performed by playing with the right hand only the first number which is inside the curved line, and afterwards with a plucking motion one runs the fingers of the left hand with some force through the numbers which are bound together, giving them the value that the piece requires (Sanz, page 9).

Slurs generally combine in one direction only two or three notes per string but may combine up to four, five, or six notes at once if the figure both ascends and descends (see Example 3A). Slurred groups of notes can occur anywhere in a piece. However, one device that the Spanish guitarists were particularly fond of using in variation pieces is that of featuring *extrasinos* throughout an entire variation (or series of variations). This is frequently done in longer pieces such as the *passacalle* where the distinct color and sound of the slur is used architecturally to set off entire sections. Example 3B shows two variations from a *passacalle* by Gaspar Sanz that are unified not only motivically but also coloristically by the use of the *extrasino*. Often, a passage consisting of a series of slurred quick notes will serve as a virtuosic conclusion to a piece or a major section thereof (see Example 3C).

Slurs are frequently placed in some consistent pattern, as in the passage in Example 3B. However, the baroque guitarists often preferred to slur notes together in irregular patterns where the groupings were determined merely by the placement of the notes in a given left-hand position (see Example 3D). The first note of a group of slurred notes receives an accent, of course, since it is the only note of the group that is struck by the right hand. Thus, in such a passage, the irregular slurring causes a continuously changing accent pattern—a sort of rhythmic "counterpoint" to the expected metric accents.

Ex. 3A.
B. “Passacalles por la E” (Sanz, Libro I, p. 17), mm. 28-36

C. “Passacalles por la D” (De Murcia, Passacalles y obras, fol. 22v), mm. 13-22

D. “Alemanda ‘La Serenissima’” (Sanz, Libro I, p. 10), mm. 9-11
**Ligaduras-Apoggiaturas**

Gaspar Sanz, the only Spanish guitarist to discuss the appoggiatura, describes this ornament as “the most delicate of which the guitar is capable.” He distinguishes two types of appoggiatura: the *apoyamiento* or inferior appoggiatura, and the *esmorsata* or superior appoggiatura. Both involve the note a tone or semitone above or below the written note, as can be seen from his description.

A number with an *apoyamiento* is played in this manner: if you find a one on the first course, to play this number you will pluck the open first course and instantly stop the first fret, with the result that in reality you stop that which you do not play, and play that which you do not stop. Because although you pluck the open first course, you steal the voice from it when you press down on the first fret so that it sounds, and yet you do not actually play it. The *esmorsata* is the contrary, and robs the consonance from above. I will take the same example: if you have to play the first course on the first fret, you will play first the third fret and instantly slurring to the first fret you will arrive at this number which you did not pluck (Sanz, page 9).

Sanz does not indicate the amount of time that the appoggiatura should subtract from the written note. However, assuming that the Spanish guitarists followed the usual practice of the era, the appoggiatura would begin on the beat and take up half the length of an undotted note or two-thirds of a dotted note. The musical interpretation of Sanz’s description in Examples 4A and 4B is based upon these rules.

In his discussion of the notation of the appoggiaturas, Sanz states that they are indicated by the very sign that he has already used to designate the *mordente*.

These two manners of playing are called in our Spanish language *Ligaduras*, and you will perform them on those numbers which have over or under them a little sign similar to a parenthesis, in this manner 5.0. You will find an example of the use of this *esmorsata*, or *Ligadura*, in the *Xácaras*, in the second variation, fourth measure, linking the zero on the first course with the five by means of the method already referred to (Sanz, page 10).

Here the phrase “linking the zero on the first course with the five” seems to indicate a superior appoggiatura with the upper auxiliary a fourth higher than the written note rather than the type of stepwise *ligadura* described previously by Sanz. The inconsistency

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is indeed confusing (perhaps he is calling attention to a special or unusual use of the ligadura). Two alternative interpretations of the passage in question are given in Example 4C.

Sanz’s tantalizing but frustrating remarks concerning the appoggiaturas are difficult to interpret. The following observations are at least an attempt to help clarify the notational issues involved. The sign ∴ or ™ is frequently used in Italian and French guitar tablatures to indicate appoggiaturas (in the music of Ludovico Roncalli and Robert de Visée, for example). Thus Sanz may simply be describing to his readers the way in which they will find this ornament notated in foreign tablatures. No other Spanish guitarists notate the ligadura in their works (with the exception of Santiago de Murcia, whose special uses of the appoggiatura will be discussed below); the ornaments indicated by signs are predominantly the trino and mordente. Sanz himself actually states the appoggiaturas are “not often notated” (“pocas vezes se apuntan”) in the tablature (Sanz, page 9). Therefore, this evidence seems to indicate either that appoggiaturas were less frequently used by Spanish guitarists or that they were regarded as ornaments that were unnecessary to notate and that could be inserted ad libitum into the music as the player wished. Since Sanz speaks so highly of the ligaduras, the latter hypothesis is the more likely possibility.

In view of this, it seems most logical to interpret the sign ∴ generally as a mordent in Sanz’s music, since in the vast majority of cases where it occurs it is possible to play a mordente. However, there are in Sanz’s works several situations where this sign
can only be interpreted as a superior appoggiatura, as is the case in Example 4C. One must, of course, play appoggiaturas in these instances, and this inconsistency in the notation perhaps suggests that the performer should feel free to occasionally substitute appoggiaturas for mordents in Sanz's works if he so desires. On the whole, however, the mordente should probably remain the common interpretation for this sign, since there are plenty of opportunities for the performer to introduce ligaduras of his own volition.

The type of simple appoggiatura described above occurs in the works of Santiago de Murcia in only a few instances. However, in these rare cases the ornament is not indicated by a sign; rather, the dissonant note is actually notated in the tablature but not assigned a rhythmic value, as in the passage illustrated in Example 4D. One more frequently encounters in de Murcia’s works appoggiaturas terminated by a mordent, where again the dissonant note is notated but no rhythmic value is assigned (see Example 4E). This compound ornament is the equivalent of the French port de voix et pincé and, indeed, it is frequently encountered, similarly notated, in the French-style works of Francesco Corbetta from his La guitare royale (Paris, 1671). This type of compound ornament is not found in any Spanish guitar works other than de Murcia’s; it is therefore uncertain whether it might be appropriately introduced ad libitum in the works of the earlier guitarists such as Sanz, Ruiz de Ribayaz, or Guerau. Since de Murcia’s works were written at a time when French and Italian musical influences were first being felt in Spain, possibly this represents a later, less Spanish type of ornamentation introduced mainly as the result of foreign influence.

D. “Passacalles por la D” (De Murcia, Passacalles y obras, fol. 22v), mm. 12-13

E. “La saboyana burree” (De Murcia, Resumen, p. 63), mm. 23-24

34
Baroque musicians tended to be quite sparing in the use of vibrato (in contrast to present-day performers). Thus, the left-hand vibrato was considered a separate ornament by both the baroque guitarists and lutenists of the era. Called the *temblor* in Spanish, it was produced by shaking the left hand back and forth quickly while playing a note and causing a small but perceptible oscillation in pitch. The effect was frequently an especially heavy vibrato, since it was often performed while removing the left-hand thumb from the back of the neck of the instrument, which enabled the player to shake his hand as vigorously as possible. The execution of the *temblor* is described by Sanz in the following words:

The *Temblor* is ordinarily performed with the little finger, and also sometimes with the others, removing the hand from the neck, pushing with much regularity from one side to the other, with great velocity and quickness, at the same time playing the note marked in this manner $\ast$ (Sanz, page 9).

Although Sanz describes the sign for the vibrato as an asterisk in his text, he actually uses the sharp sign ($\#$) in his tablatures—the same sign used by Guerau and de Murcia. Ruiz de Ribayaz is the only Spanish guitarist to employ the asterisk in his tablatures as an indication for the *temblor*.

The vibrato is generally used to ornament high notes in the upper register of the instrument, where the effect tends to be the most telling (see Example 5A). While most frequently employed on notes occurring on the higher (first and second) courses, the *temblor* is also often called upon to ornament notes on the fourth and fifth courses (see Example 5B).

Ex. 5A. Passacalles sobre la D" (Sanz, *Libro I*, p. 6), mm. 20-24

Ex. 5B. "Pavanas por la D" (Sanz, *Libro II*, p. 10), mm. 26-28
The arpeggiation of chords is not actually an ornament in the same sense as are those that have just been discussed, but it does represent a technique that has an ornamental effect. That the technique was considered ornamental by the Spanish guitarists is shown in the statement by Guerau quoted at the beginning of this article where he classifies the harpeado—along with the trino, mordente, and extrasino—as one of the main afectos (Guerau, folio 5).

Three types of harpeado are referred to by the Spanish guitarists. The first is not technically ornamental, since the exact rhythmic values of each note in the arpeggiated chord are indicated in the tablature. In this type of harpeado, a curved or straight line placed over the notes of the chord serves simply as a tenuto mark to remind the player to hold down several notes at once while the chord is being arpeggiated (see Examples 6A and 6B).

The second type of harpeado, which is truly ornamental, is described only by Guerau.

I also advise you that in those chords which consist of three notes you accustom yourself to playing them in arpeggiated fashion, which you will execute by plucking first with the thumb the course which it plays, next with the index finger, and finally with the middle finger. However, do not hold the chord any longer than its indicated value, nor allow the beat to falter (Guerau, folio 5).

This undoubtedly describes a swift “spreading” or “rolling” of the chord in an upward direction (that is, from the lower to the higher courses). Guerau does not mention that any sign is used to notate this type of harpeado. It is obviously an effect that can be employed ad libitum.

The third type of harpeado is described only by Sanz. Although mentioned by him, it is not actually notated in any of his works or, for that matter, in the works of any of the other Spanish guitarists. Indeed, it is found chiefly in the works of the Italian guitarists. Sanz’s description is as follows:

It is possible to perform the Arpeado in two ways—with three fingers or with four. The strings are played successively, beginning with the thumb on the bass note, and afterwards ascending the strings intabulated immediately thereafter, and then descending the fingers through all the strings which comprise that chord, giving to it the time or value which is required by the sonada. This manner of playing is indicated by a line between two points, namely ÷ (Sanz, page 10).
In Italian guitar works, the sign ☞ (or some variation thereof) is most often found placed directly under long sustained chords at the beginning of introductory and improvisatory pieces such as preludios. The function of such chords is merely to establish the

Ex. 6A. “Preludio o capricho arpeado por la +” (Sanz, Libro I, p. 11)

B. “Preludio por la E” (De Murcia, *Passacalles y obras*, fol. 68v), mm. 3-7

C. “Preludio” (Roncalli, *Capricci armonici*, p. 1), mm. 1-3

D. “Regolo del modo dell’ arpeggiare” (Pellegrini, *Armoniosi concerti*, 1650)

E. “Arpeggio” (Bartolotti, *Libro secondo di chitarra*)
tonality of the piece (and, often, the suite to follow) in as simple and
direct a manner as possible. The beginning of the preludio to the first
sonata by Ludovico Roncalli demonstrates a typical situation in
which this type of arpeggio is called for in Italian guitar music (see
Example 6C). Occasionally the arpeggio sign is found under longer
chords in the middle of pieces as well. In these cases, the chords are
meant to be freely arpeggiated in an elaborate, ornate manner. Some
specific examples of how baroque guitarists might have executed
these arpeggios can be found by consulting certain of the Italian
works of the era. Domenico Pellegrini, for example, describes such an
arpeggio in his Concerti armonici of 1650 (Example 6D), while
Angelo Michele Bartolotti gives a similar but much more elaborate
interpretation for the arpeggio sign in his Libro secondo, circa 1655
(Example 6E).

Sanz is apparently referring to this type of elaborate
arpeggiation (note that Pellegrini's arpeggio is very similar to the one
described by Sanz); but, it is curious that he would mention a
technique that is not specifically notated in his works or those of any
other Spanish guitarists. However, Sanz is undoubtedly giving this
information to his readers for two reasons: First, they will be
prepared to properly interpret any Italian tablatures they may wish
to play; and second (and more important), they will have learned a
technique that can be employed on any appropriate chord even
though the harpeado may not be specifically notated. Guitarists of
all nationalities may have improvised this sort of arpeggiation into
the music they played. The ornamental treatment of chords was a
veritable tradition among lute and harpsichord players,13 and
guitarists would most certainly have adopted similar techniques for
their own instrument. At least one baroque guitarist clearly describes
such a practice: Nicolas Derosier, in his Nouveaux principes pour la
guitare (Paris, 1699), intabulates a number of similar elaborate
arpeggations intended for use, as he puts it, on "tous les grands
accords." Derosier does not notate these with any sign, and the
obvious intent is that they are to be employed ad libitum on any
long chords in need of ornamentation.

Thus, all guitarists of the era—including the Spaniards—probably
cultivated their own individual styles of elaborate and ornate
arpeggiation. Such arpeggios would have occasionally been
substituted for long rasgueado (strummed) chords when both the
musical context and the fantasy of the performer permitted.

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13 See the discussions of arpeggiation in Arnold Dolmetsch, The Interpretation of the
Music of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (London, 1915), pp. 260-274, and
Donington, pp. 212-215.
A great deal of study has been done on ornamentation in both the music of the early baroque era and in what Donald Grout has called the music of the "mature baroque." Little question now exists as to the proper ornamentation to employ in early seventeenth-century Italian monodies or in French and Italian baroque music written from the late seventeenth century onwards. However, undoubtedly because of the dearth of pertinent treatises, the exact nature of ornamentation in mid seventeenth-century Italian music and late seventeenth-century Spanish music has not hitherto been investigated.

Hopefully the present study has shed some light on at least one of these "blind spots" in musical knowledge and has at the same time given guitar players a firmer grasp of some of the elements they must take into consideration when playing the works of the Spanish baroque guitarists. Much more work remains to be done, and it is hoped that other scholars will help contribute to our insufficient knowledge about guitar ornamentation practice of this period.

A page from Francisco Gucrau, *Poema harmónico*. . .
The following bibliography was originally prepared for a workshop on the baroque guitar held at Stanford University in June of 1972. The works cited vary considerably in their intent—from solo guitar books written entirely in punteado (plucked) style, such as de Visée’s two volumes, to collections of songs like those of Regigio Romano that give only alfabeto chord symbols for strumming accompaniments above a continuo line. The present list uses as its starting point the excellent (if outdated and incomplete) bibliography given by Johannes Wolf in the second volume of his classic study Handbuch der Notationskunde, originally published in 1919. Location citations have been restricted to one per entry and have been given only for major libraries when the presence of an item has been confirmed.

It should be pointed out that names for instruments of the guitar class were often loosely applied in the seventeenth century. Thus, for example, it is sometimes difficult to tell if the word “gittern” implies a “cittern” or a “guitar.” Only works with standard guitar tuning are included here. This bibliography is doubtless incomplete, particularly as to manuscripts, but it should afford the reader a glimpse of the wealth of material available in this interesting if neglected corner of music history.

Certain abbreviations occur throughout the bibliography. “N.d.” means that no date of publication is given in the edition cited, while “n.p.” means that there is no indication of the place of publication, “Tab.” means tablature. The designation “mixed tab.” is used for items containing pieces made up of both alfabeto chord symbols and punteado tablature. Anyone knowing of errors or omissions in this bibliography is invited to submit his information for inclusion in a projected supplement to be published in a future issue of this Journal.
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MARY MAGDALEN, LUTENIST

BY DANIEL HEARTZ

The previous issue of this Journal contained a review by Peter Danner of the lute works of Francesco da Milano. In it, the reviewer compared Fantasia Number 24 of the Italian master as edited by Arthur Ness with my earlier edition of the same piece. He found that "Heartz gives a clearer picture of the piece (even if he has, for some unknown reason, transposed the piece down a minor third)," a general conclusion that Mr. Ness may well wish to dispute. Some important new evidence about this piece has turned up recently, which, along with other unexplored documents from the same period, prompted me to undertake the present essay and expand it from its initial "letter to the editor" dimensions to a more searching consideration of several early instances of French lute tablature.

My intention in transcribing Francesco's piece down a third was to make easier a comparison with Attaingnant's first lute prelude. Meanwhile, an Italian miscellany, the Siena Lute Manuscript, preserved in the Municipal Museum of the Hague, has been found to contain another version of this prelude. The Italian source is superior in several readings, as Yong points out. My conclusion that Attaingnant's version, which I thought unique, was "irregular, appealingly eccentric even" must be modified accordingly. The French editor who assembled the Parisian collection, probably


2Daniel Heartz, ed., Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute Published by Pierre Attaingnant (1529-1539) (Textes Musicaux, Vol. II; Neuilly-sur-Seine, Société de Musique d'Autrefois, 1964). Cf. Prelude 1, pp. 2-3, and Fantasia, pp. 120-121. The explanation is on p. xvi, note 1: "It was in order to faciliate comparison that the Fantasia, which otherwise would have been in f, was transcribed down a third to d."

Pierre Blondeau,⁴ was merely careless. He left out beats here and there, a fact that accounts for the misinterpreted “eccentricities.” Re-stored properly, the piece is direct and regular in rhythm. If it was not composed by Francesco himself, it is certainly by a composer who imitated him or shared some of his traits. A convincing case has been made by Yong that Attaingnant’s second lute prelude should also be assigned, on stylistic grounds, to the same hand, although it occurs in no other source.

