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Price: $5.00
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.
The past year has been an especially successful one for the Lute Society of America in terms of recruiting new members and Journal subscriptions. Not only are many more people of all backgrounds learning to play the lute, but also many classical guitarists are now aware of lute music and interested in joining the Society. University subscriptions to the Journal have almost doubled in the past year. Along with this membership increase has come a gratifying stream of quality articles for the Journal, including quite a number of interesting ones already in hand or promised for the coming year. It is especially encouraging to have several articles of high scholarship contributed by doctoral students, in addition to those offered by several distinguished performers and lute scholars.

In a practical vein, Eugen Dombois, noted lute teacher and performer in Switzerland, offers practical advice on accurate fret placement in equal temperament; he will elaborate on the temperament problem further in a later Journal issue and discuss meantone and other less familiar temperaments. Stanley Buetens’ article on the theorbo accompaniments of early seventeenth-century Italian monody provides a practical base for modern performers to create their own accompaniments in an authentic style. In an unusual article, Joscelyn Godwin, professor in the music department of Colgate University, writes about the last gasps of the theorbo-style instruments in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A follow-up article scheduled for the 1974 Journal will deal with the theorboed guitar. Jane Pierce has just completed a Ph.D. dissertation on Hans Gerle and provides in her article an overview of Gerle’s life and work. Douglas A. Smith, a doctoral student at Stanford University, working on a translation of E. G. Baron’s book on the lute, here gives us an amusing account of different views of the lute in the Baroque era. Lyle Nordstrom, assistant professor and collegium director at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan, has been studying the Elizabethan lute duet literature for several years and here describes two previously unknown lute duets. Finally, Peter Danner has discovered several relatively unknown Mexican sources along with a number of other additions and corrections to his guitar bibliography published in the 1972 Journal.
A special thanks is due Alaric Mausser, LSA board member and graphic artist, for his fine new designs for the Journal cover, inside cover, and Lute Notes heading. He promises to provide more of his fine drawings for future issues.
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THE SURVIVAL
OF THE THEORBO PRINCIPLE

BY JOSCelyn GODWIN

The variety of instruments in use in former times often contrasts strikingly with the narrow range employed today. The period 1750-1820, for instance, swarms with mutations and sports in the genus of plucked stringed instruments, just as Praetorius’ time abounded in woodwinds and the mid-nineteenth century in mechanized wind instruments of all sorts. Almost all of the plucked strings disappeared from fashionable music-making by the end of the nineteenth century, with the exception of the harp and the guitar; yet in their time these strange and often beautiful instruments served to entertain many amateurs of music who sought something either apparently easier or merely “different” from the two survivors. This article is an attempt to trace one principle that governs these variations on a common archetype: the practice of adding to a fingered, plucked instrument (be it basically a lute, cittern, mandolin, or guitar) a number of open bass strings running alongside the fingerboard and attached to a separate pegbox.

The popularity of such an idea during the “Classic” era is not surprising if one considers the limitations of amateurs and the style of lighter music around 1800. The accompaniments of broken or repeated chords are ideally suited to an instrument on which the bass notes are picked out by the thumb, while the fingers strum or ripple over four or five basic chords. The presence of open basses, moreover, enables one to play inversions of these chords without having to learn new positions for the left hand, as is necessary on the guitar. As an instrumental accompaniment for the voice, plucked strings are more agreeable than the pianoforte (at least in the simple music that we are considering), and it is certainly more appealing to accompany oneself on a lute than to sing from the keyboard. These

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1Grateful acknowledgement is made to the Colgate University Ford Foundation Humanities Faculty Development Fund for assistance in the preparation of this article.
are not instruments for professionals, and certainly not for virtuosi; they are merely what one would expect to find in the drawing rooms of the good burghers of Nuremberg or in the hands of the folk who populate the pages of Jane Austen.

The English Guitar

This is not the place to examine the history of the instrument, but only to note some English adaptations of the theorbo principle. An early example with the string disposition 5/1+5\(^2\) is pictured in Francis W. Galpin’s *Old English Instruments of Music*, Plate 8.\(^2\) This was made by Remerius Liessem in 1757, antedating by several years the earliest dated French arch-citterns. An example of the more typical English pear shape is shown in Figure 1: a single-strung instrument with three basses made by Harley in the early years of the nineteenth century. A similar type in the Victoria and Albert Museum (number 11/15 in Anthony Baines’ catalogue\(^3\) ) has the disposition 4/6. Both were probably tuned F G A B / c e g c’ e’ g’.

Edward Light adapted the same arrangement to make his “harp-lute-guitar” in the early 1800’s. A most inventive man, he was also responsible between 1798 and 1816 for a “harp-guitar,” an “Apollo lyre,” a “harp-lute,” a “harp-lyre,” and a “ditale harp.”\(^4\) Figure 2 shows a transitional instrument with a harp-shaped body and an almost diatonic tuning in which the bridge has assumed a symmetrical position, while the neck has moved to the right. This was to be the starting point of all the protean variations of Light and his contemporary Ventura. The series of illustrations in Baines’ *European and American Musical Instruments*\(^5\) (illustrations 333-340) shows well how the atrophy of the fingerboard and the expansion of

\(^2\) Francis W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, Thurston Dart, ed. (London, Methuen, 1966). The disposition of the strings is shown throughout this article as follows: The digits represent the numbers of courses from the basses upwards, the latter being divided from those on the fingerboard by a virgule. Courses are single unless indicated otherwise by a superscript. Thus, 5/1+5\(^2\) means “five single bass courses, a single fingered course (the lowest), and five double fingered courses.”


\(^4\) For details of these instruments, see Stephen Bonner, *Angelo Benedetto Ventura* (Harlow, Bois de Boulogne, 1971), Table 2.

the basses transformed a theorboed guitar into a miniature harp. Figure 3 shows the next stage of these developments: an instrument identical in principle to that of Figure 2. Note how the nuts of even the fingered strings are now staggered, while the wrest-pins of the harp have taken the place of tuning pegs.

The theorbo principle also affected the lyre-guitar. Figure 4 shows an instrument endowed with the harp-like attributes of Figure 3. Obviously if one could play one of these objects, one could play them all.

All the English instruments described above have single courses of gut strings fastened to the bridge (the early Liessem model is an exception). They are thus members of the guitar family. The ordinary "English guitar," on the other hand, has typically six double courses of wire strings that pass over a bridge to their fastenings at the bottom of the body. It is thus not a guitar but a cittern. This distinguishes the English theorboes radically from the French and German ones, which can rightly be styled "arch-citerns."

The Thüringerzither

The German version of the arch-cittern is called variously Thüringerzither, Thüringerlaute, Harzzither, Bergzither, Gebirgzither, Waldzither, and Lutherzither. The article on "Cister" in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart describes it as "either a normal four- or five-course cittern or an arch-cittern with four to five fingered double courses and up to ten unfingered bass strings. It is played with the thumb, and is generally not so artistically made as the old cittern (the rosette, for instance, is often absent) and almost always tuned triadically." The tuning of the fingered courses is given by Sybil Marcuse as c g c' e' g', from which we presume the basses descend diatonically when they are present. Of the eleven theorboed examples whose disposition we have found, nine have only four fingered courses, while eight, nine, and ten basses occur. It seems likely that in the four-course examples the basses still start from c.

The names given to the instrument rightly suggest folk usage, as

6 A similar process may have led in the seventeenth century to the "angelica," an arch-lute strung with seventeen strings all in diatonic sequence. See Victor-Charles Mahillon, Catalogue Descriptif & Analytique du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles (Ghent, 1893-1922), Vol. III, pp. 150-51, for picture and description of the angelica.

Fig. 1. Theorboed English Guitar by Harley, London, early nineteenth century (Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, No.609)

Fig. 2. Harp Guitar by E. Light, London, early nineteenth century (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No.255-1882; Cat. No.13/7)

Fig. 3. Harp Lute by Light, circa 1810 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No.37-1873; Cat. No.13/8)

Fig. 4. Theorboed Lyre Guitar, anonymous, early nineteenth century (Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum, no number given)
does the charming description of F. S. Gassner:

Dem Bergmann auf dem Harze ist die Zither ein fast unentbehrliches Gut. Steigt er Abends aus dem Schacht, und hat nach zwölfstündiger gefährvoller Arbeit seinen müden Körper erquickt mit Speis und Trank, so greift er zur Zither und spielt sich ein lustig Lied, in denen er nicht die Qualen, sondern nur die Freuden seines Lebens besingt.8

However, this instrument did not begin life as the mountain shepherd's companion. Some very elegant examples were made in the mid-1750's by Johann Gottfried Klemm at Radeberg near Dresden (for example, illustration 236 in Baines EA), and later by Andreas Ernst Kram in Nuremberg, whose dated instruments range at least from 1762 to 1783 (both in the collection of the Berlin Staatliche Hochschule für Musik). The Victoria and Albert Museum has two instruments that illustrate the change of social status undergone in the early nineteenth century. One of them (Figure 5), dated 1766, is by Kram, finely made and decorated with an intricate rose of trefoil pattern in the usual place for a cittern, and a lion's head finial (the latter detail apparently not original). It should not be called a Thüringerzither, since it is obviously a creature of the drawing room rather than of the hills; it is simply a German arch-cittern. The other instrument (number 10/6 in Baines VA) is by an anonymous craftsman. It has a curiously low-placed rose and is of generally simple, even crude construction, built (as Baines says of it) "roughly following the models of Kram and other Nuremberg cittern makers." Apparently this form is still in use today in the Thüringer Wald and the Harz Mountains that lie between Hanover and Nuremberg.

Germany is the one country in which the cittern has an unbroken history from the Renaissance to the present day. I cannot tell when the tuning changed from the early re-entrant, ukulele-like arrangement given, for example, by Praetorius, to the later triadic one, nor whether the latter was influenced by that of the English guitar or vice versa. But it is the German model that kept closest to the original. The shape of the early cittern—like a teardrop, rather than a pear—is found in all the available pictures of Thüringerzithers and German arch-citterns, even when the outline of the body is festooned (as in Baines EA, illustration 236). Some even retain the vestigial scrolls derived from the ancient kithara (for example, Baines VA, number 10/1). But many intermediate instruments, notably the bell-citterns or "Cithrinchen" made by Tielke at the end of the

seventeenth century, have neither scrolls nor the characteristically tapered body extended beneath the fingerboard. The latter feature returns in Kram’s and other instruments, although the citterns of other nations lose it altogether.

The French Arch-Cittern

The French seem to have preferred a theorboed version of the English guitar to the simple six-course instrument, probably because of the late survival of the theorbo lute in France. The most common shape for French arch-citterns also resembles that of the lute; see the belly outline, profile, and pegbox (without the cittern’s “sickle” and the square finial found in English instruments) in Figure 6. This example has the disposition 5/2+4\,2 and the tuning A B c# d d#/ e a d’ e’ a’ c#” e”. Renault and Chatelain, the makers of this instrument, were foremost in the field. Both born circa 1740, they worked separately as luthiers until they formed a partnership in 1781. Together they made citterns, arch-citterns, and harps, until at least 1811.\textsuperscript{9} Baines EA shows other instruments made by them identical to the one in Figure 6 except that the bodies are extended up the left-hand side of the neck, apparently in order to lend extra resonance to the basses. In one case the body reaches halfway up the fingerboard (illustration 265), while in the other it terminates at the nut (illustration 267). These are not elegant objects, least of all when imagined in playing position. The same book contains illustrations of two arch-citterns by other makers dated 1775 (illustration 264) and 1792 (illustration 261) that have only two basses. They might perhaps have been tuned to d and A, to give the tonic and subdominant in A, the instrument’s basic key. The design and specification of Figure 6 is the most usual and satisfying one.

An instrument with two necks, each bearing a double pegbox (shown in Baines EA, illustration 326, as a “double arch-guitar”), should not be confused with these arch-citterns. Its tuning is necessarily different, and probably much more like that of a guitar; for example, C D E F G / A d g b e’ for the longer neck and B c d / e a d’ f#/ b’ for the shorter one.\textsuperscript{10}

The guitar was rapidly increasing in popularity during the

\textsuperscript{9}This history is given by Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp and J. H. Van der Meer in The Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection of Musical Instruments; Descriptive Catalogue (Amsterdam, F. Knuf, 1971). But Mahillon, Vol. III, p. 120, lists an instrument by Renault and Chatelain dated 1780 (No. 1532 in the Brussels Conservatory Collection).

\textsuperscript{10}Tuning suggested in Mahillon, Vol. III, p. 121, as fitting with the tuning of the Spanish “mandore” given by J. Verschuere Reynvaan, Muzykaal Kunst-Woordenboek (Amsterdam, W. Brave, 1795).
Regency or Napoleonic period, and it was soon to oust all of these interesting forms. As the inventions of Light and Ventura provided a final fling of experimentation in England, so in France it was the lyre-guitar in its various shapes that displaced the arch-cittern and in turn ceded to the six-string guitar.11

The Swedish Theorbo12

Compared to these eccentric ramifications, the history of the Swedish theorbo or Swedish lute is very single-minded. as befits a nation where the market for such things was far narrower. Apparently some English guitars found their way to Stockholm in the 1760’s and were promptly copied. The first known maker, Johan Öhberg (died 1779), was primarily a violin maker, but he laid the ground for the Swedish theorbo by changing from the English disposition of 2+42 strings to 5+32, tuned a b c#’ d’ e’ a’ c##” e”. The added strings fill in the bottom triad, and already give to the instrument something of a theorbo tuning, with a diatonic scale in the bottom register. It was not much of a change when the most important maker, Mathias Petter Kraft (1753-1807), extended the basses down, adding another pegbox sprouting out of the first. By 1785 he had added five basses, and by 1793 had achieved the classic disposition of eight single courses over the fingerboard, with seven unfingered basses tuned to an A major or D major scale, giving the tuning A B c# d e f# g(#) / a b c#’ d’ e’ a’ c##” e”. Kraft’s other alterations from the English guitar are as follows: (1) pegs substituted for machine tuning, (2) gut strings instead of wires, (3) a thumb lever added that sharpens the bass strings by a semitone when depressed (see Figure 7). The back may be either flat or slightly bulging, and the ribs slope like a frying pan, while the body may often be asymmetrical in outline. A late example by L. Mollenberg (who, with Johan Jerner, was one of Kraft’s foremost pupils) is shown in Baines EA, illustrations 192 and 193.

