Vol. IX

Journal of the Lute Society of America, Inc.

Peter Danner, Editor

Douglas Alton Smith, Associate Editor

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Each year, as the Journal is sent to the printers (usually at a date later than anticipated), the editors give a sigh of relief and hope that this time perhaps they have put together the best issue yet. The reader, of course, must decide on the merits of the present issue, but we feel it offers both variety and solid scholarship.

John M. Ward, professor of music at Harvard University, should need little introduction to musicians interested in the lute. As a foretaste to his major study on John Dowland to be published in the 1977 Journal, Professor Ward offers his appraisal of the so-called "Dowland Lute Book" in the Folger Library. A second study of English lute music is presented by Lyle Nordstrom, associate professor and collegium director at Oakland University, Rochester, Michigan. Professor Nordstrom has studied the Elizabethan lute duet literature for many years and here examines the music of one of its most significant practitioners, John Johnson.

In the 1975 Journal, Michael Saffle presented measurements and observations on a number of lutes and archlutes he examined on a recent trip to Europe. In the concluding half of his article, he turns his attention to theorbos and chitarrones. A doctoral candidate at Stanford University, Saffle has had a major hand in the production of the present Journal, serving as copy editor, typesetter, and layout artist. His assistance has been much appreciated. Richard Pinnell recently completed his doctorate at UCLA with a dissertation on the guitar music of Francesco Corbetta. Here, he shares some of the fruits of his research and gives new evidence concerning the influence of the great seventeenth-century guitarist. Finally, in continuing our policy of offering accurate translations of significant lute documents, your editors present the sound instructions of Philipp Franz leSage de Richee. Hopefully this translation will provide practical advice to the ever-swelling number of baroque lutenists.
Plate 1. *FD*, folio 3. Hands A and C. The reproduction of pages from *FD* is by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.
THE SO-CALLED
"DOWLAND LUTE BOOK" IN
THE FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

For Nino Pirrotta
and old time’s sake.

By John M. Ward

One of the prize sources for English lute music is a manuscript containing numerous examples of what is generally agreed to be John Dowland’s handwriting. At the time the manuscript was first made known to scholars, in the Sotheby sales catalog for the auction held 16 November 1926, it was described as “formerly in the possession of John Dowland” and as having “continued in the possession of the composer’s family,” presumably from the time of his death three hundred years earlier. The only evidence cited by the unnamed cataloger to support these opinions is: (1) the composer's autographs; (2) the presence on one of the flyleaves of the name of James Dowland of Cuckney, Notts, a gentleman described as the “grandfather of Mr. M. L. Dowland, the late owner”; and, (3) the fact that the volume was in the possession of the heirs of Mrs. M. L. Dowland, formerly of 69 Denmark Avenue, Wimbledon, at the time of the sale. Apparently it took no more than the presence of Dowland’s handwriting in the manuscript and the volume’s having been owned by similarly named individuals in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to convince the cataloger that the volume had once belonged to the composer.

Since the time of the sale the manuscript has often been referred to as “Dowland’s Lute Book.” The catalog of the Folger Shakespeare Library, where the manuscript is now housed under the shelf number Ms. V.b. 280 (formerly Ms. 1610.1), describes it as “The John Dowland-Dowland family copy.” And Diana Poulton, in her biography of the composer, expresses the opinion that FD belonged to the family from the time “it was first compiled,” and that

1 To be referred to as FD in the following pages. The other abbreviations used in this paper are those devised by Diana Poulton for her biography of the composer, John Dowland (London: Faber, 1972), and edition of his Collected Works for Lute (London: Faber, 1974) —hereinafter JD and CLM, respectively.
the last Dowland to own it was “the widow of a descendant of the composer himself.”

That Dowland contributed to the contents of FD is fairly well established on palaeographic grounds. The evidence that he may have owned the volume comes entirely from its nineteenth- and twentieth-century associations. Arguing against his having owned FD is the miscellaneous character of the contents. I cannot escape the conclusion that FD was the notebook either of a teacher of lute-playing or, more likely, of one or more students of the instrument. The reasons for thinking so are many.

To begin, there is the physical appearance of FD. At least a dozen hands, referred to by letters of the alphabet in the following remarks, appear to have contributed to the manuscript: two, A and D, supplied most of the contents—A in a loose, practiced, easily read, workaday style of writing (see pl. 1); D in an equally fluent, legible but smaller, denser, more elegant script (see pl. 2)—; two others, G and J, both experienced copyists, added a few pieces each; the rest, amateur hands all, inserted scraps of tablature, mostly at the back of the book. A provided neither titles nor composers’ names for the twenty-two pieces he copied into FD; for thirteen of these pieces titles were supplied by C (see pl. 1). D provided only thirteen identifications for the thirty pieces he added to the manuscript; for the rest, titles and a few composers’ names were supplied by G, H, and I (see pl. 2). The division of labor between the copyist of the tablature and the provider of titles and composers’ names for the music is striking, made more so by the fact that six, possibly seven, of the pieces copied by D are accompanied by a composer’s signature: in six instances by John Dowland’s, in the seventh by what I believe is John Johnson’s.

2JD, pp. 102-104. Though it seems to contradict the view that FD remained in the Dowland family from the time “it was first compiled,” Mrs. Poulton also believes that Anne Bayldon, whose name (signature?) appears on the flyleaf at the end of the manuscript, was among the “several owners of the book” and that she “copied the pieces in the first part of the MS.” Anne’s only demonstrable connection with FD is the presence of her name on the flyleaf.

3No documented signature of Johnson’s is known to survive; thus we can only conjecture that the one of f. 15 is his. Three hands supplied the words that follow the entablatured music on this folio, vis.: D wrote “finis,” H added “Delight pavin,” and I wrote, in slightly larger letters, “Jo. Johnson.” An exactly comparable sequence of hands appears on the preceding folio, where D wrote “finis,” H wrote “m' Smythes Allman[e],” and G, the composer, signed his name “Jo. doulande.” The way in which the name “Jo: John- sonn” is written on f. 15 is contrived and self-conscious, as signatures of famous men (John Dowland’s, for example) often are, and the skill with which it has been set down bespeaks practice in the writing. (What appears to be a crude copy of Johnson’s signature, probably the work of H, is found on f. 12.) If Johnson autographed the piece on f. 15, then it and the music on the preceding folios—including CLM, nos. 23a, 39, 40, 47, 48a, 55, and 66a—can be dated before Midsummer, 1594, when Johnson died.
The pieces copied by A are mostly short, simple, easy, and tuneful. The difficult pieces appear among those copied by D; many of these require the support of a second instrument and consist in part or wholly of single-line passage work, the sort of music that demands finger dexterity but not a great deal of musical sophistication. The latter is required by only a few pieces in FD, such as Johnson’s “Delight Pavan” and Dowland’s “Lachrimae.” The general impression gained from reading through the manuscript is that the contents should appeal to a young person, one capable of taking pleasure in playing the 301 measures of “The Battle” on folios 19v-21v.

Noteworthy is the mixing, often on the same page, of skilled and unskilled hands. Where C is concerned the unskilled hand is almost certainly that of a student—probably a young one, judging by the spelling of the titles (e.g., “the honsok” for “The Hunt’s Up,” “the terble to grien siuis” for “the treble to Green Sleeves,” “winter gomps” for “Winter[s] Jump,” etc.). A appears to have broken off in the middle of copying the last piece he contributed to FD, and D to have completed the piece. Collaboration of this sort in the copying of music is rarely seen in English lute sources; it suggests that FD belonged to a pupil, that teachers wrote out the pieces to be studied, and that there was a change of teacher during the copying of one piece.

FD is also unusual for the amount of performance information included in the entablatured music, information that a student was more likely to require than an accomplished player. Most of the Elizabethan lute sources include some use of dots to indicate direction of stroke, barres to indicate notes to be held, and signs—the most common of which is the #—to indicate where an ornament is to be inserted; very few, however, are as rich in such indications for performance practice as FD, and few offer such a variety of signs. For example:

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5 The two parts of the piece do not fit exactly. A copied vars. 1-7 and part of 8 on f. 6v; D copied vars. 6, 9-14 on f. 7. The rest of A’s copy of the piece and/or the first part of D’s may have been on the leaf now missing between ff. 6v and 7. If, as seems more probable, D continued what A had left unfinished, we can only guess why he began with a variation already copied by A and did not complete var. 8.
Ex. 1

In a study to be published in the next issue of this Journal, it will be proposed that the copy of “My Lady Hunsdon’s Allmande” in FD, f. 24v, was written out for the use of a student. What appears to be evidence of another lesson by the same teacher is found at the end of the same manuscript, where G has written: (1) a two-strain bass part, derived from the first strain of “What if a day” copied by G on f. 23, and here written in staff notation; (2) the same bass, slightly varied, in tablature; (3) a table of time values, including those used in the following version of the bass; (4) an abbreviated form of (1), in tablature; and, on another page, (5) the same bass, considerably varied, and with the performance signs—dots, an ornament (#), a slur—added (see pls. 5, 6, and musical Example 2). Clearly, G was illustrating different forms of notation and their interrelationships, the varied reprise of a bass, and signs used to convey information about the way the music should be played.
Ex. 2

(a) CLM, no. 79, "What If a Day," first strain.

(b) FD, f. 84v: (1)

(c) Ibid., (2)

(d) Ibid., (4)

(e) FD, f. 86 (5)
Plate 3. *FD.* folio 22v. Hand G.
That the teacher was Dowland appears to be beyond question: the note-shapes in the staff notation on f. 84v and the time values on f. 86 resemble those of the Cellarius canon (facs. in JD, opp. p. 217); the time signature, C, placed before the staff on f. 84v resembles the one placed before the tablature of the "Allmande" on f. 24v; the letters in the entablatured forms of the bass are similar to those in the "Allmande" and other pieces believed to have been written out by Dowland.

Though Dowland was responsible for some of the contents of FD, it is highly unlikely that the manuscript ever belonged to him. He was not the first to contribute, nor the last. His contributions consist of: writing his name at the end of five pieces copied out by D, and at the end of his own copy of "My Lady Hunsdon's Allmande"; writing out an uninspired setting of the tune "What if a day, or a month, or a year," eight measures of "Lady Laiton's Ailmande," the several forms of the bass discussed above, a snippet of tablature of f. 14 and, perhaps, some of the performance directions (barres, ornaments, fingerings) for the pieces he signed (authenticated?) and even for some he did not sign. The demonstrably didactic character of most of this music rules out the possibility that FD ever served as the composer's sketch book. It was, I am convinced, the notebook of someone who had lessons from John Dowland and others.

If Dowland never owned FD, we are left with the problem of explaining how the volume came into the possession of James Dowland of Cuckney, Notts, sometime in the nineteenth century. The manuscript may provide a clue. Sometime after G entered two pieces and part of a third on ff. 22v-23, J, the last of the contributors to FD, wrote out in a good, bold, easily-read hand the four corantos on ff. 24v-25 (see pl. 4). Musically they are nothing extraordinary; however, one notational feature is that each coranto is preceded by the numeral "3." Time signatures are rarely encountered in Elizabethan sources of solo lute music; there are none, for example, in all of the manuscripts copied by Mathew Holmes. Thus the six found in FD—two in pieces copied by G, four in pieces copied by J—are exceptional and therefore noteworthy.

One of Dowland's idiosyncracies is the use of time signatures in all of the lute music for whose copying or printing he can be assumed

6 Though this is the only copy of the piece for which the composer is known to have been responsible, Mrs. Poulton, CLM, p. 306, considers it "a much less satisfactory text" than the one in I-D, f. 7, for which there is no evidence he was responsible.
to have been responsible,\textsuperscript{7} with the exception of one ayre,\textsuperscript{8} two of the lute parts in the \textit{Lachrimae}\textsuperscript{9} and the eight measures of “Lady Laiton’s Almaine” in \textit{FD}: even one of the fragments at the end of \textit{FD} is provided with a “C.”\textsuperscript{10} Time signatures also appear in all of the lute music that can be associated with his son, Robert, \textit{vis.}: the pieces in the \textit{Varietie of Lute-lessons}, the galliard that opens his \textit{Musical Banquet}, and the “Almande” ascribed to him in the Board lute book.\textsuperscript{11} Since the pieces immediately preceding J’s are those written out by John Dowland, and Robert adopted his father’s practice of furnishing lute tablature with time signatures, it is difficult to suppress the conjecture that Hand J is Robert Dowland’s.

The only authenticated example of Robert’s handwriting—little enough to work with—is his name at the end of the 1626 allegation of marriage (Guildhall Library Ms. 10,091/11, f. 34); for comparison \textit{FD} provides four versions of the word “Coranto” and tablature letters written, I should suppose, fifteen to twenty years before the Guildhall document was signed. One discovers from study of xerox copies of the two writings that the two hands are neither identical nor totally dissimilar (see pl. 4). Both writers form their t’s in an unusual and strikingly similar way: they resemble capital F’s.\textsuperscript{12} Both

\footnotesize{\begin{center}
\textit{Robert D...1265}
\end{center}}

\textsuperscript{7} He may have begun the practice while in France. Time signatures are common in sixteenth-century Continental printed tablatures, especially those of France and the Lowlands; see, e.g., all of the tablatures printed by Phalese, the 1568 and 1574 translations of \textit{Le Roy’s Instruction} (no copy of the French original survives), Adriansen’s \textit{Novum Pratum Musicum} (Antwerp, 1592), Francisque’s \textit{Le Trésor d’Orphée} (Paris, 1600), etc. Of the English sources, only the \textit{Varietie of Lute-lessons}, in the production of which Dowland may have had a hand, and TCD Ms. 3.30/I, which was probably compiled by someone from the Lowlands residing in England, contain a large number of time signatures.