Several questions of a more general nature are raised by this confluence of French and Italian sources. Why did letter tablature for the lute prevail in one culture and number tablature in the other? How old are the different systems? Were they originally one? Has the difference anything to do with the characteristics of the instrument or the way it was played? Also, one would like to know why the letter tablature characteristic of northern France swept the field and eventually replaced all rivals. What follows will not provide answers so much as it will review some of the evidence upon which a history of the beginnings of Western lute music may one day be based.

Attaingnant’s Très brève et familière Introduction, dated October 6, 1529, is no longer undisputed as the earliest document of French lute tablature to have survived. Even if there was a prior edition of this tablature over a year earlier, as one of the Fugger catalogues suggests,⁵ other claimants to the distinction have become numerous. Within six days of the appearance of the 1529 Introduction, William Vosterman of Antwerp reprinted Sebastian Virdung’s Musica getutscht of 1511 in French translation.⁶ He replaced the German lute tablature of the original with a two-voiced intabulation of “Een vrolic wasen” in French tablature which is

⁴See Preludes, Chansons and Dances, Chapter IV, “P.B.” pp. lv-lxii. Since the termination of that study, more information has come to light on Blondeau. Yolande de Brossard, in Musiciens de Paris 1535-1792. Actes d’état civil d’après le fichier Laborde de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris, A. and J. Picard, 1965), records the birth of two children to “Pierre Blondeau, maître joueur d’instruments” as follows: “1551, 8 avril: Baptême de Pierre, né la nuit, fils de P.B. et de Berthe Ysambert, Saint-Merry”; “1553, 13 mars: Baptême de Marguerite, née le 12, fille de P.B. et de Berthe Ysambert, Saint-Merry.” (I have spelled out several contractions used in Brossard’s text.)


⁶Livre plaisant et tres-utile pour apprendre a faire et ordonner toutes tabulatures hors le discant dont et par lesquelles l’on peut facilement et legereusement apprendre a jouer sur les Manusco, Luc et Flutes (Antwerp, 1529) (The colophon reads: “MCCCC et XXIX, Le douzieme jour d’octobre.”) The unique exemplar is preserved in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville. Virdung’s treatise was also translated into Flemish and printed at Antwerp by Jan Van Ghelen in 1554 and again in 1568 (exemplars respectively in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve des Imprimés, and The Hague, Royal Library). The Flemish versions retain the French tablature.
reproduced from woodcut blocks. Evidently the cumbersome German system, a holdover from fifteenth-century habits of mind and from a time when the lute was played monophonically with a plectrum, did not win acceptance outside its native habitat. Agricola's tale of its invention by a blind man (Conrad Paumann) wins ready credence. The more modern system characteristic of northern France had already begun its conquering march by 1529. That it should be adopted in so important a trading and printing center as Antwerp is indicative for the future and suggests that this form of tablature had already been in use for some time.

Theoretical sources from the first half of the sixteenth century are in unanimous, international agreement that the lute should have six courses, the lower three doubled at the octave, the next two at the unison, the top string being single.\(^7\) French printers, when copying the (now lost) manuscript tablatures set in front of them, employed five lines corresponding to the top five courses from high to low, while the letters for the bottom course appeared below the five lines. The advantages of using five lines for six courses were several. Ordinary music paper for notation (as opposed to tablature) carried five staff lines, then as now. This meant that printers could transfer much of their regular typographical equipment for notation to tablature. Italian tablature, on the other hand, besides using arabic numerals and inverted position (highest line corresponds to lowest course, and so forth), was characterized by the use of six lines. An exceptional case where six lines occur in an early French source is Oronce Fine's little treatise *Epithoma musice instrumentalis*, printed by Attaingnant in 1530.\(^8\)

Another exception is the use of six-line letter tablature in a large commonplace book preserved in the Biblioteca Oliveriana, Pesaro. Claims have been made, in fact, that this represents the earliest occurrence of French lute tablature—an argument sustained by the early date of the repertory, which parallels that in Petrucci's first lute book of 1507 (Francesco Spinacino), and by watermarks in the paper that point to its manufacture during the last years of the fifteenth century.\(^9\) Watermarks, as often observed, have more validity as a terminus ante than as a terminus post quem non. As to the date of the repertory, one would feel more assured were there not several examples of the Petrucci pieces being copied into

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8 See the facsimile edition in Appendix to *Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute*, Plates IV-V, following p. 128.

manuscripts long after their first appearance. In the Stephan Crauss Lute Book, for example, there are several pieces transcribed from the Petrucci lute books beside such mid-sixteenth century dances as “Cara Cosa.”10 Two pieces from the second Spinacino tablature turn up in the so-called Dallis Lute Book of the later sixteenth century.11 Perhaps the most extreme example of time-lag is provided by the “Klavierbuch der Regina Clara im Hoff,” dated 1629 on its title page: It preserves, under the title of “Bassa imperiale,” a version of the “Padauana alla venetiana” in Joanambrosio Dalza’s lute book, printed by Petrucci in 1508.12 Another complication is that the Pesaro Manuscript, like the three just mentioned, contains many later pieces, which could mean that it was copied over a long period of time, as Rubsamen maintains, or the contrary, which he does not even entertain as a possibility: The early pieces were copied at a time much later than their origin. The case is too complex to admit of a single all-sufficing explanation. Whatever its date (or dates), the Pesaro Manuscript represents an extraordinary use of French tablature in Italy. It suggests that the letter system characteristic of northern France found favor widely even before the other varieties of lute tablature began to disappear.

French lute tablature also appears in a series of paintings attributed traditionally to the “Maître des demi-figures.” With the characteristic passion for detail of a northern European painter of the time, this anonymous master did not stop with the exact portrayal of musical instruments and the methods by which they were played. He went further and reproduced the exact music read by the performers. One of his finest paintings is of three lady musicians—flautist, singer, and lutenist—who combine to render one of the best-known chansons from the French court, “Jouissance vous donneray” by Clément Marot, set to music by Claudin de Sermisy.13

Lutes often appeared in paintings prior to 1500, especially in the hands of angel musicians. The emergence of the instrument during the fifteenth century from its medieval-Islamic state and its

transformation into a vehicle for elaborate polyphonic playing can be traced step by step through iconographical evidence—the subject is an immensely attractive one that should tempt members of this and other lute societies.¹⁴ Italian painters often went so far in the direction of realism by about 1500 as to include actual musical notation. Thus the Venetian painter Bartolommeo included an open music book that faces the viewer, not the player, in a representation of a secular lady playing a six-course lute.¹⁵ As far as we know, it was left to those greatest masters of realistic detail, the Flemish painters, to take the ultimate step and have their lute players read from veritable tablature.

Among the paintings attributed to the Master of the Half-Lengths are several depicting a lady lutenist. She is identifiable as Mary Magdalen because of the inclusion in the paintings of the ointment jar that was one of this Saint's attributes. Many have been the attempts to identify the artist and fix his milieu. Suggestions as diverse as the French court painter Jean Clouet and the Flemings Hans Vereyccke and Jan Mostaert have been brought forward, only to be subsequently rejected.¹⁶ Not surprisingly, uncertainty has reigned not only as regards the locus of the Master, but also as to the date when he flourished. The latest scholarship has assigned him to Antwerp between about 1520 and 1530. No art historian to date has taken into account what the precisely depicted lutes and lute tablature might contribute by way of information and verification.

The first effect of seeing these paintings—they are brought together here for the first time—may be somewhat...

¹⁴ The way to a more systematic cataloguing of instruments in visual art is prepared by the recent work of Howard Mayer Brown and Joan Lascelle, A Manual for Cataloguing Musical Subjects in Western Art Before 1800 (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1972). In describing the lute, on page 73 the authors specify that future observations should extend to whether the instrument is "played by plectrum or fingers."


¹⁶ For a summary of the literature on the Master, see Jan Biafostocki, Europäische Malerei in Pölnischen Sammlungen (Warsaw, P/W, 1957), p. 499. The author's point of departure is the "Dame am Spinett" in the National Museum, Poznan. Two related paintings of ladies with keyboard instruments are reproduced by Edwin M. Ripin, "The Early Clavichord," The Musical Quarterly, Vol. LIII (1967), pp. 518-538, Plates 3-4. These lady musicians also represent the Magdalen, as is evident from the ointment jar in each.
cinematographic. Has the same painter portrayed the same lutenist successively, from different angles, during the same performance of the same piece? With respect to the piece, at least, a positive answer is possible. Without exception it is a two-voiced version using French lute tablature of the chanson: “Si j’ayme mon amy.” This textual incipit can be read clearly from all the paintings, some of which give more of the text. The music of the chanson is also the same in all cases, varying only in the length of the amount the painter can squeeze into the available space. No principle of order is implied by the arrangement of the five paintings as Plates A to E, although certain considerations as to their relationship will emerge in the discussion that follows.

Plate A reveals a lady who is groomed and gowned in an elegant fashion characteristic of the series of paintings. Around her neck is a chain and a smaller necklace. A pair of gloves occupies the middle foreground. The smallish fretted instrument she plays is more pear-shaped than round—it does not change significantly in any of the paintings. The instrument’s six courses, with single chanterelle at the top; are complemented at the bottom by another single string, as if in anticipation of that seventh course that would later augment the early sixteenth-century instrument. The painter has taken some care with her hand positions by having her left middle finger stop the same string that her right index finger is about to pluck. Little of her music is visible because the placement of the ointment jar interrupts it. The left page shows no more than the first two beats. The painter then begins again on the right page, reaches beats nine and ten, which he wrongly repeats, before breaking off a few beats later. One of the finer details in this painting is the beautiful Gothic rose of the lute, which finds a visual echo in the texture of the ornamented jar. Another play of visual forms obtains between the oval of the lute’s soundboard, the chain, and the lady’s delicately pale oval face.

The lady in Plate B confronts us head on, which may help to explain why the play of forms and shapes is less interesting. A little more of the instrument is revealed here. Tilted slightly forward as it is, the lute shows some of its vaulted back ribs, as well as the characteristic pegbox, steeply bent back and with lateral pegs. There

17 Grateful acknowledgment is made for the five reproductions as follows: A. Bonn, Landesmuseum (formerly Hamburg, Weber Collection); B. Private Collection, Brussels (formerly Hannover, Provinzialmuseum, No. 302); C. Hamburg Kunsthalle, Collection Wedells; D. Turin, Galleria Sabaudi, No. 366; E. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans–van Beuningen, No. 1505. There is an excellent color reproduction of Painting B in Robert Wangermée, La Musique Flamande dans la Société des xve et xvi Siècles (Brussels, Arcade, 1965), Plate 72; Wangermée misinterprets the tablature as an accompaniment to “Jouissance.” According to H. Colin Slim, the sale of this painting is documented in The Connoisseur, Vol. 154 (1963), p. lxv. I wish to thank Professor Slim for his help, as well as Ruth Philbrick, Curator of the Max Epstein Archive of the University of Chicago.
are eight frets and a different style of Gothic rose—several small roses combining to form the whole. Eleven strings can be identified but the doubling is not made clear. Both hands have fingers positioned near the top two courses. The tablature presents "Si j'ayme mon amy" in a version that is within a few beats of being complete. The most striking feature of this painting is the addition of a second piece of music under the first. It is the beginning of the Superius part of Claudin's "Jouissance," rendered in mensural notation and identified by this one-word incipit. A link is thus established with the paintings that depict the three lady musicians.

In Plate C, the jar has been moved from the foreground to what appears to be a window ledge. The body is placed in a turning position and, as in the case of the first lady, the circular chain helps unify the composition by calling attention to similar shapes. There are elaborate arabesques in the table covering. Similar care is taken with the jewelry evident on neck and plucking hand. The only noteworthy feature of the instrument is the carved claws of the bridge. Pairing of the strings into courses is obvious. Not so well treated is the fingerboard, or neck of the instrument, which is too elongated relative to the body. The frets are not delineated clearly. Nor is the relative position of the two hands. Less than successful is the way the top string, observable crossing the body of the instrument, joins the neck. In fact, it does not join the neck but wanders off into space. It is as if the neck of the instrument had been broken or dislocated. Clearly, the painter had some trouble with his perspective here and was forced to sacrifice realistic detail in rendering the top string. Could this deficiency point to the work of an apprentice in the Master's atelier, rather than to the Master himself? No want of detail is observable in the tablature, which proceeds through most of the piece before becoming faint at the end of the second page.

Closely related in body position is the lady of Plate D. Yet this portrait is more intriguing and alive in many ways. The double ornaments of chain and smaller necklace we have remarked before. There are six courses and eleven strings on the lute, as proper, and no faults of perspective. Hand position and frets are rather vague as in the previously discussed painting. The tablature is quite clearly reproduced, and so is the chanson text, all the way through the end of the third line, although the piece is not complete because one portion of the book juts out beyond the edge of the painting. A wooden lute-case hangs on the wall to the lady's left, a feature that also occurs in the painting of the three lady musicians. To the lady's right is a latticed window and the jar, very elaborately carved and betopped by a winged figure (Eros?). Through the window can be seen a city of some size, with a large church occupying a
predominant position in the far distance. Flame-like furbelows are
detailed in the sleeves of the lady’s gown. They form a plane of
perpendiculars to the horizontal tablature, an aspect reinforced by
the oblong music book that leans against the jar—and that works
beautifully with the rhythm of oval shapes bounded by lute,
lute-case, and the lady’s head. This portrait is also superior because
of the beauty of the lady herself. She has neither the somewhat vapid
suggestion of a half-smile encountered in the previous example, nor
the faintly prim, not to say dour, expression shown in the otherwise
excellent portrait discussed initially.

In the final plate, we observe another body position. A bit of
the latticed window is present, occupied by a jar that seems niggardly
because it appears directly above a right shoulder of almost
Herculean proportions. The perspective intended with the other
shoulder simply does not work. Instead of a lute-case to counter the
window, there is an inset in the wall that is black and void. The
instrument is adequately rendered. It has five double courses. The
lacking single top string was perhaps broken when the painting was
executed. There is space enough on the fingerboard for the missing
chanterelle. The tablature is legible and complete, as is evident from
the finis at the end. Details of interest in this painting are the carved
bridge, the shape of the pegs (which are eleven in number), and the
lady’s headgear, showing a long protruding backpiece that none of
the other paintings makes explicit.

A text of five stanzas for “Si j’ayme mon amy” appeared in the
largest and most important chansonnier of the time. S’ensuivent
plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles, a collection of ninety poems
which, according to Brian Jeffery, was printed in Paris circa
1515-1520:\n
1. Se j’ayme mon amy
   Trop mieux que mon mary,
   Ce n’est pas de merveilles.
   Il n’est ouvrier que luy
   De ce mestier joly
   Que l’on fait sans chandelle.

2. Mon amy est gaillard.
   Et mon mary fetard.
   Et je suis jeune dame.
   Mon cueur seroit quoquart
   D’aymer ung tel viellard.
   Veu qu’il est tant infame.

Literal Translation
1. If I love my friend
   More than my husband,
   It’s hardly a marvel.
   There’s no workman like him
   At that lovely craft
   Practiced without candle.

2. My friend is lively
   And my husband lazy,
   And I’m a young lady.
   My heart would be crazy.
   To love such an old man,
   Since he is so shameful.

Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance, Brian Jeffery, ed. (London, 1971), pp. 89-90. Jeffery cites the printing of the verse in two other collections of about the same
time, one of which is a fragment known only by a list of incipits.
The young wife unhappily married to an old and jealous husband is one of the oldest strains of popular verse, of course, and belongs to the well-known tradition of the *maurnariée*. A peculiar intensity of disgust is reached here with the outburst occurring in the second half of stanza four. How all this bears on the Mary Magdalen subject is far from clear. By adding a love song of a different type, the courtly "Jouissance" in Plate B, the painter may have intended to evoke two sides of love: the earthy and frankly erotic tone of the above ditty, versus the refined and philosophical manner of Clément Marot’s interlocutor, who tells her lover that “all things will come—eventually—to one who waits.”¹⁹ Note that both chansons presuppose a female narrator.

The five paintings show so much consistency in the intabulation of “Si j’ayme mon amy’ that it is possible to make a single composite transcription representative of all (see Example 1). Remarkably consistent also is the placement of division lines to mark off segments of the piece. This suggests that the small details in the paintings were not copied from each other but rather that they were done in the same atelier and profited from some of the same studio properties, which may have included the lute as well as the intabulation. For whereas some details of the lute may change, its

¹⁹ "Tout vient à point qui peut attendre,” the final line, may be a reference to the fifteenth-century chanson "Qui bien actend bien fuy en viendra,” as pointed out by C. A. Mayer in his complete edition of Clément Marot’s *Oeuvres lyriques* (London, University of London, Athlone Press, 1964), pp. 177-178.
shape and size remain constant. The ointment jar, by way of contrast, was obviously not a studio object because it was treated much more individually as to shape, size, and decoration.

Ex. 1.

The piece in question was current for a brief period of time only, roughly equivalent to the second decade of the sixteenth century. It figures in the monophonic chansonnier, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 12744.²⁰ Only two polyphonic chansonniers are known that included it. One, the collection prepared for Françoise de Foix, is lacking the lower voices for this particular chanson because of a missing folio.²¹ The other, also a

²⁰Chansons du XVe Siècle publiées d’après le Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, Gaston Paris (texts) and Auguste Gevaert (music), eds. (Paris, 1875), Chanson No. 118. The music corresponds exactly, with the exception of a few ornamental details, to the uppermost voice of the chanson à 3 (see Example 2). The same text occurs in the Heer Liederbuch but the music bears no resemblance to that in the other sources: Arnold Geering and Hans Trumpy, eds., Das Liederbuch des Johannes Heer von Glarus (Schweizerische Musikdenkmäler, Band 5; Basel, 1967), No. 52. This part of the manuscript is datable at Paris in the year 1510.