This instrument seems to have led a rather restricted existence in the upper reaches of Stockholm society. Two of the principal composers for theorbo, Johan Wilhelm Ankar and Jakob Preusmark, were court violinists; the repertory they provided—preserved only in manuscripts in Stockholm libraries—comprises operatic and

11 Stephen Bonner suggests in his study of the lyre-guitar, The Classic Image (Harlow, Bois de Boulogne, 1972), pp. 32-33, that the lyre-guitar’s habitual sixth string was influential in changing the disposition of the ordinary guitar from five strings to six.

Fig. 5. Arch-cittern by A. Kram, Nuremberg, 1776 (London, Victoria and Albert Museum, No.215-1882; Cat. No.10/5)

Fig. 6. Arch-cittern by S. B. Renault and F. Chatelain, Paris, 1789 (Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection, No.59)

Fig. 7. Swedish Theorbo by M. P. Kraft, Stockholm, 1793 (Carel van Leeuwen Boomkamp Collection, No.60)

Fig. 8. Torban, anonymous, nineteenth century (from photograph in *Atlas*, No.133)
symphonic arrangements (including movements from Haydn’s symphonies), studies, and small pieces for various combinations of the theorbo with voice and violin. There are variations by Ankar for solo theorbo on picturesque programmatic themes that contain imitations of folk music (for this was definitely not itself a folk instrument). Johan Wikmansson left a “Sonata” in two movements. Peter Erik Svedborn wrote possibly the last pieces employing the theorbo, in duet with the piano (1827). Some of the instrument’s possibilities may be seen from the following operatic extract.

Ex. 1. Méhul, “Malaren och Modellena,” arranged for Swedish theorbo by J. W. Ankar (Stockholm, Musikhostiriska Museet, Ms.8)

Since the 1820’s, the Swedish theorbo has enjoyed two revivals. The singer Sven Scholander toured Europe singing to it in the 1890’s, and as a result “Scholanderlauten” were built for a time in Germany. Alfred Brock (died 1935), court instrument builder and restorer attached to the Stockholm Musikhistoriska Museet, built “Brocklutan,” imitated from the old models, at the rate of ten to thirty each year for some time after 1903. But most of these have six strings tuned like a guitar’s and only six basses, as well as an invariably flat back. A picture of Bokken Lasson playing one of these
instruments, suspended like the old theorbo from a ribbon or strap, can be seen in *Sohlmanns Musiklexikon*, Vol. III, page 546.

The Torban\(^\text{13}\)

The torban or Russian theorbo is an interesting hybrid. It appeared in Poland and the Ukraine in the eighteenth century; at the beginning of the nineteenth it came to Russia proper. It seems to have disappeared in the course of the nineteenth century, and for reasons that will become apparent, it has not been revived in the twentieth. In appearance (see Figure 8) it is not unlike the French arch-cittern, which must indeed be one of its ancestors. But in addition to the basses (*tori*) and the strings that run over the fingerboard (*baiorki*), the free side of the belly is covered by the *pristrunki*, open strings in diatonic sequence after the principle of the psaltery. And it is the psaltery, in the form of the Russian *gusli*, that is the other ancestor.

As an intermediate instrument between the gusli and the torban stands the bandura (see Baines *EA*, illustration 196), an instrument with an unfretted neck. In early models such as numbers 125 and 126 in the Russian *Atlas* of musical instruments,\(^\text{14}\) the body is symmetrical; in later ones it is virtually semicircular, with the neck extending from the flat side. There are from seven to nine strings running over the neck that function in much the same way as theorbo diapasons; that is, they supply the bass notes to melodies and chords played on the *pristrunki*. The following example would fit as well on the bandura as on the torban.

The bandura is tuned in various ways according to the number of strings and the player’s preference. Curt Sachs, in his *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente*,\(^\text{15}\) gives G c d g a d’ / g a b c#’ d’ e’, apparently the tuning known by the name of the player Ostap Veresai (*Atlas*, page 42). The tuning of Mikhail Kravchenko is very different: B b’ B b f F Bb / c’ through f”” diatonic (with B-flats and E-flats).

These tunings for the bandura have been given to show that the tuning of the torban, whether that of Sachs’ *Reallexikon* (D G c G /

\(^{13}\)Grateful acknowledgements to Virginia Bennett, Assistant Professor of Russian at Colgate University, for help with the sources for this section.


Maestoso

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[words omitted]
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Torban

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[words omitted]
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C c D d G g c c’ f f’ g’ a’/ b’ through a”’ diatonic) or the *Atlas* (F’ F A’ A Bb’ Bb’ D d C c F f Bb’ b’ b c f a c’/ f through c”’ or d”’ diatonic with B-flats), bears far more resemblance to the bandura’s than to the tunings of West European arch-citterns. The absence of frets, too, is a notable difference, as is the fact that the instrument was sometimes laid on the knees and plucked with both hands. From this evidence, and from the statement in the *Atlas* (page 42) that the torban was the “aristocrats’ bandura,” I would hazard a guess that it is an arch-cittern only in shape. Perhaps instruments of Renault’s type came to Russia in the late eighteenth century, and the Russians, ever eager to adopt French fashions, demanded banduras that looked like arch-citterns.

**The Mandolone**

Adaptations of the theorbo principle to the mandolin are rare. Several examples survive of the “mandolone,” “mandolone da concerto,” or “Roman lute,” a large mandolin developed by Gaspar Ferrari, a Roman maker of the mid-eighteenth century. This instrument has eight pairs of strings tuned F (G) A d g b e’ a’, exactly like a treble lute with two bourdons. One or two of the bass strings pass clear of the fingerboard, but there is only one pegbox—a flat board with pegs inserted from behind, as in the common Neapolitan
mandolin. An instrument tuned identically is called “mandola napoletana” in the Milan Conservatory catalogue. It has all the strings running over the fingerboard and fastened to the bridge. Another variation, in the Florence Conservatory, has the strings attached to the bottom and all passing over the fingerboard, but here the two bass courses begin from a separate nut placed higher up on the single pegboard. The nineteenth-century “mandolone tiorbato” in the Museum of the Commune of Milan is the only example I have found of a truly “theorboed” mandolin. It is described as a large instrument (119 centimeters long) with single strings 3/6 and a second pegbox for the basses.

These mandoloni must be distinguished from later large mandolins that may be known by the same name. The nature of the mandolin allows development of the instrument in two different directions. On the one hand, it is possible to exploit its similarity in shape and technique to the lute, as did Ferrari and the anonymous makers of the other instruments mentioned above, and give it the extra bass strings of the theorbo lute. On the other hand, it is possible to regard it as a close relative of the violin family, since it is tuned in fifths and can give an impression of sustained tones when played tremolando with a plectrum. The first development leads to the use of chordal, lute-like textures played with the fingers, while the second involves a more melodic approach. This latter development culminates in the expansion of the mandolin family during the late nineteenth century to comprise an “orchestra” including a large three-stringed mandolin tuned like a three-stringed violone and an intermediate instrument tuned like a cello and actually called “mandoloncello.” The article on “Mandolin” in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart suggests that such instruments were actually formed into orchestras, and played music specially written or arranged for them.

For an illustration of a typical mandolone by Ferrari, see Natale and Franco Gallini, Commune di Milano; Museo degli strumenti musicali; Catologo (Milan, 1963), Pl.LXVI.

Eugenio de’ Guarinoni, Gli strumenti musicali nel Museo del Conservatorio di Milano (Milan, no date), Pl.XXX.

See Vinicio Gai, Gli strumenti musicali della corte Medicea e il Museo del Conservatorio “Luigi Cherubini” de Firenze (Florence, 1969), No. 83 (description and drawing).

See Gallini, No. 241.
The Guitar

Attempts to “improve” the guitar by adding unfingered bass or treble strings have been very numerous since the last quarter of the eighteenth century. These experiments have resulted in some quite extraordinary freaks that I intend to make the subject of a separate study. Scarcely any of them, however, have a second pegbox for the basses; usually the pegbox is simply enlarged, like that of the mandolone.

More than most of man’s artifacts, musical instruments seem to have a life of their own. An instrument that is well-loved and frequently played acquires, at least for its owner, a kind of soul. Similarly, in their history, musical instruments behave like living things subject to an evolutionary flux. Species arise, develop, and die; mutations and cross-fertilizations take place. What we have explored in this study is one genetic feature that had some importance for a time, influencing many different sub-species. Now it is over, leaving nothing but a few silent bodies in museums, preserved like specimens of extinct creatures for the curiosity of posterity.
HANS GERLE: SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LUTENIST AND PEDAGOGUE

By Jane Pierce

During the past fifty years, the study of primary sources has brought about an increased understanding of sixteenth-century instrumental music. Although early sources of music for stringed instruments have received considerable attention, few German sources have been examined. This lack of attention is owing in part to the very nature of German string tablature; the German system of representing every finger position by a different letter or number appears unwieldy and impractical in comparison to the Italian, French, or Spanish system of representing one fret by the same symbol on all or most of the strings. Because of its impracticality, German string tablature was short-lived, replaced in the second half of the sixteenth century, after only a few decades of use, by Italian string tablature. A few dissertations and encyclopedia articles are the only available studies of individual German composers and teachers of the lute and viol. Nevertheless, several German composers of string tablature did live in the sixteenth century, and many examples of their tablature remain. One such composer, teacher, and instrument maker worked in Nuremberg; his name was Hans Gerle.

"Citizen of Nuremberg"—thus does Gerle proudly refer to himself in his publications. ¹ Citizenship was a privilege conferred by the city council. ² It was equivalent to acceptance into the middle class, a status symbol of which Gerle was justly proud. The following overview gives a glimpse of the surroundings in which Gerle worked.³

One of approximately sixty free imperial cities more or less directly controlled by the Holy Roman Emperor, Nuremberg had a population of about 40,000 in and around its walls by the early

¹Hans Gerle, Musica teusch (Nuremberg, Formschneider, 1532).
³Gerald Strauss, Nuremberg in the Sixteenth Century (New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1966), is a source of additional background information.
sixteenth century. Within the city, a powerful council of wealthy burghers governed all aspects of life—political, economic, and religious—and recorded even the smallest details of their decisions in abundant archives.

The fine arts and craftsmanship flourished. The sculptor Veit Stoss, the painter and woodcutter Albrecht Dürer, and many other artists were active within the city. Associated with the painters were engravers and printers who refined the techniques of art reproduction. One such craftsman was Hieronymus Andreae, who printed all of Hans Gerle’s books.

Musical activity abounded in early sixteenth-century Nuremberg. Generally, music served practical purposes. Music for religious services, for amateur vocal and instrumental performances, and for the like was in great demand. The Nuremberg burghers’ interest in the practical application of music supported instrument building and fostered the music publishing business. Hieronymus Andreae, more commonly known as Formschneider, published Gerle’s works; Petrejus, publisher of Copernicus’ *De Revolutionibus,* published the lute tablatures of Hans Newsidler, Gerle’s contemporary. Indeed, music became a “bread-and-butter” business for many publishers.

In Hans Gerle’s time, Nuremberg’s rich tradition of musical composers included the *Meistersinger* Hans Sachs and Nachtigall, the composer Ludwig Senfl, and the blind organist, lutenist, and composer Conrad Paumann. Another composer of that generation, Adolff Plindthamer, appears to have been particularly influential on Gerle, who refers to Plindthamer as “the famous master lutenist, Adolff Plindthamer,” and “the esteemed Adolff.” This is Gerle’s only reference to another lutenist by name. Although at least two scholars consider Adolff Plindthamer to be the same man as Conrad Paumann, Rudolph Wagner cites five contemporary sources

4 Strauss, p. 5.
5 Strauss, p. v.
7 Strauss, p. 262.
8 Strauss, p. 262.
9 Krautwurst, p. 1752.
10 Krautwurst, p. 1751.
12 “... gedachter Adolff,” Gerle, folio A2 verso.
indicating that the two men were different. Gerle himself mentions Plindthamer by name as a master lutenist and proponent of German tablature.

Just as Adolff Plindthamer and Conrad Paumann were Hans Gerle’s predecessors in the field of lute music, Hans Newsidler was his contemporary. Gerle’s and Newsidler’s lives and works show several parallels: Both were lutemakers, both published instructions, and both published tablatures. Newsidler published two volumes of Ein neugeordnet künstlich Lautenbuch in 1536, and six more books of lute tablature between 1540 and 1549. Newsidler’s repertoire parallels Gerle’s: German Lieder dominating the earlier tablatures, more French chansons and some Latin motets appearing in later works. Newsidler, however, does not include dances, as does Gerle. Newsidler’s pedagogical material is much more succinct than Gerle’s, though both men aim to teach beginners. Newsidler does not include instructions for the viol.

Contemporary records and later sources provide considerable information about the musical environment of sixteenth-century Nuremberg. About Gerle’s immediate family they give almost no information except that the Gerles belonged within the tradition of Nuremberg instrument builders. Conrad Gerle, Hans’ father, is the first member of the family about whom we have definite information. Conrad Gerle was a lutemaker; according to one source, he reached the zenith of his fame around 1469. He lived in Nuremberg from at least 1516 until his death in 1521.