\textsuperscript{8} “If my complaints.” The omission of the time signature was obviously an oversight; a “3” was added to the lute part in the 1606 printing of \textit{The First Booke}.

\textsuperscript{9} In the lute part of one piece, “Sir Henry Vmptons Funerall,” there was no room for a time signature; in the other, that of “Captaine Digori Pipers Galliard,” the omission appears to have been an oversight.

\textsuperscript{10} See \textit{pl. 4}.

\textsuperscript{11} \textit{Facs. in Early Music, III} (1975), p. 124.

\textsuperscript{12} There is nothing quite like this ‘t’ in S. A. Tannenbaum’s \textit{The Handwriting of the Renaissance} (New York, 1930), p. 41.
sometimes crowd letters together (e.g., "Rob-" and "-ora-"), sometimes spread them out (e.g., "-ans-" and "-wla-"). Both write o’s that do not always meet full circle; and both make b’s that appear to be suffering from a cramp in their middle; but their d’s, e’s, n’s, and r’s are different.

Though it is tempting to identify Hand J as Robert Dowland’s and to conclude that he acquired FD sometime after the manuscript had been in his father’s hands and that the volume consequently came into the possession of the Dowland family, the evidence neither supports nor precludes so definite a conclusion. How James Dowland acquired FD must remain an unanswered question for now.

Permission to publish the facsimile of Robert Dowland’s signature reproduced above was graciously given by the office of the Bishop of London.
AN INVENTORY OF FD

Ms. V.b. 280 is a folio volume of 87 leaves in such poor condition that the Folger Shakespeare Library does not allow the manuscript to be handled. The binding, described in the Sotheby catalog as "original panelled sheep gilt, centre-piece of arabesques in blind on a gold ground," was once secured by two leather-and-metal clasps, parts of which remain. There are twelve gatherings, some of which have lost part or all of one or more leaves: (1) ff. 1-6v, (2) 7-13v, (3) 14-21v, (4) 22-29v, (5) 30-37v, (6) 38-45v, (7) 46-53v, (8) 54-60v, (9) 61-68v, (10) 69-75v, (11) 76-81v, and (12) 82-87v, plus a flyleaf at each end of the volume. The first 25 leaves and a few of the later ones are foliated, in pencil, in the upper right-hand corners. Each of the 87 leaves carries ten printed six-line tablature staves edged with single straight rules that run from top to bottom of the page. Except for a single line of f. 84v, the music is written in French lute tablature.

The disposition of the various hands within the manuscript is summarized below (Arabic numerals refer to the pieces, letters of the alphabet to the different hands). Distinguishing the various hands responsible for the tablature on ff. 1-25 is far easier than distinguishing those responsible for the verbal content of FD and the scraps of tablature scattered through the manuscript. Those more experienced in the analysis of handwriting will probably be able to refine the identifications offered here.

Hands responsible for the music

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pieces, etc.</th>
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<th>Pieces, etc.</th>
<th>Hands</th>
<th>Pieces, etc.</th>
<th>Hands</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>A</td>
<td>24^2-50</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>C</td>
<td>51-53</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>N</td>
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<tr>
<td>11-13</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>54-57</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>69-71</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>K</td>
<td>72-73</td>
<td>D</td>
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<td>A</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>L</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>CE</td>
<td>60-61</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>75</td>
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<td>F</td>
<td>62-65</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>A</td>
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<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>C</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Hands responsible for titles, etc.

Not included are the hands responsible for (1) the (shelf?) marks, "h $\neq C \neq \prime" (??), on the verso of the front cover; (2) the name, "frances pert" (??), and other scribblings on the recto of the front flyleaf; (3) the scribblings, etc., in at least three different hands on the verso of the front flyleaf: "The 9th day," "The Lord of hostis," "The same day," "I lyft myne hart to yu / My Lord," "James Dowland / Cuckney Notts," etc.; (4) what may be a line in cipher on f. 21v; (5) the words, "and / and so forth I min j," on f. 73; (6) the impression of six lines of writing left on f. 76; (7) the words, "Jame as lost his diger," written in the right-hand margin on f. 87v; (8) the scribblings, etc., in at least four different hands on the recto of the end flyleaf: "A," "Ann," and "Anne Bayldon" (written in the same hand), "ffor in consideration," "ffrances" (??), "Non vox sed [the rest of the line illegible] / non clamans sed [the rest of the line illegible]." "Arma virumq[ue] cano Troiae qui primus ab oris Italiam, fato / profugus Lauinaq[ue] venit Littora Multum" (the opening lines of the Aeneid); and (9) the name, "Thomas B[ ]thby," written on the verso of the end flyleaf.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pieces, etc.</th>
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<th>Pieces, etc.</th>
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<td>C</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>DG</td>
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<td>D</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>41</td>
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<td>Concordances, etc.</td>
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<td><em>queene Maries dumpe</em> (frag.)</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<td><em>passimes[e]ours</em> (cancelled)</td>
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<td><em>passinmesers pauin</em> (1 var. on the passamezzo antico)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2v</td>
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<td>n.t. [Almande Loraine]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>tw lesons to be plaid with tw lowtes</em> [Almande Loraine]</td>
<td></td>
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<td>A     C</td>
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</table>

*See FD, 8. Consort part. Tol, f. 3v, “An Almane.”*
3v 11 *the honsok* *The treble* (16 divisions on “The Hunt’s Up”)

*(Tablature letters:) d c a; a c d
f k c f g h c d; m; n (written in left-hand margin)*

12 *the honsok ground*

4v 13 n.t. [Oxford’s Galliard] (first strain)

*(Tablature letters & signs for time values written in left-hand margin)*

14 n.t. [Paul’s Wharf]

15 *the coranto*

16 *the parlement*
See pl. 1. *Tol*, f. 4; *DB*, p. 112


Consort part. *CCBa*, f. 4v; *Trumbull LB*, ff. 1v-2.


*FD*, f. 5v.

| Page | 5v | 19 | my lord of oxfordes galiard  
(Signs for time values written in left-hand margin) |
<table>
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<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>winter gomps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Doulands rounde battell galyarde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>n.t. (frag.; very few time values)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>n.t. (frag.; no time values)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v</td>
<td>24</td>
<td><em>The queenes Treble</em> (14 divisions on the bergamasca)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>24 cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Consort part. Publ. ibid. A C

*FD*, f. 5v (first strain). A C C?

[Dowland] *CLM*, no. 55 (the A text). A C


*FD*, f. 3. C/E

Tune: the first measures of “The Friar & the Nun” (Simpson, p. 239).

[J. Johnson] Consort part. *JP*, ff. 8v-9; *38*, ff. 4v-5; *D3*, ff. 4-3v; Schele LB, pp. 138-139.

Leaf removed.

D D
25 The Grownd

26 n.t. (a single strain)

7v 27 the voice

8 27 cont.

28 Zouch his march

8v 29 Newmans pauan

9 29 cont.

30 the Cobler

9v 31 [Lord Willoughby's Welcome Home]

32 n.t.

33 the flatt pavin for Consorte


*NGK*, p. 62 (first var. only)

Signed: *Jo; dow=lane* Consort part. *CLM*, no. 66a (unicum).

Consort part.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Consort</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10v</td>
<td>the Battell galliard</td>
<td>m&quot; Dowland</td>
<td>CLM, no. 40 (not the A text).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>34 cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11v</td>
<td>the Lady Laitons Almone</td>
<td>Signed: Jo: doulande</td>
<td>Consort part? CLM, no. 48a (the A text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Levecha pavin</td>
<td>m&quot; Johnson</td>
<td>Consort part. W, f. 14; Schele LB, pp. 143-144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12v</td>
<td>frog Galliard</td>
<td>Signed: Jo: dowlandes(^{13})</td>
<td>CLM, no. 23a (the A text).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>mounsier['s] Almaine</td>
<td></td>
<td>Consort part.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>39 cont.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>A french Coranto</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{13}\)The page was turned before the ink was dry, which left a partial impression of Dowland’s signature on f. 13.
Delight pavin

Mall: Symes

Can she excuse

Robin is to the Greene wood Gonn

Go from my windo

the sharp pavin (the treble part)

Lachrame

the Battle
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Signed (?)</th>
<th>Jo: Johnsonn</th>
<th>See pl. 2.</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>D/H/I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Myn, f. 11v (incompl.)</td>
<td>Jo: doulande</td>
<td>CLM, no. 42 (the A text)</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D/G</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consort part. JP, ff. 11v-12 (treble &amp; bass); 38, ff. 5v-6 (treble).</td>
<td>m' Allisonn</td>
<td>Consort part. JP, ff. 23v-25.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D/H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLM, no. 15 (not the A text).</td>
<td>m' Dowland</td>
<td>Consort part. JP, ff. 23v-25.</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Beginning with measure 19 the copyist, G, used a different nib with a consequent thickening of line. (For a comparable change of nib and style of writing, see the first page of the Nuremberg letter; facs. in *JD*, opp. p. 40.) At the same point the copyist began to halve the note values. Possibly a period of time elapsed (i.e., the interval between lessons?) between the copying of measures 1-18 and measures 19-26, and G failed to notice that he had changed time values. Or he may have switched to smaller time values in order to give the student practice in reading them.
24  Blank staves

24v  54  Coranto

55  Coranto

25  56  Coranto

57  Coranto

26-35  Blank staves

35v  58  n.t. (a four-measure phrase)

36-56v  Blank staves

0  Leaf missing

57  59  n.t. (a four-measure phrase & a bit more, very few time values)

57v  60  n.t. (a string of ten notes, no time values)

58-72v  Blank staves

73  (A few words)

73v-75v  Blank staves
See pl. 4

Volume reversed.

Volume reversed.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Stub of a leaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76-81v</td>
<td>Blank staves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leaf missing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82-83</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blank staves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83v</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>n.t. (one strain, single voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blank staves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84v</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>n.t. (two strains, single voice, in mensural notation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td>n.t. (62 in lute tablature)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Signs for time values)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>n.t. (second half of 62, varied)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td></td>
<td>Blank staves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85v</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>n.t. (a string of fourteen notes, no time values)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>n.t. (62, varied)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
See pl. 5.

See pl. 5.

See pl. 5.

See pl. 5.

Volume reversed.

See pl. 6.
86v 68 n.t. (three strains, each marked *bis*, single voice, no time values)

87 69 *What if day or a nighthe* [sic] *or a yere* (no time values)

70 n.t. (two strains, no time values)

71 n.t. (two strains, no time values, cancelled)

72 n.t. (three strains)

(Three tablature letters)

73 n.t. (two strains)

87v 74 n.t. [The Bells] (one setting of the tune)

75 n.t. (long two-voice passage, no time values)

76 [Sellenger's Round]

77 n.t. [Sellenger's Round] (a different setting, no time values)
THE LUTE DUETS OF JOHN JOHNSON

By Lyle Nordstrom

John Johnson, lutenist at the court of Queen Elizabeth from December, 1580, until his death in 1594,1 was clearly one of the most famous instrumentalists of his time. John Case, in his Apologia Musices (Oxford, 1588), mentions him in the company of Byrd, Bull, Morley, and Dowland as a musician to be honored after the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Like Dowland, he is one of the few English lute composers whose music is also extant in Continental manuscript sources.2 Little of his solo music is played today, partially because no collected edition is available. A more fundamental reason for this neglect may be that the scarcity of significant manuscripts from the 1570's and 1580's (the prime era of his work) has left us with an unrepresentative sampling of his lute solos. Some of his finest solo compositions, such as "Carman's Whistle" and "A Paven to Delight," still survive in later manuscripts, however, and give us a picture of a talented composer-performer.

John Johnson's uniqueness as a lute composer, however, comes not from his solo works but from his duets. No other composer's duos approach the number, variety, breadth, and quality of his. Sixteen duets are definitely associated with his name, and possibly fifteen others can be attributed to him. No other composer specialized so extensively in this field. Thomas Robinson, in his Schoole of Musicke, is represented by only six duets, and John Marchant can be linked with only three. Other composers, including Dowland and Cutting, or John Daniel, are only connected with one or two duets—certainly an insignificant number compared with their solo output.

The Marsh Lute Book (Dublin, Archbishop Marsh's Library Z. 3.2.13) and Cambridge University Library Dd. 3.18, two of the earliest major sources of English lute music, luckily contain significant numbers of lute duets, giving us a relatively complete picture of the duet in the 1580's. John Johnson's duets constitute the bulk of the duets in these manuscripts; he is, in fact, nearly the only composer

1 "Lists of the King's Musicians," The Musical Antiquary, I (1909-1910), p. 249; II (1910-1911), pp. 52, 155, and 118. He is probably the Johnson who served Sir Thomas Kytson at Hengrave House in Suffolk in 1572 and 1574, but little else is known about his life.

2 The Schelle Manuscript (Hamburg, Stadtsbibliothek, Read. ND. VI, no. 3238), and Königsberg A. 116 are two examples.

30
to be associated with lute duets during the 1580's. Unfortunately, both these sources include few individual composers' names, so we must occasionally resort to concordances and stylistic considerations for help in identifying specific composers. Johnson still stands out as the obvious choice in many cases.