²¹Paule Chaillon, “Le Chansonnier de Françoise (Ms. Harley 5242 Br.Mus.),” Revue de Musicologie, Vol. XXXV (1953), pp. 1-31. Chaillon calls the chanson in question monophonic (p. 2) because she did not realize that a leaf was missing. The lacuna also explains the absence of a Superius for the following piece.
collection for three voices that is closely related to the first, is preserved as British Museum, Additional Ms. 35087, from which our transcription was made.

Ex. 2.

“Si j’ayme mon amy” belongs to a group of *chansons rurales* dating from the end of the reign of Louis XII (1498-1515), a style that was dominated by the compositions of that monarch’s favorite singer, Antoine de Févin (died 1512). Note-against-note syllabic setting, as seen in our Example 2, is one of the three main varieties of musical treatment isolated by Paule Chailllon in her study of this repertory. The three-part setting (Example 2) is not the direct model for the intabulation (Example 1) because the former is slightly more extended in the two pre-cadential areas (at “merveille” and “chandelle”). The top voice or Superius is missing in the intabulation, although it was the one selected for inclusion in the monophonic chansonnier, meaning that someone considered it,
Plate B.
Plate F. A trio of bas players. Detail from "The Triumph of the Church over the Synagogue" by a follower of Jan van Eyck showing the early round shape of the lute and the typical method of holding the plectrum. Note the second sound hole as well as the fact that the lute has but five frets. The original painting is now in the Prado in Madrid and may date from 1430.
Plate G. "Two Musicians: Lutenist and Singer" by Israël van Meckenem. Notice that the lute is more elongated than that shown in Plate I, although there is still a hint of a second rosette. Note also the lutenist's plectrum. Original in the print collection of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
rather than the middle part, the Tenor, to be the "tune." Possibly the two-part lute version was originally intended to serve as an accompaniment to a sung Superius part. If so, none of the representations of Mary Magdalen—who always remains tight-lipped—carries through the original intention behind the instrumental reduction. The lady in our paintings is clearly not singing. Another difference between part-song and lute piece pertains to rhythm. The tablature begins with the music corresponding to the first four syllables, after which a division line is clearly visible in Plates A, D, and E; division lines occur regularly thereafter, grouping the beats by two.²² The part-song begins with a rest, which turns the first note into an upbeat—a more satisfactory way of scanning the whole line, and doubtless a more authentic one. We have applied the lessons of the part-song setting to the lute arrangement and barred it accordingly.

Like many other three-part chansons of the Févin generation, "Si j'ayme mon amy" did not long remain in popular favor. Every indication points to a short-lived vogue, circa 1510-1520, then oblivion. The piece was not taken into any of the printed collections of Attaingnant now known. "Jouissance," on the other hand, had a long vogue. It belonged to the early group of Marot-Sermisy collaborations, probably effected prior to 1525, when the court dispersed and the last of the abortive Italian campaigns began. It was printed in Attaingnant's first chansonnier of April, 1528, and many times thereafter. One might argue that this publication date points to a time closer to 1530 than to 1520. Yet there is a counter-argument to be adduced even here, for "Jouissance" is a rarity among Claudin's chansons in showing signs of being based upon older, preexistent musical material.²³ The shape of the lute used in the paintings is another element that suggests a date not later than 1520. The more ample and fully-rounded lute that came into favor slightly later is beautifully documented in a painting of a concert on the banks of the Seine, with Notre Dame de Paris in the background—a painting datable by its music (the four-part chanson "Au pres de vous") at


least a decade later than the Magdalen series.\(^{24}\)

While it is conceivable that the whim of a collector might be responsible for retaining a piece of music long after the time of origin, it is hardly the same case with music that is meant to speak to the eyes of art patrons. If the love song in the Magdalen paintings were not current, it would fail to make its point. For the inclusion of such an amorous ditty must be read as a sign, speaking to the viewer-patron in a language different, to be sure, but commensurate, with the other iconographical trappings of the subject. We suggest then that the prototype of the Magdalen paintings went back to a period not later than about 1520. They may very well preserve the first records of what was to become known as French lute tablature. But it is probable that such tablature was invented—the lack of written documents to the contrary notwithstanding—at that decisive moment during the last third of the fifteenth century when lutenists began to give up their plectra in favor of exploring the polyphonic possibilities of the instrument.

During the later Middle Ages, Mary Magdalen became an object of veneration scarcely secondary to the Virgin herself. The cult reached a particularly high point of fervor in France where two churches, at Vézelay and St. Maximins near Aix, waged a bitter dispute for the honor of claiming the Saint’s true relics. Theologians had argued for centuries as to the identity of the three biblical figures that were traditionally combined to form the Saint’s legend: 1) the wealthy courtesan who poured a vase of perfume over Jesus in the house of Simon (Luke VII, 36-50); 2) Mary, the sister of Lazarus, who anointed the feet of Jesus at Bethany (John XII, 1-8); 3) Mary Magdalen penitent, to whom Jesus first appeared from the tomb (Mark XVI, 9). The controversy raged with particular frenzy in Paris at just the time of our paintings. Lefèvre d’Étaples published De Maria Magdalena there in 1516 and again in 1518 and De tribus et unica Magdalena in 1519, sustaining the distinction of the three Marys, a position attacked by the Bishop of Rochester, John Fisher, in De unica Magdalena libri tres (Paris, 1519) and by the French theologian Noël Béda, in Scholastica declaratio sententiae et ritus Ecclesiae de unica Magdalena (Paris, 1519); in 1521, the theological faculty of the Sorbonne proscribed the teaching of any views contrary to those of Lefèvre d’Étaples.\(^{25}\) Beyond the halls of


theological dispute there was never any question as to the identity of the courtesan and the penitent. People everywhere received comfort from precisely this aspect of the Magdalen legend—it lent a touching human frailty that was otherwise rarely found among the canon of Christian saints and worthies. The paintings at issue here take obvious delight in portraying the first stage, the *mondaine* courtesan. The choice of musical instrument fits this theme perfectly. Not only was the lute the preferred instrument of the wealthy, it was also an instrument with erotic connotations. Perhaps its voluptuous shape was responsible for this. For whatever reasons, the expression *jouer du lute* had come to mean more than the obvious. Rabelais, who was an exact contemporary of François I, played upon this *double entendre* and he, for one, did not forbear invoking the most obvious anagram of *lute*.\(^{26}\)

Although the creator(s) of the Magdalen portraits may have been Flemish, such details as the chanson and the tablature point to Paris as the place of origin. The inevitable questions must now be raised: Why were they created? Was there an actual court lady who allowed herself to be so portrayed? The pose was hardly possible under ordinary circumstances. "Si j'ayme mon amy," the chanson represented in all versions, points to a great lady whose situation was far from ordinary. A special significance attaches to the piece in the *Chansonnier de Françoise* because of its unusually large number of verses (nine), some of which, as Chaillon says, "seem to have been composed for this manuscript."\(^{27}\) Chaillon might have mentioned also that the chanson occupies a position squarely in the middle of the collection that was prepared for Françoise de Foix, Comtesse de Châteaubriant and mistress of François I.

The Foix family was one of the oldest and most powerful feudal clans of southern France.\(^{28}\) Françoise, born about 1495, was given in 1507 to be the consort of one of the great barons of Brittany, Jean de Laval-Montmorency, Comte de Châteaubriant (1487-1543). The match seemed aimed to preserve, perhaps extend, the power of the old feudal aristocracy against the encroachments of a centralizing royal establishment. The urgent importance of

\(^{26}\) Nan Cooke Carpenter, *Rabelais and Music* (Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 7-8. Playing the keyboard had similar associations for Rabelais, but for different reasons (Carpenter, p. 10). It may be recalled that some paintings show the Magdalen with keyboards (see footnote 16 above).

\(^{27}\) Chaillon, "Le Chansonnier de Françoise," p. 8.

\(^{28}\) A basse dance of the early sixteenth century bears the name of the family, which would then have been pronounced like "fouet." Its choreography appears in the Turin Basse Dance scroll of 1517 and in the dance treatise published by Moderne; an arrangement of the dance for lute survives in Attaingnant's *Dixhuit basses dances* of 1530 (see modern edition in *Preludes, Chansons and Dances for Lute*, D. Heartz, ed., No. 47, and commentary on p. xxxvi).
Brittany—still an independent Duchy at the time—to the realm of France may be gauged by the successive marriages of Anne de Bretagne with Charles VIII and Louis XII, and of her daughter, Claude, with François I. The need for an additional insurance was evidently perceived at Paris, and relationships with Jean de Laval, the most powerful Breton noble, must be viewed in this light. Françoise became the *maîtresse en titre* of King Francis shortly after his accession in 1515. Departure of the court for the Italian wars in late 1524 marked the effective end of the liaison. Jean de Laval was only eight years older than his wife, thus hardly the "*veillard*" invoked in the second stanza of "Si j’ayme mon amy." No poetic license is needed to accept the relevance of the parallel line to the King: "Mon amy est gaillard." He was by every description a very dashing young prince. The precise nature of the game between François and Françoise defies further clarification at this distance. It is believed to have been at least as much a political as an emotional arrangement.29 What is known for sure is that Laval went along with the game and was handsomely rewarded by royal gifts and important embassies. And the ultimate result speaks for itself: The crucial moment when Brittany was absorbed into the French realm coincides with the reign of François I.

Françoise de Foix was celebrated as much for her intelligence as for her beauty. She traded many verses with the King. When she died in 1536—murdered by her husband, as persistent but unfounded rumors were to claim—she was eulogized by Marot, among others:

De grant beauté, de grace qui attire  
De bon scāvoir, d’intelligence prompte,  
De biens d’honneur et myeulx que ne recompte...

Another poet, François de Sagon, mentioned her many devices, that is, emblematic symbols:

La dame avoit mainte devise  
Qu’on luy feist si bien expliquer  
Qu’on n’y scāvoit que répliquer...

Playing the role of *maumariée* in the tradition of the medieval *chanson rurale* was but one of her devices. That others should include assuming the pose of the Magdalen does not stagger the imagination. The piquant aspects of such a pose would have been much appreciated by her official lover, one supposes, and what the sovereign liked was of necessity liked by others in his circle (which might help to explain the profusion of copies). It has proven impossible, so far, to identify the lady in the Magdalen paintings on a

firm iconographical basis. Françoise de Foix is known to have been depicted only in a series of drawings in the style of Clouet; even the best of these is bland and characterless when compared with the Magdalen portraits. The most one can say by way of comparison is that the drawings reveal an oval face with regular features, aquiline nose, framed by dark hair parted in the middle. The headgear is similar in both drawings and paintings—it was of course the common fashion in high society circa 1520. Further similarities may be observed in the open-bodiced dress and the necklace. Beyond these generalities, it is impossible to go. What is needed is a painting positively identifiable of the lady in question. Whether or not one is found, it remains at least very likely that the Magdalen portraits are somehow connected with the royal mistress circa 1515-1525 and that they were executed not in Antwerp but in Paris.

EPILOGUE

A final facet of the Magdalen topos remains to be mentioned. When Attaingnant brought out Dixhuit basses dances for lute in February, 1530, he opened the collection with a particularly melodious and attractive piece—not an unusual stratagem in the music printers' trade. It was a basse dance "garnished" with "Recoupe" and "Tordon" like most of the others in the tablature, and it was signed with the initials P[ierre] B[londeau]. The same sequence also appeared in an arrangement for four-part ensemble in Neuf basses dances later in 1530. In both sources the title of the piece was "La Magdalena." To the present, I have been unable to offer even a clue as to the reference of the name. While the music bears no resemblance to the chanson in the paintings, perhaps the allusion was, after all, to Mary Magdalen, Lutenist.

See Toudouze, p. 52, for a catalogue of the drawings and for a reproduction of the best one (facing p. 32).
DESCRIPTION OF A LUTE

INTRODUCTION

BY MICHAEL LORaine

This little poem translated from the Persian is taken from the 
Dīwān, or collected lyrics, of the poet Azraqī of Herat, as edited by 
the late Saʿīd Nafisī, and published in Tehran in 1957. Nafisī used 
several sources for his edition, but he does not specify the source for 
each poem. However, in his list of sources in the preface, the main 
manuscript seems to be the one containing the Dīwān of Anwarī, 
with those of several other poets, including Azraqī, in the margin. 
This manuscript, according to its long and flowery colophon in 
Arabic, printed by Nafisī in his preface, was written by Nāṣir, the 
scribe for the Timurid prince Abu’l-Fath Ibrāhīm Sultān, son of Shāh 
Rukh, in A.D. 1418. Azraqī himself was among the courtiers of the 
much earlier Seljuq prince, Tughānshāh, son of Alp Arslān, who held 
court in Herat. Azraqī died around 1131 or 1132. Tughānshāh, we 
are told by the author of the Chahār Maqāla or Four Discourses, 
loved poetry and poets even more than the other Seljuq princes, all 
of whom were lovers and patrons of poetry.

The ḡūd, whence our word “lute,” from al-ḡūd, with the Arabic 
article, was one of the chief instruments of medieval Islamic music. It 
figures as such already in the Great Book of Music of al-Farabi (died 
A.D. 950-951). In Persia, whence the Arabs may well have taken the 
instrument, even before their conquest of Persia in the seventh 
century A.D., it was often called barbat, as in this poem, which 
indicates that it was a standard instrument in courtly circles then. 
Later, it fell into disuse in Persia, probably in the disorders following 
the, downfall of the Safawids in 1722, but continued to be used in 
Arab lands. Its revival in modern Persia owes much to the Arab ḡūd, 
which can be heard in many Arab cities.
This is a lute, its making is clear magic;
the eye of the age is amazed at its making.

As we are compounded of four elements,
so four elements are compounded in it.

Its name is 'ūd and who has seen wood ('ūd) like this?
Ambergris and aloes ('ūd) have been well used to make it.

Its beauty is beyond compare, it has carvings without number.

Its voice is the excitement of sorrowful lovers.

It sings, sweeter than spring, treble and bass,
sometimes the Vengeance of Siyavush,*
sometimes the Greenery of Spring.*

Whoever, lacking pearls or treasure, plucks it with his plectrum,
finds the Treasure of the Ox* and Royal Pearl.*

It is better than Heaven, for the sound of its plucking
is a form of service when the Prince holds a feast.

May it ever be that the Prince of the land and the time
has the sound of the minstrel in his ears,
and the locks of his beloved in his hand.

*Names of ancient Persian modes.
THE CAMBRIDGE CONSORT BOOKS

BY LYLE NORDSTROM

The Cambridge University Library has long been known to have the richest manuscript store of English lute music in the world. The nucleus of that collection is the set of manuscripts that have become known, after their scribe, as the Matthew Holmes Manuscripts.¹ This huge collection contains four books of solo lute music (Dd. 2.11, Dd. 5.78.3, Dd. 9.33, and Nn. 6.36); one book of solo cittern music (Dd. 4.23); and the remaining four books of what was once a set of six containing music for the "broken consort" (Dd. 3.18 for the lute, Dd. 14.24 for the cittern, Dd. 5.20 for the bass viol, and Dd. 5.21 for the recorder or flute).

These books for consort are one of the real surviving treasures of the Elizabethan musical world, but for various reasons, they have remained an enigma and a source of confusion for many years. The purpose of this article is to shed some light on the contents of these books and their relationship to the other manuscripts and printed sources of lute and consort music from this period.²

Although the English music for solo lute was catalogued in 1955 by David Lumsden,³ his thematic index does not include music for consorts of lutes, broken consort music, or music for any other ensemble involving lute. As a consequence of this omission, he was unable to distinguish the consort and duet music from the solo music, let alone to separate the duet music from the consort music—leaving us a confused and inaccurate inventory of Dd. 3.18. Lumsden apparently did not know of the connection between these four consort books and merely inventoried the lute book. Since Lumsden's dissertation appeared, the connection between the books

²This article is part of a larger study of the English lute duet. However, since, the results of the study of these books have been so rewarding, I have decided to publish this article before the completion of the larger study. I would like to give my thanks to Ian Harwood, Robert Spencer, and Warwick Edwards, who were most helpful in directing me to a number of sources. I should also like to thank Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan, for the grant that allowed me to visit the libraries where these manuscripts are housed.
has become quite well known, especially since Sidney Beck's 1959
publication of Thomas Morley's *First Book of Consort Lessons.*

Even with this and other more recent research, the sheer
number of compositions in these manuscripts (one hundred and nine
in Dd. 3.18 alone) has continued to cloud their true relationship.
Because the lute duets have been almost completely overlooked, the
estimate of consort-lesson titles has been inflated, in some cases to as
high as one hundred and fifty. Even the significant amount of solo
literature for the cittern in Dd. 14.24 has remained unnoticed.

Undoubtedly, some of this confusion stems from a lack of close
inspection and transcription of these manuscripts, but some also
comes from a lack of understanding of the different styles of
composition contained therein.