Scarcely more biographical details are available about Hans Gerle’s life than about his father’s. While the exact date of his birth is uncertain, one reference indicates that he was the eldest of Conrad’s children and was the guardian of three younger brothers and sisters after the death of his mother. Knowing his period of writing to be from 1532 to 1552 (the dates of his earliest and latest known publications), we may estimate his date of birth at about 1500. From 1500 to the death date of 1570 that appears in several sources is a reasonable life span of some seventy years. This life span fits with Gerle’s description of himself in the 1552 volume as “Hans Gerle den Eltern,” which means “Hans Gerle, the elder,” “Hans Gerle, senior,”

13 Kurt Dorfmüller, “Newsidler,” in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1961) 9, pp. 1407-1411.

14 Dorfmüller, p. 1409.


16 Lochner, p. 162.

17 Lochner, p. 163.
or "Hans Gerle, rather old man."

Some secondary sources, beginning with Johann Doppelmayr in 1727, refer to two Hans Gerles, father and son, and assign the death date 1570 to the younger man. Several pieces of evidence, some within Gerle's publications themselves, lead to the conclusion that only one Hans Gerle is involved in all of the works under consideration in this study. First, the only contemporary reference to Gerle, that of Neudörfer, does not differentiate between two Hans Gerles. Second, all the books were published within twenty years, a reasonable span of activity for one man. Third, as stated above, the death date of 1570 corresponds with a birth date of around 1500 to form the limits of a plausible life span. Fourth, the publications being studied here are so similar in the syntax and content of the pedagogical sections and in the stylistic detail of the musical sections that they appear to be the product of one mind. Finally, if there were a younger Hans Gerle, son of the elder Hans Gerle, the son would be too young to have written any but the 1552 volume; yet that volume is signed "den Eltern," leaving us to judge that the publication, if not by "Hans Gerle, senior," is at least by an older man.

From the evidence presented above, I conclude that one Hans Gerle is the author and intabulator of all the works under consideration in this article. I do not deny the possible existence of another Hans Gerle, but I would merely characterize him as a later lutemaker or performer about whom there is little or no information.

Obviously only the most general outline of Hans Gerle's life can be drawn. To help our understanding of the man, we have looked at his Nuremberg heritage. To understand him further, we must look at his publications themselves. Here we find information about his attitudes toward music, education, and life; his techniques of composition and intabulation; and his method of teaching. Through his writing, Hans Gerle does indeed give us some insight into himself and his nature.

All of Hans Gerle's known publications are extant, and they provide a sufficient basis for a critical examination of the man's output. The following list includes all of Gerle's known publications.

_Musica teusch_
Nuremberg, Formschneider, 1532

_Tabulatur auff die Laudten_
Nuremberg, Formschneider, 1533

18See Lochner, p. 156.
Within the more than 400 folios of these books are detailed instructions for beginning viol and lute players, details about the instruments and the tablature, and 217 pieces of music. With the exception of a few selected compositions and bits of prose, none of the material in these five volumes had been translated or transcribed until 1973; a complete translation and critical transcription appear in a supplement to my dissertation.19

What clues do Gerle’s books offer about him as a teacher? Are his pedagogical aims as intense as his musical ones? Is his outlook primarily theoretical or is it practical? In general, the books show Gerle to be a teacher concerned with helping young people or beginners—and one who expected rapid progress from self-instruction. His pedagogical aims in his major instructional volume, Musica teusch, are certainly strong, but his musical goals are always present. Primarily, his outlook is practical; he does not indulge in speculation, and he intends every bit of instruction to work out in practice. His explanation of the octave is typical.

But if you do not know what an octave is, then observe, when two [persons] sing together—such as a youth and an older fellow—then the boy sings [in] a high voice and the man in a deep [voice]. The same two voices at once lie an octave from each other. So it is also with the octave on the strings.20

Gerle’s understanding of the rudiments of music and stringed instruments is always present, although obscured by his verbosity. For instance, Gerle describes verbally every fret and fingering, then repeats his descriptions in a diagram. The lofty moral goals that Gerle professes to hold reside in the prefaces and epilogues and have little or no effect on his pedagogy. His mannerisms, however—addressing


20 Wann du aber nit weyst was ein octaff ist, So merck, wenn zwen mit einander singen, als ein knab vnd ein betagter gesell, So singt der knab ein kleine stym vnd der gesell ein grobe, Die selben zwo styne steen alszdann ein octaff von einander, Also ist es mit der octaff auf den sitten auch,” Gerle Musica vnd Tabulatur (Nuremberg, Formschneider, 1546), folio B recto, line 19.
the student as “you,” repeating himself, and moralizing—leave on his writing style a strong imprint of his own somewhat pedantic personality.

The musical contents of Hans Gerle’s volumes fall into three large categories: preludes, or, as Gerle labels them, “priambels”; dances; and intabulations of polyphonic vocal pieces. My basis for such a classification is twofold. First, Gerle gives many compositions titles suggesting that they belong to particular classes. Second, although all the classes share with each other general style characteristics influenced by the instrumental medium, each class is distinguished from the others by certain stylistic details.

Thirty-nine priambels, all for solo lute, appear in Gerle’s books. The length of these priambels varies greatly, but they often have between forty and seventy measures. Without exception, the priambels are regularly barred into measures of duple meter, with two semibreves to a measure. The following examination of four basic style characteristics of the priambels—texture, rhythm, melody, and vertical sonority—provides a more detailed picture of the distinguishing musical features of these compositions.

Most of the priambels begin with one voice and expand to general three- or four-voice texture. In just under half the priambels, the beginning is imitative. Once three- or four-voice texture is reached, it does not remain continuously throughout the priambel. Interspersed two-voice passages of varying length are common and provide variety, as in the following example.

Ex. 1. “Das 23. Prembel” (1552), G4 recto, 1. 3

In addition to using a reduced number of voices to provide textural variety, Gerle uses unornamented, chordal passages to punctuate heavily ornamented, one-voice passages.

In most of the priambels, a tendency toward thicker texture appears near the end of the composition. Typical of sixteenth-century instrumental music, this thickening of texture, along with a slowing of the rhythmic pulse, increases the sense of
finality at the end of a piece. As in the next example, it is near the end that three- or four-voice texture is more constant than anywhere else in a piece.

Ex. 2. “Das 24. Priambel” (1552), H3 recto, 1. 3, m.7

Each successive section of a given priambel has, in addition to its particular texture, its particular rhythm. For instance, most chordal passages flow in a succession of eighth notes, while much smaller note values are characteristic of one- and two-voice sections. Final sections, with consistent three- or four-voice texture, generally have what amounts to a notated ritard, with the predominance of slower note values at the very end.

On a smaller scale, the imitation or repetition of rhythmic motives is a basic unit of structure in the priambels. Motives are used in various ways. Sometimes they are imitated from voice to voice; in other instances, the motives are used in what is almost sequential writing. Finally, different motives, occurring simultaneously or in close succession, make up a rhythmic interplay that is vital to the structure of the priambels.

Ex. 3. “Das 23. Priambel” (1552), H recto, 1. 4, m.5

Aspects of melody such as range, speed, disjunct or conjunct motion, length of notes, ornamentation, and contrapuntal writing are limited to various degrees by the capacities of the lute itself. The limited sustaining power of lute strings provides a challenge to the ingenuity of the composer. The tablature value of a minim is about the longest note the lute can sustain; even it is frequently subdivided. However, the range and speed of individual melodies are almost
unlimited, as the following example, with its conjunct runs punctuated by leaps, indicates.

Ex. 4. “Ein gut preambel” (1553), A3 verso

\[\text{Ornamentation, too, is strictly limited by the capabilities of the lute. A few standard patterns, at four or five different pitch levels, account for most of the ornamentation in the priambels. Some of the most common patterns are as follows:}

Ex. 5.

\[\text{Contrapuntal writing is also severely limited by the nature of the instrument, although the lute is capable of suggesting polyphony through melodic skips and other devices. The possibility of maintaining as many as four separate voices simultaneously is, however, realized in the priambels.}

Ex. 6. “Das 18. Preambel” (1552), F2 recto, 1. 4, m.4

\[\text{There is much less to say about vertical sonority in the priambels than about texture, rhythm, or melody. Each priambel stays close to a key center; even the long “Priambel in various keys” does not go far from the home key. Cross relations between voices}\]
occur rather rarely and can be explained by voice leading. Accidentals within one voice, too, are used for smooth melodic writing. Parallel octaves or fifths are fairly common.

In brief, what distinguishes the priambels musically is their moderate length, duple meter, one- or two-voice texture expanding to three or four voices, rhythmic structure based on contrasting motives, and melody and vertical sonority strongly dependent on the capabilities of the instrument.

The second class of compositions includes thirty-nine Italian dances for solo lute. Among the dances are eight passamezzos, all in duple meter; six padoanas, all in triple meter; two pavanas, both in duple meter; five gagliardas, all in triple meter; and one tochatocha, in triple meter. I separate padoanas from pavanas because of the difference in meter; they appear to be different to Gerle as well. Seven other pieces are listed by Gerle as dances but are labeled with specific titles rather than dance names; an example is "Gentil madonna." The dances vary in length from eight to 248 measures, with no standard length. Each dance is in only one meter.

The musical style of the dances, generally speaking, is the most homogeneous and least complex of the styles of the three classes in Hans Gerle's books. Four-voice homophonic texture, characteristic of all but two dances, usually begins in the first measure.

Ex. 7. "Der 29. Gagliarda" (1552), R3 recto, 1. 1

Only four of the dances begin with a reduced number of voices lasting for more than half a measure. Once reached, four-voice texture usually continues throughout a dance. Either there is four-voice chordal writing, or else one voice moves while the other two or three voices sustain a chord. Of the four voices, the top one is dominant—that is, has more activity—in twenty-seven of the dances. The lowest voice is the least active.

Like texture, rhythm in the dances is simple and transparent. About half of the time all voices move simultaneously or almost so; the rest of the time, one voice moves in opposition to the others, either in faster movement, against a chordal background or, less frequently, with some kind of syncopation. The interplay, imitation, or repetition of rhythmic motives that is characteristic of the
priambels is virtually nonexistent in the dances. Simple, regular rhythm predominates.

Melodic writing is similar to that of the priambels, but differences do appear. There is more ornamentation of the top voices with long, running passages in the dances because the other voices have less to do than in the priambels.

Essentially, the vertical sonorities of the dances are very similar to those of the priambels. More consistent chordal texture in the dances, however, provides a somewhat fuller sound, with four voices sounding most of the time.

What, in short, are the distinguishing features of the dances? They are generally homophonic, four-voice pieces, often dominated by an active top voice, with relatively simple rhythm, and melodic interest concentrated in the top voice.

The third class, the intabulations of polyphonic vocal pieces, is a diverse group of 136 compositions, appearing in all but the last of Gerle’s volumes. The sources for these intabulations comprise a wide repertoire of vocal compositions. Sacred and secular Lieder; chansons; and motets—some of great length—all appear. Several pieces are intabulated in more than one arrangement.

Gerle’s various settings of “Ich klag den tag” are typical of his intabulation style. First, there is an intabulation for four violis. On a large scale, Gerle transcribes this piece at the original pitch level, and he follows the original phrase structure—not, however, repeating the last phrase, which is repeated in the original. On a smaller scale, Gerle occasionally subdivides longer note values; for example \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) in the original is \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) in the intabulation. A few minor note changes include substitution of the note \( \text{\textbullet} \) for a rest, substitution of one long note for two shorter notes, and replacement of the third in the final chord by the fifth. None of these changes has special significance; the last one is not carried out consistently by Gerle in other intabulations. One additional change deserves attention: At an internal cadence in the alto voice Gerle raises the b-flat to a b-natural ascending to c. In the original, the b-flat would be raised by \( \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \text{\textbullet} \) in tabulature, Gerle must choose the precise note he wants.

There are two lute intabulations of “Ich klag den tag,” one with two voices, the other with three. The two-voice intabulation comes from the alto and bass of the original piece; it is transposed up a fifth. As in the viol intabulation, the last phrase is not repeated. In most details, the two voices of this intabulation are very close to the alto and tenor of the viol intabulations. There are three more runs replacing semibreves; and there is one more raised note. Otherwise, Gerle retains the two voices intact.

In the three-voice intabulation of “Ich klag den tag,” one might
expect Gerle to depart much farther from the original than he did in the other two intabulations of this piece. His practice, however, is to follow the original almost as closely as before. In this transcription down a fifth, the top voice corresponds to the discant in the original, the middle voice to the alto, and the bottom voice to the bass. As in the other intabulations, the last phrase is not repeated. The highest voice of this intabulation is a very much ornamented version of the original bass. In the middle voice, a moderately ornamented version of the alto, Gerle omits some notes. As in the other intabulations, musica ficta in the original is realized in the transcription.

There is no four-voice intabulation of “Ich klag den tag” to study; the four-voice intabulation of Josquin’s “Inviolata, integra, et casta es,” however, shows Gerle’s practice in intabulating four voices for solo lute. Gerle transcribes this five-voice motet up a whole tone; phrase and cadence structure are the same as in the original. The top voice is the most heavily ornamented, yet it follows the contour of the discant. The original bass line is less heavily ornamented than the top voice. The intabulation does contain some subdivision of longer note values and changes from the rhythm \( \frac{4}{4} \) to \( \frac{2}{2} \) and vice versa. All three middle voices are transferred to the intabulation remarkably complete. Because only four of the five voices are sounding through most of the original, Gerle has less reducing to do than might seem necessary at first. His procedure in this four-voice lute intabulation, as in his other intabulations, is to retain as much of the original as is feasible, and to ornament it rather than to change it drastically in any other way. The resulting intabulation is, in this last case, much more complex, more difficult to perform than the others; it is, however, the result of the same intabulation process that Gerle practiced elsewhere.

Despite the diversity of the intabulations, certain stylistic traits characterize all of them. It is necessary to divide the intabulations into two smaller groups. The first group includes intabulations for four viols, with each part written on a separate staff. The second group includes the intabulations for solo lute.

The most obvious characteristics of the viol intabulations—which I shall not discuss in detail—are four equally important voices, considerable homophonic writing, moderate range for each instrument, light ornamentation, and relatively simple rhythms.