Why did John Johnson alone write so many duets? No one can answer this question with certainty. Although the duet obviously has pedagogical possibilities, as demonstrated by the duets included in Robinson's publication, nearly all Johnson's treble-ground duets lie beyond the technical level of beginners. Many of these duets, in fact—notably "The New Hunt Is Up," "Short Allmain I," and "Trenchmore"—are among the most difficult in the repertory.

If, however, these are not pedagogical pieces, we are left with three other possibilities: (1) Johnson's duets may be technical studies to be used for maintaining a high degree of virtuosity; (2) Johnson may have simply enjoyed writing in treble-ground variation form; or, (3) perhaps Johnson himself used these as virtuoso display pieces during his service to Queen Elizabeth, enlisting the aid of an apprentice or another musician to play the ground.

While these pieces can serve as technical etudes, their compositional skill and thought take them out of the realm of the mere practice piece. No inclination toward the variation form is especially apparent in the solo works of Johnson, casting doubt on the second possibility mentioned above; only two solos—"Carman's Whistle" and "Walsingham"—are variations; well over twenty are identified as paven's, galliards, and almains. The third possibility, that of their use as virtuosic compositions, may be the best answer. Whatever the original motivation behind their composition, however, these pieces are fine works, demonstrating Johnson's masterful ability to transform the most monotonous grounds into brilliant showpieces.

A variety of specific stylistic devices present in Johnson's duets may help us identify other pieces by him currently attributed to anonymous sources. Johnson's writing, above all, is completely idiomat ical, and exploits all the lute's resources. In a given composition, Johnson's music often moves from the lowest notes on the instrument (sixth course) to the top note (the twelfth fret of the first course was considered the top note in the sixteenth century).

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3 The Marsh Lute Book scribe never even named any of the duets.
4 Lawrey, Cutting, and Daniel; the other composers each represented by a single duet in CUL Dd. 3.18 all come from the later entries in the manuscript, possibly dating from the 1590's. See Lyle Nordstrom, "The Cambridge Consort Books," Journal of the Lute Society of America, Vol. V (1972), p. 74.
His music frequently exploits the lower range of the instrument, dwelling on the rich sonorities of the lowest three courses for relatively long periods of time.
This predilection probably implies that the three lowest courses of his lute were strung in octaves, effecting a completely different sonority in this range since an obvious compositional division exists between the top three courses and the bottom three. It is readily apparent in the examples above that Johnson could have more easily written the same passage employing the third course, but obviously preferred the sonority of the fourth course. Had he used unison stringing, little or no difference between third and fourth course sonority would be left, and he would have had no wish to bother using upper positions on the fourth course. The Continental practice of octave stringing on the lowest three courses during the early sixteenth century has been well documented (the instructions of Virdung and Judenkünig are two examples). He also uses high positions on the upper strings.

Ex. 3

Good Night (var. 8)

Most often, each variation or division grows out of a single rhythmic and/or melodic motif.

Ex. 4

Dump no. 2 (var. 2)
Both the tendency to employ a single motif and the use of the complete range of the instrument are reflected in Johnson’s propensity for echoes at octave intervals.

Ex. 5

Trenchmore (var. 17)

Certain melodic figures occur frequently:

Exx. 6a & b
descending 3rds—Wakefield on a Green/twirl around one note—Chi Passa

Johnson makes full use of cross relations to add both spice and a bit of tension. One must be careful about correcting too many of these cross relations, since they appear to be an integral part of Johnson’s style.
He frequently introduces triplets in the concluding divisions of sets otherwise written in duple meters. (Composers such as Richard Allison, on the other hand, frequently introduce triplets near—but not at—the very end of sets of variations.)

Johnson's treble-ground duets tend to be extended, and sometimes feature many variations on a ground (i.e., from three over a thirty-two-measure ground in "Chi Passa" to twenty-nine over a two-measure ground in "Trenchmore").

The stylistic singularities I have outlined above have been derived from the duets listed in the first inventory section below, all of which are definitely by John Johnson. In the second section of this inventory, I discuss those duets previously considered anonymous, but which, in my opinion, are actually by Johnson.
INVENTORY OF JOHNSON'S DUETS

In the following inventory, complete manuscript names are given only once; subsequent MS references are abbreviated. The title of each piece is given in parentheses after its MS reference. If no incipit is given below, it is because none appears in the MS. The sign "=" indicates a concordance.

Treble-ground Duets

1. Rogero


2. dump 1

Thirteen divisions on a four-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18. = March (Dublin, Archbishop Marsh’s Library, 2.3.2.13), pp. 144-145. The ground is contained in the first four measures of the Dd. 3.18 version. This is labeled “J. Johnsons i dump” in the index to Dd. 3.18, f. 73.

3. dump 2 (The Queen’s dump)

Fourteen divisions on a four-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 4-3v. (a dump), labeled "J. Johnsons 2 dump" in the index. = Pickering (British Museum Eg. 2046), fs. 8v-9 (a treble). = Folger (Washington, D. C., Folger Library Ms. 1610.1), fs. 7v-8 (“The Queense Treble”; could this be a reference to Johnson performing for Queen Elizabeth? was it a favorite piece of hers?) = Schele (Hamburg Stadtbibliothek Read. ND. VI, no. 3238), pp. 138-140 (A treble). = Sturt (British Museum, Add. 38539), fs. 4v-5 (A Treable). Arranged as a solo for a ten-course lute. The ground can be found in Pickering f. 9, Folger f. 8, and Brogyntyn (Aberystwth, National Library of Wales, Brogyntyn Ms. 27), p. 7.

This is by far the most popular in terms of the number of sources in which it occurs. It is the only one I presently know to have reached the Continent.
4. Chi passa

Three divisions on a thirty-two-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 7v-8 (Chi passa Jo Johnson) = Marsh, pp. 151-153. The ground is missing.

5. Short almain 1

Seven divisions on an eight-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 9v-10 (Jo: Johnson). Pickering, f. 14, contains the ground. The title is from the index.

6. Short almain 2

Six divisions on an eight-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 10v (Short Allmain). = Pickering, fs. 13v-14 (A treble by Mr. Johnson). Pickering, f. 14, also contains the ground.

7. Wakefield on a green

Twenty-two divisions on a four-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 11v-12 (Jo: Johnson Wakefillede on a green) = Marsh, pp. 146-148 (includes the ground).

8. Trenchmore

Twenty-nine divisions on a two-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 12v-13 (Trenchmoore Jo: Johnson). = Weld (in the possession of Lord Forester), fs. 11v-12 (Trenchmore). = Marsh, pp. 139-141. The ground is contained in both the Marsh and the Weld manuscripts.

9. The New Hunt is up

Nine divisions on a sixteen-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18 (The New Hunt is up Jo Johnson) = Trumbull, fs. 16v-17 (tr.) = Weld, pp. 13-14 = March, pp. 183-186. See Nordstrom, "The Cambridge Consort Book," for more information on other matching parts.

10. Good Night and Good Rest

Sixteen divisions on an eight-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 15v-16 (Jo:Johnson) = Marsh, pp. 158-160, and Marsh, pp. 26-27 (eleven divisions only) = Willoughby (Nottingham University Library, the Francis Willoughby music book, on loan from Lord Middleton), fs. 3v-5 (six divisions, of which the first five are identical to Dd. 3.18; the sixth is quite confused). Grounds for this treble are found in Willoughby, f. 5v, Dallis, p. 16, and Brogyntyn, p. 7. None of them fit perfectly.

11. The Flatt Paven

A'A'B'B'C'C.' CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 21v (The Flatt pauen). The earlier version of the more famous equal duet arrangement (see no. 15 below). This is not labelled as Johnson, but many of the solo versions, as well as the equal duet version, are so labelled. Considering this and Johnson's general propensity toward
treble-ground duets make it difficult to believe this and the following galliard were not written by Johnson.

12. Galliard to the flatt paven

AA′BB′CC′ CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 22 (Gallird to the flatt pauen). The ground to this and the above paven are missing, but could be constructed from the equal duet versions as found in Pickering, fs. 4v-5.

Equal Duets

13. Laveche paven

AA′BB′CC′ Wickhambrook (Yale University, Music Library manuscript), Lutes I and II, f. 15v = Pickering, f. 4, the last eight measures of Lute I (Lavecheo for ii lutes by Johnsons). = Brogyntyn, pp. 28-29, Lute II only (Laveche paven).

14. The Galliard to Laveche

AA′BB′CC′ Wickhambrook, f. 16, Lute I and II. Brogyntyn, p. 29, Lute II only (The Galliard to Laveche). = Pickering, fs. 4-4v, Lutes I and II (Lavecheo gallyerde for ii lutes by Johnsons).

15. The Flatt Paven

Pickering, fs. 4v-5 (the Flatt pavion by ij luttes by Johnsons); Lute II is missing 3½ measures. = Trumbull, f. 16, Lute II.

This is an arrangement of the early treble ground duet (see no. 11 above). Although I have no doubt that the original treble-ground duet was written by Johnson, I have my doubts that this arrangement is his. Both sources of the equal version date from after 1600. (Johnson died in 1594.) At this time, it was more fashionable to do equal duets. (Robinson’s "A plaine song for Two lutes" and "A toy for Two lutes" are examples of a treble ground duet divided as an equal duet from this time.) Although this particular arrangement is probably not by Johnson, the music is. So, in this sense, it is still by him. The same holds true for the following galliard. It is possible that the "Laveches" above have the same ancestry, but an original treble-ground version is not extant.

In other words, it is possible that John Johnson had nothing to do with the development of the equal duet other than furnish material. On the other hand, the "Laveches" do come from manuscripts which date closer to Johnson’s death, making them more likely to be his duets.
16. Galliard 'to the Flatt Paven
Pickering, fs. 5v-6 (the galyerd to the flatt pavion for ij lutes by Johnson). See Flatt paven above.

The following duets are not attributed to Johnson in any manuscript, but are stylistically consistent with the other duets I have listed. A danger certainly exists in assigning any anonymous composition to a known composer within this period, as the general style is quite uniform. We have, however, almost no other names from the 1580's but Johnson's that are associated with the treble-ground duets. (Marchant is the only other early composer known to write in duet form, and his three duets are all of the equal type.) I have tried to be conservative in the attributions, and used the following criteria: (1) inclusion in one of the earlier manuscripts; (2) a well-constructed sequence of divisions; (3) use of motivic material found in the known duets; (4) use of cross relations; and, (5) idiomatic use of the fret-board, including high position usage and sonority play on the lower courses. The use of or lack of any one of the criteria given above does not prove or disprove authorship. All the criteria have been weighed together.

17. The Honsok
Four divisions on a sixteen-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 4v (The new Hunt is up) = Folger, fs. 4v-5 (The Honsok) = Trumbull, fs. 1v-2. The ground is found with slight variations in both the Folger and Trumbull manuscripts.

Johnson wrote another treble on this ground in G; see no. 9 above. The falling thirds and the final section in triplets mark this as Johnson's.

18. Sellenger's Rounde
Three divisions on a twenty-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 5 (Sellengers Ronnde) = Marsh, p. 182. No ground extant.

The inclusion of this treble in both Marsh and Dd.3.18 mark this as an early duet treble. The continuity and the construction are of Johnson's quality, and the play of sonorities is characteristic.

19. Green Sleeves
Twenty-four divisions on a four-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 8v-9 (Green Sleeves). Ground can be found in Folger, f. 5. It is regrettable that this duet survives
in such a form. Not only is it too long, but an apparently confused copyist entered an eleventh division which is merely a repeat of the third. Although many of the divisions appear to be by Johnson, the confused nature of the manuscript, including many extraneous double bars and fermatas, appears to indicate a second hand.

20. Cara cosa

Marsh, pp. 162-163, 165. No ground extant. An irregularly handled treble, but one that has the earmarks of Johnson in use of motifs, cross relations, and general sonorities.

21. Passemezzo Galliard

Fourteen divisions on an eight-measure ground. Marsh, pp. 154-156. The ground is also given for bass lute.

Falling thirds, cross relations, full use of the range of the instrument, and general verve all point to Johnson.

22. Dump 3

Twenty-four variations on a two-measure ground. Marsh, p. 151. = in part CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 71v-72 = Edinburgh, University manuscript Dc. 5.125, fs. 2-3.

Again, there is little question that this piece is by Johnson, with the constructional qualities, the inventiveness of the motifs, and the use of the full range of the instrument.

23. The Nutts be Brown

Ten divisions on an eight-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 27v (The Nutts be Browne). = Pickering, fs. 14v-15 (A treble) = CUL Dd. 9.33, fs. 63v-64. The ground is in Pickering, f. 15.

It would be difficult not to put this in the Johnson column; note its fine construction, motivic development, and play over the full range of the instrument. Parts remind one of "Wakefield on a Green."

The following duets have some connection with Johnson, either stylistically or associatively. At the present time, I cannot definitely attribute them to Johnson, although this may be possible later. I have included them for completeness.

24. Passe-measures paven

Four divisions on a sixteen-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 1v-2. This is roughly the same as Marsh, pp. 142-144, which is also found in Mynshull, f. 2v (finis passingmeasures pavian).
It would be surprising if Johnson, who wrote at least two solo paves on this ground, would not also write a duet treble. This one seems to fit his style best, with a great deal of exploitation of sonorities.

25. Galliard to the passe-measures

Five divisions on a sixteen-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, f. 2v (Galliard to the passe-measures). Galliard to the paven above. However, neither of these are as continuous in motion as is typical of Johnson, and neither is quite as inventive.