The consort lessons are certainly, in terms of sheer numbers, the
most prominent form. These compositions were written for a
standard combination of six instruments—the "broken consort." The
instruments can be divided into two groups, each defined by their
function: 1) the melody instruments—the treble viol or violin, which
usually plays the melody or does the major melodic work; the bass
viol, which provides a solid bass to the ensemble; and the flute or
recorder, which melodically fills in the middle and provides an aural
relief from the string sound of the other five instruments; 2) the
plucked, harmonically-oriented instruments—the cittern, a small
flat-backed instrument having four courses of brass and steel strings;
and the bandora, a rather large bass instrument having six or seven
courses of brass and steel. These two instruments together define the
harmonic structure and form a solid foundation against which the
other instruments may delve into more elaborate counterpoint. The
third plucked instrument, the lute, sometimes serves as a melodic
instrument and sometimes as a harmonic instrument, acting as a
bridge between the two families and welding the ensemble together.
It is the writing for the lute, usually an alternation of chordal and
rapid single-line passages, that is the most interesting musically as
well as the most technically demanding on the performer.

The writing for the consort lute does not differ in basic style
from the main body of Elizabethan solo lute music. Music for solo
lute, especially that based on dance rhythms, follows the
sectionalized form of dance music with a division done on the repeat

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5 Harwood, p. 32.

6 The Beverly Consort Books, Rosseter Consort Lessons, and several manuscript sources
use the term "bandora," while only the Morley Consort Lessons and the Dallis Lute Book
use the term "pandora." (For information about these sources see Inventory at end of
article.) Therefore, I have opted to use the term "bandora" in view of its more common use.
of each section. Since a major part of the music for consort is based on the dance, the division style is a natural carry-over. The burden of the division is placed almost entirely on the lute. Although there are deviations from this format, it is the basis of all of the more elaborate consort settings, especially those of Richard Allison.

The consort lute part differs from a solo lute setting in that the melody is not contained in the lute part (the treble viol has the melody). Sometimes the first few notes of the melody are doubled by the lute, but more often the top-sounding notes of the lute part make an entirely separate alto line, while the lute bass doubles the bass viol part. Of course, these alto and bass lines occur only on the first statement of a section where the lute joins the cittern and bandora in their harmonic accompaniment role. In the repeat of a section, the lute part is subjected to an elaborate division, usually without chords or even bass notes. This single-line style is probably chosen for reasons of balance, since a single line with more focus and volume enables the lute division to be heard against the other five instruments. Since the other five instruments can be considered melodically and harmonically complete in themselves, the lute part acts almost like a frosting to the ensemble. On the other hand, the change of sonority that is achieved when the lute shifts to playing divisions is an integral part of the sound of the consort lesson, and must have been one of the favorite delights of the consort-lesson composer.

The treble-ground lute duet is a related, but somewhat contrasting form to the consort lesson. It is certainly the most popular style of duet, with nearly sixty of this type of duet compositions extant in the English manuscripts, thirty-four in Dd. 3.18 alone. In performance, one lute defines the harmonic limits of the composition by playing a "ground"—a generally simple harmonic pattern ranging from two to twenty bars in length—that is repeated as many times as needed to be equal to the length of the treble. The other lute plays a predominantly single-line, division-style treble over this ground. The number of sets of divisions varies from two to twenty-four. If there is a tune associated with the ground or if the piece contains a set of divisions on a tune, this tune is usually found in the first division, often with a number of small ornaments, but nearly always in a recognizable form. The basic difference between the consort-lesson division and a duet-treble division is that the duet treble is more often an ornamentation of the tune, while the consort

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7 There are two closely related terms used to describe styles of ornamentation in this period—diminution and division. For the purposes of this paper, I shall make a distinction between the two. Diminution means the ornamentation of an already existing melodic line, while division has more far-reaching connotations, implying ornamentation that includes the whole harmonic structure rather than just the melody.
lute part is an ornamentation of the lute melody (the before mentioned alto line, not the melody of the ensemble that is carried by the treble viol). However, there are times in which the lute part in some of its more far-fetched divisions does touch on the flute and treble viol parts. The chordal sections found in consort parts (the first time through a section) never happen in a duet treble.

With these stylistic differences in mind, one may return to consideration of the Cambridge Consort Books and their history. It was once proposed that these manuscripts belonged to the Cambridge Town Waites, but Ian Harwood has proven that they were written by a certain Matthew Holmes, a singingman and chanter at Oxford and Westminster. Possibly Holmes was a collector, or even a professional copyist. He certainly must have had widespread access to music, for over five hundred different compositions survive in these manuscripts. It is interesting that the progression of time and age manifests itself not only in the manuscripts’ contents but also in the handwriting. The four solo books can be placed in chronological order: Dd. 2.11, Dd. 5.78.3, Dd. 9.33, Nn. 6.36. The last of these books, Nn. 6.36, is written in a hand quite feeble compared to the earlier Dd. 2.11. It also uses mensural notation rhythmic signs rather than the earlier “grid” style. The other two books fall between, with transitional styles of handwriting.

Dd. 3.18 was quite possibly started earlier than any of the solo books and it has a longer, more drawn-out history. The beginning of the book is in a very strong, neat hand, even better than that in Dd. 2.11. Folios 57v-63, however, match the style of writing (especially in the sparse use of rhythm signs) that appears in Dd. 9.33 and in a few places in Dd. 5.78.3. “Cutting’s short allmain” (see following Inventory, †104) uses the mensural rhythmic notation found in Nn. 6.36. It seems obvious that Dd. 3.18 was collected over a considerable length of time, since it contains the earliest and latest styles of Holmes’ handwriting. Such a prolonged compilation may grow from the manuscript’s special use, for it was the book into which Holmes separated nearly all of his duet and consort lesson material. Only the later Dd. 9.33 has any other significant consort and duet collection. Dd. 2.11 and Dd. 5.78.3 contain only music for solo lute.

While Dd. 3.18’s later entries are something of a consort “mélange,” the earliest pieces are limited to one form—the duet treble. In fact, the first nineteen entries are all duet trebles. The order of entry (which I have also checked by ink comparison with the original manuscript) is given in the fascinating index on folio 73. This index also gives us one of the most certain clues that these

8Harwood, p. 39.
these latter pieces "filler consorts." They are rarely significant but often charming.)

The last Richard Reade pieces to be entered are the orpharian trios (folios 54-56), which might have been entered just before Holmes' move to Westminster in 1597. At any rate, they are not in the index. The ink and the writing style are also later, but not as late as the style used on folios 57-63, which corresponds to the handwriting in Dd. 9.33 (done after 1600). After his move to Westminster, Holmes' interest in consort music, or at least his interest in entering works in this manuscript, generally ceased.12

The result of Holmes' copywork is the following sectional grouping and general order of entry (as ascertained by the index and handwriting):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section and Order</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1-16</td>
<td>Duet trebles (and a few &quot;filler consorts&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>16v-24</td>
<td>Consorts and duet trebles mixed (&quot;Green garters,&quot; &quot;Reades Galliard&quot; and &quot;A Jigge ye First&quot; are later additions to the section.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>24v-27</td>
<td>Solos (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>27-35v</td>
<td>Consorts (&quot;Go from my Window&quot; and &quot;Mousiers almain&quot; are late additions probably added about the same time as section 9.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>36v-41</td>
<td>Consorts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>41v-44</td>
<td>Duet trebles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>44v-49</td>
<td>Consorts (The &quot;Jewes Dawnce&quot; is the only exception. See †82.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>52-53v</td>
<td>Consorts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>54-55, 56</td>
<td>Orpharian trios</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>55v-58</td>
<td>Consorts. Last inclusions in the index</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Duet treble</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12It is also possible that Dd. 14.24, the cittern consort book, began as a book destined for a different purpose. It starts with a section of five solo compositions (see Inventory), and then skips several pages before the first entered consort parts are found. Holmes probably, as with Dd. 3.18, took an available, relatively empty tablature book and used it to enter his consort music.

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pieces are duet trebles. The heading “trebles” is placed above the first column. This term is generally reserved only for duet treble. (I know of just two exceptions, and both of these are solo lute divisions of harmonic grounds.) The term certainly describes the compositions at the beginning of this book. The title at the top of folio 73—“Lessons in this Book”—is a more general reference and a slightly later addition.

How then was the course of this manuscript changed from a duet book to a consort lesson book? A glance at the inventory reveals that many of these pieces are in concordance with the earlier English lute manuscripts, such as the Marsh and Willoughby lute books. In fact, seven of these duets have concordances with Marsh, a manuscript that has been dated around 1580. Only three of the consort parts have any concordances, and these are with manuscripts that can be dated 1595 or after. It is most likely, then, that Dd. 3.18 was started about the same time as Marsh (around 1580) and was at that time only a collection of duet trebles.

The known dates for Holmes’ life correspond to these manuscript dates in a revealing way. In 1588, Holmes makes his appearance in the records of Oxford Christ Church. By coincidence, another singingman by the name of Richard Reade appears at the same time. In the manuscript entries, which must have occurred about the same time (those after the first nineteen duet trebles), there is another interesting coincidence. The next two entries are consort parts, the second of which is entitled “Mr. Dr. James, Deane of Christ Church, his Paven. made by Mr. R. Reade.” Holmes’ acquaintance with Richard Reade seems to have kindled his interest in the consort lesson, because the next eleven entries are equally mixed between duets and consorts. Holmes, evidently realizing that such a mixture could make the use of his book awkward, skips fifteen folios and starts a new section of consort parts, including five more compositions by Reade. Unfortunately, economy seems eventually to have overruled order, for these fifteen folios and those after are gradually filled in with later pieces. The division of the manuscript is destroyed, but some semblance of order is kept because compositions are still grouped by type. Most of the entries are consort parts, but folios 24v-27 are solos and folios 40-44v are more duet trebles. The short pieces that are found at page bottoms, such as “the French volta” on folio 8, were added much later and only in those particular spots where there were empty staves. (I term

9 See Inventory for information about these sources.


11 All subsequent dates dealing with Richard Reade and Matthew Holmes are taken from Harwood, cited earlier.
Once the sections and the corresponding compositional style of Dd. 3.18 are clarified, the division between duet and consort parts becomes rather obvious. Why then, have so many of the duets been identified as consort lessons? Editors have reached these unwarranted conclusions primarily because parts that appear to be consort parts are in the other Cambridge “part” books—parts having the same names as these duet trebles, for example, John Johnson’s “Rogero” (see †1 in the Inventory). A careful inspection of these other pieces makes such a possibility doubtful, for only a few of the parts fit together well. Moreover, many of the cittern, recorder, and bass viol parts are added to the bottoms of pages, a sign of late entry, while the Dd. 3.18 lute parts are definitely early entries. Two possible identities may exist for these parts in Dd. 14.24 and Dd. 5.20-1: 1) Some probably fit different lute parts in other, non-extant books; or, 2) they are possibly just hasty arrangements made for the pleasant diversion of a small group of musicians playing for their own amusement—perhaps Holmes, Reade, and a few other singingmen. (This also might explain why the parts for some of the consorts are missing. Others may have had the parts in their own set of books.)

The style of composition used in these duets supposedly “arranged” as consorts is very different from that used in the main body of consort-lesson music. The duets are sets of divisions over a repeated ground, one of the most basic characteristics of the treble-ground duet, whereas the rest of the consort-lesson material is nearly all based on the dance. If the disputed duet trebles were consort lessons, they would have sets of divisions for lute accompanied by a “ground” furnished by the other five instruments. Allison’s extended set of divisions on “Go from my Window” is the

13. “Greensleeves,” “Callinoe,” and “Sellengers rounde” are the most often mentioned; for example, see Beck, p. 9.

14. The insert of twenty-four folios that has been bound between folios 8 and 9 of Dd. 5.20 may have belonged to the same circle of musicians. There are a few consort basses—“James Hardings Galliard,” for example. However, these concordances are very few. Although there are titles that match, such as “Paven 4,” they are not the same as Reade’s composition of the same title. Because of this, I have not included this piece in the Inventory. The contents are mainly division- and lyra-viol literature.

15. The main body of consort-lesson music consists of the following: 1) the Braye Bandora and Lyra-viol Manuscript, 2) the Morley Consort Lessons, 3) the Rosseter Consort Lessons, and 4) the Beverly Consort Books (see Inventory for further information about these sources).
only consort lesson composed in division-set style; but it is thoroughly composed in every part with the divisions being taken by the treble viol and flute as well as the lute. Also, there is no harmonic ground in "Go from my Window"; rather, the tune serves as a cantus firmus. Only two other pieces in the Beverly Consort Books—"the Spanish Measure" and "in Pescod Tyme" (see Inventory †21)—might be based on a repeated ground. However, since the lute parts are still missing to these books, it is difficult to say; one has to assume that these Cambridge pieces were intended for lute duet when they were composed.

Hopefully, these mismatched parts will not obscure the significance of the fact that some of the parts in the Cambridge Consort Books do fit to become consort arrangements of lute duets ("Go merely wheele," "Greensleeves," and "Green garters" fall into this category). Experimentation with combinations of instruments on these duet parts, reflecting the amount of experimenting and arranging that took place at the end of the sixteenth century, probably led to the development of the broken consort, and ultimately to the "true" English lute duet (the duet in which both lutes share alternately the division and accompaniment role). However, that discussion is beyond the scope of the present article. Suffice it to say that Dd. 3.18 is the largest collection of duet trebles in existence; a great deal of the development and history of both the lute duet and the consort lesson can be traced through its twenty-year compilation. Although some of the duets have possibilities as consort "arrangements," their primary purpose and the most satisfactory performance results are as lute duets.

The dominance of the music by Richard Reade (twenty-four consorts and four orpharian trios) is another salient feature of Dd. 3.18. Reade received a Bachelor of Music degree on July 7, 1592, and by that time had composed "church services" as well as instrumental music. Unfortunately, nothing has survived other than his large body of consort music, not even solo lute music. Many of the consorts by other composers, especially those of Allison, have corresponding solo arrangements in Holmes' solo lute books. It is possible, of course, that Reade was only interested in consort and church music. A further oddity is that on none of his compositions is name followed by "Bach. of Music" as was common with the other composers, notably John Dowland and Frances Pilkington, who had received this degree. This may date all of Reade's consort music before 1592, the year he received his degree.

His thorough training is certainly evident in these compositions. The pavens particularly are filled with contrapuntal imitation, making some of the treble viol parts relatively simple to reconstruct. This style is not an unexpected part of the compositional technique
of one who wrote church music. On the other hand, many of the
short, faster dances and ballad tunes are not contrapuntal and have
the melodies contained in the lute part, a relatively rare style of
consort-lesson writing. It is the alternation of chordal and single-line
passages (or, in some cases, only chordal passages) that identifies
these pieces as consorts rather than duets. The best example of this is
"Reades Almaine" (Inventory †30), which is a transposition and
arrangement of an "Almaine" by Holborne. (Divisions on the melody
are added by Reade.) "Reades Galliard" (Inventory †36 and †68)
appears in both styles, the division on the melody being the earlier
entry. These lute parts with divisions on the melody perhaps do
provide some explanation for the use of single-line diminutions
without basses—the characteristic of consort writing—that appear in
some of the solo lute literature—such as Dowland's "Lady Laitones
Almone" and "Smythes Allmayne." These are probably consort
lute parts.

Finally, these manuscripts may provide some further clues for
the old debate over the proper use of the flute and the recorder in
the consort lesson. While the Morley, Rosseter, and Beverly Consort
Books all specify "flute," three places in Dd. 5.20 and Dd. 5.21 say
"The recorder parte," including the title page to Dd. 5.21. A clear
distinction existed in terminology between recorder and flute, as the
inventories from the period demonstrate. It seems obvious that
when flute is specified, the transverse flute is what is meant. But how
does one reconcile this assumption with the directives given in Dd.
5.21?

The confusion is dispelled by comparing the concordances
between Dd. 5.21 and the other sources. The "recorder partes" in
Dd. 5.21 are almost always different from the flute versions printed
in Morley, Rosseter, or Beverly. (Allison's "Dolorosa Paven" is a
good example.) First, they are placed in treble clef, while the flute
parts are generally in alto or tenor clef. Second, the Dd. 5.21 parts in
treble clef utilize many octave transpositions, avoiding a range below
c' and generally keeping in the mid-range of the clef. This obvious

16 "Lady Laitone" is in the Folger Manuscript and the Schele Manuscript, while
"Smith" is in the Sturt Lute Book and the Schele Manuscript (see Inventory for information
158-159 and 448. Some of the earlier entries into Dd. 3.18—"Holburns farwell" and "The
Erle of Oxeforde March"—are continuous diminutions of the melody, almost in the
duet-treble style. However, because the consort parts fit so well, and "The Marche" is found
in the Morley Consort Lessons, I have classified them as consorts. Of course, their proximity
to the duets could mean that they fall into both categories.

17 For example, the inventory of Thomas Kytson's goods as reprinted by Walter
278.

18 There are also a few pieces in alto and mezzo-soprano clef in Dd. 5.21. These go
below c' but not below g.

78
avoidance must indicate that the instrument did not have the capability of playing notes below c'.