Gerle offers 103 intabulations for solo lute. The majority of these have three voices. Three general kinds of texture are characteristic. The first has three equal voices, or two equal voices and one slightly less important voice, sharing polyphonic style. The second texture includes a dominant top voice and two less active
voices. And the third is three-voice chordal texture. All three textures appear in many of the intabulations.

Within the intabulations, as at their beginnings, imitation occurs where it does in the polyphonic originals; it is difficult to see or hear the imitation in the intabulations because of the ornamentation.

Rhythm in the lute intabulations is quite diverse. On a large scale, sections in duple meter often have smaller note values and more complicated rhythm than sections in triple meter. On a smaller scale, the various uses of rhythmic motives are a basic structural unit, much as they are in the priambels. Motives are sometimes imitated from voice to voice. Very frequently, several motives occurring simultaneously or in close succession, in different voices, make up a rhythmic interplay that is characteristic of all the intabulations to some extent.

Melodic writing is essentially the same as that of the priambels. Despite the limitation placed on contrapuntal writing by the instrument, three and sometimes four independent voices are maintained. Melodies of moderate range and moderate to heavy ornamentation are characteristic.

Vertical sonority is as varied in the lute intabulations as anywhere in Gerle's music; yet even in these pieces there is hardly anything surprising. On a large scale, keys of cadences are determined by the keys of the same cadences in the polyphonic originals. On a smaller scale, the dissonances are handled in accordance with contemporary practice.

To summarize, the lute intabulations as a group are distinguished by their common three-voice texture, use of rhythmic motives as a basic structural device, relatively heavy ornamentation, and moderate melodic range and speed.

Hans Gerle explicitly states and repeats his aims throughout his books: to give beginning students a self-tutor for viol or lute, to provide music for practice, and ultimately to lead young people away from evil into the worthwhile pursuit of music. Only slightly closer observation is necessary for Gerle's pedagogical nature to become obvious; an odd mixture of clarity and verbosity manifests itself consistently in his writing. This man's musical nature, on the other hand, is far more elusive. It is unclear to what extent he was a composer and to what extent merely a collector and transcriber. Of course, we do know that he transcribed his priambels and dances almost literally from contemporary and slightly earlier continental publications, but did he also compose the one or two anonymous priambels and dances? The evidence is inconclusive. Variations in style among Gerle's different intabulations of one polyphonic vocal piece, and the contrasts between his intabulations of a particular piece and
those of his contemporaries, hinder definition of his personal style. While realizing that his music looks and sounds like much contemporary lute music, I am unable to distinguish a strong personal imprint of the man on the music. In subtle details of texture, rhythm, and vertical sonority, his lute music is consistent with the rest of the abundant contemporary repertoire. His viol music, an early contribution to a smaller repertoire, does not appear to have been particularly influential; indeed, in his last volume, Gerle includes no viol music. In general, both the lute and viol music are idiomatic, using figuration determined by the instruments' capabilities.

For Hans Gerle, music served a practical purpose. He taught both playing and transcribing without theoretical commentary. Beyond the practice of music, he did not proceed; he hid no surprises in the words or the music. The five volumes of Hans Gerle's work should be understood as he meant them: instructions secondary to music—for, indeed, two volumes, one his last work, were almost entirely music; music exemplary of contemporary practice; music delightful and useful rather than innovative or exceptionally demanding.

Hans Gerle of Nuremberg, sixteenth-century lutenist and pedagogue, belongs among his contemporaries: Newsidler in Germany, Bianchini in Italy, Milan in Spain, and Bakfark in France. Above all, he was an arranger and disseminator of contemporary musical style, helping to transmit that style by translating it into the instrumental idiom, endeavoring to make music available to those who wanted to play it. Especially characteristic of Hans Gerle is the attempt to provide music for instruments, rather than to place those instruments second to any absolute musical or philosophical theory.
CORRECT AND EASY FRET PLACEMENT

BY EUGEN M. DOMBOIS

Accurate fret placement is a practical problem that every lutenist must confront sooner or later. To aid in placing the frets on the lute in equal temperament, I provide the following numerical values calculated by a computer. The distances are rounded off to seven places.

1. 0.0561257 7. 0.3325801
2. 0.1091013 8. 0.3700395
3. 0.1591036 9. 0.4053964
4. 0.2062995 10. 0.4387690
5. 0.2508465 11. 0.4702685
6. 0.2928932 12. 0.5000000

To calculate the distance from the nut to a given fret, the appropriate fret factor above should be multiplied by the vibrating string length of your lute. For instance, if your lute has a string length of 63 centimeters, multiply the above numerical values by 63 centimeters and obtain the following fret distances.

First fret—3.54 cm.
Second fret—6.87 cm.
Third fret—10.02 cm.
Fourth fret—13.00 cm.
and so on.

Then draw these distances on a piece of paper and adjust your frets accordingly. Are you satisfied with the results? I doubt it. Probably all the frets sit somewhat high and produce sharp pitches.

Why are the frets too high? In his article "On Fretting a Lute," Stanley Buetens gives one reason: "In measuring the string length, be sure to note if the strings are looped in front of the bridge a few

\[^1\]This article was translated from the original German by Douglas Alton Smith.
millimeters, this can make a difference." This remark means that we should not simply proceed from the nut-bridge distance, but rather from the vibrating string length. However, experience shows that this is insufficient to get the frets in the correct spot. The frets even then will all sit a bit too high.

Franz Jahnel, in his book *Die Gitarre und ihr Bau*, gives the actual reasons: String material (steel, gut, silk, or plastic) and string height (distance from the unfretted string to the fret, or the change of a string during fretting) are the essential factors that make the real scale unusable as a basis of calculation. Jahnel maintains that not the real scale but rather the "playing scale" (which is always somewhat smaller than the real scale) must be the basis of computation of the distances from the nut to the individual frets. The difficulty, however, is in ascertaining this "playing scale."

Jahnel cites a formula by which to calculate this playing scale. However, I believe that this calculation is too complicated in general for the lutenist—not because of the mathematical formula, but rather because it is difficult to determine the requisite measurements exactly.

Therefore, the frets should be set primarily by ear, after previously computing and drawing only as much as is absolutely necessary.

To this end you should calculate not only the distances for a scale of 63 centimeters, but also those of other pertinent playing scales—62.9 centimeters, 62.8 centimeters, 62.7 centimeters, 62.6 centimeters, and 62.5 centimeters, as needed. Those who do not wish in the beginning to overburden themselves with arithmetic can begin by choosing a single playing scale (for instance 62.7 centimeters), calculating the pertinent results, and then checking to see what they have achieved.

The results of the table should now be drawn onto millimeter graph paper. Every lutenist will soon find out how to best set up this diagram. Those with little experience can begin with a single playing scale (as previously done with the calculations) and see what they accomplish. The graph paper should then be folded along the sketched fret locations and laid alongside the first string and also along the bass string of the sixth course. The frets should be placed one after the other on the correct spot according to this diagram.

Assume that you have placed your frets according to the

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playing scale of 62.7 centimeters. If the frets are still too high, then try it again with 62.3 centimeters. Should the frets all be somewhat low, try 62.4 centimeters and perhaps the frets will then be exactly at the right spot. A prerequisite is, of course, that all strings have the same octave location. If individual strings are bad, they must be replaced with better ones.

In my experiments I have discovered that often a smaller playing scale is more valid for the sixth course than for the chanterelle. This is especially the case when the bridge is higher in the bass end than in the discant. The procedure is not changed in principle; merely choose a smaller playing scale along the sixth course. Strictly speaking, every individual course has a different playing scale. However, it suffices to place the frets at the correct spots for the first and sixth courses. The remaining courses will then automatically find their proper fret locations. The frets in this case are no longer parallel; rather they become more and more diagonal from the first fret on. The uninitiated might think that the frets are placed incorrectly.

Here are several tests to determine if the correct playing scale has been found:

1) When on the Renaissance lute \( \begin{array}{c} \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \end{array} \) correspond exactly, then ideally \( \begin{array}{c} \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \end{array} \) will also form a pure octave. If \( h \) is too low, then the playing scale selected is too small. If \( h \) is too high, then the playing scale selected is too large.

2) The test can also be performed in reverse: When \( \begin{array}{c} \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \end{array} \) are consonant, then \( \begin{array}{c} \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \hline \end{array} \) must also produce the same tone. If, for example, \( f \) is too low, then the playing scale selected is too small.

The above tests should be performed on all courses that are a fourth apart from each other. Each lutenist can himself easily find out how to test further intervals. Nonetheless, it is good to know that the tones chosen on the basis of an incorrectly selected playing scale are worse on higher than on lower frets. With the tones on frets of higher ordinal numbers (for example, on the seventh fret), you can test more easily whether or not the correct playing scale was chosen than with tones on frets with smaller ordinal numbers (for example, on the first fret).

These testing methods can be used for all temperaments, the meantone, Pythagorean, and every other tuning possible on the lute. In addition, they are valid in principle for instruments in other accordatures, that is, for theorboes, baroque lutes, and so forth.
AN UPDATE TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GUITAR TABLATURES

BY PETER DANNER

Any bibliographer would do well to heed the observation of one of his colleagues that his work, by its very nature, never can be regarded as more than "work in progress." No sooner is a bibliography given to the printer, than some interesting new source, which up to that time has defied the bibliographer's most diligent investigation, suddenly decides to reveal itself. Moreover, the bibliography is notoriously susceptible to those typographical gremlins that attack anything destined for print: the wayward diacritic, the transposed letter, the dropped plural.

Given this unsatisfactory state of affairs, the bibliographer's only weapon is to prepare a supplement. What follows, therefore, is a follow-up to the bibliography of guitar tablatures published in the last issue of this Journal.1 Besides providing an opportunity to add new material that has come to the attention of the compiler, the supplement allows for correction of a few important errors contained in the original bibliography. The list of corrections, however, has been limited to those few errors deemed to be of significance.

Even with this added material, the bibliography must still be considered incomplete. For example, a few important Portuguese items are missing and Central European sources are inadequately represented.

The author would like to take this opportunity to thank those who graciously provided him with additional information. He is particularly indebted to Professor Ronald Purcell of California State University, Northridge, for going through the entire bibliography and offering valuable suggestions.

NEW ENTRIES


MANUSCRIPTS


232. ______. Ms. 3121. “Questo libretto e di Filippo Baldinotti il quale serve per le sonate della chitarra spagnuola.”


²I am grateful to Ruggero Chiesa for this entry.
236. Mainz: Private collection of Dr. Hellmut Federhofer. A manuscript of angelique and guitar music. Late seventeenth century. Mixed tablature.3

237. Mexico City: Biblioteca Nacional. Ms. 1560.4


239. Novara: Civico Istituto Musicale Brere. A manuscript circa 1650-1680 containing dances and “Toccate.”


UNCONFIRMED ENTRIES

244. Annenberg guitar tablature of 1648. Italian tablature. Innsbruck. A film copy is in the library of Dr. Josef Klima, Maria Enzerdorf bei Wien, Austria. No other information available.

245. Aussee guitar tablature, Vienna. A film copy is in the library of Dr. Josef Klima, Maria Enzerdorf bei Wien, Austria. No other information available.


CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Item 8. For “seven-course” read “four-course (seven-string).”

Item 25. Add “copy in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale.”

Item 32. Add “earlier edition published in 1627.”

Item 40. Add “copy in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.”


4 Contents of this and the following entry are listed in Robert Stevenson, Music in Inca and Aztec Territory, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1968, pp. 236-237.

5 The existence of this print has been verified by Ronald Purcell.
Item 52. Add “copy in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek.”
Item 55. For “FUENLLANO” read “FUENLLANA.” Add “also contains music for five-course guitar.”
Item 61. For “Soavi 70, concerti” read “Soavi concerti.” For “opera quinta” read “opera quarta.”
Item 86. Add “a copy was in Breslau, Stadt-Bibliothek and apparently destroyed in World War II.”
Item 96. Add “copy in Hamburg, Staats- und Univeristätsbibliothek.”
Item 109. For “MONTESADRO” read “MONTESARDO.”
Item 110. Add “copy in Bologna, Civico Museo.”
Item 143. Add “earlier edition published in 1620.”
Item 153. For “TRADITI” read “TARDITI.”
Item 179. David Lyons, who has investigated the holdings of Lund University, writes that the library contains no guitar manuscripts.
Item 190. For “1705” read “1709.” Change “cifres” to “cifras” and “mejor” to “mejores.”
Item 204. Add “this manuscript probably contains music by Antonio Carbonchi.”
Item 217. Ballard’s “method” of 1699 is doubtless identical with his 1699 edition of Derosier’s Nouveaux principesé (item 45).
THEORBO ACCOMPANIMENTS
OF EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY
ITALIAN MONODY

BY STANLEY BUETENS

Henri Quittard, who is chiefly responsible for the revival of
interest in the lute in modern times, in 1910 wrote, "No other
instrument of accompaniment in seventeenth-century Europe
enjoyed such a universal vogue as the theorbo. We can open any
book of early Italian songs and see there a bass part that the theorbo,
alone or with the harpsichord, was to realize." In this fascinating
article, he told all he could find about the theorbo and, surprisingly
for such an early date, he understood very well the nature of the
theorbo. Without ever having heard a theorbo played (or a lute for
that matter), he summed up accurately the virtues and faults of that
remarkable instrument. On the plus side were timbre, expressiveness,
and portability, and on the minus side were the difficulties of
stringing, tuning, and technique. What he did not know and probably
could not have known at that time was the nature of that musical
expression that accompanists on the theorbo achieved. Although his
article purports to discuss accompaniments, all the examples of
theorbo music presented are solo pieces from the collections of
Mace, De Visée, Piccinini, and others. Sixty-three years have passed
since Quittard wrote about the theorbo, yet even today little is
known about the theorbo by either scholars or the public.

In the seventeenth century, the theorbo and chitarrone were
clearly preferred to the harpsichord for accompaniment purposes.