26. The French Galliard

Johnson wrote a solo setting of this ground (Dallis, pp. 40-41, “The Division of the French gayliarde by Johnson”), and it might appear likely that the duet treble would be by him also. However, the style of composition is not reminiscent of Johnson in the least.

27. Go Merely wheele

Five divisions on a twelve-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 40v-41 (Go merely wheele).

This treble displays many of Johnson’s constructive qualities, including triple time in the final division and good motivic development. However, both the stop-and-go character of the division and its arpeggiated style point toward a later date of composition. This is also a later entry into Dd. 3.18.

28. Green Garters

Eight divisions on an eight-measure ground. CUL Dd. 3.18, fs. 23v-24 (Green Garters).

The verve of this composition, coupled with the simplicity of the ground (almost a dump), sure to be a challenge to Johnson, puts this in his camp. Good motivic development and a concluding division in triple time help to cement this conclusion.

29. Dump

British Museum Add. 31392, f. 22 (A treble), contains another treble on the same ground as Johnson’s “Dump 1.” However, it displays little of the depth of Johnson’s work.

30. Dump

Sturt (British Museum Ms. Add. 38539), and Board (Margaret Board Lute Book, in the possession of Robert Spencer), f. 1, contain a triple version of Johnson’s “Dump 2.” The late date of both these sources make
Johnson's authorship doubtful. It appears to be a parody.

31. Paven to Delight Brogyntyn, p. 13, has a part which fits with the Folger solo version (f. 14v-15). This is one of a strange variety of duets in which a duet part is added to an existing solo composition. While this duet part was certainly not written by Johnson, the solo version definitely was.

The variety and depth of these thirty-one duets makes them a great treasure for lute duet players today. Taken as a relatively complete collection, they establish John Johnson as one of (if not the) greatest lute duet composers of the sixteenth century.
LUTES AND RELATED INSTRUMENTS IN EIGHT IMPORTANT EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN COLLECTIONS (Continued)

By Michael Saffle

Old lutes have recently received increased attention from performers, craftsmen, and scholars. Two articles—"Lute Construction in the Renaissance and the Baroque" by Friedemann Hellwig and "Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Lute-Making" by Robert Lundberg—describe the methods and materials used by Renaissance and Baroque craftsmen in constructing lutes and related instruments in considerable detail. No article, however—not even these—contains sufficient specific information for present-day luthiers to build their own copies of classic instruments; and none describes more than a handful of otherwise little-known or inadequately catalogued instruments in public or private collections. To help fill this gap in lute scholarship the present author recently visited the Musée Instrumental of Brussels, the National Széchényi Museum in Budapest, the Hessisches Landesmuseum at Darmstadt, the Musikinstrumenten-Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität in Leipzig, the collections of the Munich Stadtmuseum, the Germanisches Nationalmuseum at Nuremberg, and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., to examine over forty-five lutes, theorbo, chitarrone, and related instruments built by famous Renaissance and Baroque artisans. The first half of this article describes twenty-three lutes and archlutes studied during these researches and appeared in last year's volume of this Journal. Frequent references to it will appear in the following pages.

Fifteen theorbo, seven chitarrone, and one pandurina were also measured and photographed at the Brussels, Budapest, Darmstadt, Leipzig, Linz, Munich, and Nuremberg museums named above. Table I lists the makers' names (if known), dates of construction (or estimated dates), places of construction (or probable places), and museum locations and catalog numbers of these theorbo, chitar-

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riones, and pandurinas. All twenty-three instruments are listed chronologically, and will be hereafter referred to by maker's name, or by name and letter postscript as explained in the first half of this article. Several of the theorbos, apparently originally constructed as lutes, were subsequently rebuilt and fitted with new necks, pegboxes, and bridges, and with longer strings. Additional information about these alterations (as well as other features of these and other instruments identified above) appears later in this article, or in previously published literature.4

Every instrument but two listed in Table I contains at least one label identifying its maker, and frequently its date and place of manufacture. Facsimile reproductions of such labels in the Langenwalder and Eberspacher theorbos, and in the Tieffenbrucker/B and Attorre chitarrones have already been published.5 The name "Magno dieffoprucker" on the labels of one Munich theorbo and one Leipzig chitarrone refers to Magnus Tieffenbrucker, the famous Renaissance craftsman.6 Several other original labels in these instruments are somewhat more problematic: the maker's label in one Darmstadt chitarrone bears the name "Markus Vveis" of Somayster, and above that what appears to be the date "1666" written on the inside of the bowl in purple ink; none of this material is clearly legible, however, and the date may be completely incorrect.7 Labels in the Tielke,

4 For references to published and unpublished catalogs listing most of the instruments at Brussels, Leipzig, Linz, and other museums, see the first half of this article, pp. 23-25. Note, however, that the Venere/B theorbo at Leipzig is omitted from Georg Kinsky's Katalog des musikhistorischen Museums von Wilhelm Heyer in Köln (Cologne: J. B. Bachem, 1910-1912); and that several other Leipzig instruments identified above have been extensively restored during the past twenty-five years. In addition, note the brief description and photograph of the Sellas/B theorbo in Anthony Baines, European and American Musical Instruments (London: B. T. Batsford, 1966), pp. 161ff. Most of the instruments mentioned in this article are also described briefly (though not always accurately) in the revised editions of Ernst Pohlmann's Laute, Theorbe, Chitarrone (Bremen: Edition Eres, 1971), Chapter VII, pp. 326ff. A catalog of the musical instrument collection at Budapest has been published, but the present author was not able to secure a copy for examination before this article went to press.

5 See Kinsky, Volume II ("Zupf- und Streichinstrumenten"), pp. 88ff. for facsimile reproductions of makers' labels in these instruments.

6 See the article on the Tieffenbrucker family in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart cited in the first half of this article for confirmation.

7 For additional information about the luthiers mentioned above, see Willibald Lautendorff, Die Geigen- und Lautenmacher vom Mittelalter bis zur Gegenwart (Frankfurt a.M.: Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1922), Volume II.
theorbo, and in the chitarrones by Magnus Tieffenbrucker, Matteo Sellas, and Pietro Raillich lack either legible dates or any dates at all, and labels in several other instruments are difficult to read. One theorbo (hereafter referred to as "anonymous") lacks any maker's label, though it apparently dates from the early seventeenth century; it is included in this study because of its comparatively early age and good condition. Finally, a pandurina probably built by famous artisan Matteo Sellas is also discussed in this paper, both for whatever information may be provided—craftsmen and scholars, and for the sake of novelty.

Other labels, identifying and dating the work of craftsmen who subsequently repaired, rebuilt, or restored these instruments, are found in the Tieffenbrucker/A, Sellas/A, Tielke, Jauch, and anonymous theorbos, and in the Vveis chitarrone; and a facsimile reproduction of one of these Reparaturzettel has already appeared in print. The Tieffenbrucker/A theorbo contains a label attributing repairs to Sebastian Schelle of Nuremberg in 1723, while the Sellas/A theorbo contains a similar repair label bearing the date 1741. A label in the Tielke theorbo attributes repairs to one Bittermann in 1959. The Jauch theorbo contains two labels, one attributing repairs to Matheaus Ignatius Brandstaetter of Vienna in 1830, the other to Kajos Kovacs in 1958. Finally, the anonymous Leipzig theorbo contains two repair labels, the earlier attributing work to Jauch in 1749, the later (not previously mentioned in print) to Hermann Seyfforth in 1897. Almost every other instrument also bears signs of alteration or repair, however, and none of these instruments—as noted of the lutes discussed in the first half of this article—can be assumed to have survived in completely original condition.

Tables II and III present the principal measurements in millimeters for all twenty-three theorbs, chitarrones, and pandurinas identified above. Table II gives the number of courses, the Mensuren (or vibrating lengths of strings), and the length, width, and depth of the bodies for each instrument in question. For additional explanation of and commentary on these measurements, and for a diagram illustrating them, see the first half of this article. Note, however, that figures given for body depths again represent only reasonably accurate approximations of measurements actually made.

Table III gives the diameter of the rosette(s) and the width of the bridge for each of the twenty-three instruments identified above.

8 Kinsky, p. 118, supplies this information about the probable maker, probable date, and probable place of construction for this instrument; Pohlmann makes no mention of it.

9 See Kinsky, p. 250, for a facsimile reproduction of the Reparaturzettel in the anonymous Leipzig theorbo.
as well as three additional measurements: the distance from the bottom of the belly to the center of the rosette(s) (distance X), the distance from the bottom of the belly to the center of the upper edge of the bridge (distance Y), and the distance across the top of the neck where it meets the body (distance Z). Note that the bellies of some of the instruments in question feature thin bands of carving bordering their rosettes one or two millimeters wide (for example, the Venere/A theorbo), three to five millimeters wide or slightly wider (for example, the Sellas/B theorbo), or even six millimeters wide (for example, the Railich/B chitarrone); and that the widths of these bands are included in the measurements of rosette diameters given in Table III. Note also that several of these instruments (for example, the Tieffenbrucker/A, Venere/B, Langenwalder, and Johann Christian Hoffman theorbs, and the Tieffenbrucker/B, Sellas/D, Khöpf, and Railich/A chitarrones) feature triple rosettes; in the case of these instruments distance X refers to the distance between the top edge of the topmost rosette and the top of the belly (indicated in Table III with an asterisk), while the rosette diameter represents the total width of the rosette group at its widest point (also indicated in Table III with an asterisk). Finally, note that the measurement for bridge width in the Tieffenbrucker/A theorbo includes the total width of the bridge, and is designated by the letter “T.” A figure illustrating most of these measurements is given in the first half of this article.

Basic structural features of the bodies, necks, and pegboxes of lutes and related instruments have been accurately and fairly comprehensively summarized in the articles by Hellwig and Lundberg on Renaissance and Baroque lute construction cited above. In examining the twenty-three theorbs, chitarrones, and related instruments identified above, the present author once again made few (if any) observations conflicting with the opinions of these authorities. Every instrument belly appears to be original and, insofar as could be observed, less than two millimeters thick. Most of the older instruments identified above possess bowls built from fifteen or more ribs; this comparatively high number is probably due to aesthetic factors discussed in the first half of this article.\(^{10}\) The bowls of most instruments dating from later than the middle of the seventeenth century

\(^{10}\) The Tieffenbrucker/B and Railich/A chitarrone bellies are each built from thirty-five ribs, while the bowls of the Venere/B and Sellas/A theorbs and the Sellas/D chitarrone each contain thirty-one ribs, the bowl of the anonymous Leipzig theorbo twenty-seven ribs, the bowl of the Khöpf chitarrone twenty-five ribs, the bowl of the Venere/C theorbo twenty-three ribs, the bowls of the Venere/A and Sellas/B theorbs twenty-one ribs, and the bowls of the Tieffenbrucker/A and Langenwalder theorbs, and the Attore chitarrone fifteen ribs.
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<th>Courses</th>
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<th>Body Width</th>
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<td>162</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>163*</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railich/A</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>144T</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railich/B</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weis</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pandurina:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sellas/E (?)</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
were built from only nine or eleven ribs, separated in many cases by thin spanners of darker wood or other materials. Bindings appear in most cases to be original, or to have been replaced at comparatively early dates. Unfortunately it proved impossible for the present author to examine in detail the interiors of any of the instruments in question, and no photographs or diagrams of the barring patterns of any of these instruments have yet appeared in print.

All of the twenty-three theorbos, chitarrones, and pandurinas identified above appear to possess their original rosettes, though several show slight rosette damage. Theorbo and chitarrone rosette patterns appear to be at least as historically consistent as those of the lutes and archlutes discussed in the first half of this article, and some later instruments (for example, the Jauch theorbo) possess particularly lovely, “classic” floral-patterned rosettes. Theorbo and chitarrone bridges, however, became consistently more elaborate after the early 1600’s than those of contemporary lutes and archlutes; comments on bridge authenticity and placement made in the first half of this article apply with equal accuracy to the bridges of the related instruments identified above, however.

The necks and pegboxes of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theorbos and chitarrones were altered, rebuilt, or entirely replaced in later centuries at least as frequently as those of contemporary lutes and archlutes. Almost all the earlier theorbos and chitarrones described above (and many of the later ones as well) bear what appear to be “modernized” necks, nuts, pegboxes, or pegs; the bizarre Eberspacher theorbo’s twisted “upper neck” is one notable example. Among these all-but-universally altered instruments neck widths and thicknesses vary greatly; the neck of the large Sellas/B theorbo is 119 millimeters wide at top (that is, measured just below the nut’s lower edge) and 127 millimeters wide at bottom (measured where the neck meets the body in back), while that of the smaller Venere/C theorbo is only sixty-seven millimeters wide at top and ninety millimeters wide at bottom. In fact, differences in overall size within these several instrumental groups is striking; the so-called “small theorbos” or “theorbo-lutes” (the Venere/A, Eberspacher, Sellas/C, Jauch, and anonymous instruments) may be as much as 20% smaller than their larger counterparts, while the chitarrones examined above varied in overall length from 1426 millimeters (Vveis) to 1935 millimeters (Railich/A)—a difference of more than 30%.

The bowls of the Sellas/C and Johann Christian Hoffman theorbos each contain thirteen ribs; the bowls of the remaining instruments each contain nine or eleven ribs, with the exception of the Jauch theorbo (seventeen ribs!).