The ranges of the flute parts in the Beverly Consort Books are from d to c'' (the c'' is reached in three parts), a range that fits the tenor transverse flute but not the tenor recorder, whose highest note was b^b. The tenor and alto clefs, common in Beverly, Morley, and Rosseter, were also the most common clefs for a tenor instrument. If one took the ranges of the Dd. 5.21 parts literally, they would generally sound an octave higher in comparison to the other consort parts and therefore go beyond the range of the tenor flute. The two recorders that would have most often played in treble clef are the treble in g and the descant in d. Most of the parts go beyond the range of the high note of the treble (f''), so that this instrument must be ruled out for the treble-clef parts. Moreover, the presence of c, one note below the range of the descant in d, seems to further limit the possible choices. A few descants in c are known to have existed, and it is possible that this would be the solution. However, the severe balance problems imposed by the use of these high instruments, coupled with their uncommon use, makes this an unlikely choice. The only feasible choice for the Dd. 5.21 parts seems to lie with the tenor recorder. The use of a tenor recorder for treble clef was not a normal practice, but it was a possible one for the "low consort." If the tenor recorder is a possibility, then the tenor flute could also play most of the same parts. But why, then, would there be so many octave transpositions of phrases in the Dd. 5.21 parts when the notes are otherwise the same? The key to the dilemma may be found in the character of the instruments themselves. The tenor recorder is a much louder instrument than the tenor flute. These displacements are there to keep the recorder in its lower, less obtrusive range, thereby solving some of the balance problems created by using the recorder. The Dd. 5.21 parts are generally flute parts arranged to fit the idiosyncrasies of the recorder.19

Our knowledge and understanding of Elizabethan music is most certainly broadened by the Cambridge Consort Books. Clarification of the lute duet and consort music is clearly important, but perhaps equally significant is the discovery of the freedom with which musicians treated their music. The neglect of the great wealth of English lute duets and extant music for the broken consort is

19The Dd. 5.21 parts in the other clefs can be easily taken by the treble recorder. Again, they are kept in the low range of that instrument to avoid balance problems. However, since some of them are so similar to the Morley parts and could be taken by the flute, I have classified these in the inventory as flute parts in order to make the clef distinction more apparent. It is quite likely that all of the parts in Dd. 5.21 are recorder parts. It should be noted that many of the Dd. 5.21 parts are so different that they could almost be used in conjunction with the other flute parts. The existence of these alternate parts offers more opportunities to the performing group.
especially regrettable when the high quality and beauty of the music is considered. Hopefully, this article will call attention to the existence of this body of music and facilitate further research in these areas.

20 At the present, I know of nearly one hundred lute duets and at least one hundred and sixty-four consort lessons (ranging in numbers of extant parts from one to the complete six).

INVENTORY OF THE CAMBRIDGE CONSORT BOOKS

The inventory of the Cambridge Consort Books is arranged in four columns: 1) contains folio numbers, 2) reference numbers (designated by † in the article text), 3) titles, generally exactly as they appear in the manuscript, and 4) concordances. When a concordance is preceded by an =, it is to be considered relatively exact. If it is preceded by an “and,” it means that the two sources are similar but vary considerably in detail. Further commentary is also put into this column.

The following abbreviations (in addition to those already specified in the text of the article) have been used in this inventory:

CIT = cittern
BAN = bandora
BV = bass viol
F = flute
TV = treble viol
R = recorder
Ballet = Dublin, Trinity College Ms. D. 1.21. The Ballet Lute Book
Beverly = the Beverly Consort books (Beverly, Yorkshire, County Record Office, DDHO 20 1/2/3. Consists of a treble viol book, flute book, and bass viol book. The Mills College Cittern Book is the matching cittern book to this set.)
Braye = The Braye Bandora and Lyra-viol Manuscript, in the possession of Robert Spencer
Brogyntyn = Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn Ms. 27
Dallis = Dublin, Trinity College Ms. D.3.30. The Dallis Lute Book
Dc.5.125 = Edinburgh, University Ms. Dc.5.125
Euing = Glasgow, University Library, R.d.43 The Euing Lute Book
Folger = Washington, D.C., Folger Library Ms. 1610.1
Hirsch = British Museum, Ms. Hirsch M. 1353
Pickering = British Museum, Ms. Egerton 2046. The Jane Pickering Lute Book
Mills = The Mills College Cittern Book. See Beverly.
Morley = the Morley Consort Lessons (edited by Sidney Beck and published in 1959)
Mynshall = The Mynshall Lute Book in the possession of Robert Spencer
Cambridge University Library, Dd. 3.18

Oblong quarto: 8½ x 11½ inches. Binding early eighteenth century.

Each page has seven hand-drawn staffs of five lines each, with a sixth line often added at the time of entry of the particular composition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
<th>Number (†)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Commentary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Rogero Jo: Johnson</td>
<td>Duet treble. 5 divisions on an 8-bar ground. = Myshall, fs. 3v-4 (quite inaccurate) = Trumbull, f. 23v (last 2 divisions plus ½ bars lacking). Probably the classic example of confusion surrounding these manuscripts. Dd. 3.18, Dd. 5.20, and Dd. 14.24 all have &quot;Rogero&quot; as their first entry, a fact that has caused scholars to place them together as though they were a consort lesson. However, the setting in the cittern book is three simple sets of divisions for a solo cittern. Since the lute has five divisions, these two versions...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

certainly do not match. Further inspection reveals that Johnson’s lute treble needs slightly different harmonies than the cittern and bass viol versions supply. The second half of the fifth bar needs a chord with an e in the bass (either an e chord or a first inversion C chord). The cittern and bass viol versions have an A chord at this point. In the sixth bar, the lute version needs a D chord throughout the bar. The cittern and bass viol have a G chord on the last beat. It is possible that the cittern and bass viol are a duet, like the pieces found in Holborne’s Cittarn Schoole... 1597, but there are even minor discrepancies between these two. In Trumbull, f. 23v, there is an inaccurate setting of a ground to this treble that corrects the harmonies for bar 5 but not bar 6. The setting of the ground in Dallis, p. 20, fits more closely with the cittern version, as does the bandora ground in Dallis, p. 223.

1v-2 2 Passemeasures Pauen  Duet treble. 4 divisions on a 16-bar ground. A ground that fits this treble has not yet been found. It differs from the more usual “passemeasures” by using a d harmony in the third and fourth bars.

2v 3 Galliard to the Passemeasures  Duet treble. 5 divisions on a 16-bar ground. Matches the harmonic variant of ‡2.

3 4 Callinoe  The arrangements of this tune in these manuscripts poses another interesting problem. The lute part has 8 divisions on an 8-bar ground and has all the indications of a duet treble. However, Dd. 5.21, f. 10, has a recorder part; Dd. 14.24, f. 9, has a cittern part; and Dd. 5.20 has three different bass viol parts—fs. 3, 5, and 6. Unfortunately, the cittern part fits none of the bass viol parts. Although the f. 6 bass viol parts fits the recorder part in style of notation, it appears to be defective and is corrected on f. 5. The f. 3 bass viol part is in the wrong key. None of the melodies contained in the solo cittern book Dd. 4.23 (also copied by Holmes) fit perfectly with the bass viol and recorder parts. (The Robinson setting on f. 23 comes the closest.) The final blow is that the harmonies needed by the Dd. 3.18 lute part are different from any of the above settings. One is forced to conclude that this lute part is a duet.
part with a lost ground, and the other extant parts are accompaniment to a different composition, or that it is an ill-conceived arrangement, or, more likely, both.

3v 5 A Dump  Duet treble. 13 divisions on a 4-bar ground (included as the first four bars). = Marsh, pp. 144-5.
Labeled "J: Johnsons i dump" in the index. BM (British Museum), Ms. Add. 31392, f. 22, has a different set of divisions on the same ground.

4-3v 6 A Dump  Duet treble. 14 divisions on a 4-bar ground. Labeled "J: Johnson's 2 Dump" in the index.
This is probably the most popular treble-ground duet. It is found in four other sources: Pickering, fs. 8v-9, Folger. fs. 7v-8 ("The Queens Treble"), Schele, pp. 138-0 and Sturt, fs. 4v-5 (arranged as a solo for 10-course lute).
The ground is the bergamesca type and is found in two versions—one with fuller chords found in Pickering, f. 9, the other with more open fifths found in Folger, f. 8. Both versions are found in Brogyntyn, p. 7.

4v 7 The new Hunt is up  Duet treble. 4 divisions on a 16-bar ground. = Folger, fs. 4v-5 ("The Honsok") = Trumbull, fs. 1v-2. The ground with slight variations is found in both Folger and Trumbull.
The cittern part in Dd. 14.24, f. 11, does not fit with either version of the ground, nor does it fit with the treble. The bass viol part (Dd. 5.20, f. 6, could fit the cittern part but it is in the wrong key.

5 8 Sellengers Ronnde  Duet treble. 3 divisions on a 20-bar ground. = Marsh, p. 182.
The bass viol part in Dd. 5.20, f. 6, is a step too high.

5v-6 9 (Quadro Paven)  Duet treble. = Pickering, fs. 9v-10 = Trumbull, fs. 10v-11. The ground is found in Pickering, f. 10.
The title is in the index. For more information on Elizabethan usage of this ground bass see Ward, "The Fourth Dublin Lute Book." The Lute Society Journal (1967), pp. 28-46.

6 & 7 10 (A dump?)  Duet treble. 14 divisions on a 4-bar ground (Dominant/Dominant/Tonic/
Duet treble. = Pickering, fs. 12v-13 = Trumbull, fs. 11v-12. The ground is in Pickering, f. 8 and f. 13.

Robert Spencer (The Lute Society Journal, 1962, p. 31) points out that this treble fits the Morley. This is only because of the standardization of the ground. It is obviously a duet treble.

Duet treble. 3 divisions on a 32-bar, two-part ground. = Marsh, pp. 151-3.

The recorder part (Dd. 5.21, f. 1) can be made to fit with this treble only after considerable reworking.

Duet treble. 24 divisions on a 4-bar ground (found in Folger, f. 5).

24 divisions must have been too much for Holmes since there are several "short-cut" signs. (These leave out the eleventh and twelfth and the nineteenth and twentieth or even the nineteenth through the twenty-third divisions. There is also a quadruple bar and a fermata after the seventeenth division, making this an alternate stopping place.) The bass viol part in Dd. 5.20, f. 6, and the flute in Dd. 5.21 fit well, but the length of the treble coupled with the shortness of the ground makes this composition a doubtful consort lesson. The eleventh division is equal to the third.

Duet treble. 7 divisions on an 8-bar ground. Pickering, f. 14, contains the ground.

The title is from the index. There seems to be some confusion between the names "Short almain" and "Tinternell.”
Both tunes are found in solo cittern settings in Dd. 4.23 (fs. 20v-21, "Tinternell" and f. 24, "My Lo. of Oxfords Short Allmayne"). The "Short Allmayne" version fits almost exactly with the Pickering ground, while the "Tinternell" version is in a different key and has many changed harmonics. The bandora setting in Dallis, p. 223, seems closer to "Tinternell" and is named such. "Short Almain" should remain in the title of compositions that use this ground. See f. 16 and f. 104.

10v 16  Short Allmain (ii)  Duet treble. 6 divisions on an 8-bar ground. = Pickering, fs. 13v-14 (which also contains the ground and identifies the composer as John Johnson).

11 17  Robin is to the Greenwood gone  ? 3 divisions on the tune. The first set has full chords on the first time through. It is possible that these chords are the ground, but that would mean doubling the melody in a heterophonic fashion, a style that is generally unknown in the duet literature. Although heterophony is not unknown in consort lesson literature, the number of divisions as well as this piece’s inclusion in the duet section of the manuscript makes it an unlikely consort lesson. It seems that there is a missing ground; or, more likely, that this is a duet for lute and bass viol, since the bass viol part in Dd. 5.20, f. 3, fits well.

11v-12 18  Jo: Johnson Wakefield on a green Duet treble. 22 divisions on a 4-bar ground. = Marsh, pp. 146-8 (includes the ground).

12 19  Mr. Doctor Jame Dean of Chris churches pauen made by Mr. R. Reade  R-Dd. 5.21, f. 6v BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 7 CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 30, "Reads 7 Pauen"

An earlier version of "Reads 7 Pauen" (†48). The two lute parts are identical except that ‡48 has diminutions on the repeats of each section. For more information on Mr. James, see Harwood, p. 37.

12v-13 20  Trenchmoore Jo: Johnson  Duet treble. 29 divisions on a 2-bar ground. = Marsh, pp. 139-141, = Welde, fs. 11v-12 (both have the ground).

13v-14 21  The New Hunt is up  Duet treble. 9 divisions on a 16-bar ground. = Trumbull, fs. 16v-17, = Welde, pp. 13-14, = Marsh, pp. 183-6. Marsh also has the ground. The bandora ground in Marsh, p. 397, also...
fits with this treble.

The bandora part in Braye, f. 13, appears to be a simple solo since it repeats each half of the ground with simple variants.

The bass viol part in Dd. 5.20, f. 6, is a step too low. This and 7 are divisions on the same ground, only pitched a fourth apart. Beverley 32, "In Peascod Tyme," is built on the same ground. (Only the bass viol and cittern parts are copied in.) See Simpson, pp. 368-71, for more information on this tune.

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The Nutts be browne

Duet treble. 10 divisions on an 8-bar ground. =Pickering, fs. 14v-15, =Dd. 9.33, fs. 63v-64. The ground is in Pickering, f.15.

Holburns farwell

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 3
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 17

The treble viol part can be reconstructed from the lute solo version in Dd. 2.11, f. 63v. The Dd. 3.18 lute part has a continuous diminution of the melody.

Phillips Pauen

TV-Morley 8 =Dd. 5.21, f. 2, and Beverly (TV book) 7 (part of the page is torn out)
F-Morley 8 and Beverly (F book) 7
BV-Morley 8
=Dd. 5.20, f. 2
=Bevery (BV book) 7
CIT-Morley 8 and Dd. 14.24, f. 9v, and Mills 7
BAN-Morley 8 and Braye, f. 14

The Beverly parts have many diminutions written out in the repeats of the bass viol and flute parts. In the Mills, Dd. 14.24, and Braye parts, the opening note is sounded with the treble viol in the third section—unlike in the Morley parts.

Reads Allmaine

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4v
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4v
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 23

This is an arrangement of Holborne's "Allmaine" (Dd. 2.11, f. 70). The lute carries the melody with diminutions on the repeats.

Alysons Pauen

A consort lesson part with no other parts surviving. It is an arrangement of Allison's "paven" found in solo lute arrangements in Dd. 2.11, f. 71, Dd. 5. 78.3, f. 33, BM. Add. 31392, fs. 30v-31, and Hirsch, f. 3v.

The March. The Erle of Oxeforde Marche

TV-Morley 14 =Dd. 5.21, f. 1v
F-Morley 14
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 10
BV-Morley 14
CIT-Morley 14
BAN-Morley 14

The "Treble violan" part (Dd. 5.21) does differ slightly from the Morley part, and the recorder part is completely different from Morley. The lute part is a diminution of the melody.
20v-21 33  Johnsons Delight  TV-Beverly (TV book) 9
          f'-Beverly (F book) 9
          R-Dd. 5.20, f. 10v
          BV-Beverly (BV book) 9 and Dd. 5.20,
                        f. 2
          CIT-Mills 9 and Dd. 14.24, f. 10
          BAN-Braye, f. 16

Lute = Trumbull, fs. 4v-5. There are 2 consort lesson lute parts to this
famous paven—†33 and †105. †33 fits the Cambridge Consort Books
better while †105 fits the Beverly parts slightly better.

21v 34  The Flatt Pauen  Duet treble. This is possibly the
original “Flat Paven” duet since it
predates the “true” duet version found
in Pickering and Trumbull. It follows
the diminutions of the “true” duet
quite closely. A ground could be made
from the “true” duet setting.

22 35  Galliard to the
       Flatt Pauen  Duet treble. See †34.

22v 36  Reads Galliarde  R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4, and Dd. 5.21, f. 7
          BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4
          CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 21

This is the same composition as †68.
However, †68, the earlier entry, con-
tains the melody and diminutions on it,
while †36 treats the composition in
more of the consort style of Allison
where the lute has its own alto line.

22v 37  Nightengale  TV-Dd. 5.21, f. 9 (?)
          R-Dd. 5.21, f. 9
          BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 9v
          CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 19

Not the more usual version of the tune
as found in Simpson, p. 512. (Simpson
also wrongly states that the Dd. 14.24
consort cittern part is an arrangement of
this tune.) Neither of the melodies
found on Dd. 5.21, f. 9, appears to be
very tuneful but they do fit together
well.

23 38  The Mary golde
       Ellis Lawrey  Treble and ground duet. Probably the
reason for the inclusion of the ground
in this instance and not in the others is
the irregular beat structure of the
ground.

23v-24 39  Green Garters  Duet treble. 8 divisions on an 8-bar
ground (really only a 4-bar ground since
it is divided into halves, each half
repeated).
Another duct arranged for consort—R-Dd. 5.21, f. 70v, and BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 6.
The tune printed in Simpson, p. 425, does not fit. However, another tune seems to be present in the first division set.

24 40  A Jigg ye first  
R: Reade

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 7
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 7v
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 37

The name is a later addition. The lute part possibly contains the treble viol melody.

24v-25 41  Passemeaz Pauen  
Mr Jo: Johnson

Lumsden 591. =Wickhambrook, fs. 16v-17.
The inclusion of the next four compositions (†41-44) is somewhat of a mystery. Every other lute part in Dd. 3.18 has some type of consort significance (consort lesson, duet, or trio). These four pieces all seem to be solo settings since basses are present at all times. Two of them are found in other manuscripts, seemingly as solo settings. None of the existing consort lesson parts (Morley, Beverley, Braye, or Cambridge Consort Books) fit with these pieces, so apparently they are solo compositions for the lute. Since they are solo pieces, I have included Lumsden’s reference numbers.

25v-26 42  Passemeaz Galliard

Lumsden 1364. Possibly by John Johnson also since †41 and †42 are treated as a set in the index.

26 43  Quadro Galliarde

Lumsden 1005. =Mynshail, f. 4, =BM Add. 31392, fs. 21v-22.

This is probably also by John Johnson since the following paven and this galliard are treated as a set in the index.