1Henri Quittard, "Le Théorbe comme instrument d'accompagnement," Revue
musicale mensuelle, Société Internationale de Musique, Vol. VI (1910), pp. 221-237,
362-384.

2In his article, Quittard rightly treats the theorbo and chitarrone as though there
were no practical difference between them. For those who would like to know more about
the differences between the theorbo and the chitarrone, I recommend Michael Prynne's
excellent article in Groves Dictionary of Music and Musicians. I am at present working on a
long and detailed study of the subject and I am hopeful that the fruits of this work can be
presented in the next issue of this Journal.
The rich sonority and subtle nature of these instruments fulfilled well the ideal of expressiveness for which musicians strove in that period. Toward the end of the century, the harpsichord gained on the lute in esteem until, in time, they were running neck in neck. In the eighteenth century, the harpsichord took over the lead and held it. However, the theorbo, an instrument that never totally disappeared, was still used and appreciated, especially in Germany, until at least 1750. The phenomenal rise in popularity of the harpsichord in modern times has given the public—and many of those who should know better—the erroneous idea that it was the instrument of accompaniment in the Baroque era.

Resisting the temptation to delve into the history of the theorbo, I would like to address myself to a more specific question: How did theorbists accompany a monodic song of the early seventeenth century? Contemporary writings on the subject by musicians or theorists are almost nonexistent. We do have Caccini’s intriguing statement, “This instrument [the chitarrone] is more suitable for accompanying the voice, especially the tenor voice, than any other.” With the exception of another tidbit by Caccini, quoted later in this article, this comment is the extent of historical information on theorbo accompaniment other than the usual dribble given by theorists about playing in good taste, and so on. One thing we do know is that the bass line given was meant to be played only by the accompanying instrument, for nowhere in this large body of music is there called for the doubling of the bass by a melody instrument.

With rare exceptions, the many seventeenth-century books of songs give no hints as to how a theorist was to realize the bass line, given mostly without figures. However, there are four sources to my knowledge that do tell us quite a bit and offer the possibility of a musically convincing solution. These sources give a tablature part for the theorbo; and tablature, as everyone knows, is a finger notation by which the lutenist plays exactly what he sees in front of him. From these tablatures we can derive guidelines that can be applied to other monodic song accompaniments. Why these sources contained tablature contrary to the normal practice of the time is difficult to say. Perhaps the publishers were trying to attract a wider audience. Amateurs could easily read tablature, but presumably only a few could realize at sight from a bass part. The sources are: Flaminio Corradi, Le Stravaganze d’amore, Venetia, 1616; Girolamo


4 I would like to thank Professor Imogene Horsley for first pointing this out to me.

Corradi's book consists primarily of duets with one trio and two solo songs. All the songs are printed in score form with tablature given directly under the bass part. That there are only two songs in the collection is somewhat of a disappointment, but even the duets have an expressive quality consistent with the *stile rappresentativo*. Corradi also includes the letters of the *alfabeto italiano* designed for the Spanish guitar. Kapsberger's *Libro Primo* also is composed mainly of duets and trios with only two airs for solo voice. The layout is similar too, as is the inclusion of the ubiquitous *alfabeto*. *Libro Terzo* is arranged in the same manner as *Libro Primo* but contains many more solo songs. *Libro Secondo*, 1619, and *Libro Quarto*, 1623, contain no tablature for theorbo but only the guitar *alfabeto*. Kapsberger's style is even more expressive and declamatory than Corradi's. His songs are excellent examples of the ideas promulgated by the Florentine Camerata and initiated, at least in print, by Caccini. Kapsberger is the only one of the three to include ornament signs in the theorbo part. Castaldi's work is primarily instrumental and contains only a few songs. Even these are given instrumental dance titles such as branle and corrente. As expected, they are not very expressive although they are charming. The tablature accompaniments given are, therefore, the least instructive of the four sources presented here, but they show several interesting possibilities for heightening interest such as repeating chords or adding chordal tones over a single bass note. Together these sources paint an interesting and probably accurate picture of the early monodists' concept of what an accompaniment should be.

What then, according to these sources, should an accompaniment to a monodic song be like? Here are some of the qualities that these tablature accompaniments exhibit. Some are very ordinary and expected, others quite startling.

1. The accompaniment lies in the tenor range, staying at all times below the voice. This may simply be a result of the fact that on the theorbo and chitarrone the first string (and sometimes the second) was tuned an octave lower than on the lute. This strange, illogical (since all voice leading is rendered impossible) state of affairs could result from two possible situations. First, it is conceivable that the theorboists liked the sound of the low first string, since admittedly it produces a deep, rich sound and would not intrude itself upon the singing; or second, strings were not obtainable that could reach high A on so long a string length. This low quality of the accompaniment may be why Caccini thought the chitarrone most suitable for
accompanying the tenor voice.

2. The theorbo always plays the bass line completely. Caccini speaks of this in a rather oblique fashion: “It remains only to say that ties in the bass part are used thusly by me: after the chord, one should play again only the notes indicated, this being the proper usage of the chitarrone (and the easiest way to manage and play it) . . .” 5 The strong power and sustaining quality of the bass notes and the ability to change chords above them was part of the reason he so preferred the chitarrone.

3. The octave of the bass and sometimes the fifth may be played on repeated bass notes. (See Castaldi, measure 1; Kapsberger, measure 8.)

4. The accompaniment adds non-figured cadential 4-3 suspensions whenever possible. (See Corradi, measure 6.)

5. The accompaniment often doubles the voice part. This is done whenever convenient to the accompaniment or when the voice part has a “difficult” melodic figure. It is not possible to say conclusively why this was done, since it seems to run contrary to what theorists were saying at the time. Perhaps the accompanist was helping with intonation or perhaps the sonority thus created was pleasing to early seventeenth-century ears. We know that in some instrumental music of the same period everything was doubled or even tripled, as for example in Pietro Paolo Melli’s “Balletto” of 1616. In these songs the doubling has the effect of making the melodies more prominent and thus diminishing the force of the harmony—a rather modal effect. (See Corradi, measures 9-10; Kapsberger, measure 3, 5, 8-9.)

6. The theorbo adds passing notes and, at cadences, the flatted seventh to the dominant chord. These are added for expressive purposes but have obvious harmonic significance as well. They are used sparingly. (See Kapsberger, measure 2; Castaldi, measure 6, and almost any cadence.)

7. The theorbo breaks up and repeats chords. (See example.) This device is also used sparingly, although one would have expected more of it judging from Piccinini’s elaborate instructions on arpeggiation. 6 Perhaps Piccinini was thinking in terms of solo music only.

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5Caccini, “Ai Lettori.”

8. The accompaniments are simple with almost a total lack of contrapuntal or motivic figuration. In the light of so many busy realizations by modern editors, this is an important quality to keep in mind. The accompaniments never develop a beautiful part on their own. They are nearly meaningless without the voice—a sharp contrast to the lute accompaniments of Elizabethan and Jacobean airs. This simplicity is, of course, consistent with the new ideas of expressive singing emanating from the Florentine Camerata.

9. The number of voices (that is, notes of a chord) varies from two to five. No particular concern for voice leading is evident. At accented points, there seems to be a tendency to add more notes but this is not done with any consistency.

10. An unfigured bass note may imply a first inversion chord. The accompanist must take into account what is being sung.

Using these ten guidelines, it is not difficult to create new accompaniments indistinguishable from originals. They should be simple, yet musical, and in keeping with the early seventeenth-century ideas of expressive monody.

Flamminio Corradi, *Le Stravaganze d'amore*, Venetia, 1616*

*Due to the strange tuning of the theorbo, transcription of its tablature into modern notation is difficult. The result does not present the reader with a clear idea of how the music sounds. Due to the lowered first string (and sometimes the second, also), any attempt to show voice leading is futile. An additional headache for the transcriber is that he cannot always be certain whether one or both of the top courses are lowered. In most instances, both tunings would be possible. The Corradi song has been transcribed with the first two strings lowered, while the remaining two pieces have been transcribed with only the first string lowered.
A si o a ni invi-ti
Har-mi to-gli-te
Har-mi to-gli-ta-hav-ni non-de-tai cor-re
Dan

Se-ha-mi chi o ba-ci
o de-l cis-si-mi ba-ci
o de-l cis-si-mi

ba-ci
o de-l cis-si-mi ba-ci

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Bellorofonte Castaldi, Caprici a due strumenti cioe Tiorba e Tiorbina, Modena, 1622

Quel la cru del che per mia do-glia. Di li-berta. chil cor mi

Spaglia. Ogni hor mi-im-pia ge ogr'hor van ci di Spess'al mio

Pien toa del mio mal San-za pie-ta ai ri-di.
TWO NEW ENGLISH LUTE DUETS

BY LYLE NORDSTROM

Late sixteenth and early seventeenth century English lute duets have been some of the most popular of all duets for modern lutenists. The quality of the duets themselves as well as the fact that their existence has been mentioned in many articles accounts for this. Recently, two more complete duets that deserve mention have been discovered.

The most important of the two is also possibly one of the earliest of the true duets. (A true duet is one in which both the parts take an equal role as differentiated from the treble-ground duet in which one part has the diminutions and the other has the harmonic "ground.") One of the parts is that puzzling composition found on folio 6v of the Hirsh Lute Book (British Museum Ms. M.1353). This composition has caused much comment because it commences with a bar and a half of rest. The other lute part is hidden on page 15 of the Brogyntyn Ms. 27 (Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales). This piece has all the appearances of a solo composition; it was even catalogued in this way by Lumsden. Nevertheless, the two parts do fit perfectly together, including a matched two-beat irregular bar at bar 20 in both parts. The Brogyntyn manuscript lists the composer as

1The following articles are the most helpful and probably identify nearly 80 percent of the English duets literature:
A complete list of all the English lute duets will follow in a later publication.

"Mr. Marchant." The duet starts as a fantasy but evolves into a very typical English dialogue with many short answering phrases. It is quite a lovely composition.

The second duet is one of the many anonymous pieces of the treble-ground genre. The ground is found in the Brogyntyn manuscript on page 7 (the second ground), while the treble is contained in the Sturt Lute Book (British Museum Add. 38539) on folio 6v. The ground has a very interesting harmonic structure—the second through the fourth bars are descending root position major chords.

Hopefully, the emergence of these two duets, long buried in obscurity, will enrich the repertory of lutenists who enjoy playing together.

3 Mr. Marchant is probably the John Marchant who was associated with the Chapel Royal in 1593. Maitland and Squire in their preface to the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* say that he was "a musician in the service of Lady Arabella Stuart" (Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1963, p. x). Besides keyboard and solo lute works, he is associated with two other duets: "an allman for ij lutes (by) Mr. Marchant" in the Tollemache manuscript, folio 11. The other half of this duet is in the Brogyntyn manuscript, page 31, but is entitled "Eccho for 2 luts by Mr. Fra: Pilk:(ington)." The second duet is an incomplete duet found in University Ms. Dc.5.125. in Edinburgh with the inscription "A Fancy by Mr Marcant for ij lutes." Obviously Mr. Marchant is a known composer of duets. In fact, he ranks third behind John Johnson and Thomas Robinson in the number of duets ascribed to him.

4 These two duets are soon to be published in a *Lute Society of America* edition.
"If a lutenist lives to be eighty years old, surely he has spent sixty years tuning." "...I have heard that it costs as much in Paris to keep a lute as it does a horse."

Johann Mattheson, 1713.

Johann Mattheson's sarcastic remarks on the difficulties of tuning and stringing a lute are still quoted today and offered as evidence for the theory that the lute declined in popularity because it acquired too many strings. Since Mattheson was unquestionably one of the foremost music critics and aestheticians of eighteenth-century Germany, his disparaging tone has won a great deal of credence. Less generally known, however, is that these and other of his comments provoked indignation among contemporary lutenists, two of whom protested in documents that were published at that time.

The first of these protests is a letter written to Mattheson by Sylvius Leopold Weiss, the most important lutenist of the late baroque period. It was written in 1723, although it did not appear in print until 1727, when it became part of Mattheson's rebuttal to another document, the Historisch-Theoretisch und Praktische Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten of Ernst Gottlieb Baron. Both of these writings are of considerable importance to us, especially the Untersuchung, the first comprehensive history of the lute and its practice and the only one until the twentieth century.

1 See, for instance, Emanuel Winternitz' liner notes for Julian Bream's album of Bach suites (RCA LSC-2896).

Mattheson (1681-1764) was an opera singer, organist, harpsichordist, composer, and diplomat before he turned to writing about music. In the dozens of books and articles he published between 1713 and 1764, he exercised a strong influence on his contemporaries, for he strove in these writings to put music on a rational and empirical basis. As Mattheson states in the preface to Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre, this rationality was not common in the field of music. A certain drawback, although it made entertaining reading, was his sarcasm; he delighted in humorous exaggerations, in playing upon words, and in mimicking the style of his opponent. His style and his strong opinions inspired numerous polemics, of which the controversy about the lute is merely one example.

Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre, Mattheson’s first publication, was printed in Hamburg in 1713. It is a compendium of information on musical terms, composition and counterpoint, and aesthetic questions. The full title gives an idea of Mattheson’s intentions in publishing the book.

Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre, oder Universelle und gründliche Anleitung, Wie ein Galant Homme einen vollkommenen Begriff von der Hoheit und Würde der edlen MUSIC erlangen, seinen Gout darnach formiren, die Terminos technicos verstehen und geschicklich von dieser vortrefflichen Wissenschaft raisonniren möge.

The Newly Inaugurated Orchestra; or universal and thorough guide to how a galant homme may comprehend the grandeur and dignity of noble music, form his taste accordingly, understand the technical terms, and skillfully reason within this splendid science.

Part I contains definitions of terms (tones, intervals, keys, and so forth). Part II gives rules for composition and counterpoint. Part III considers aesthetic questions: the difference between contemporary Italian, English, French, and German music; the affects of keys; and, for this article’s purposes the most important subject, the merits of various contemporary musical instruments.