Neither of these instruments may be “typical” in size, but it is impossible to generalize too broadly about theorbo and chitarrone neck widths and thicknesses from measurements taken from the other twenty-one instruments identified above.
Materials used in constructing the instruments identified above agree in almost every instance with those mentioned in Hellwig's and Lundberg's articles cited above; see the first half of this article for additional comments on this topic. Some theorbos and chitarrones are extremely elaborate in both overall design and detail; the Schelle theorbo and the Sellas/D chitarrone, for example, are as impressive examples of magnificent craftsmanship as the Tielke/A and B lutes discussed in the first half of this article. The present author once again regrets it was impossible to identify with certainty many of the woods used in the construction of the instruments in question, and expresses hope that other researches may investigate this issue in greater detail. For more precise information on the decorative features of some of the instruments identified above, see the accompanying photographs.

Two final observations: First, neither Hellwig nor Lundberg mentions how remarkably light most early lutes and related instruments strike modern performers and craftsmen. Most of the lutes and related instruments discussed in either half of this article feel so light one wonders if they might be made of balsa wood or plastic. Most modern copies of classic instruments are far too heavy, and modern luthiers interested in constructing accurate and attractive copies of instruments by famous craftsmen of past centuries should strive to reduce the overall weight of their products.

Second, some of the instruments discussed in both halves of this article appear to be historic "improbabilities" or "freaks." Many scholarly sources state that an enormous variety of lutes, theorbos, chitarrones, and related instruments flourished in European musical circles between the fifteenth and the eighteen centuries. But some of the instruments identified above do not find a place even within this variegated history. Unusual instruments such as the Langenwalder and anonymous lutes, the Venere/B and Tielke theorbos, and the Khöpff chitarrone strike modern musicologists and craftsmen as atypical, in that no one can satisfactorily explain their odd numbers of courses and overall plans of construction. The Mayr lute is even more unusual, though, and even less historically plausible. What music could possibly have been written for such an instrument? for any compositions which may have once existed for it and its lost

13 See, among other sources, the articles on lutes and related instruments in Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, the Harvard Dictionary of Music, edited by Willi Apel (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), and other standard reference works. See also the comments on early lutes in David Munrow's Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), pp. 25ff; and the comments in Hellwig, pp. 27ff, whose discussion of the lute's relationship to related instruments and the characteristics of these several interrelated species is particularly clear and helpful.
relations have apparently disappeared. Perhaps unusual instruments such as the Mayr lute reflect a growing interest in the guitar and guitar literature on the part of both performers and listeners during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.\footnote{Hellwig, in fact, states that "the number of strings of many 18th-century lutes was radically reduced to five or six courses," and observes that perhaps "the lute was pressed hard by the guitar which was easier to play" ("Lute Construction in the Renaissance and the Baroque," p. 29).} Perhaps, on the other hand, such "freaks" simply represent experiments fortunate enough to survive the vicissitudes of time and find a place in modern collections as curiosities. We may never know.
Appendix

Matteo Sellas/E (?) (Leipzig 519)
Bartolomeo Eberspacher (Leipzig 498)
Martin Hoffman (Nuremberg MI 45)
Matteo Sellas/D (Brussels 255)
Peter Khöpff (Linz 55)
Pietro Railich/B (Brussels 1562)
ALTERNATE SOURCES FOR THE PRINTED GUITAR MUSIC OF FRANCESCO CORBETTA (1615-1681)

By Richard T. Pinnell

Several years ago I undertook a study of the music of Francesco Corbetta. It was surprising to discover that virtually no manuscript sources were known for this great guitarist, for both baroque guitarists and modern writers have considered him a leader in the tradition that resulted in a golden age for the guitar. One would expect that such a seemingly influential composer would have been avidly copied by his contemporaries. Yet none of the "standard" articles on Corbetta mention any manuscripts. I therefore intend to remedy this situation by providing a concise concordance of all of Corbetta's printed music that has appeared in printed books and manuscripts of other guitarists.

Francesco Corbetta flourished during the peak period of productivity for the baroque guitar. Books for this instrument began with the treatise of Juan Carles Amat (1596), and ended with the collections of François Le Cocq (Brussels), Santiago de Murcia (Spain), François Campion (Paris), Jan Antonín Losy (Bohemia), and Nathanael Diesel (Denmark). Music for the baroque guitar was produced during three phases of approximately equal length: early, middle, and late. Corbetta was born during the promorphic, or early phase (1596-1639), which was totally dominated by the rasgueado or strummed style. The middle phase began in 1640 with the books of

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Bartolotti, Foscarini, Carbonchi, and Doizi de Velasco, all of which included the use of tablature heretofore associated with the lute. This change in notation allowed guitarists to explore all their instrument’s capabilities more adequately. It was during this middle phase that most of Corbetta’s books appeared in print. After his death in 1681, divergent stylistic elements began to undermine the continuity of guitar music as it spread across Europe. In Italy the tradition lasted less than two more decades; the final book was published there in 1698 by Antonio di Micheli. In some countries, however, new music continued to emerge sporadically up to the middle of the eighteenth century. The last phase of baroque guitar music began with Robert de Visée’s book of 1682. His music is perhaps best represented in the Allemande, Tombeau de Mr. Francois, a musical epitaph on the death of Corbetta. As De Visée looked back nostalgically to the influence of his mentor, he typified most of the guitarists that flourished later. Thus, the third and final period of development in baroque guitar music was essentially an aftermath, and may therefore be named the neomorphic phase.

DOCUMENTING CORBETTA’S INFLUENCE

One of the most difficult problems for music historiographers is documenting the influence of one composer on another. The usual, and necessarily the most painstaking way is to define the various elements of one composer’s style, then trace these elements to the works of a succeeding composer working in the same tradition.

4 Angiol Michele Bartolotti, Libro primo di chitarra spagnola ... ([Florence, 1640]); copy at I-Bc. Note also that along with the publication and date, the library source (according to RISM) is also provided.


6 Antonio Carbonchi, Sonate di chitarra spagnola con intavolatura franzese (Florence, 1640; I-Fn).

7 Nicolao Doizi de Velasco, Nuovo modo de cifra para tñer la guitarr con variedad y perfección. ... ([Naples, ca. 1640]; E-Mn).

8 La Nuova chitarra (Palermo, 1698; US-Wc).


We will sidestep this method for the present, however, and use a shortcut to discover Corbetta’s influence on other guitarists. Many baroque composers and collectors duplicated Corbetta’s pieces in their guitar books. If a guitarist incorporated Corbetta’s music into his own book, it is logical to conclude Corbetta’s music had a powerful impact on him. Through this method we will also skip a pains-taking definition of Corbetta’s style, and for our purposes simply note the number of times he is plagiarized.\textsuperscript{11}

An early composer to use Corbetta’s music was Antonio Carbonchi, who published his first book in 1640.\textsuperscript{12} In that source, several compositions entitled corrente, sarabanda, minuta, codognella and l’Anturlurù resemble certain pieces Corbetta had published in his own first book of 1639.\textsuperscript{13} By 1643, however, Carbonchi’s spagnuollette appear nearly identical to those of Corbetta (see concordance). Perhaps the similarity between the compositions of each composer may be explained by the fact that these dance-songs formed part of a standard repertory that dictated a more-or-less set form for each piece.

Such was not the case with Carlo Calvi,\textsuperscript{14} who made much more extensive use of Corbetta’s material. Calvi’s book appeared in 1646, seven years after Corbetta’s first book. On the title page Calvi states he had studied with two “Eccellenti Professori,” one of whom must have been Corbetta. Calvi employed the same chordal notation as his teacher in the alfabeto and in the alfabeto falso. Calvi also uses Corbetta’s method of tuning a consort of four guitars from 1639. It was, of course, nothing new for guitarists to interchange alphabets or tunings. All the Italians based their alphabets on the precedent of Girolamo Montesardo, who published the first alfabeto in 1606.\textsuperscript{15} Later the eminent G. P. Foscarini, otherwise known as “l’Academico caliginoso detto il Furioso,” copied G. A. Colonna’s ensemble tuning for three guitars word for word!\textsuperscript{16} And Foscarini’s tradition was handed without acknowledgment to Granata, who in

\textsuperscript{11}See Pinnell. The stylistic influence of Corbetta has already been discussed.

\textsuperscript{12}See Carbonchi. See also Carbonchi, Le Dodici chitarre spostate, libro secondo (Florence, 1643; I-Rsu) and I-Pie, MS 586.

\textsuperscript{13}Francesco Corbetta, De gli Scherzi armonici trovati, e facilitati in alcune curiosissime sonature sopra la chitarra spagnuola (Bologna, 1639; I-Bc).

\textsuperscript{14}Calvi, Intavolatura di chitarra, e chitarriglia. . . . (Bologna, 1646; I-Bc).

\textsuperscript{15}Nuova inventione d’intavolatura, per sonare li balleti sopra la chitarra spagnuola, senza numeri, e note. . . . (Florence, 1606; A-Wgm).

1646 paraphrased the entire Preface of Foscarini’s cumulative publication of Books I-III.\(^\text{17}\) Thus, the comparably small amount of prose in the guitar books may often be traced from one composer to another—and, in one specific case, from Corbetta to Calvi.

Calvi did not limit himself to the use of Corbetta’s prose; he also took at least two dozen compositions from Corbetta’s first book. He first included the Spanish dances, beginning on page 9, then copied some Italian dances. Curiously, he omitted many of Corbetta’s intricate passeggiate (or variations), and did not bother to copy Corbetta’s complex repicco passages on the ruggieri or ciacone. Calvi also had trouble notating the rhythms. But omitting variations and other nuances gave Calvi little need for many mensural signs or barlines. On page 25 he begins to write in Italian tablature without the alfabeto (as in Corbetta, 1639, p. 63) and stops plagiarizing as well. Yet he completed his book with the popular Venetian dance-tunes *La Moda* and *La Mia donna importuna*, just as his teacher had done.

**MIXED TABLATURE**

The history of Western music (especially art music) has been largely dependent upon a tradition of notation. As the need grew to express more than one form of notation could handle, great changes frequently took place in the notational system in order to more accurately describe the sounds desired. Notable examples of such changes are provided by the works of Franco of Cologne or Petrus de Cruce in medieval times, the appearance of figured-bass symbols in baroque music, and the change to “violin notation” in place of tablature in late eighteenth-century guitar music.

By 1640 baroque guitarists needed such a change. Leaders such as Bartolotti or Foscarini simply added the old alfabeto to lute tablature. To indicate chords, they continued to use the alfabeto, which consisted of a few signs such as the cross and the letters from *A* to *Z*. The letters were written boldly over the staff of Italian tablature of five lines. Each line indicated a course on the guitar; consequently, single notes could be easily notated by writing numbers on each line. The process of combining letters of the alfabeto with Italian five-line

\(^{17}\) Giovanni Battista Granata, *Capricci armonici sopra la chitarra spagnuola* (Bologna, 1646; I-Be), Preface.
Example 1. Sample of mixed tablature: Corbetta, 1639, p. 60.
(Note the spelling of Corbetta’s patron’s name, Conte Odoardo, with letters of the alfabeto.)
tablature may therefore appropriately be called “mixed tablature.” Corbetta had used this procedure for seven dances in 1639 (see Example 1).

Although several composers experimented with ‘tablature using numbers alone (Corbetta [1639], Trombetti, Carbonchi [1640], Doizi de Velasco and Calvi), mixed tablature proved the ideal medium of expression for the rest of the Italian guitarists of the seventeenth century. Corbetta’s books of 1643 and 1648 employ this notation exclusively.18 His book of 1643 must have been known in Spain, for an anonymous manuscript at Madrid contains a suite by “Corbera” (or Corbeta). The Almanda of the same suite appears to be a version of Corbetta, 1643, p. 40.19

Ironically, Corbetta’s book of 1648, published at Brussels, had a greater impact in his own country than his book of 1643, published at Milan. Thirteen of his compositions appear in a manuscript at Modena, as follows:20

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I-MOe, Mus. F 1528</th>
<th>Corbetta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>folio 1r, Sarabanda</td>
<td>1648, p. 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2v, Sarabanda</td>
<td>1648, p. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5r, Passac</td>
<td>cf. 1648, pp. 16-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5v, Sarabanda</td>
<td>1648, p. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6r, Passac</td>
<td>cf. 1648, pp. 8-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6v, Passac</td>
<td>cf. 1648, pp. 18-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7v, Sarabanda</td>
<td>cf. 1648, p. 37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8r, Sarabanda</td>
<td>cf. 1648, p. 71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8v, Sarabanda</td>
<td>cf. 1648, p. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9r, Sonata</td>
<td>cf. 1648, pp. 28-31 (Chiacona)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10v, Sarabanda</td>
<td>1648, p. 74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16v, Sarabanda del Corvetta</td>
<td>cf. 1648, p. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4v, Passacq</td>
<td>C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4v, Passacq</td>
<td>cf. 1648, pp. 26-27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The incipit of the last composition listed above is transcribed in Example 2, which clearly demonstrates Corbetta’s music was used in this MS, and also that its scribe altered and simplified the original to some extent. Other composers are also represented in this source, including Granata; a sarabanda from his book of 1659 appears on page 34. Perhaps the MS was compiled after that date.

18 Francesco Corbetta, Varii capricii per la ghitarra spagnvola ([Milan, 1643]; US-Wc) and Varii scherzi di sonate per la chitara spagnola ([Brussels, 1648]; GB-Lbm).

19 E-Mn, MS Música, 811, dated 1705. “Libro de diferentes cifras de gitara escojidas de los mejores autores,” pp. 42-43. See also Sarabanda, p. 128 = Corbetta, 1639, p. 65. Legibility is a real problem in my copy.