26v-27 44  The Quadro Pauen  
Mr Jo: Johnson

Lumsden 78. See †43. Cambridge University Library, Ms. Add. 2764 contains fragments of this and names it “Quadro Pavin Treble.” Perhaps this name puts it in the realm of duet or consort lesson, but the style is that of lute solo.

27 45  Reades Galliard to the 6 pauen

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 9v
F-Dd. 5.21, f. 9v, “The same”

27v 46  R: Reade. 5 Paven

Thematic connection to †47.
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 9
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 9
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 29
Canonic possibilities between the lute and missing treble viol part.

28 47 Reades 6. pauen
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 6
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 6
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 29v
Dialogue style of writing in the second and third sections.

28v-29 48 Reades 7 Pauen
See †19.

29 49 When phebus First
Ri Reade
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 11
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 9v
An arrangement of a vocal piece.

29v 50 Reades 8 Pauen
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 8v
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 8v
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 30v
Canonic possibilities between the lute and the missing treble viol part for both the paven and the following galliard.

30 51 Galliard to the Same
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 8v
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 9
See †50.

30v 52 Reades 9 Paven
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 9
F-Dd. 5.21, f. 8
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 9
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 30v
Seems to have been inspired by "De la Tromba Paven." The beginning section starts with a treble viol solo accompanied by cittern (and bandora?), and there are many arpeggiated answering motives in the third section.

31 53 Battell
R Reade
Obviously a consort part, but the other parts have not survived. No relation to the "Battell Paven" in Beverly.

31 54 A Jigg R. Read
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 6
The lute part is quite tuneful. Possibly a duet for lute and bass viol.

31v-32 55 Allisons Knell
TV-Morley 11 = Beverly (TV book) 12
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 10
F-Morley 11 = Beverly (F book) 12
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 3 = Morley 11
= Beverly (BV book) 12
CIT-Morley 11 and Mills 12
BAN-Morley 11 and Braye, f. 89v
The recorder and flute parts are quite different.

32 56 Sweet Bryer, A
Northern Jigge
R.R.
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 7v
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 8
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 33
A treble viol part could also be fashioned from the solo lute version in Dd. 2.11, f. 87v. The bass viol part in Beverly (BV book) is the only part copied into Beverly and is a tone lower than in the Cambridge Consort Books.

The part in Dd. 5.21 has the melody (see Ward, “Apropos the British Broadside Ballad and Its Music,” p. 60, for more information on this tune). The fragment at the bottom of the page is the first 5 bars of the second strain an octave higher. It is probably a later addition but can be used as a variant on the repeat.

Again there are two lute parts to the same piece in this manuscript. This is the earlier entry, but f. 103 carries diminutions of the repeats. “James (Harding’s) Galliard” was a favorite tune of the day, except that the tune seems to be the bass line rather than the treble. The more common form of the melody can be found in many viol manuscripts, such as BM Add. 15118, f. 12, and BM Add. 17786, f. 14 (and many others). There is also a keyboard setting by William Byrd in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book 72. If the consort lesson is meant to go with the tune as found in these

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22 I am grateful to Ian Harwood for the source of this treble viol part.
manuscripts, the recorder part is defective in the first two notes. The solo lute versions in Dd. 5. 78.3, fs. 25 and 45 do not carry this tune. This bass was a popular division viol bass and there are many versions of it. For instance, in the insert to Dd. 5.20 there are at least two different versions.

34v-35 62 Go from my Window
Ri: Alison

TV-Morley 12 =Beverly (TV book) 33
F-Dd. 5.21, f. 12v (untitled) =Morley
12 =Beverly (F book) 33
BV-Morley 12 =Beverly (BV book) 33
CIT-Morley 12 =Mills 33 (minor variants)
BAN-Morley 12

Not in the index. A late addition.

35v 63 (Mousiers Almain)

A late addition to the manuscript and not in the index. Although it fits the phrase structure of the other Cambridge Consort Books parts (TV-Dd. 5.21, f. 2v, and BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 2, and CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 11 [all fit together], it is doubtful that this is the lute part. There are too many harmonic discrepancies.

It is certainly not the Morley part (which works best with Dd. 9.33, fs. 54-53v, or Schele, pp. 147-148).

There is also a bandora part in Braye, f. 14, which generally fits the Morley but is not identical to the existing part.

36 Blank.

36v 64 Alfonsoes pauen

R-Dd. 5.20, f. 4
BV-Dd. 5.21, f. 4
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 22

By Alphonso Ferrabosco? No known solo lute version.

37-36v 65 Reades 1 pauen

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4
F-Dd. 5.21, f. 3v
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 9

37v-38 66 Reades 2 Pauen

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4v
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 20v

The third section contains another treble viol and lute dialogue.

38 67 Reads La volta

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 8
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 24

There is a different recorder part on Dd. 5.21, f. 4, which can be reconstructed. Again the lute seems to have the melody.
38v  68  Reads Galliard  See †36.
39-38v  69  Reades (3rd or) Flatt Pauen
         R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4v
         BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4v
         CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 23v
         Last section is in triple time.
39v  70  Reades 4 Pauen  R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4v
         BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4v
         CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 22v
40  71  De la Tromba
         TV-Morley 3 (see †79)
         R-Dd. 5.21, f. 5v
         F-Morley 3
         BV-Morley 3 = Dd. 5.20, f. 5
         CIT-Morley 3 and Dd. 14.24, f. 17v
         BAN-Morley 3 and Braye, f. 18v
         The answering "trumpet calls" in the third section of the lute part have been changed to match the treble viol part in Beck. The answering section in this part matches more closely the lute duet version as found in Pickering, fs. 6v-8, and others.
40v-41  72  Go merely Wheele
         R-Dd. 5.21, f. 5
         BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4v
         CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 22
         Most likely another arranged duet. 5 divisions on a 12-bar ground. The melody can be found in Dd. 2.11, f. 64, but in actual performance it tends to get in the way of the beautiful lute divisions. It might be best performed with only these surviving parts.
41  73  La Bergera Galliard
         R-Dd. 5.21, f. 5v
         BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 3
         CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 18
         The melody appears to be in the lute part, and is in places in imitation with the bass part.
41v-42  74  Galliard to the Pasameaz
         Duet treble. 7 divisions on a 16-bar ground.
42v-43v  75  The Pasameasures Pauen
         Duet treble. 3 divisions on a 16-bar ground. In c.
43v-44  76  The Galliard
         Duet treble. 4 divisions on a 16-bar ground. The ground would be similar to the ground in Trumbull, f. 4. Apparently the last bar of this piece is the first bar of "The Bodkin."
44-44v  77  The Bodkin
         Duet treble. 9 divisions on a 4-bar ground (Tonic/Tonic/Dominant/Dominant).
44v-45  78  Bachelers Delight  
Ri: Alison  
TV-Morley 24 = Beverly (TV book) 13  
F-Morley 24 = Beverly (F book) 13  
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 2v (Morley part not extant) = Beverly (BV book) 13  
CIT-Mills 13 (Morley part not extant)  
BAN-Morley 24

45v-46  79  De la Tromba  
2. treble  
An ornamented version of the treble viol part of the consort lesson. Probably meant as replacement for the treble viol part since it is quite unsatisfactory as a duet part.

46v-47  80  Dolorosa Pauen  
Ri Allison  
TV-Beverly (TV book) 11  
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 7v  
F-Beverly (F book) 11  
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 7v = Beverly (BV book) 11  
CIT-Mills 11  
Solo lute versions in Dd. 2.11, fs. 4v-5, and Dd. 5. 78.3, f. 32v

47v  81  De la Courte  
1st Parte  
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 9v  
CIT-Dd. 14.24, fs. 48v-49  
This is an arrangement of Robert Parson's 5-part viol fantasia (found in BM Add. 30480-4, BM Add. 17786-9, and BM Add. 37402-6, as well as other sources). The lute part is an ornamentation of the medius part (also found at the end of this manuscript on f. 72v). The recorder part is a completely new part and is missing 6½ bars towards the end. It is unclear how the rest of the piece should be completed. If the bass viol were to play only the original bassus part, much of the original piece would be missing. The cittern part enters and rests with the recorder.

48  82  The Jewes Dance  
R. Nicolson  
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 12  
Recorded as the "only extant duet for recorder and lute" (Angel s-36851, "Pleasures of the Court"), but this is highly doubtful. The opening 4 bars serve as a perfect accompaniment to the tune as found in Dd. 9.33, f. 38, "de Jerr a mort." The recorder part certainly has all the indications of an alto part during these four bars. Although there is close imitation between the lute and recorder later on, more close imitation and even canons can be added by the insertion of another part. I believe that there is a part still missing.

48v-49  83  (Porters Paven)  
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 11  
This and †84 are not in the index.
Porters galliard
Many answering parts.

Emeralde Galliard
Consort lesson part.

My La. Harecourts Galliard
Consort lesson part.

All night in V(enus') court
Consort lesson arrangement of a vocal piece.

La Dolce Nenne
Consort part. Galliard.

Tarlton Jigg
R-Dd. 5.21, f. 5
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5
CIT-Dd. 14.24, f. 17
An arrangement of "Tarltons Willy" (Dd. 4.23, f. 25). Poulton gives this tune a doubtful ascription to Dowland. However, the tunes in Dd. 2.11 and Dd. 4.23 are not very similar.

Pauen Dolores
Consort lesson part.

The following section is one of the latest additions to Dd. 3.18. Presumably all of the pieces from f. 54 to f. 55 and one piece on f. 56 are involved in ensembles for three orpharians and three viols. The evidence for this comes from the cryptic comments scattered among the relevant manuscripts. Dd. 5.21 has a part that fits with "(Paven orpharian 3)" entitled "for iiij wiers." With the orpharian part to the same paven is the inscription "W & V," which most likely stands for "W(iers) and V(iols)." This inscription is at the end of the section and could possibly refer to the whole section. "(Paven orpharian 4)" has a bass in Dd. 5.20, f. 9v, which has the inscription "for iiij v(iols) and 3 orph(arians)." (The dots are left off the iij and another possible reading would be "for m(y) v(iol) and 3 orph(arians)," but in light of the other evidence, this seems unlikely.) The missing 2 viol parts to Pavens 2 and 3 would presumably double the bass and treble of †93 and †94 respectively. The third orpharian part might be in the missing bandora book and would certainly double the bass and perhaps fill out the rather sparse harmonies.

The same
= †91 and †95. The orpharian that plays this part must be tuned in c with the seventh course tuned to b flat.

Bass to †96. Has a separate melody line. Orpharian tuned as in †92.

Bass to †97. Has a separate melody line. Orpharian tuned as in †92.
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<td>54v-55</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>(Paven orpharian 1) =†91 and †92.</td>
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<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>(Paven orpharian 2) See †93. Dd. 5.21, f. 12, “T. orph (ians)” doubles the treble at pitch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>(Paven orpharian 3) See †94. Dd. 5.21, f. 11v, “for iij wier” doubles the top line at pitch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55v-56</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>Reades 10 Pauen Consort lesson part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>(Paven Orpharian 4) The bass in Dd. 5.20, f. 9v, “for iij v(iols) and 3 orph(arians)” doubles the bass line.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56v-57</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>Reades 11 Paven Consort lesson part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>3 Jigg Mr. Reade Although there are no other surviving parts, the answering motives in the lute part make them rather easy to reconstruct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57v-58</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Mrs. Millicents Paven Ri Alison F-Rosseter, 12 BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 10v CIT-Rossetter 12 The treble viol and bandora parts to Rosserter are not extant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58v</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>James His Galliard See †61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>(Short Allmain) Fr Cutting Duet treble. The ground is in Pickering, f. 14. Uses a late style of rhythmic notation. Possibly the last entry in Dd. 3.18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59v-60</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>Delight pauen See †33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60v-61</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Flatt paven TV-Dallis, p. 264 (the page containing this piece is torn from Beverly, TV book) F-Dallis, p. 264 and Beverly (F book), 24 BV-Beverly (BV book) 24 CIT-Mills 24 and Dd. 14.24, f. 3v (two variants) BAN-Braye, f. 13v This is probably the most popular consort lesson. There are also different consort lute parts in Folger, f. 10 =Dd. 9.33, fs. 90v-91, and Trumbull, f. 10. All three versions share a similar diminution of the third section. Trumbull and Folger have a similar diminution of the second section. Otherwise they are quite different but all fit with the above consort parts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61v</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>La Vecchio Mrs Lee F-Beverly (F book) 23 and Dd. 5.21, f. 10v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The page for the treble viol part in Beverly is torn out. However, a part can be fashioned from the many existing solo lute and duet versions.

8 divisions on a 16-bar ground (found on f. 63).

Duet treble. 23 divisions on a 2-bar ground. =Marsh, pp. 150-1 in part and Edinburgh, University Ms. Dc.5.125, fs. 2-3, in part. The ground is found for bass lute in Marsh, p. 151.

Mensural notation. See †81.

Index: Lessons in this Book

Cambridge University Library, Dd. 14.24

Oblong quarto. 7¾ inches by 5-5/8 inches. There are 61 folios, each containing 5 hand-drawn staves of four lines each. It is all in one hand, although the ink sometimes varies from one entry to another. Folios 4-8v, 11v-16, 24v, 31-32, 33v-34, 38v-45v, and 49v-61v are blank. I shall describe only those pieces that are for solo cittern or do not have lute parts in Dd. 3.18 and therefore are not covered earlier.

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<th>Folio</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>Rogero</td>
<td>Solo cittern. See †1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1v-2</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>Quadro Pauen</td>
<td>Solo cittern. Does not fit the bass viol part in Dd. 5.20, f. 5. The varied repeats on the two sections of the ground (harmonies as well as divisions) make this appear to be a solo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>Quadro Galliard</td>
<td>Solo cittern. Does not fit the bass viol and flute parts in Dd. f. 20, f. 6, and Dd. 5.21, f. 2, respectively. (The bass viol and flute parts do not really fit together either.) Probably the matching galliard to †112.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2v</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>Passmezures Pauen</td>
<td>Solo cittern. 2 divisions on a 16-bar ground. Does not fit with Dd. 5.20, f. 2, and Dd. 5.21, f. 1.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Passm Galliard</td>
<td>Solo cittern. Matching galliard to †114.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>Strogers Pauen</td>
<td>F-Dd. 5.21, f. 10v, &quot;Crochet Pauen&quot; BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 7v, &quot;Crochet Pauen. Strogers&quot; BAN-Braye, f. 14v, &quot;Old Crochet Pavin&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9v</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>The Sprites Tune</td>
<td>R-Dd. 5.21, f. 3, and Dd. 5.21, f. 3 BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 3 Although the two parts found on f. 3 of Dd. 5.21 fit together very well as a treble viol and flute pair, they serve equally well as recorder parts to the more common version of the melody as found in Folger, fs. 7v-8, Ballet, p. 113, and the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book 162. Beverly 27 is another setting of the same tune; however, it is pitched a fourth higher and does use the more well known version of the tune (also known as &quot;The voice,&quot; &quot;the voice of the earth,&quot; or &quot;the ghost&quot;). The Folger version of the lute part fits perfectly with the harmonies of the Cambridge Consort Books, but it is doubtful that this is the consort lute part. Although Poulton describes this as a &quot;cittern part of a consort&quot; (Poulton, p. 468), it is definitely a solo setting of this popular tune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16v</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>Orlando Sleepeth</td>
<td>R-Dd. 5.21, f. 6 BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5v Although Poulton describes this as a &quot;cittern part of a consort&quot; (Poulton, p. 468), it is definitely a solo setting of this popular tune.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18v</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>My Lo. Chaune Paune</td>
<td>R-Dd. 5.21, f. 6 BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>The Galliarde</td>
<td>TV-Dd. 5.21, f. 6 and f. 2v, &quot;Mt. Knotes Galliarde&quot; BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5v and f. 8, &quot;Crochet Galliard&quot; BAN-Braye, f. 11, &quot;Knowles Galliard&quot; F-Dd. 5.21, f. 10v, &quot;Crochet gall&quot; Solo lute versions of this multi-titled piece occur in Wickhambrook, f. 17, and Marsh, p. 319.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19v</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Long Pauen J. Johnson</td>
<td>R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4 BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4 Solo lute versions are found in Dd. 2.11, fs. 47v-48, Wickhambrook, f. 17v, and Ballet, f. 99. A solo bandora version is found in Dd. 2.11, f. 64v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>Do. Re. Ha galliard</td>
<td>R-Dd. 5.21, f. 6 BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5v An arrangement of Dowland's &quot;K Darcies galliard&quot; in Dd. 2.11, f. 59 (an earlier version of &quot;Queen Elizabeth's Galliard&quot;). For a further discussion of</td>
</tr>
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</table>
this arrangement and the title see Poulton, pp. 150-1.

20  123  H. devon

A part to a consort lesson galliard. Perhaps by Holborne.

21v  124  Squires Galliard

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 4v
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4v
Beverly 17 is another consort arrangement of this galliard pitched a fourth higher. The lute duct version in Tollemache, fs. 12v-13, “A galliard for ij lutes,” fits the Beverly perfectly, although it is quite certainly a duct part. There are lute solo versions in Dd. 2.11, f. 71v and f. 49v, and Ballet, p. 15.