The section on instruments commences with a discussion of the voice. This is followed by a nine-page discourse on the “most perfect” instrument, the Clavir, by which Mattheson means the

3 Hans Turnow, “Mattheson,” Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Vol. VIII (1960), col. 1812f. This encyclopedia will thereafter be referred to as MGG.

4 Johann Mattheson, Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre (Hamburg, 1713). All references to the Orchestre in this article refer to this publication.

5 Mattheson, Orchestre, title page. This quote and all others in this article are translated by the present writer.

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portative organ, regal, clavichord, and all types of harpsichord. Discussions of other common stringed, wind and percussion instruments follow. Mattheson generally gives the range of an instrument and a description of its tone and how it is used, together with his opinion of its merits or lack thereof. For example, he includes some negative criticism of the oboe. “If the oboes are not played extremely delicately (except in the field or in taverns, where it does not matter so much), I would rather hear a good Jew’s harp or musical comb…”

The fretted, plucked instruments generally fare very badly. “The insipid guitars with their Strump Strump we shall leave to the Spaniards and their garlic feasts…” Mattheson curtly dismisses the citterns as repulsive and banal, but nonetheless his description of the theorbo is strictly objective and without sarcasm, as is that of the colascione.

The lute, however, is the subject of the lengthiest text except for that on the organ and receives the worst drubbing of any instrument considered. A translation of the complete text appears below.

The flattering lutes really have more partisans in the world than they merit, and their players are so unfortunate that when they can scratch out a few allemandes in the Viennese or Parisian style, they ask not a whit about real musical knowledge but are quite satisfied with their poverty. Some are so conceited as to call themselves composers, though they have truly not learned what consonance and dissonance are.

Those concerned should take note of this. I am not talking about skilled people here, and I respect everyone’s abilities. However, what cannot be tolerated is when the ass is looked upon as the miller.

The insinuating sound of this deceitful instrument always promises more than it delivers, and before we know where its strength and weakness lies, we think that nothing more charming may be heard on earth, as I myself was deceived by this siren. But once we see through these pitiful artifices, all the lute’s virtue vanishes immediately.

We pay twice for the best lute piece, for we have to hear the eternal tuning that goes with it. If a lutenist lives to be eighty years

6 Mattheson, Orchestre, p. 268.
7 Mattheson, Orchestre, p. 279.
8 The colascione is an instrument with a small, round body like a lute, but with a very long neck bearing from twelve to twenty-four frets and two to six strings.
9 As Mattheson later explained in his Lauten-Memorial, p. 114 (see discussion that follows), he means that not every amateur should be regarded as highly as Weiss.

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old, surely he has spent sixty years tuning. The worst of it is that among a hundred (especially non-professionals), scarcely two are capable of tuning accurately. In addition there is trouble with bad or spliced strings, especially the chanterelle, and trouble with frets and tuning pegs, so that I have heard that it costs as much in Paris to keep a lute as it does a horse.\textsuperscript{10}

It would be best if each lutenist would carefully attend to his mistress, seeing if she could be taught to value tuning more than playing. Who knows that he might now and then succeed, and then he would have accomplished enough.

People say that after the one \textit{qui a son Logis à l'Aigle}, a certain Wise lutenist is a perfect musician.\textsuperscript{11}

If so, I believe that such a person could do things on the lute at which the whole swarm of lute players would be amazed. A certain pretty woman here [in Hamburg] can sufficiently and astonishingly demonstrate that this is not impossible. Nonetheless, such virtue must be ascribed not so much to the rather deficient instrument as to the great diligence, judgment, and skill of those persons who produce such extraordinary things on it. For if the instrument were perfect [\textit{vollkommen}], it would be no miracle that perfect things were played on it. But since it is deficient, such skill is highly regarded.

Formerly the Italians liked to accompany and play thoroughbass on the lute, but since the theorbo has come into use, they gladly bid farewell to the lute. In churches and operas, the feigned accompaniment of the lute is too lousy [\textit{lausicht}] and serves more to give airs to the instrument than aid to the singer, for which the accompaniment of the colascione is more suitable. What can be accomplished with thoroughbass in chamber music on the lute may well be fine, if it could only be heard.\textsuperscript{12}

Apparently there was no public protest from lutenists against this rather one-sided picture. Mattheson wrote in 1727: “I thought it odd that since 1713 no one smelled the imagined affront to the lute.”\textsuperscript{13} Ten years later, in 1723, Mattheson included a further affront in his \textit{Critica Musica}, and this time lutenists reacted.

\textit{Critica Musica}, Germany's first musical journal, began appearing periodically in 1722. In January, February, March, and April of

\textsuperscript{10}In his \textit{Musick's Monument} (London, 1676), p. 43, Thomas Mace reports having heard “That it is a very \textit{Chargeable Instrument} to keep; so that one had as good keep a \textit{Horse as a Lute}, for Cost.” On page 46, Mace takes issue with this, as well as other “\textit{False and Ignorant Out-cries}.”

\textsuperscript{11}Mattheson is punning on the names of Count Logy and Sylvius Weiss.

\textsuperscript{12}Mattheson, \textit{Orchestre}, p. 274ff. The paragraph divisions are editorial.

\textsuperscript{13}Johann Mattheson, \textit{Lauten-Memorial}, appendix to \textit{Der neue göttingsche ... Ephorus} (Hamburg, 1927), p. 112.
1723, Mattheson published his discussion and criticism of a letter and a lengthy treatise on canons by Heinrich Bokemeyer. Bokemeyer was cantor at the Fürstliche Schule in Wolfenbüttel and had sent Mattheson the treatise, which the Hamburg critic proceeded to quote and dissect point by point in his journal. At one point, Bokemeyer comments that Mattheson was fortunate to have learned counterpoint when he was young, whereas he (Bokemeyer) had learned the art of canon and fugue only later, in his twenty-seventh year.\(^{14}\)

Mattheson's reply rambles considerably; finally, as an illustration, he writes the words that began the lute controversy.

For this reason it is certainly good to learn something in advanced age, but it is ten times better to do it in our youth, because we then do not give ourselves so many airs. When I first heard a lutenist, who was a handsome and elegant cavalier, I tore all the strings from my harpsichord and only wanted to play the lute. I scratched upon it for quite awhile and thought nothing could be finer. But as I gradually realized the imperfection and inconvenience of the instrument my admiration abated considerably. After thirty years, if not sooner, Herr Bokemeyer will also perhaps think otherwise about many things, especially his beloved canons.\(^{15}\)

Since Mattheson's disinclination for the lute was already well known, this new deprecatory aside was for Ernst Baron, a young lutenist in Jena, "like pouring fuel on the fire."\(^{16}\)

Ernst Gottlieb Baron (1696-1760) was a lutenist and theorist who had a university education (Leipzig and Jena) and had apparently completed most of the requirements for a doctorate in law, for he refers to himself in 1727 as candidatus juris. He was well traveled around Germany and either had met or knew of all the major lutenists of central Europe in that period. During his lifetime, he held the post of court lutenist and theorist at a variety of German noble courts, finally that in the royal Prussian court orchestra in Berlin from 1737 until his death. In his article on Baron in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Wolfgang Boetticher refers to him as "the last significant German representative of baroque lute practice."\(^{17}\) Baron wrote several articles on the lute

\(^{14}\) Johann Mattheson, Critica Musica (Hamburg, 1722-25), p. 275f.

\(^{15}\) Mattheson, Critica Musica, p. 280.


and other musical subjects that appeared in 1756 and 1757,\(^1\) long after the publication of his *Untersuchung*. In addition, he composed a variety of pieces for the lute, including several for small ensemble.\(^2\)

Early in 1723, at the time Mattheson published the fourth part of his *Critica Musica*, Baron was active as a lutenist in Jena and was also apparently at least a part-time student at the university there. Jacob Adlung wrote later of Baron:

> He studied together with me in Jena and wanted to have his book printed there. But since nobody would pay him a ducat for any of the folios, and in addition nobody was happy that he had attacked Mattheson so hotly, it was postponed.\(^3\)

Evidently Baron conceived the idea of writing a rebuttal to Mattheson, combined with a more or less lengthy apology for the lute, soon after reading the above lines in *Critica Musica*, for he did not remain long after in Jena. Johann Walther's *Lexicon* reports that he went to Jena in 1720 and stayed two years.\(^4\)

In the preface to the *Untersuchung* Baron states:

> Originally I was unwilling to make public a thing which I had compiled for my own amusement, but since very many of my good friends and fine connoisseurs of art encouraged me to do it, I finally could no longer refuse to see whether such a subject might not be of interest to the public.\(^5\)

Naturally, we cannot take such a modest apology strictly at face value, especially in view of his vituperative attack on Mattheson. Nonetheless, it is likely that Baron had already collected a great deal of the historical information for his own use and that other lutenist friends of his, concerned about the lute's prestige, might indeed have given him encouragement to publish it.

One of Baron's basic intentions was to clear up popular misconceptions about the lute, some of which were fostered by Mattheson. In this sense the *Untersuchung* is an apology. But it is more than this. Baron is concerned in the historical section with rescuing great artists of the past from oblivion; this he has done with

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\(^{1}\\)See the bibliography in *MGG*, Vol. I, col. 1338.


\(^{3}\\)Adlung, p. 580.


\(^{5}\\)Baron, penultimate page of preface.
much success. In many cases most of our knowledge, or even all of it, about a given lutenist or lute builder comes from the *Untersuchung*. This part of the book is a valuable document of eighteenth-century knowledge about the history of the lute, of a baroque lutenist’s opinions on Renaissance lute music, and especially of his observations about contemporary lutenists. The second half of the *Untersuchung* is devoted to theory and practice; it contains a mine of information about Baron’s conception of affect and rhetoric in music and about ornamentation and other performance practices of the time.

In the first chapter of this second part of Baron’s work, all of Mattheson’s above remarks about the lute are quoted and appraised. Baron begins his attack on Mattheson by citing the three sentences from *Critica Musica* that directly pertain to the lute. He then comments:

This is indeed a very elegant text, written with extraordinary understanding! He admits that in the beginning he was very hot for the warm cookies, but after he would have had to apply a little effort and constant diligence, which he calls discomfort, he grew weary of it.\(^2\)

A few pages later Baron launches his main assault on the previously-quoted section from the *Orchestre* as follows:

... I will see how I shall comport myself with such a great man, who is an arch-satyr [satirist], only that he lacks the large goatee, horns, long ears and the hooves. I can already see in my mind how he throws his Latin grenades at my head. I hear him shouting with his ghastly voice: “Bring the lamps, harpoons, torches, tallow and lanterns, so that I can see who is trying to disturb me, the invincible Nospomanatamus, in my circles.”\(^3\)

In the remainder of the chapter, Baron quotes Mattheson’s entire text pertaining to the lute from the *Orchestre* in sections of from one to four sentences, in the order in which Mattheson originally placed them. Each quotation is then submitted to the lutenist’s scrutiny and severe criticism. Unfortunately, as in the

\(^2\)Baron, p. 100.

\(^3\)Baron, p. 102f. The last sentence is a parody of the first sentence in the introduction to Mattheson’s *Critica Musica*, p. 5. The following definition of *nos pomanatamus* is translated from Wilhelm Hoffmann, *Allgemeines Fremdwörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1865), p. 86: “‘we fruits swim,’ Designation for conceited people who count themselves among the most important persons with whom they have relations.”
examples just given, this criticism is often rash, ill-considered, and downright irrelevant. A typical example is the following:

Flattery is the undeserved praise of something by someone who is furthering his own self-interest. But it only applies to animals, not to lifeless creatures.\textsuperscript{25}

Baron objects very strongly to Mattheson’s criticism of poor lute composers and launches into a discussion of harmony and composition that is merely tangential to what Mattheson is actually saying. Here, as elsewhere, he takes Mattheson’s figurative statements and exaggerations literally; thus, his objections are largely beside the point. His indignation is doubly humorous when he takes seriously the Hamburg critic’s sly suggestion that lutenists might well try to teach the ladies to be seduced by tuning.

Herr Mattheson must have experimented more than too much with the good effect of music on women, for he brings in the fair sex here, although the subject is not apropos. Because, as it appears, he practiced this far more than the lute, he is often caught in the pleasant doubt whether to admire the ladies with humble love or with enamored humility. Whoever could produce such a curious invention as entertainment with tuning more than melody should rightly be called Magnus Apollo. Herr Mattheson, a profound \textit{musicus speculativus}, must have exerted himself considerably to arrive at such an idea and, if he succeeds at it, he should communicate it to others, because we should daily strive to perfect the arts.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{25}Baron, p. 104.
\textsuperscript{26}Baron, p. 117.

A delectable anecdote retold in the article on Baron in Gustav Schilling, \textit{Encyclopädie der gesammten musikalischen Wissenschaften}, Vol. I (Stuttgart, 1835), p. 446f., provides some further insight into the young lutenist’s zeal and naivete in promoting and defending music and the lute.

"In Jena, Baron found the most favorable reception, not only because of his excellent lute playing, but also on account of his amiable demeanor. One thing that often gave the students there the opportunity for all kinds of pranks was his infinitely high conception of the beauty and power of his art. He wanted all the fabulous little tales about Arion, Amphion, and so forth to be considered quite true events, and he was never made more angry than when someone denied that more recent music had the power and effect that early music could produce.

"This was once the case at a large gathering, where [Johann Christian] Günther, who later became famous as a poet, was also in attendance. In order to prove his assertions, Baron was challenged to play. He sent for his lute, seated himself amid the circle of attentive listeners, played (as once Antigenides did before Alexander), and sought with all possible means to express the feeling of love. The impression that he made upon the listeners gathered closely around him seemed indeed miraculous, omnipotent; they embraced each
Baron’s main and perfectly justifiable objection is that Mattheson was unreasonably hard on the lute and its players.