20 I-MOe, Mus. F 1528. I am indebted to Richard Hudson for drawing my attention to this source and several others I have cited.
The music of Corbetta’s 1648 book was also known in France. A saraband from that book (p. 88) is entitled *Sarabande de Francisque* in a manuscript now at Paris.\(^2^1\) The same source contains a composition not found in Corbetta’s printed works: *Canaries de Francisque*. However, the composer most frequently mentioned in this MS is Valleroy, who receives a handful of attributions. Hardel, Hotman, Luigi, Viste (= De Visée?), Angelo Mikielo (= Angelo Michele Bartolotti?), and Gaultier are also named as composers of guitar selections. Part of the MS also contains lute tablatures.

**THE APEX: CORBETTA’S BOOK OF 1671**

Corbetta travelled to England at the beginning of the Restoration, probably before January, 1661. While serving Charles II, he discovered that one of his lost books had been dedicated to a foreign prince by another guitarist.\(^2^2\) This fact, coupled with his heavy involvement in trivial and sensational courtly affairs, finally provoked him to produce his greatest artistic achievement. The book he dedicated to Charles II in 1671 was destined to become the peak of production for the baroque guitar, not only through its influence, but also because of the reaction it caused. It lay in the chronological mid-point of the tradition, and proved to be unexcelled in its typically baroque elements.

The 1671 book is unique in drawing together many old and new components of baroque guitar music. The ornamentation is new because of its complexity. Corbetta uses five essential melodic ornaments frequently, and he often combines them for stunning effect. Corbetta’s travels across Europe, moreover, put him at the forefront of the latest cosmopolitan trends; note the stylization of dances such as the *allemandes* and *folies*, and the slower *sarabandes* and *passacailles*. He usually begins his suites with a prelude, and he was the first of many to compose suites in the “classic” pattern of *allemande, courante, sarabande, gigue*. He also recommends this formula in his Preface of 1671, where he suggests that other dances may also be added to the set. Yet in spite of his innovations, he never lost contact with the guitar tradition. In fact, he revitalized old techniques of the *rasgueado* style that had fallen into disuse. For example, the *repiaco*, a strummed ornament which had not appeared in either his book of 1643 or of 1648 reappeared in his *chacones* of 1671 with a

\(^2^1\) l.-Pn, Vm7. 675.

\(^2^2\) The title and date are unknown. Corbetta had shown the book to Louis XIV in 1656. Corbetta, *La guitarre royalle, dediee au Roy de la Grande Bretagne* (Paris, [1671]; GB-Lbm), Preface.

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new fingering. And he continued to contrast strummed passages with those of two-part counterpoint. Corbetta’s style in his book of 1671 had, therefore, become both complex and dense in texture as he worked cosmopolitan elements into the mainstream of guitar music.

Corbetta’s book of 1671 was more influential in Spain than any of his other publications. Perhaps the music of this book inspired Gaspar Sanz in 1674 to single out Corbetta from among the other virtuosi of the century:

El Foscarini (que en sus obras se intitula el Académico Caliginoso) Caspergier, Pelegrín, Granada, Lorenco Fardino, y últimamente Francisco Corbetta, el mayor de todos, no traen bastantes reglas, pues a lo sumo enseñan a que tañan aquellas piezas suyas, pero ninguno dá regla para que se componga, y adelante, sin tener siempre el maestro al lado.

(Foscarini, who in his works bills himself as the “Foggy academician,” Kapsperger, Pelegrini, Granata, Lorenco Fardino, and finally Francesco Corbetta, the best of them all, do not give enough rules, except at the most they teach you to play their own pieces; but not one of them gives [even] a rule for one to compose or to progress without always having the teacher close at hand.)

Sanz’s practice, however, was not followed by Santiago de Murcia, the author of an extensive treatise on the art of figured bass realized upon the guitar. Murcia freely borrowed ten pieces from Corbetta’s book of 1671 without any acknowledgment. They form part of a large manuscript collection now in the British Museum. Murcia gave away his source when he entitled one of his allemandes (p. 122) Tombeau alla Muerte de Madame de Orleans, one of Corbetta’s most famous pieces. Although Murcia seldom identifies composers in his MS, he includes an intabulation of a solo sonata of “Coreli.” Both solo and bass-continuo parts from Corelli’s Op. 5, no. 8, are realized for solo guitar.

23 Sanz, Instrucción de música sobre la guitarra española. Reproducción en facsímil de los libros primero y segundo de la tercera edición (1674) y del libro tercero de la edición octava (1697), Luis García-Abrines, ed. (Saragossa: Institución Fernando el Católico, 1966), fol. 6r.

24 Murcia, Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra. . . . (N.p., 1714; E-Mn).

25 GB-Lbm, MS Add. 31640. Santiago de Murcia, “Passacalles y obras de guitarra por guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y accidentales . . . 1732.” See pp. 53, 77, 100, 122-124, 125 (prelude and allemande), 127 (Correnta and Zarabanda).
Example 2. Comparison of (a) I-MOe, MS, Mus. F. 1528, f. 4v and (b) Corbetta, 1648, p. 26. (Preferred tunings are given in brackets.)

Example 3. Comparison of (a) Sanz, 1674, f. 25r and (b) Corbetta, 1671, p. 63.
After his instructions, Sanz provides musical examples, including the *Alamanda la serenissima* (fol. 25r), the incipit of which resembles Corbetta, 1671, p. 63. Sanz was content to write the composition in Corbetta's style (see Example 3), rather than copy one of Corbetta's pieces verbatim.

A new-world manuscript roughly resembling that of Murcia exists in Mexico City. It contains two solo sonatas and the *Folia* of Coreli," as well as a *Rondaut de Corvet!* Moreover, two compositions appear to be based on Corbetta's models: *La favorita sarabanda* (cf. 1671, p. 65f.) and the *Minuet* (cf. 1671, p. 74). Unlike Murcia's MS, however, the indication of rhythm is inaccurate, and barlines are frequently misplaced.

**CORBETTA'S LAST EXTANT BOOK**

Even Corbetta himself was unable to match the monumental book he had dedicated to Charles II. His last extant book, though similar in title, was dedicated to Louis XIV of France in 1674. It is the first of a number of guitar books in France that demonstrate a resurgence of the *rasgueado* style. In spite of the chordal strumming, the music was notated in Franch tablature as in 1671. This trend was probably 'encouraged' by 'the Sun King' himself, who had learned to play the guitar as a mere boy at a time when strummed guitar music reached its peak. The Dauphin's teacher in those days, incidentally, must have been Corbetta.

Rémy Médard was the first French guitarist to favor the *rasgueado* style. His *Courante* on page 23, for instance, is nearly identical to Corbetta's *Corrente* (1643, p. 45), which is characterized by chordal strumming. A manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale contains several pieces by Corbetta, but none from his book of 1671. Here the strummed style also dominates at the expense of other musical qualities.

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26 Mexico, D.F., Biblioteca Nacional (M-Mn), MS 1560, *Olim* 1686.
30 F-Pn, Rés., 1402, see esp. pp. 15, 19, 27, 28, 34, 66, 128, and 148.
The most important manuscript for the study of Corbetta's music is the manuscript collection of Henry François de Gallot. Gallot refers to himself as "Gallot d'Angleterre" or "Gallot d'Irlande"; thus it appears the collection was assembled in the British Isles, even though the collector seems to have been French. Fortunately, music of the music is dated, the dates ranging from 1664 to 1684. A preference for the predominately strummed style may be noted in compositions by Gallot himself. And throughout the manuscript, his own music is of high quality.

There are few scribal attributions, other than those to which Gallot signs his own name. Corbetta receives eight attributions under either the Spanish or French spellings of his first name. The names of Chabotti (fol. 8v), Mr. T (36r), Arkangelo (81a, v), Mr. Talbot (86v), Clement (93r), M. Manoko (107v), and Batiste (145v-), four pieces) are also mentioned. Many of the unattributed pieces are actually by Corbetta; the manuscript, in fact, contains at least eighty-five compositions by him! There may be many more because of a scribal idiosyncracy: the letter f. frequently appears by titles of pieces, and may designate Corbetta. For example, folios 29r through 29v contain the following five titles: Courant f., Sarabande f., Sarabande f., Allemande f., Courante f. Of these five examples, the last two may be identified in Corbetta's book of 1648. Thus, other works by Corbetta may be contained in this source.

Gallot demonstrates a knowledge of all Corbetta's printed books, and a certain intimacy with three of them. Gallot's favorites are those from 1643, 1648, and 1674. Occasional excerpts from Corbetta's book of 1671 (fols. 57r and 60r) prove Gallot knew this book too, but either could not play the music or simply did not care for it. Gallot finally ends his manuscript with some twenty compositions from Corbetta's last extant book in the rasgueado style.

Not all French guitarists preferred the strummed style, however. It formed but one alternative direction following Corbetta's book of 1671. The other principal direction involved developing the delicacy, the ornamentation, and repeated sectionalization that characterized Corbetta's best book. In this style Robert de Visée was the leader. De Visée, as we have already observed in conjunction with the tombeau on the death of his mentor, could write in Corbetta's style with complete competence. This competence is also demonstrated in De Visée's first suite (in a minor). De Visée, to be sure, was the only French guitarist who could imitate that complex style perfectly. It is ironic that in his next book (1686) he pursued his

31 GB-Ob, Music School, MS C. 94 (abbreviated M Sch C94). "Pièces de guitarrre de differenda autheura recueillis par H.F. de Gallot."
own course; yet, to his credit, and also to our benefit today, he did not need to depend on others for inspiration.

Three Flemish guitar books document the influence of Corbetta in the Low Countries. "Princes An's Lute Book" (for five-course guitar) contains several pieces from Corbetta's book of 1671. These pieces are rather atypical of the whole manuscript; more often the style remains simple throughout the rest of the collection, and strumming is employed sparingly. This MS also constitutes a new source (p. 62) for De Visée's Gavotte rondeau, corresponding to F-Pn, MS Vm7. 6222, fol. 19v. The book compiled by Antoine Carré Sieur de la Grange is of higher quality. It contains three duplications from Corbetta's book of 1671 and several parodies of Corbetta's pieces. A long suite scored for two guitars, bass, and a treble instrument is particularly noteworthy.

The anthology of François Le Cocq stands apart for its excellent quality of music, and also for its detailed instructions on performance practices. Corbetta, the principal historical figure cited in the Preface, is mentioned along with Pérez de Zavala (who taught at Madrid ca. 1690), Sanz, Leilio [Colista], Robert de Visée (praised as a guitarist to the King of France), Derosier, and Granata. The first half of the collection contains the music of Le Cocq. Composers represented in the second half include Michel Pérez de Zavala (four pieces), Sanz (one passacaille), Leilio Colista (five pieces), and Granata (one piece). Six other pieces in this manuscript may be added to the complete works of De Visée as published by Robert Strizich. Nicolas Derosier may have been Le Cocq's teacher; the anthology contains thirty-nine of his pieces—perhaps the largest extant collection of Derosier's works. Although the music of Corbetta's book of 1671 appears on pages 106 and 108 of the anthology, Le Cocq includes twelve superlative compositions by "F. Corbet" that do not appear elsewhere in Corbetta's printed works.

Although Corbetta probably did not travel as far east as Bohemia, the cosmopolitan activities of Count Jan Antonín Losy of Losinthal assured the success of his music there. Three manuscripts

32 NL-DHgm, MS 877. "This curious MS was Princes An's lute book, and presented to Wm. Shield by his friend James Smith."
33 US-Wc, M126/C32, Case. Carré, "Livre de guitarre et de musique dédiée a son Altesse Royalle, Madame la princess d'Orange."
34 B-Bc, MS no. 5615. "Recueil des pieces de guitarre composées par Mr. François Le Cocq ... 1729."
at Prague, originally in the library of the nineteenth-century aristocrat, Prince Lobkowitz, contain more than a dozen pieces by Corbetta. The manuscripts incorporate both new music, such as the Allemande amoureuse de Mons. Corbette, faite à Naple, and the music of Corbetta’s books of 1671 and 1674.

SUMMARY AND CONCORDANCE

The concordance of Corbetta’s works given below can help us draw new conclusions about his impact on other baroque guitarists. Until now we have had to rely, for the most part, on the subjective evaluations of Sanz, Médard, and Le Cocq, who unanimously praised Corbetta above his contemporaries. But this concordance provides new, empirical evidence supporting their opinions. More important, many connections are drawn in it which link Corbetta to others such as Calvi, Carré, Gallot, and the compilers of manuscripts in Spain and the Low Countries. In addition, the east-west boundaries of Corbetta’s influence may now be extended from Prague to Mexico City. Corbetta’s printed music seems to have been used in two ways. Some composers merely fattened their own publications with it, failing to acknowledge their sources. More often, and more happily, Corbetta’s music appears correctly identified in manuscript collections. In this category, the anthology of Henry François de Gallot proves to be the richest source of Corbetta’s music, containing at least eighty-five pieces, most of which are duplicated elsewhere. About half the following annotations, therefore, come from this collection alone. Altogether, 146 duplications have been discovered, not counting another sixty-three entries, notated under cf. in this concordance, which constitute sources similar to Corbetta’s originals. A saraband of Granata, for instance, contains the melody of Corbetta’s Sarabande, 1671, page 32, as illustrated in Example 4. Thus, cf. also indicates that two pieces are worthy of comparison.