21v  125  Complaint
also fortune

R-Dd. 5.21, f. 5, “complainte or”
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5v
LUTE-Ballet, p. 14, “ffinis fortune
my foe to the consort”

One of the oddities of musical history. The consort lute part survives mainly as a solo. barley probably made the original mistake when he published it. It also survives in several other sources: Dd. 4.23, f. 11v, Euing, f. 27, Mynshall, f. 9v, and Thysius, f. 387v. The flute part in Dd. 5.21, f. 1, is a fourth too high and appears to go with a different setting. The treble viol part can be supplied from keyboard settings such as the setting by Byrd in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book 65 or the Tompkins settings in Simpson, p. 27. See also Poulton, p. 162, for a further discussion of the lute part.

23  126  The French kings
maske

F-Dd. 5.21, f. 4v
BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 4
LUTE-Dd. 2.11, f. 61v, “Kings Maske”

The Dd. 2.11 part fits so perfectly that there is no reason to believe that this is other than the lute part to the consort. It contains the melody in much the same way as it does in the other short, “filler” consorts.

25v  127  In noie Pauen

TV-Morley 13
F-Morley 13 and Dd. 5.21, f. 3v
BV-Morley 13 =Dd. 5.20, f. 3v
CIT-Morley 13 (different from Dd. 14.24)
BAN-Morley 13 and Brace, f. 15

Solo lute versions exist in Dallis, f. 81, and Hirsch, f. 26.
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<td>26</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>Galliard to In Noie</td>
<td>F-Dd. 5.21, f. 3v BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 3v BAN-Braye, f. 15 Solo lute versions are in Dd. 9.33, f. 60v, Pickering, f. 17, and Trumbull, f. 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>Pauen Alpha</td>
<td>BAN-Braye, f. 16v There is a version a fifth lower in Brogyntyn, f. 13, which appears to be an accompaniment duct part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26v</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>My Lady Leightons Pauen</td>
<td>No other surviving consort parts exist. It is an arrangement of the solo lute piece “a dream,” found in Dd. 2.11, f. 48, and Hirsch, f. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>Solus ã' sola</td>
<td>No other surviving parts exist, but it seems to be a part to Dowland’s paven by the same name. Solo lute versions appear in Dd. 2.11, f. 58v, Euing, fs. 27v-28, BM. Add. 31392, fs. 14v-15, and Barley 11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27v-28</td>
<td>132</td>
<td>The new Medley</td>
<td>No other surviving parts exist, but it seems to be a consort part to John Johnson’s composition by the same name found in Pickering, fs. 34v-35, and Trumbull, fs. 6v-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>A. H. Thought</td>
<td>An unidentified consort part (by A(nthony H(olborne)?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28v</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>Dowlands Allmaine</td>
<td>A solo cittern version of “My Lady Leightons allmaine.” Somehow Poulton missed this arrangement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32v</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>Capt. Pipers Pauen</td>
<td>TV-Morley 4 F-Morley 4 and Dd. 5.21, f. 3v BV-Morley 4 =Dd. 5.20, f. 3v CIT-Morley 4 (different from Dd. 14.24) BAN-Morley 4 Many solo lute sources exist, such as Dd. 2.11, fs. 46v-47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>(a Paven)</td>
<td>Unidentified consort part</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34v</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>Dowlands i Galliarde</td>
<td>R-Dd. 5.21, f. 5 BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5 An arrangement of Dowland’s galliard found in Dd. 2.11, f. 95, f. 56, and f. 60, and Euing, f. 23.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 36v  | 139    | Dowlands Rounde b Galliarde                | F-Dd. 5.21, f. 5v BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5v LUTY-Folger, f. 6. “Dowlands rounde
It is unclear if the Folger lute part is the consort part. It works well as a lute solo. However, there are certain lapses in the melodic writing that could indicate the existence of another part (especially at the cadence to the second section and the first two bars of the third section). A satisfactory treble viol part can be composed.

Solo cittern. 5 divisions.

Solo cittern. 5 divisions.

Unidentified consort part.

Cambridge University Library, Dd. 5.20

Oblong Quarto book of 14 folios. Although Dd. 5.20 and Dd. 5.21 are bound together now, they were probably originally separate and unbound. Each folio except the first has 8 hand-drawn staffs of 5 lines each. Half of folio 13 is missing. See text for discussion of the insert that is bound with this manuscript. I shall mention only those entries that have not been covered in the inventories of Dd. 3.18 and Dd. 14.24.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
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<tr>
<td>45v-46</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>(Walsingham)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46v</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>Tremento</td>
<td>R-Dd. 5.21, f. 5v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>(Galliard)</td>
<td>BV-Dd. 5.20, f. 5v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Unidentified consort part.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“The Bass Vyall pte.” and an index listing the following compositions:

- Alfonsoes pauen
- Reads first pauen
- Reads 4 pauen
- Lachrimae
- Fortune
- De la tromba
- Robin to the Green
- Delight pauen
- D.R.H. Galliard
- French Kings Maske

2 143 Passemeasures Pauen R-Dd. 5.21, f. 2
See also †14 and †41.

2 144 The flatt pauen In c. All of the consort settings are in g. The solo settings of this paven are almost always in c, and this setting might be a bass to fit with one of the solos.

2 145 Galliard to the flatt paven Same key as †144. Possibly another lute and bass viol duet.

2 146 How can the Tree Bass to consort song. See Musica Britannica, Vol. 22 (London, Stainer and Bell, Ltd., 1967), p. 34.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Text</th>
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<tr>
<td>4v</td>
<td>147</td>
<td>A Jigge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>Galliard to the Passemeasures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>Quardo Pauen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>The Galliard to the Quadro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>Wigmoors Galliarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>Unidentified bass.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>(Canto Cantate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>(Walsingham Galliard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Cante cantate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>Mother B.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7v</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>(a paven)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7v</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>(a galliard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>Grimstone. The Recorder parte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9v</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>(A Paven)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>Pauen N.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>Galliard N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>Who made the Hob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>(Quadro Paven)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

23 I am grateful to Warwick Edwards for this information.
Cambridge University Library Dd. 5.21

Identical in physical aspects to Dd. 5.20. I shall only mention those pieces that are not covered in the inventories of Dd. 3.18, Dd. 14.24, and Dd. 5.20.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Folio</th>
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<th>Comments</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;The Recorder pte.&quot; and an index equal to the one in Dd. 5.20, f. lv, except for the addition at the end of &quot;K. Darcies Galliard&quot; (see †122).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2v</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>Tanto Bravo</td>
<td>Unidentified treble viol part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>Harrisons Galliard</td>
<td>Unidentified recorder part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Index. (The treble viol and recorder parts found on fs. 2v and 3 are added at the end.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A HUNGARIAN LUTE MANUSCRIPT

BY DÁNIEL BENKÖ

Three short pieces in the so-called Istvánffy manuscript (K53/II) from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Manuscript Collection merit the attention of those interested in lute music, and particularly of those interested in the history of Hungarian music. The manuscript was written in 1564, one year before the publication of Bakfark's Cracow lute book, and contains mainly poems and other entries of a literary nature. The three short lute pieces, notated in German tablature, are written upside down on pages eighty-two and eighty-three (see facsimile pages).

As far as we know, no printing of lute tablature existed in Hungary in the sixteenth century. Hungarian lute manuscripts have come down to us in such small numbers that every tablature fragment that survived the vicissitudes of many wars now possesses great scholarly value. There were quite a few outstanding Hungarian lutenists, such as Bakfark, A. Rotta, and Neusidler—all born in Pozsony, capital of Hungary at that time. However, the most famous of them sought employment in foreign courts; as a result, their works were published abroad and were widely distributed only there. The sixteenth-century Hungarian amateur lutenist had to be satisfied with the crumbs that came his way from the great produce of western lute culture. These, however, he treated with great respect, and subsequently we must regard them as being of serious musical value. The musical life of the Pozsony, Buda, and Transylvania courts was generally of high caliber, equivalent to that of the European courts—which suggests the presence of excellent lutenists. However, the great lutenists were wandering performers who played difficult pieces from their own music and who, after their brief stay in Hungary, moved on, taking their music with them. The native amateur lutenists, on the other hand, played in their own family groups or with friends. Their music was of a technically easy, then-popular "hit-song" nature, which they wrote in their notebooks or their poetry collections, usually in a primitive notational system. Thus, it is not the great music of the traveling lutenists that remained behind in Hungary, but rather the national projections of the European lute literature of the period. I should like to discuss other
manuscripts of a similar nature in future articles. The following three pieces are indicative of the international lute music that filtered into Hungary through Vienna.

The first piece, “Wo sol ich mich hin keren,” was a very popular German “pub-song.” (See Example 1. I have transcribed all three pieces into French tablature.) The song was written by G. Vogelhuber, and its choral version appeared in Forster's Liederbuch in 1549. Lute versions of it are found in Hans Judenunig’s Ain schöne kunstliche underweisung auff der Lautten und Geygen (Vienna, 1523) and in Hans Gerle's Musica Teusch ... (Nuremberg, 1532). The writer of the Hungarian manuscript obviously prepared his own transcription on the basis of the Judenunig work, for apart from the few differences in ornamentation, the two works are almost identical. Indeed, the Hungarian version uses even more beautiful ornamentation.

Ex. 1.

1. not in original.
2. F used in reintabulation instead of F of original.
3. Bar line omitted in original.
4. Dotted lines not in original, but correspond to first part of piece.
5. Bar line here in original.
6. Original has 7 rather than 5 here.
The second piece is called "El burato." It is a galliard-like dance that may have arrived in Hungary through the Spanish dance collections. It belongs among the "wandering pieces" of the international lute literature of the 1540's (see Example 2).

Ex. 2.

Transcription in E

Ex. 3.

1. 3 not indicated in original.
2. No repeat sign in original, only double bar.
3. ↑ rather than ↓ in original.

The third lute piece is entitled "Padoana." It is a slow round dance, to which it was customary to add a faster companion dance such as the galliard, piva, or saltarello—that is, a jumping dance. (The fragmentary fourth piece in the manuscript, which bears no inscription, is presumably the jumping dance for the "Padoana.") The tablature notation is obviously faulty. The rhythm is imprecise. In the usual form of the padoana, the work would begin with an up-beat. Thus some correction was necessary in the first bar. By altering a few values, the number of bars becomes appropriate, and the period works out (see Example 3).
Ex. 3.

1. 3 not indicated in original.
2. Bar line omitted in original.
3. Dotted lines inserted to show rhythms change.
4. Bar line missing in original.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>V</th>
<th>Vigmaticus</th>
<th>Vesticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valere</td>
<td>Varae</td>
<td>Varis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentiam</td>
<td>Vachium</td>
<td>Vibi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentinus</td>
<td>Vaticus</td>
<td>Vexatis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vales</td>
<td>Vexoni</td>
<td>Vexus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venerius</td>
<td>Vexnus</td>
<td>Vexilus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vestaianus</td>
<td>Volumus</td>
<td>Vexce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Velen</td>
<td>Vexans</td>
<td>Vexthimus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vemicus</td>
<td>Vema</td>
<td>Varnas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vexus</td>
<td>Vexthimus</td>
<td>Vexthimus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vesticus</td>
<td>Vesticus</td>
<td>Vesticus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
REVIEWS


When I was preparing the article on Denss's Florilegium that appeared in the 1970 issue of this Journal, I was unaware that the subject was being investigated elsewhere. Dieter Klöckner's Ph.D. dissertation (Das Florilegium des Adrian Denss), submitted to the University of Cologne, was published as Volume 90 of Beitrage zur rheinischen Musikgeschichte by Arno Volk, also in 1970. Since that time, thanks to Canada Council (a Canadian federal grant-giving agency), I have had an opportunity to be in Cologne, to talk briefly with Dr. Klöckner, and to hear him play the cittern. He is also an accomplished lutenist, quite active as a performer in a group called "Sertum Musicale Coloniense," which has made at least one recording—von Tod und Leben (on the Resono label, SLR 150001)—and which tours Europe with some frequency.

Dr. Klöckner's work comments extensively on Denss's music and in some places corrects some ideas I had advanced about Denss's book. He discusses vocal intabulations and the technique of intabulation, as well as making an effort to place the significance of Denss's work in the stream of music history.

The actual biographic background of Denss remains something of a mystery. For instance, Dr. Klöckner surmises that since the incidence of errors in Florilegium rises sharply in a few places, Denss was out of the city (Cologne) perhaps periodically and, accordingly, was not able to proofread the type as his book was being printed. He has also run across the name Catherina Dens in the Cologne city archives, but is unable to connect it with the lutenist. Dr. Klöckner notes that the identification of Denss as a Netherlander has been repeated by lexicographers for literally hundreds of years. However, he found no proof for this notion. Still, the name is of low-countries origin (the 1971 Antwerp telephone directory lists a number of individuals bearing the surname Dens, the local spelling of the word), although it has been suggested to me by Dr. Godelieve Spiessens (whom I also met on my trip) that the name "Adrian" is more characteristic of the area north of Antwerp. I spent nearly two weeks last summer (1971) in the Antwerp city archives, hoping to run
across Denss’s name there. It is not to be found in birth, death, or marriage records, although it should be noted that there are gaps in these records. I was able to locate two documents that mention an Adrian Dens, and one of these mentions this individual’s going to Cologne in 1593, the year before Florilegium was published there. Antwerp was at a low point in commercial and artistic activity at this time, and Cologne was one of the places most often sought out by the considerable number of Antwerp departees. So it is not inconceivable that Denss was born in a smaller community of the lowlands, perhaps spent some time in Antwerp, and then moved on to Cologne, moving from there (he did not stay, it would seem) into more complete obscurity.

Although there is little to report on the biography of Denss, Dr. Klöckner has sketched the history of the circle in which Denss’s own music-making must have taken place, that of the family of Arnold of Blankenheim and Manderscheid, to whom the book is dedicated,¹ and the family’s activities in encouraging music at home. He has reported that Arnold was not only a listener, but a performer (on the cittern in particular), and he has called attention to a phrase in the dedicatory pages which indicates that Arnold was a collector of musical instruments.

Dr. Klöckner states that his intention is to examine Denss’s book from both the performer’s and the scholar’s point of view; in so doing, he has developed some novel ideas. One of these is that the printed format of the intabulations (some vocal parts are included, inverted to the lute part) does not mean simultaneous ensemble performance, but rather an exchange of performing forces for consecutive stanzas. The evidence of paintings, he believes, supports his contention. He suggests that the lutenist improvised an ensemble part rather than playing the one printed, which, as Denss says, was printed for novices. (The book would then be of more interest to dilettantes). The lutenist able to play in mixed simultaneous ensemble performances would have sufficient skill in improvisation to manage without the printed lute part.

Dr. Klöckner’s idea is supported by the lack of success of his attempts at organizing an ensemble performance using the parts printed in Florilegium. These attempts did not “work”—the proper tempo, as required by the singers, was too fast for the lutenist, and the lutenist’s tempo was found unsingable and tedious by the vocalists.

¹The dedication reads “... D. Arnoldo ex comitibus de Manderscheidt et Blankenheim... nec non D. Andreae Ecclesiae Colonien. Praeposito ...” This shows Arnold’s relationship as Probst, or chief official, with a religious body of St. Andrea in Cologne. It does not indicate that Florilegium is dedicated to another individual besides Arnold, as I said in my earlier article. Arnold was also a canon of the cathedral in Cologne.
Dr. Klöckner further suggests that the reason some secular vocal works have only two voices reproduced in *Florilegium* instead of the original three, four, or five is a matter of the amount of space available on the page to the printer as the book was being made up. He suggests that the order of appearance of the pieces follows that in which a performer would, on any given occasion, himself assemble a series of pieces lasting for some time. One would begin with a slow, more serious piece, like a fantasy or motet or madrigal, and then add quicker dance pieces.

Dr. Klöckner has examined most thoroughly the range of possibilities of the techniques open to the intabulator. In addition to the note-for-note style, he sees in the material (1) an “abridged intabulation,” in which one makes an attempt to reproduce the piece, reducing the number of voices, but within means characteristic of the lute; (2) intabulation according to shape or framework (to use Dr. Klöckner’s term, “nachgestaltenden *Intavolierung*”), in which one “follows the vocal pieces as much as possible in all voices, giving up no voice, but inserting possibilities characteristic to the lute at the places where a mere repeating of the original would not have been suitable for the instrument. These are fixed diminution formulas, ornamental figures, thinned-out chords, cadential ornamentation, ornamentation of tones, scale passages passing over several strings, and changing of the number of voices”\(^2\); and (3) a “newly-formed intabulation,” which frees itself almost entirely from the original, it being the scaffolding for an individual lute composition. I am not familiar with enough of the intabulations in *Florilegium* (nor are the five given *in toto* in the dissertation enough) to judge whether these classifications are “airtight” enough to be completely useful. Certainly in other collections a mixture of these styles is common.

Dr. Klöckner has traced in detail the intabulation technique of Denss, offering reasons for the use of certain styles or diminutions in specific pieces. He takes the view that secular pieces generally are presented in accompanied-melody (“nachgestaltenden”) style, but that sacred pieces concentrate on making the polyphonic structure more evident. In sacred works, it is entering voices that are decorated. When to this is added the diminution of long note values and cadential flourishes, the “newly-formed” type of intabulation results. Dr. Klöckner holds that, for Denss, the use of various means of decoration is not an end in itself, but that these means are used as ways of best presenting the aspects of the various pieces on the solo lute. Increased motion at any particular point is held to be entirely purposeful.