It is not at all necessary to smear those who love this instrument with such abusive, awful and barbaric terms, because it is an innocent matter whether many or few play it.\(^{27}\)

A defense of the lute as an accompaniment instrument follows Mattheson’s accusation that it is “imperfect.” Baron gives the range of the eleven-course baroque lute in flat tuning and a brief explanation of those effects that are possible on both lute and harpsichord (triads, triads with basses, and so forth), and some characteristics that are unique to the lute. In the latter category belong dynamic variation, double and triple locations of tones, and portability of the instrument. A comparison of the lute and theorbo is included. The chapter closes with another reference to Mattheson’s lamps and illumination; Baron threatens to appeal to Diogenes for his lantern if the Hamburg critic challenges him.

In 1726, Mattheson’s views on opera and church music were attacked by Joachim Meyer, an emeritus professor and cantor at the Göttingen Gymnasium, in the latter’s Unvorgreifßliche Gedanken über die neulich eingerissene theatralische Kirchenmusik (“Humble thoughts on recently spreading theatrical church music”).\(^{28}\) Mattheson replied sharply to Meyer in early 1727 in his Der neue göttingsche... Ephorus. However, before Ephorus went to press, Baron’s Untersuchung appeared; Mattheson could not resist the temptation to wield his pen against this new onslaught as well. Thus, as an appendix to Ephorus, the so-called Lauten-Memorial was attached, dated Ascension Day, 1727.

other lovingly, and the most joyous emotion showed on their faces. Suddenly he modulated by an enharmonic change into the most bizarre melodies, unfurled all the sails of his art and painted wrath in swelling chords. Soon all those present sprang up from their seats. The longer he played, the higher their rage mounted. Chairs, tables, glasses, pipes, everything was demolished; swords flew out of their scabbards and a melee ensued. Baron was overjoyed with the effect of his playing but his lute was smashed and he had to take flight.

“When he reached the street he heard loud laughter, returned, and found to his horror that the mischievous students had arranged the whole affair in advance, wanting just once to get the best of the genial, gullible Orpheus, who was overly infatuated with his art. Baron went home mortified and indignant, but the next morning he was comforted with a far better and more beautiful lute than his old one. Despite all of this, Baron was regarded in Jena, as well as everywhere else, as an artist of broad education and as the best lutenist of his time.”

\(^{27}\) Baron, p. 119.

\(^{28}\) Joachim Meyer, Unvorgreifßliche Gedanken über die neulich eingerissene theatralische Kirchenmusik (Göttingen, 1726).
The *Lauten-Memorial* betrays considerable haste in composition. Mattheson's thoughts meander, and there are numerous redundancies. Nonetheless, it has value from a human interest standpoint: How will Mattheson react to the *Untersuchung*? But more importantly, in this appendix he outlines succinctly what he expects of an instrument and why the lute, in his opinion, does not measure up. I will discuss here both his personal reply to Baron and the more historically significant points that he makes.

Mattheson introduces the *Lauten-Memorial* with predictable sarcasm.

I have just read Herr Baron's so-called *Untersuchung des Instruments der Laute[n]*, published in Nuremberg, and I thought even at the title that I would not get off scot-free. But I did not expect such a massive attack from a lutenist wishing to be delicate.\(^{29}\)

In the first four pages he explains how this latest personal attack has not affected him and muses how it is merely important to be satisfied with oneself, for then the opinions of others will be of little consequence.

It would be easy for me to give the works to the law candidate and lute advocate . . . [However] I will, with the help of God, write a serious paper, avoiding the so pleasant desire for revenge, and always remember that my person is the least important thing . . . \(^{30}\)

He maintains five different times in the course of these sixteen pages that his satire was not directed against those lutenists who were indeed masters of their instrument (that is, Weiss), but rather against the numerous pseudo-virtuosi who were merely under the illusion that they were masters. (Poor lutenists were, of course, not the only musicians to suffer his public scorn—he attacked ill-trained and ignorant singers, organists, composers, flautists, and others with the same biting satire.\(^{31}\))

To the names which Baron called him he replies:

\[...\] I would very much like to consider the shoemaker, the goatee, the horns, the long ears, the hooves, the ghastly voice, the hare, the mouse-catcher, the Arcadian, the Latin dust-mop, the windbag, the

\(^{29}\) Mattheson, *Lauten-Memorial*, p. 109. In his *Untersuchung*, Baron referred several times to the lute's "delicate" tone.

\(^{30}\) Mattheson, *Lauten-Memorial*, p. 111.

\(^{31}\) See, for instance, Mattheson's *Orchestre*, p. 11f.
vile thoughts, the prince of the swarm of harpsichord players, the messenger-boy philosophy, the untruths, the Plutonian manner, and so on to be merely expressions common among cultivated and honorable people in the lute realm, if such is possible. Is not Herr Baron a bit ashamed when he sees this little bouquet of thistles from those grown and carefully tended in his garden? 32

He attacks Baron’s reasoning and terminology, just as the latter had attacked his.

Further, the participle “flattering,” which I apply to the lute, can still rightly stand undisputed, just as one [Baron] says of a lifeless toy that it is Mercury’s child and bore a daughter with the name Theorba. 33

The grounds for his aversion to the lute are outlined objectively, with no attempt to entertain. According to Mattheson, the desirable virtues of a given instrument are that it be: “…full-voiced [vollstimmig], penetrating [durchdringend], as stable as possible, and lovely to hear.” 34

He gives five reasons for his low opinion of the lute:

First, because the instrument is not of much use in churches, nor in operas, nor in large chamber concerts. Second, because it is not as full-voiced as the keyboard instruments, which include harpsichords, positives, and organs. Third, because it has many strings, and they are more susceptible to changes in weather than others. Fourth, because it must be retuned for every key. Fifth, because it demands an extraordinary delicatesse, and it is much harder to play decently than the keyboard.35

On the use of the lute, he comments:

Since the use of this tool is restricted to the smallest part of chamber music, I cannot see what sort of sin anyone commits who has moderate esteem for it.36

32 Mattheson, Lauten-Memorial, p. 114f.
33 Mattheson, Lauten-Memorial, p. 113.
34 Mattheson, Lauten-Memorial, p. 115. The term vollstimmig refers to the full, Italian style of orchestral continuo, whereby the keyboard accompanist would play as many chord tones as he could manage with his ten fingers. For detailed examples, see George Buelow, Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966), pp. 69-89.
35 Mattheson, Lauten-Memorial, p. 116.
36 Mattheson, Lauten-Memorial, p. 110.
From these and his previous statements, it is apparent that Mattheson's impatience was essentially twofold: The lute was not loud enough for use in large ensembles, which is the sort of music to which he was principally devoted; and its idiosyncrasies proved tiresome in the hands of the majority of lutenists.37

With the Lauten-Memorial the lute controversy closes. We can today be grateful to Mattheson for expressing his biases; as a progressive musician his views on the lute are doubtless reflective of many of his galant contemporaries' opinions, though, of course, he often overstates for effect. We can even be grateful for the overstatements, since they occasioned the publication of the only major history of the lute prior to the twentieth century.

EPILOGUE

One of the most interesting aspects of the Lauten-Memorial is the inclusion of a letter by Sylvius Leopold Weiss. Mattheson thought very highly of Weiss, who, prior to this letter, was known to him only by reputation. The purpose of its inclusion was to demonstrate to Baron that it was possible to object to Mattheson's opinions in a dignified manner. The letter is here translated complete. Mattheson's footnotes are given at the bottom of Weiss' letter preceded by letters of the alphabet.

Here is the transcript of the letter which the greatest lutenist in the world did me the honor of writing to me four years ago, and which will here serve as a counterbalance to the undeserved calumnies of Herr Baron.

37 At this juncture it should be pointed out that Mattheson was hard of hearing. Even in 1705 the symptoms were noticeable; in 1728 he gave up his posts of cantor and canon at the cathedral in Hamburg (problems with the singers were also a consideration); and by about 1735 he was totally deaf (see Hans Turnow, col. 1799f.). We can only speculate to what extent this played a role in his rejection of the lute, but it may well have been a contributing factor.

A defense of the lute in addition to those of Mattheson's lutenist contemporaries is given by the outstanding German scholar Hans Neemann in "J. S. Bachs Lautenkompositionen," Bach-Jahrbuch, Vol. XXVIII (1931), p. 75. Neemann points out that in the eighteenth century lutenists were still popular in German courts and performed an important function as theorists in thoroughbass ensembles. However, this position was undermined and finally made superfluous by the new musical style that did away with the basso continuo. Like Baron and Weiss before him, Neemann believes that Mattheson grossly exaggerated his case against the lute.
Dresden, March 21, 1723

P[raemissis] P[raemittendis]

Not only your learned writings (which, as soon as they appear, I immediately acquire, read with edification, and have already derived much use from and hope to continue doing so), but also the undeserved praise which mon cher maitre most kindly extended to my unworthiness in his last musical journal on pages 287 and 288, pertaining to my trip to Munich, encourage me to make with my pen your long-desired acquaintance. I have already planned several times with M. König to take a trip to Hamburg expressly for the honor of personally meeting mon maitre. To this point it has not been possible, but will unfailingly take place [in the future.] I especially admire your just and incomparable reasoning against Herr Cantor [Bokemeyer] concerning fugues and canons, in the fourth part of Musica Critica.

But then on page 280 I find again a passage to the disadvantage of the poor lute, which necessarily pains me somewhat, since this instrument was already twice sharply criticized in Das Neu-Eröffnete Orchestre. Now I am protesting solennissime, for my intention is not at all to start a musical controversy but only to inform you most obediently that no lutenist, especially I, would wish to assert that the lute can be compared to the keyboard instruments in perfection. Rather I am of the first opinion that after the keyboard there is no more perfect instrument than this one, especially for Galanterie. The theorbo and chitarrone, which are quite different even from each other, cannot be used at all in Galanterie pieces. I would like to show you this if I were sometime so fortunate as to be able to play for you the little that I have learned on this instrument.

Of course every instrument has its flaws, namely the thing itself, stringing, tuning, and so forth. However I have always endeavored to tune as little as possible, and almost never to put on new strings when I am playing publicly, unless perhaps the weather is very humid. Thus one cannot ascribe all imperfections primarily to the instrument, but rather to its players. Yet I do not wonder that the lute lacks your approbation, for those masters formerly active in Hamburg, Mr. T.—, who is now dead, and a certain M.—, played their pieces very well. However, without disparaging them I can testify that they had not achieved the full power and possibilities which have since been attained.

38In Critica Musica, Vol. IV, p. 287f., Mattheson reported that Weiss had been rewarded for his performance at a nuptial festival in Munich with 100 ducats and a golden snuff-box.
39In addition to the section translated here, there is another disparaging reference to lutenists in the preface of the Orchestre, p. 12. Baron does not refer to it.
(Here there followed a story like that of Marcolphus, which I omit for the sake of brevity.)

But to accompany with the lute in an orchestra would be too weak and inconspicuous, although at the nuptial celebration here I had an aria con liuto solo in the opera with the well-known Bercelli, and it is supposed to have had a good effect. First, I had a splendid lute. Second, the aria showed off the instrument brilliantly. Third, nothing else accompanied, except harpsichord and contrabass, and these played only the main notes in the bass.

Otherwise I have adapted accomodirt one of my instruments for accompaniment in the orchestra and in church. It has the size, length, power and resonance of the veritable theorbo, and has the same effect, only that the tuning is different. This instrument I use on these occasions. But in chamber music, I assure you that a cantata à voce sola, next to the harpsichord, accompanied by the lute has a much better effect than with the chitarrone or even the theorbo, since these two latter instruments are ordinarily played with the nails and produce in close proximity a coarse, harsh sound.

Now I am getting so involved in descriptions of all these details that you cannot but become bored. Thus I shall leave off here, again asking that you not believe I am a man who imagines he knows a lot or that he wished to contradict you—God forbid! My sole desire is merely to further promote my instrument and to profit from all expert people, to which the honor of your worthy acquaintance will

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40 Mattheson's note. Marcolphus von Butterfass ("butter churn") is a fatuous, presumably fictional lutenist whom Baron derides in Part II, Chapter II of his Untersuchung.

41 Until the late baroque period the theorbo retained the same tuning (in fourths with a major third in the middle, based upon G) as the renaissance lute, with of course more bass courses added. Baron reports (Untersuchung, p. 131) that in his time the theorbo was commonly tuned in D minor, like the baroque lute.
contribute considerably. Wherewith I commend myself to constant kind remembrance,

Your,

S. L. Weiss

à Monsieur,
Monsieur Mattheson, Maitre de Chapelle de S[on] A[ltesse]
R[oyale]
le Duc regnant de Schleswig-Holstein, etc.42

(a) I know various examples of those who rank the lute far ahead.
(b) I am fully in accord with this.
(c) Herr Baron should note this difference from the lute (p. 131) [of the Untersuchung].
(d) A distinction should always be made between the faults of the instrument and those of the unskilled player.
(e) This is exactly what I say: aliis verbis.
(f) That is praiseworthy.
(g) Note page 131 [of the Untersuchung].
(h) True.

The scope of this book distinguishes it, in breadth if not in depth, from previous writings about tablatures. As Tonazzi correctly states in his preface, this is the first book "entirely dedicated to the interpretation of the various systems of notation used in lute, vihuela, guitar and similar tablatures."* While it is true that earlier scholarly treatments of the field have existed for some time, these have appeared generally as subsections of larger works (such as Apel’s _Notation of Polyphonic Music_... and Wolf’s _Handbuch der Notationskunde_, II) or as miscellaneous articles and prefaces to modern editions. None of these earlier writings attempted to include information on four- and five-course guitar, pandora, mandora, and theorbo tunings and notations along with the usual French, German, and Italian lute tablatures, as Tonazzi has done. The first question that comes to mind, in light of the broad scope of the present work, is that of bibliographic thoroughness. Have the previous writings been adequately covered?