The concordance also documents ninety modern transcriptions. These began to appear in 1888 with the publications of Oscar Chilesotti. Corbetta’s music subsequently began to interest performers,

36CS-Pnm, MSS XLb 209 and XLb 211; CS-Pu, MS II Kk 77. I am indebted to Nancy Carlin, Microfilm Librarian of the Lute Society of America, who generously loaned me copies of these and other manuscripts I have cited.

37See above, and the Prefaces of the works cited by Le Cocq and Médard.


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a trend led by Emilio Pujol. It is a shame none of the performing editions in the list, no matter how carefully followed, can guide the performer toward an authentic performance on a modern replica of the baroque guitar. These editions also seem to be interdependent; that is, once a piece has been transcribed (e.g., the Gavotte, 1671, p. 12, or the Allemande, 1671, p. 6), other musicians re-transcribe the same piece again and again, as if basing their work on earlier copies rather than on Corbetta’s originals. The most accurate transcriptions have been made by Richard Hudson, but these are intended primarily for scholars.

Since this concordance is intended primarily to be a reference tool, entries are as concise as possible. Manuscript references are abbreviated according to the sigla of RISM (Répertoire international des sources musicales). Works of composers are cited by date and page only; refer to the footnotes of this article for titles and library locations. The Gallot MS (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Music School C. 94) is cited so frequently it is abbreviated “M Sch C94.” The last number of each entry is the page number, unless a manuscript contains numbered folios, in which case v or r follows the folio number. GR stands for Guitar Review.

Example 4. Comparison of (a) Granata, 1680 (I-Bc), p. 54 and (b) Corbetta, 1671, p. 32.


39Pujol, ed., Bibliothèque de musique ancienne et moderne pour guitare, nos. 1008-1022 (Paris: M. Eschig, 1929-).

In order to encourage the use of this list, the music is arranged according to dance type, rather than in the more usual chronological order. Pieces identified under each dance heading are subcategorized as follows:

1. Dance type
2. Key, ascending chromatically from C
3. Mode (major first)
4. Publication date
5. Page number

All the minuets, for example, are listed together, beginning with those written in C major, then c minor, and so on. Works are next organized by date of publication or manuscript source; Corbetta’s earliest minuets in a given key are given first, and then followed by later ones in the same key. Finally, dance of each type are categorized according to the standard order of movements in the suite, which Corbetta himself recommended: allemande, courante, sarabande, gigue, with miscellaneous pieces following this group. Passacaglia are listed before allemandes, however, after Corbetta’s own practice.

Although this is not an index of Corbetta’s complete works, it should help provide access to alternate courses of his music in print. And since it is probable many more pieces by Corbetta may yet be discovered, this concordance may be only the first of many.

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41 See Pinell. Corbetta’s complete works are arranged chronologically in Volume II.
### PASSACAGLIE

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<tr>
<th>Corbetta’s printed source and key</th>
<th>Concordances</th>
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<tr>
<td>1648, p. 18f (C)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 17v. Cf. I-MOe, Mus. F 1528, 6v.</td>
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<td>1643, p. 12f (cm)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 118v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1648, p. 8f (cm)</td>
<td>Cf. I-MOe, Mus. F 1528, 6r. M Sch C94, 56v.</td>
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<td>1643, p. 30f (D)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 47v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1648, p. 26f (D)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 22v. I-MOe, Mus. F 1528, 4v. Cf. also 12r-12v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643, p. 20f (dm)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 11v and 119v. Cf. also 78v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1643, p. 10f (Eb)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 124v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1643, p. 38f (E)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 120r.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1643, p. 28f (em)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 98r and 120v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1643, p. 18f (F)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 121v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1648, p. 14f (F)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 41v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643, p. 8f (fm)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 122r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643, p. 26f (G)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 117r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643, p. 24f (am)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 123v.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1671, p. 31 (am)</td>
<td>D. Kennard (London: Ricordi, 1957).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1674, p. 19ff (am)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 145r.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1643, p. 14f (Bb)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 46r.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1671, p. 49f (Bb)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 45r.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1643, p. 32f (bm)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 132v.</td>
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### ALLEMANDES

1671, p. 63f (gm)  
Cf. Murcia, 1732, GB-Lbm, MS Add. 31640, 77ff.  

1648, p. 40f (am)  
M Sch C94, 29v and 86r.

1671, p. 28f (am)  

1671, p. 1f (bm)  

COURANTES

1643, p. 58 (C)  

1643, p. 61 (cm)  
Bellow, p. 13.

1639, p. 28 (D)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 12.

1643, p. 45 (D)  
Médard, 1676, p. 23. Bellow, p. 4.

1671, p. 68 (D)  

1639, p. 47 (dm)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 15.

1639, p. 49 (dm)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 17.

1639, p. 68 (dm)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 22.

1643, p. 41 (em)  
M Sch C94, 4r. Bellow, p. 2.

1648, p. 56f (em)  
M Sch C94, 3v.

1639, p. 57f (F)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 20.

1639, p. 68 (F)  
Calvi, 1676, p. 22.

1643, p. 51 (F)  
M Sch C94, 41v.

1639, p. 26 (G)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 11f.

1639, p. 55 (G)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 18f.

1671, p. 36 (G)  
Cf. Médard, 1676, p. 33.

1671, p. 60f (G)  

1639, p. 51 (gm)  
Calvi, 1646, p. 17f.
1643, p. 48 (gm)  Bellow, p. 7.
1648, p. 42f (am) M Sch C94, 29v.
1648, p. 66 (am) M Sch C94, 26v.
1671, p. 47f (Bb) Cf. Granata, 1659, p. 70f., esp. rhythmic motif.
1671, p. 3 (bm) Murcia, 1732, GB-Lbm, MS Add. 31640, p. 127.

**SARABANDES**

1639, p. 63 (C) Cf. Carbonchi, 1640, p. 41. *HAS*.
1643, p. 59 (C) Bellow, p. 11.
1648, p. 71 (C) I-MOe, Mus. F 1528, 8r. *HAS*
1674, p. 29 (C) F-Pn, Rés. 1402, p. 19.
1648, p. 72f (cm) *HAS*.
1643, p. 46 (D) M Sch C94, 48r. Bellow, p. 5.
1639, p. 65 (dm, "la Marinetta") Carbonchi, 1643, p. 38, esp. melody. *HAS*.
1674, p. 8 (dm) M Sch C94, 142r.
1643, p. 43 (em) M Sch C94, 4v. Bellow, p. 3.
1671, p. 15 (em) Cf. M-Mn, MS 1560 (olim 1686), Sarabanda despacio.
1643, p. 53 (F) M Sch C94, 39v.
1648, p. 50 (F) Murcia, 1732, GB-Lbm, MS Add. 31640, p. 100f. M Sch C94, 39r. HAS.
1639, p. 69f (G) Calvi, 1646, p. 23. Cf. F-Pn, Rés, 1402, 28. HAS.
1648, p. 74 (G) I-MOe, MS Mus. F 1528, 2v and 10v. F-Pn, Rés. 1402, p. 27.
1639, p. 61 (gm) HAS.
1648, p. 45 (gm) HAS.
1671, p. 56 (gm) HAS. CS-Pu, MS II Kk 77, p. 10f.
1648, p. 44 (am) I-MOe, MS Mus. F 1528, 1r. F-Pn, Vm 675, p. 88. Cf. Bartolotti, 1640, p. 58. M Sch C94, 30r. HAS.
1674, p. 18 (am) M Sch C94, 144v.
1671, p. 48f (Bb) HAS.
1674, p. 23f (Bb) M Sch C94, 145v.
1671, p. 4 (bm)  

1671, p. 4 (bm, 2nd Sarabande) 

1674, p. 6f (bm) 
M Sch C94, 142r.

GIGUES

1671, p. 73f (C) 
Le Cocq, B-Bc, MS no. 5619, p. 108.

1671, p. 51f (cm) 
Murcia, 1732, GB-Lbm, MS Add. 31640, p. 124.

1671, p. 9 (dm) 

1671, p. 15f (em) 
Cf. M-Mn, MS 1560 (olim 1686), Giga alegre.

1671, p. 62 (G) 

1671, p. 57f (gm) 

FOLIE

1639, p. 18 (dm) 
Calvi, 1646, p. 10. M Sch C94, 84r.

1643, p. 68f (dm) 

1648, p. 75ff (dm) 
Cf. F-Pn, Rés. 1402, p. 34 (no. 2). HAF.

1671, p. 79ff (dm) 
M Sch C94, 84v (no. 8) = m. 97ff above. Quadt, p. 24. HAF.

1639, p. 21 (em) 
HAF.

1674, p. 37ff (em) 
HAF.

1671, p. 76f (gm) 
Quadt, p. 22f. HAF.

1674, p. 34ff (gm) 
M Sch C94, 144r. HAF.

1639, p. 17 (am) 
Calvi, 1646, p. 10.

CHACONNES

1639, p. 14 (C) 
Calvi, 1646, p. 9.

1648, p. 28ff (C) 
I-MOe, MS Mus. 1528, 9r, Sonata. M Sch C94, 8v-9r. Cf. also 9v.

1671, p. 72f (C) 
M Sch C94, 21v. Le Cocq, B-Bc MS 5619, p. 106.

1639, p. 15 (D) 
Calvi, 1646, p. 9.

1671, p. 69 (D) 
1639, p. 13 (G) Calvi, 1646, p. 9.

MINUETS

1674, p. 17 (em) M Sch C94, 143r.

GAVOTTES

1671, p. 12 (C) Cf. Corbetta's vocal transcription, 1671, p. 96ff.  

FANFARES, TAMBOURS, and TROMPETTES

1674, p. 1f (C) M Sch C94, 140v.
1674, p. 2f (C) M Sch C94, 140v.
1674, p. 3 (C) M Sch C94, 141r.
1674, p. 4((C) CS-Pn, XLb 211, + p. 16. M Sch C94, 141r.
1674, p. 5 (C) M Sch C94, 141v.
1674, p. 47 (D) M Sch C94, 141v.

PASSAMEZZI

1639, p. 58f (G) Calvi, 1646, p. 13f.

GAGLIARDE

1639, p. 44 (am) Calvi, 1646, p. 15.
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<th><strong>RUGGIERI</strong></th>
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<td>1639, p. 28 (D)</td>
<td>Clvii, 1646, p. 12.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 26 (G)</td>
<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 11.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 56f (dm)</td>
<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 19f.</td>
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<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 18.</td>
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<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 12f.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 24 (dm)</td>
<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 11.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 22 (gm)</td>
<td>Carbonchi, 1643, p. 10.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 23 (am)</td>
<td>Carbonchi, 1643, p. 10. Calvi, 1646, p. 10.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 59 (C)</td>
<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 21.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 45f (dm)</td>
<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 25.</td>
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<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 24.</td>
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<th><strong>’VÀ PUR SUPERBA VÀ</strong></th>
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<td>1639, p. 69 (G)</td>
<td>Calvi, 1646, p. 24.</td>
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<td>1639, p. 72 (am)</td>
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<td>1648, p. 32f (C)</td>
<td>M Sch C94, 12v.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1671, p. 7 (cm)</td>
<td>E. Pujol, ed. no. 1008 (Paris: Eschig, 1929).</td>
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1648, p. 52f (em) M Sch C94, 98r.
1674, p. 10 (em) M Sch C94, 142v.
1648, p. 38f (am) M Sch C94, 25v.
The engraved frontispiece from *Cabinet der Lauten* referred to in item 15 of the Grissau Manuscript.

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"HOW BEGINNERS . . . SHOULD PROCEED": THE LUTE INSTRUCTIONS OF LESAGE DE RICHEE

By Douglas Alton Smith and Peter Danner

Among the more concise and informative instructions written for the baroque lute are those found at the beginning of Cabinet der Lauten, a volume of music for eleven-course lute published in 1695 by Philipp Franz LeSage de Richée. In a single page of instruction, LeSage offers the student fifteen particulars covering technique and ornamentation.

Little is known about LeSage other than what is revealed in the Cabinet der Lauten, his only known publication.¹ The volume was published in Breslau, Silesia (now Wroclaw, Poland), where LeSage is known to have lived during the last decade of the seventeenth century. A daughter, Maria Elisabeth, was born there and baptised on November 21, 1695. LeSage's wife’s name is given as Regina Knopxin(?).²

In the dedication to the Cabinet der Lauten, LeSage implies that he had been apprenticed to the famous French lutenist Charles Mouton, and invokes the names of other French lutenists such as Dufaut and Gautier. Despite his name and obvious French tastes, however, it is doubtful LeSage was himself a Frenchman. Hans Neemann has suggested that LeSage was a native of Silesia, and has speculated—on the strength of the composer’s name—whether LeSage might not have been a member of the celebrated Weiss family of lutenists (“der Weise” would translate as “le Sage” in French).³ Johann Jacob Weiss, father of Silvius Leopold, is known to have been in Breslau during the 1690’s; perhaps some family connection existed between LeSage and the elder Weiss. Barring further evidence, however, such suggestions must remain mere speculation. Ernst Gottlieb Baron, who made no secret of his chauvinism, says little about Le-

¹The authors have attempted, without success, to obtain a copy of Toni Wortmann’s dissertation, “Philipp Franz LeSage de Richée und sein Cabinet der Lauten” (Vienna, 1919).
Sage except to place his name among the French lutenists who “have still done nothing more than place their French lute pieces before the eyes of the world....” If LeSage had actually been a member of the Weiss family, Baron would doubtless have mentioned the fact.