Dr. Klöckner's excellent discussion of Denss's fantasias and dance pieces brings out several points that are worth noting, only one or two of which I touched on in my earlier article. First, certain of the shorter dances have more of the character of practical dance music about them (although it is questionable whether a solo lute was put to this purpose), in that they have a simplified harmony and texture. Second, alterations in the regular eight-measure pattern are favored. Third, some of the galliards are hardly dances at all, but are nearly fantasias in their own right, employing variation, imitation, alternation of registers, and other "un-lute-like" forays. Fourth, some dances are very much like settings of vocal or instrumental ensemble pieces and often have a "romantic" expressive quality, in which the image of vocal polyphony is never far away.

A section of the dissertation is devoted to comparing certain of Denss's Florilegium intabulations and arrangements of dance tunes with versions by other lute composers. Five of Denss's vocal intabulations are given in modern notation (tones played by the thumb have stems down in Klöckner's examples), in addition to a number of intabulations of the same piece by others. Two allemandes are also given in this way. A thematic index is included, but no pieces are given in tablature.

Dr. Klöckner has found Denss's intabulations to be more richly diminished than those by other composers. However, as suggested above, these appear not to be sudden and unexpected insertions, but calculated as to effect. The required slowing of tempo and the technical difficulty of the pieces, he feels, may have contributed to the relative obscurity of the composer, in spite of the outstanding quality of the pieces.

In connection with the dance pieces, Dr. Klöckner has made extensive concordances with lute and cittern literature. Dr. Klöckner has found a number of characteristics of Denss's quite original style that he feels point toward the Parisian lute school of the seventeenth century. Among them are a lessening of the dance-like character, free-soaring melody, slower tempos, a polyphonic technique like that of Schein, and a motion that pervades all voices equally.

Dr. Klöckner's closing paragraphs again comment on the fact that Denss remained largely unknown. Mentioned as contributory causes are the lack of a certain untroubled character and "Spielfreudigkeit" in Denss's music, as well as his "virtually intellectually conceived compositional technique." The melancholy and languid nature of some of the galliards certainly is prominent; I wonder if a suggestion about some kind of English influence might not be in order. The idea that Florilegium is a transitional work, looking toward a newer characteristic and independent lute style to come, is reinforced by Dr. Klöckner's closing statement that while
Dens's contemporaries still published "music arranged for the lute," the pieces in _Florilegium_ are "music for the lute."

Dr. Klöckner's dissertation is a very welcome and thorough study. A few sections appear to be a bit repetitive and some explanations seem superfluous, but his main points are well supported. I do, however, wonder if the point about the relationship to the Parisian school might not be a bit labored. One musical example is wrongly labeled (the one at the bottom of page 82 is not "Allemande d'Alliance," but "Allemande Ich dancke Gott"), and I do know of two concordances with Rude's book (_Flores Musicae_: Heidelberg, 1600) that have been missed; however, these errors are of no serious consequence. I wish that the dissertation were available in English so that it could be more widely read. —H. Bruce Lobaugh

3 Dr. Klöckner has noted that there is a copy of _Florilegium_ in the British Museum of which I was not aware. Those interested in seeing some of the pieces might refer to my Ph.D. dissertation, _Three German Lute Books_ (University of Rochester, 1968), which gives one piece in tablature and fifteen in modern notation.


In the era B.P. (before Pohlmann), research into the sources of lute music was very difficult. Now, thanks to Pohlmann's _Laute, Theorbe, Chittarrone_, lute research has become less of a task. Despite the many faults that Pohlmann seems unable or unwilling to correct, his work is extremely valuable and has lightened the burden of almost everyone interested in lute music and its sources.

The one group to whom this book was probably not a blessing is the bibliographers of the world. Pohlmann's approach is unorthodox, and nothing angers the academic establishment more than a maverick—especially a maverick who has beaten it badly to the punch. The Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in Paris was to publish a bibliography of lute sources in the late 1950's; if the final work has ever appeared, I have not heard of it. _RISM_ 's large bibliography of lute and guitar manuscripts still seems to be several years away from publication. Howard Mayer Brown's _Instrumental Music Published Before 1600_ is, of course, a magnificent and indispensable work, but its title alone indicates its severe limitations: no manuscripts, no vocal music with lute accompaniment, and nothing of the large lute repertoire after 1600.

So Pohlmann's book, with all of its faults, remains all that there is,
and I, for one, am grateful for it.

Pohlmann’s recently published second edition is expanded somewhat, but follows the same basic organization of the first edition. The first chapter, by far the most important, contains a 158-page alphabetical list of every work in which a lute, chitarrone, or theorbo is specified, together with a brief description of the work’s contents, the type of lute notation, the type of lute required, and, most importantly, where the original source is to be found. Also given are modern editions of a work or part thereof when they exist. Collections that do not have a title, a single composer, or an editor (mostly manuscripts) are given in a separate list arranged alphabetically according to the name of the library in which they are found. In Chapter 2, Pohlmann organizes lute bibliography in a different way—by kind of tablature and by type of ensemble contained in a work. So here one finds lists of books in Italian, French, and German tablature; a list of works for two, three, or four lutes; and another of works with lute continuo. This is an unusual procedure but very useful to the lutenist and/or researcher.

Chapter 3 contains excerpts from the introductions of several important lute works; for example, those by Gerle, Besard, and Piccinini. Usually the excerpts are quite abbreviated, and it is hard to say why the particular passage was chosen. Probably it appealed to Herr Pohlmann and nothing more. While not overly useful, this chapter does not detract from the work and can be considered a fringe benefit, as can Chapter 7, which contains a list of early lute makers and descriptions, including a few photographs of some historical instruments. Chapters 4 and 5 deal with modern editions of lute music and articles on lute music and the lute in general. Chapter 6 is a rather complete glossary of lute terms, which is useful if you know German. As can be seen from the above description, the 400-page book is full of information and is much more than a bibliography: It is more like a “handbook for lutenists,” which incidentally would be a far better title for the book than its present misleading one.

Several serious faults make this impressive work less than one would wish, however. When using Pohlmann’s entries to write to libraries, I have, in the majority of cases, succeeded in getting the films I wanted. But all too often I discovered minor errors, such as wrong dates, or noticed major faults, such as that the item was in some other library from that listed, was written for a different instrument than noted, or in some cases was unknown to the library listed in Pohlmann’s index. In the case of those libraries suffering from the geographic upheaval of World War II, the problem is most severe. Almost every one of my inquiries to Germany and eastern Europe required a follow-up letter after the correct information was
learned. These errors and omissions seem strange since Pohlmann lives in Germany and should have, one thinks, been able to obtain the correct information. However, he has worked alone, researching lute sources mostly by mail for twenty years, and one can sympathize with his being at the mercy of the clerks who answer such inquiries. Certain libraries refused even to answer his repeated letters. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that there are errors in the book. Perhaps Pohlmann should have waited several more years until each library’s holdings could have been checked personally or by an agent. But, although the need sometimes arises to write twice for something listed in the bibliography, at least I know, thanks to Pohlmann, that the item (usually) exists. The third edition of this work—if there ever is one—would benefit from lute researchers throughout the world forwarding corrected entries to Pohlmann.

Unfortunately, Pohlmann’s book does not contain a separate list, as does Brown’s, of the holdings of each library arranged alphabetically by library. When writing to a library for some item, it would be nice to be able to see at a glance what other titles of interest it has, so that several films might be ordered at once. It is also unfortunate that Pohlmann does not give the addresses of the libraries, since the German spelling of many European cities is confusing to Americans. For American libraries, he does not give the state in which the library is located if it is not in the title—for example, Rochester-Sibly Music Library. I can see how this could be a problem to non-Americans and to the U.S. postal service!

Pohlmann has done the lute world a great service with his book. If only the errors in the bibliographic section could be corrected, we would have at our disposal the ultimate weapon in the battle for better and easier research into the vast and murky field of lute music sources.


Thomas Robinson’s The Schoole of Musicke (1603) is the latest in the series of lute editions published by the CNRS, and it represents the first time the publishers have chosen a non-Frenchman as the subject of their edition. Although this volume follows pretty much the usual CNRS format, there are a few significant changes that make one optimistic about the future of these publications.

For one thing, an English editor and noted musicologist, David Lumsden, was chosen to do both the transcription and introduction, and thus the text is given in both English and French. The Schoole of Musicke contained an eight-page mini-method for the lute that is a
treasure of lute information. This edition presents it, as well as the
title and dedication pages and the "Rules to instruct you to sing," in
facsimile. This is indeed welcome. One wishes, however, that the
whole little book could have been similarly presented; instead the
CNRS has chosen to reset the tablature and present it with a parallel
transcription. Nobody has yet succeeded in improving on the	tablature printing of that period, and The Schoole of Musicke is an
especially fine typography job. Any errors in the original could have
been corrected in footnotes, as Brian Jeffrey has done in his two
recent publications. The CNRS typography tends to be fuzzy and
was a waste of time and money—I still prefer to play from my Xerox
copy-flo of the original. David Lumsden's transcription is excellent,
but it did not need to run parallel to the tablature; this wastes space
and causes many unnecessary page turns. There are no page turns
within a piece in the original, but in this edition there are few pieces
that do not require page turns.

So, in this as in past CNRS editions, the lutenist is confronted
with a mixed bag. The edition is cheap (though not as cheap as a
copy-flo of the original), and the musicological standard is high
(good introduction, facsimile sections, errors in the original
corrected, and so on); however, there are annoying page turns, and
the tablature is not as clear as in the original. I hope that the
establishment at CNRS will take a critical look at their approach and
perhaps try a somewhat different one sometime—one that is directed
towards the lutenist and not just the musicologist.—Stanley Buetens

FRANCESCO DA MILANO: OPERE COMPLETÉ PER LIUTO. Transcrizioni in
Volume I—Composizioni Originali, Volume II—Intavolature di Opere Polifoniche
Vocali; clvi + 253, lxi + 271 pages.

In 1970, the Harvard University Press published an important
edition of music by the great sixteenth-century lutenist Francesco
Canova da Milano. That edition, edited by Arthur J. Ness, was re-
viewed in the last issue of this Journal. The review pointed out that
Francesco, who died in 1543, was probably the most influential of
all Renaissance lutenists particularly in his development of the lute
ricercar, a form he raised to a high artistic level. Now, within one
year, we have an entirely new edition of Francesco's music prepared
by Ruggero Chiesa, an eminent Italian editor of guitar music. Two
large editions of the same repertoire within such a short time is a
sign that the lute certainly is achieving the attention it deserves, al-
though it is distressing to see so much labor spent on a duplication of
effort. A comparison of the two editions is of particular interest not
only because of the significance and stature of Francesco’s music, but because numerous differences exist between them.

Graphically, the Chiesa edition is the much more impressive of the two. Although expensive ($50), Zerboni has produced a particularly beautiful set of two books with durable cloth bindings, quality paper, and large clear type. Chiesa includes lengthy introductions (in Italian, English, and German) and gives a list of all alternate readings—a feature not found in the Ness volume, for which a separate microfilm supplement must be acquired.

The edition will be of particular value to guitarists interested in Francesco’s music, since Chiesa’s transcriptions are all highly readable guitar settings. These can be played as they stand, provided the performer remembers to tune his third string down a minor second. Such transcriptions in the long run are just as valuable as the two-staff keyboard versions given by Ness and have the added advantage of being addressed to a specific audience. Chiesa has chosen not to reduce rhythmic values, thus making the music easier to read than with the 4:1 reductions in Ness.

Unfortunately, Chiesa’s edition suffers from a major drawback: There are no tablatures—a serious handicap to the lutenist anxious to play this attractive music. In this respect, the Ness edition must be considered more valuable.

Chiesa has attempted to assemble as complete an edition as possible of Francesco’s considerable musical output. Like Ness, he has had to grapple with a formidable number of sources in his search for the most satisfactory readings. Assuming that the earlier the source, the closer to the composer’s own intentions, Chiesa has arranged his edition in order of first publication with the fantasias and ricercars first and the arrangements at the end. Ness adopted exactly the same procedure. This does not mean, however, that the order of pieces in the two editions is identical or even that the same basic sources have always been used. Ness has offered convincing proof that the undated Intabolatura da leuto del divino Francesco da Milano novamente stampata (a source he consistently refers to as “s.d.”) is actually the oldest print of Francesco in existence. Chiesa, on the other hand, has taken the Marcolini print of 1536 as his starting point and treats the Intabolatura as an unimportant later source. This is somewhat surprising considering that Chiesa has drawn much of his bibliographical information from H. Colin Slim’s excellent study of Francesco in Musica Disciplina (Vol. XVIII, pp. 63-84; Vol. XIX, pp. 108-128), and Slim as well as the RISM lists “s.d.” as dating from 1536. Ness has pointed out that the Marcolini print compounds the errors of “s.d.” and copies unneeded rhythmic signs. It must, therefore, be concluded that the first pieces in Chiesa appear in a somewhat more corrupt version than in Ness.
Furthermore, Chiesa did not have at his disposal some half dozen sources that were available to Ness. These include the important Gardano edition of 1556 and the joint volume of Francesco and Pietro Borrono published in 1548 also by Gardano. On the other hand, Chiesa was fortunate to have available one 1536 print that Ness only mentions in passing. This is the interesting *Intavolatura de viola overo lauto*, which turns out to be something of a notational curiosity. It is the only Italian tablature known to place the first string on the top line (à la Luis Milan) and to use "l" rather than "O" to indicate open strings. This print allows Chiesa to give a complete version of one ricercar ("Ricercare XXIII") for which Ness had only a fragment (see number 95 in Ness).

Although Chiesa gives a total of 101 ricercars and fantasias in his edition to only 91 in Ness, this does not mean that Chiesa had included more pieces. Actually, the reverse is true, as Ness assigns a number of parodies and elaborations to a separate appendix. Chiesa, for example, does not include a fantasia from Valderrábano's *Silva de Sirenas* on the grounds that the piece is actually the work of the Spanish vihuelist. Nor does he include the seven duets given in Matelart's tablature of 1559. On the other hand, Chiesa does include two ricercars (LVIII and LIX) not found in Ness.

A spot check of specific pieces reveals that even when both editors have used the same basic source, the results are often quite different. One case in point is the short ricercar given in Ness as Number 74 and in Chiesa as Ricercare L. For this piece, both editors are forced to use the one unique source, the Cavalcanti Lute Book, which is obviously full of errors. (Through a typographical error, the Chiesa edition inadvertently cites the wrong folio: The piece in question is on folio 36, not folio 26). Each editor has come to terms with the errors in his own way. The rhythmic interpretation of the end, for example, leads to two quite different effects. It is reassuring to know that in either edition the reader is able to compare the transcription with the original reading by following either the unedited tablature in Ness or the very detailed concordances in Chiesa.

In dealing with such editorial problems as source errors, Chiesa's solutions are musically sound within the style of the period. Although no fingerings are given, all notes not in first position are clearly indicated by numbers in a circle. This practice will be familiar to guitarists.

One of the most interesting aspects of Chiesa's edition is found in the second volume, which contains Francesco's arrangements of polyphonic vocal pieces by other composers. Here, each piece is given measure by measure with its vocal original. Such arrangements constitute a considerable percentage of the Renaissance lute
repertoire, although they have seldom been studied by music historians. Chiesa has given us the opportunity to see (from a considerable number of examples) how a lutenist such as Francesco set about arranging vocal pieces for the lute.

Although the two Francesco editions are designed for two different audiences—Ness for musicologists and Chiesa for guitarists—for practical purposes they will be competing for the same market. Prospective buyers will have to weigh carefully the merits and drawbacks of each. Lutenists will ultimately be drawn to Ness, while guitarists should find Chiesa a godsend.

It is quite likely that performers will want to compare the guitar transcriptions in Chiesa with the tablatures given only in Ness. As the two editions are numbered in quite different ways, the following concordance is offered to facilitate locating the fantasias and ricercars in the two works. Chiesa uses Roman numerals and numbers fantasies and ricercars separately. Ness uses Arabic numerals and numbers all fantasies and ricercars consecutively. The following list uses Chiesa’s sequence, giving his number first. R = ricercar, F = fantasy. When the two editors have used different sources, this is designated by “dif” following the Ness number. Ness 47, 66, and 87b are not in Chiesa.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>R</th>
<th>F</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I to R XIX = 1 to 19 (all dif)</td>
<td>XVI = 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F I = 20</td>
<td>XVII = Ap. 2</td>
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<tr>
<td>F II = 21</td>
<td>XVIII = 38</td>
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<tr>
<td>R XXII = 89</td>
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<td>R XXIII = 95 (dif)</td>
<td>F XXV = 58 (dif)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R XXIV = 26 (dif)</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>F XXIX = 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R XXVIII = 67 (dif)</td>
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<td>F VII = 27</td>
<td>F XXXII = 65</td>
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<tr>
<td>F VIII = 29</td>
<td>F XXXIII = Ap. 9</td>
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<tr>
<td>F IX = 25 (dif)</td>
<td>R XXX = 44</td>
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R XXXVII = 50
R XXXVIII = 51
R XXXIX = 52 (dif)
R XL = 53 (dif)
R XLI = 54 (dif)
R XXXIV = Ap. 22
R XLII = 68
R XLIII = 69
R XLIV = 70
R XLV = 71
R XLVI = 72
R XLVII = 73
R XLVIII = 85
R XLIX = 86
R L = 74
R LI = 75
R LII = 76
R LIII = 77
R LIV = 78
R LV = 79
R LVI = 80
R LVII = 34
F XXXV = 81
R LVIII = not in Ness
R LIX = not in Ness
R LX = 84
F XXXVI = Ap. 9
F XXXVII = 82
F XXXVIII = 83
F XXXIX = Ap. 25
F XL = Ap. 26
F XLI = Ap. 27

—Peter Danner
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