There was just one page of “bibliografia essenziale” at the rear of Tonazzi’s study (page 159). Here was cited _RISM Recueils imprimés, XVIe-XVIIe siècles_, but not Howard Mayer Brown’s _Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600..._! Here also were familiar titles by Boetticher, Bone, Brondi, and Buek, but no Hudson, Jacobs, Moe, or Ward dissertations! Two lute methods published by Schott in the 1960’s (Poulton and Giesbert) were included, but apparently none by Spinacino, Virdung, Besard, Piccinini, Mace, Mouton, Adlung, or others. I feared the worst. Had the cult of the amateur finally found its way also into lute literature?

Fortunately the answer is an unequivocal “No!” Despite what

*Reviewer’s translations appear throughout.
appears to be a very weak bibliography, this study exhibits a wealth of intelligently organized facts. The author, a profesor of lute and guitar at the Conservatory of Trieste, certainly displays a broad knowledge of intabulated music throughout the volume. If the scholarly text is like a ship moving ahead on its own "sea" of footnotes, then this ship is almost never high and dry. Substantiation is plentiful, and behold, much of the missing bibliography turns up in the footnotes.

The seemingly arbitrary apportioning of a basically weak bibliography between the footnotes and the "bibliografia essenziale" cannot be excused. Yet the author does offer us an explanation for this in the preface. While admitting that he has assembled few citations ("poche notizie") concerning the various instruments, he asserts that these "obviously" can be expanded if the reader consults "either the works cited in the course of the volume or those included in the final bibliography." As a reader, I dislike being told, in effect, to swim the sea of footnotes in search of basic bibliographic information.

This monograph consists of three main parts, the first and largest of which deals with tablatures for all plucked instruments with fingerboard. Each instrument is systematically treated in terms of tuning, tablatures, and fonti ("sources"). Part Two (pages 115 to 137) consists of sketches of the literature of the lute, vihuela, and guitar; it extends into the twentieth century. Written in a necessarily summary style, this condensation of four hundred plus years into twenty-five pages reads smoothly if superficially in spots. Part Three is a handsome collection of seventeen glossy facsimiles covering the major intabulated monument and styles, from Petrucci's 1507 Intabolatura de lauto to Roncalli's Capricci armonici sopra la chitarraspaagnola of 1692. None of these facsimiles is transcribed, however, and numbers 4, 5, 7, and 8 are reproductions of passages with no end or cadence in sight. In other words, they are not playable as music.

Tonazzi's brief transcriptions of musical examples in the text are uniformly done on the treble clef sounding an octave lower and are clearly intended for guitar performance. The author seems to choose whatever lute tuning (D, E, G, or A) best serves this end. He illustrates the well-known divergence of approach between strict transcription ("trascrizione integrale") and polyphonic realization ("trascrizione interpretativa") with a simple two-voice passage from a ricercar by Gorzanis rendered in two predictable versions. For all its lucidity, this example adds nothing to our understanding of the thorny textural problems often found in transcribing idiomatic lute music. Still, the choice is adequate to illustrate the old Schrade-Gombosi dispute, one to which all serious writers on this
subject \textit{de rigeur} must nod.

The sections on French and German tablature read much like tabulations themselves: systematic compilations of information on notational symbols. Unfortunately, transcriptions of musical passages adequate to show the applications of this information are lacking. Archlute and theorbo notations likewise are not transcribed, although excellent facsimiles of the tablatures themselves do appear at the rear of the text.

The bibliographic paucity alluded to earlier applies generally to secondary sources. A shortcoming in the area of primary (musical) sources will also be noted at the end of each subheading of Part One (Italian tablature, French tablature, and so on). What criteria for inclusion did Tonazzi apply here? Ballard's \textit{Diverses pièces mises sur le luth...} of 1611 is cited, but his 1614 installment is not. \textit{RISM} and Brown identification numbers are absent, as are leads to where a more thorough list of sources might be found. Furthermore, the source citations for each type of tablature are not annotated. Modern editions are not referred to. Only one library location for each entry is given, even when several are known.

Tonazzi would assuage our astonishment at this state of affairs with the prefatory remark that because of the vastness of the subject, he has limited his treatment to the concepts that he says will "suffice for those who desire to deal with the interpretation of such tablatures. Our work, therefore, does not have the pretense of being complete, much less definitive." The reviewer could not agree more.

In the final analysis, the purpose of Tonazzi's publication may well be to give guitar students a solid introduction to the field of tablatures while sparing them the necessity of buying the Apel and Wolf notation handbooks along with a host of other books, articles, and assorted microfilms. One cannot deny that the treatment is equal to the task. There has long been a need for a work like this, and surely no student at home with Italian will find a more pleasing or comprehensive survey of the field today. How many of us who have taught lute and guitar in this country have wished for something like this in English to get the basics across! —\textit{Thomas F. Heck}
SONATAS FOR LUTE BY SYLVIRUS LEOPOLD WEISS. David Rhodes, baroque
lute. Cambridge CRS 2301. Pieces in F major or D minor; Pieces in A minor;
Pieces in D major; Pieces in C major.

During his lifetime, Sylvius Leopold Weiss (1686-1750) was
known as the finest lutenist in Europe and as a composer of
considerable stature. He was recognized by scholars early in this
century as a towering figure in lute music, and his compositions have
been very favorably compared (by Hans Neemann) to the lute music
of J. S. Bach. Two doctoral dissertations have been done on the
lutenist’s works. Despite this recognition, he remains virtually
unknown today to all but baroque lute and guitar enthusiasts. Only
in the last ten years have a few of his sixty-plus suites\(^1\) been recorded
by phonograph companies, and most are played in transcription for
guitar. In fact, the best known piece by “Weiss,” the A minor suite
often played by Spanish guitarists, was not composed by Weiss at all
but is a playful hoax by Manuel Ponce. Thus it is a particular
pleasure to greet this recording, since to my knowledge it contains as
much music of Weiss as all other Weiss recordings combined, and it is
performed on the instrument for which it was conceived.

There is an acute problem with the baroque lute—very few in
the world can play it. Moreover, most of the enormous amount of
music for baroque lute lies unpublished in European libraries.
Therefore, a musician who aspires to master this instrument and
explore its repertoire must teach himself to play it and do his own
musicological research. In view of this, David Rhodes has
accomplished a great deal.

However, there are several drawbacks to this recording.
Although most of Weiss’ music is collected in the form of Sonaten or
Partien (suites), Rhodes has chosen in at least one instance to patch
together pieces from three different sonatas into a single suite; he
calls it simply “Pieces in F major or D minor.” The F major
“Allemande” and “Courante” appear in the first suite (1717) of
Ruggiero Chiesa’s published Weiss edition, the “Gavotte” and
“Sarabande” from the seventh suite, and the “Gigue” (circa 1739)
from the twenty-seventh. (Since the “Gigue,” as played, is not
identical to the published music, the performer no doubt used a

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\(^1\)There is no comprehensive catalog of Weiss’ works; Neemann lists fifty-eight suites
and numerous single pieces in his article, “Die Lautenistenfamilie Weiss,” Archiv für
Musikforschung, Vol. IV (1939), pp. 185-188.
different manuscript.) Especially considering the two-decade time span between the composition of the dances, I find this a very dubious procedure.

In the liner notes, Rhodes comments: “Of all these selections, the introductory F Major Prelude, Allemande and Courante of the F Major Sonata are of the greatest importance from a historical standpoint. . . . The complete sonata is set seven times in various manuscripts, two of which are autographed. Apparently, the work was a favorite not only of the composer's but also of his many followers.” I, for one, would like to hear the complete sonata as the composer arranged it.

The technical performance of this music is competent, but the spirit is rather pedestrian. Although the musical interpretations are intelligent, somehow the passionate intensity that must have come through when Weiss himself played the music—his contemporaries raved about his artistry—is missing. I sense a lack of rhythmic control in the parts that need it most; that is, in cadences and in the free, improvisatory preludes. When Rhodes is carried by the rhythm of a dance movement, his playing is fine.

Rhodes does have a good understanding of high baroque style and ornamentation. He generally ornaments sparingly, following the indications of the composer the first time he plays a section. On the repeat, he will frequently embellish more freely, filling in skips in the Italian manner and making longer trills at final cadences. Some of this ornamentation is undoubtedly Rhodes' own, and he is to be commended for not adhering slavishly to the manuscript source as many performers do.

Rhodes has attempted to recreate the actual sound of the baroque lute. He strings his thirteen-course lute (by David Rubio) with gut and plays without fingernails. But whereas there is some justification for the latter procedure, the practical effect is to blur the sound and contribute to a general lack of presence in the recording.

In summary, although the recording is not without flaws, it nevertheless represents an important step toward making the music of Weiss more readily accessible, and it definitely belongs in the collection of all who are interested in the baroque lute.—Douglas Alton Smith
JOHN DOWLAND: Lute Songs and Dances. Hayden Blanchard, tenor; Frederick Noad, lute; Ruth Adams, viola da gamba. Orion ORS 72102.

The general revival of lute playing in recent years has brought a marked increase in the number of lute recordings available. Of all recorded lute composers, none has proved more popular than the great John Dowland. This is perhaps not surprising. Not only is his music charming and sophisticated, but the quality of Dowland's creative output is incredibly high.

The recordings reviewed here offer two interesting programs of Dowland's music and deserve the attention of anyone interested in Elizabethan music. The singers are both effective, although for different reasons. Willard Cobb possesses a very high natural tenor that is well suited to the intimate nature of the music. Furthermore, his diction is excellent. One drawback to Cobb's singing is a somewhat unemotional performance. On the other hand, Hayden Blanchard sings with considerable warmth and, although his style is not as dramatic as, say, Peter Pears or Hughes Cuénod, he conveys the meaning of Dowland's lyrics with feeling. His voice, however, is more operatic than Cobb's. One senses that Blanchard is often holding back with the result that some notes in the upper register sound a bit pinched. Blanchard's voice also suffers from excessive vibrato at times.

The lutenists, each making his recording debut, are excellent. Deborah Minkin performs on a Reginato lute with a lovely, bright tone. Frederick Noad is heard on a new instrument by David Rubio, a lute that sounds much lighter and more realistic than the type of Rubio lute made familiar from the playing of Julian Bream.

On both records, the engineers are to be congratulated for holding down the recording level. All too often we hear lute records engineered with a sound level more appropriate to the organ than the intimate lute. The present recordings offer some of the truest lute tone obtainable on disc.

The Musical Heritage Society recording shows Miss Minkin to be a skillful and artistic solo performer. She is at her most impressive in a long fantasia from the Pickering Lute Book that ends Side One. Although the Pickering manuscript does not credit this fantasia to Dowland, the chromatic motif and skillful composition are certainly suggestive that Dowland, was, indeed, its composer. It might be pointed out that Diana Poulton does not include this piece among the fantasias listed in her Dowland biography. The work proceeds from a highly introspective opening to a finale of great virtuosity
without ever losing its chromatic character.

Among Miss Minkin’s other solos are three versions of the famous Lachrimae melody, certainly too many for a recording of a retrospective nature, particularly when the song “Flow my tears” is also included. The two versions of the Lachrimae Pavan are correctly performed at the same pace as the following “Galliard to Lachrimae,” the latter taken from A Pilgrims Solace. Although this means that the pavans are played a bit faster than many listeners may be used to, it is historically correct to consider the two dances, pavan and galliard, as having the same tempo—a point often misconstrued in modern interpretations. Actually, it is only the steps of the dance that make the galliard faster, not the music.

Unlike Miss Minkin’s solos, which are confined to one side of the recording, Noad’s solos are interspersed among the songs. His selections are generally on the lighter side and include “The Shoemaker’s Wife” and “Go From My Window,” neither of which is strictly a “dance” as the album title would suggest. The only lute solo included on both records is “Tarlestones Riserrection,” played by Miss Minkin as a jig and by Noad at a slower tempo in the nature of a song arrangement. Either way, the piece is a small masterpiece.

As well known as Dowland’s music is, its performance is not without its musicological snags and questions, several of which are raised in the present interpretations. One of these questions surrounds the marvelous song “Come heavy sleep,” one of the two songs to be found on both recordings. Cobb sings only the first verse, remarking in a program note, “. . . The remaining verse presented such problems of text underlay . . . that it was thought wisest to omit it from the performance.” Blanchard has a go at singing both verses and his solution to the problem generally succeeds. His alterations of the text are not without interest. For example, to fit the meter of the melody, he changes the opening line of the second stanza from “Come shadow of my end, and shape of rest,” to “Come shape of rest, and shadow of my end.” This suggestion was originally made by Edmund Fellows in his edition of Dowland’s First Book of Songs. Other alterations consist mainly of repeating words and phrases of the original lyrics. Anyone interested in singing this outstanding song would do well to listen to Blanchard’s rendition. After it, Cobb’s performance of a single stanza sounds truncated. For comparison, the original text is given with the Orion album, although no comment is made about Blanchard’s changes.

The other song duplicated on both records is “Come away, come sweet love.” Here, the interpretations differ markedly. Blanchard and Noad perform it at a much slower pace than do Cobb and Miss Minkin. The Orion performance, unfortunately, ignores the
shift to sesquialtera rhythm in the final two lines of the song. The mensural sign "3" indicates a shift to 6/8 meter, not 3/4. This rhythm, which adds so much to the sprightly flavor of the song, is interpreted correctly on the MHS record.

Among other songs performed by Blanchard is the famous "Can she excuse my wrongs?" that again brings up the question: Should the fifth note of the melody be sung as a B-flat or a B-natural? Blanchard here sings it as a B-natural and Noad plays the "corrected" accompaniment from the 1613 edition of the First Book of Songs. This reviewer will leave it to others to weigh the merits of this choice.

All nine songs on the Orion album are taken from Dowland's First Book of Songs. In them, the performers are joined by Ruth Adams on gamba. The majority of Elizabethan lute-song recordings do not include a gamba, although it was the common practice in Dowland's day to have a gamba double the bass line of the lute. The Orion recording thus allows us to hear these songs in the standard Elizabethan format.

Both albums come with lyric sheets, although the layout of the Orion sheet is messy and quite confusing to read.—Peter Danner
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