LeSage’s influence as a teacher is hard to evaluate. In the introduction to Cabinet der Lauten, LeSage states that he hoped to publish a treatise on learning thoroughbass on the lute, but this plan apparently never materialized. The information we have on LeSage as a teacher suggests his influence was confined to the area immediately surrounding Breslau. Johann Walther (in his Musikalisches Lexikon of 1732) identifies LeSage as the teacher of Johann Kropfghan, a native of Breslau born there in 1708—and, interestingly, a student of Silvius Leopold Weiss in Dresden during the 1730’s.

A further measure of LeSage’s influence can be seen in a manuscript of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German lute music preserved today in the archives of the University Library in Wroclaw, as Breslau is called today. This volume of thirteen-course lute music contains tablatures by [August or Johann Michael?] Kuehnel, Silvius Leopold Weiss, and several anonymous composers. The manuscript, shelf number Mf. 2002, is part of a large series of baroque lute manuscripts apparently compiled in the first half of the eighteenth century by several scribes at the Benedictine monastery in the small town of Grissau (now Krzeszow, Poland), some 20 kilometers west of Breslau. With the exception of Mf. 2002, these manuscripts (Mf. 2001 and Mf. 2003-2011) are now located in the University Library in Warsaw. Scholars have long known of the existence of Mf. 2002, as well as the others in the series, but the instructions that constitute a preface to the collection have never been discussed.

The title page of the manuscript reads:


LIVRE

du

LUTH

Contenant des pieces le plus exquises, et gaillardes de
quatre Tons del Accord françois ordinaire, Scavoir:
C, D, F, et A,
&

Des Six Tons des autres Accords,

Pour Sa Paternite tres Religieuse, la Pere Hermien Knieban-
dl, Profe del Ordre Sacre et Exempt de

Cisteaux: A la Maison des Graces

a Grissau. 6

This manuscript and several others in the series bear a library stamp reading: Aus/der Bibliothek des Klosters/Grissau.

Following the title page of Mf. 2002 appear two pages of instructions, written in German and neatly printed in Gothic script, which make twenty-two statements about lute tuning, technique, and ornamentation. Although no credit is given the author in this manuscript, items three through seventeen were adapted word-for-word, with only slight orthographical variations, from LeSage’s instructions in the Cabinet der Lauten. 7 The items appended to the beginning and end of LeSage’s instructions in Mf. 2002 describe a thirteen-course lute tuning and right-hand fingerings for arpeggios. Since the thirteen-course lute did not become common in German-speaking countries until the third decade of the eighteenth century, these additions were probably made a full generation after LeSage’s original publication. From internal evidence, the Grissau manuscript cannot have been completed before 1720 and may not have been finished until as late as 1740, since one partita by Silvius Leopold Weiss (in F Major) is dated 1739, although it was probably composed about 1720.

Because of its additional material, the following translation is based on the Grissau manuscript rather than the text of Cabinet der Lauten. Items 3 through 17 correspond to LeSage’s original instructions. The translation was made by Douglas Alton Smith.

6 Another manuscript at Warsaw (Biblioteka Narodowa Muz. 396) bears the identical text on its title page. In this manuscript, the contents are actually laid out according to the key scheme indicated, which is not the case in Mf. 2002. Furthermore, the pieces are on a smaller scale, and are written for eleven-course lute rather than for a lute with thirteen courses. Presumably BN Muz. 396 is a considerably earlier source than Mf. 2002.

7 Mf. 2003 in the University Library, Warsaw, also has LeSage’s instructions, but without the additional material contained in Mf. 2002.
INSTRUCTION

How beginners who have not learned proper fingering should proceed.

1. In musical terms the courses in lute tuning are the following, beginning with the bass:


2. In the common tuning the 12th and 13th courses are tuned as follows:

   This tuning is used for F Major and d minor. For B-flat Major, g minor, and c minor:

   ; the tuning belongs to G Major and e minor. The tuning belongs to D Major and b minor.

   and b minor. belongs to A Major and f-sharp minor.

3. The little finger of the right hand must be placed in front of the bridge, not behind it.

4. The thumb must be well extended toward the rosette so that the fingers do not reach over it, but rather can play into the palm of the hand; and when a course has been played with the thumb, it then rests on the adjacent one.

5. The fifth course is ordinarily played with the thumb, if another voice does not fall on a lower one; in this case not only the fifth but the sixth course too is used as a discant, as in this example:
6. A dot under a letter means the first finger, and where there is none, the second; for example:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| a | o |
\end{tabular}
```

7. The letters that are played simultaneously are indicated with a (vertical) dash:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| a | o |
\end{tabular}
```

Those, however, that are divided (arpeggiated) are separated as follows:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| a | e |
\end{tabular}
```

8. A straight dash under a letter means the thumb:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| r |
\end{tabular}
```

However, when a long dash lies under it, it means that the left-hand fingers must remain on the frets:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| a | e |
\end{tabular}
```

The reason is that when they are lifted up the voices cannot sound out and thus be dissonant; for just as on the harpsichord or organ, when one wishes to properly resolve suspensions and make a good effect with them, the voices sound only as long as the fingers are down on the keyboard. In the same way this must be observed on the lute, otherwise nothing will be of any use.

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| a | e |
\end{tabular}
```

9. A trill is indicated as follows:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| e |
\end{tabular}
```

; whereby it must be remembered that it is not to be tossed off quickly, but rather played first slowly, then gradually faster.

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| b | y |
\end{tabular}
```

10. A fall (Einfall) is indicated as:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| e | r | a |
\end{tabular}
```

11. A back-fall (Abzug) is indicated in the following manner:

```
\begin{tabular}{c}
| e | r | a |
\end{tabular}
```
12. When a short dash appears under two letters, as in the previous cadence, it must be brushed with the first finger of the right hand.

When the left-hand finger has to form a barre, it is denoted:

and the right-hand first finger brushes over all strings. On the other hand, when there are two (successive) brushes, the first is done with the finger and the second with the thumb:

13. The thumb executes the brush stroke up to the first string, which is then plucked in the opposite direction by the second finger.

14. In a barre, this is denoted as follows:

15. The left hand must be well cupped and the fingers spread well apart in an aesthetic (schön) attitude, as can be seen in the figure of Musica on the title copper engraving.

16. The thumb of the left hand must also never extend more than halfway up behind the lute neck, so that the player can easily reach all positions with the fingers.

17. It should be observed that the lute is to be played gently and not roughly, otherwise it loses its grace and is more akin to scraping than lute playing.

18. The vibrato (Mordant) is performed in the discant with a waver- ing motion, as usual. However, in the bass the string must be pulled back and forth, toward and away from oneself.

19. The following chord and similar ones should never be brushed with one finger, but rather the third finger has to be used: sic
In arpeggiation this is:

```
+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+
|     |     |     |     |     |
| a   | a   | a   | a   | a   |
| 4   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 4   |
```

Realization:

```
+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+
|     |     |     |     |     |
| a   | a   | a   | a   | a   |
| 4   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 4   |
```

20. When a bass should be arpeggiated two, three, or four times, it is indicated with numbers:  

```
+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+
|     |     |     |     |     |
| a   | a   | a   | a   | a   |
| 4   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 4   |
```

Here four times, and where there is no number, only once. The arpeggio no. 19 can also be arpeggiated as follows:

```
+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+
|     |     |     |     |     |
| a   | a   | a   | a   | a   |
| 4   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 4   |
```

21. When the player should arpeggiate in this manner, it is indicated in the first measure, e.g.:

```
+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+
|     |     |     |     |     |
| a   | a   | a   | a   | a   |
| 4   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 4   |
```

This measure must be arpeggiated as:

```
+-----+-----+-----+-----+-----+
|     |     |     |     |     |
| a   | a   | a   | a   | a   |
| 4   | 2   | 2   | 2   | 4   |
```

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22. Finally there follows an example of good and proper fingering:
REVIEW


Although his name is scarcely a household word, the blind Italian lutenist Giacomo Gorzanis has long held at least a place in the footnotes of music history. He is, for instance, the first composer known to use the word “sonata” as the actual title of a piece. As long ago as 1902, Oscar Chilesotti examined Gorzanis’ music and declared him “an admirable musician, who merits a complete edition of his works.” 1 Bruno Tonazzi has transcribed a number of Gorzanis’ pieces for the guitar in recent years, but the edition under discussion represents the most ambitious attempt to date toward making Chilesotti’s suggestion a reality.

Of the nine volumes by Gorzanis that survive (including reprints), the one presented here is of particular interest and significance. The “Libro de intabulatura di liuto,” now preserved in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich as Mus. Ms. 1511a, is one of the most intriguing of all Renaissance lute manuscripts, inviting comparison with the Well-Tempered Clavier of J. S. Bach composed some 155 years later. Although the history of equal temperament can be traced back to 1511, and although Gioseffò Zarlino applied a system of equal temperament to the lute (in Book IV of his Sopplimenti musicali), the Munich Manuscript remains a unique document—a complete chromatic cycle for Renaissance lutes which should interest music theorists as much as lutenists.

The Munich Manuscript contains a series of twenty-four passamezzo-saltarello pairs composed on each of the twelve degrees of the chromatic scale in ascending order. Twelve of the pairs utilize the traditional passamezzo-antico bass and are written in the mode per B molle (that is, with a minor third in the scale). The other twelve use the passamezzo moderno bass and are written in the mode per B quadro (with a major third). 2 These two modes can be


regarded as direct antecedents of the modern major-minor dichotomy, making the entire cycle a veritable “well-tempered lute.”

Edizioni Suvini Zerboni has given us a particularly handsome, hardcover edition of the complete Munich Manuscript, including all the passamezzi and saltarelli of the “chromatic cycle” as well as the eight independent pieces found at the end of the manuscript. Tonazzi has contributed an essay-length introduction (printed in both Italian and English), and a number of well-reproduced illustrations showing the city of Trieste as it appeared when Gorzanis lived there, plus reproductions of the title pages from each of his known latebooks.

On closer examination, however, much of Tonazzi’s edition proves disappointing by modern musicological standards. Except for the biographical section, the introduction contains little information that cannot be found elsewhere. Furthermore, much of the writing is vague and distinctly unscholarly. Although there is a chapter entitled “Characteristics of the Art of Giacomo Gorzanis,” the reader must content himself with such superficial comments as: “The second Fantasia [from Libro quarto] is memorable for its expressive quality, permeated with a refined pathos. . . .” Such writing may make us anxious to explore the music, but tells us little about the composer’s art. Tonazzi makes equally cursory comments about Renaissance music theory. Referring to the phrase “per be molle” found on the title page of the Munich Manuscript, Tonazzi informs us that this simply means that “there is a B flat in the key signature” and he goes on to state rather lamely, “But as the tablature had no key signature, this means that B flat appears often in the text of half the pieces while in the others it is B natural which is used.” Such a remark is confusing at best: How often is “often”? How is the reader to identify those pieces “per be molle” that contain no B flats?

The entire question of “key signatures” could have been clarified by a simple reference to the passamezzo forms themselves. Both the passamezzo antico and the passamezzo moderno are based on cantus firmus grounds about which Tonazzi says nothing. The former ground, in its untransposed state, contains a B-flat; the latter a B natural. However, although Tonazzi correctly states that the passamezzo antico is in the Dorian mode and the passamezzo moderno is in the Mixolydian mode, this is as far as he goes in distinguishing between them. He appears, indeed, to be completely unaware of the cantus firmus melodies themselves. These melodies

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3 This and all following quotes from the book under review are given in Brindle’s English translation, a trustworthy reflection of Tonazzi’s Italian original.
have been widely published in the musicological literature and it is not necessary to reproduce them here.\(^4\) They are used consistently by Gorzanis throughout his remarkable cycle and are one of its most important unifying features. The closest Tonazzi comes to hinting at melodic unity is on page 87 (page 39 in the Italian text) where we are told that “the saltarelli are built on the same motivic material as the passi e mezzo with which they are respectively paired...” The reader is given no clue to what this “motivic material” might be.

The biographical section is perhaps this edition’s single strongest feature. Tonazzi has consulted numerous (unpublished?) documents, including civil and church records from Trieste, and has been able to piece together at least a partial portrait of his subject’s life. Although Gorzanis was born in Puglia, Tonazzi has established that he lived in Trieste from at least 1557 until his death, which occurred between 1574 and 1579. Lute music by Gorzanis circulated as far away as England, where some was copied in the “Dallis Lutebook.” (Readers should be warned that Tonazzi’s identification of “Dr. Dallis” as Thomas Tallis is spurious.)

The musical text occupies the final quarter of the edition. No tablature is provided, and Tonazzi provides a single staff transcription for “a bass lute tuned in E.” Tonazzi argues that, as lute tablature implies no specific pitch, such a transcription is best because it makes the music “eminently suitable for guitar performance.” Whether or not it is equally suitable for lutenists is another matter. Few lutenists who are not also guitarists have had much experience reading music written for an E lute. Had tablature been provided, an E tuning would have been reasonable, although the reader would then miss the point that Gorzanis probably began his cycle with a G lute mind, thinking of an untransposed Mixolydian passamezzo antico as a starting point and then proceeding to work his way up by halfsteps from Gamma ut.

Tonazzi has attempted to make his transcription as simplified as possible. No attempt has been made to show voice-leading or texture. Such literal transcriptions were advocated by Leo Schrade many years ago, but have found little favor in recent years because they perpetuate a basic weakness of tablature as a notational—the inability to express linear flow. Tonazzi goes to considerable length to justify a rhythmically literal transcription. Perhaps his

most telling point is this: "Lute tablatures are not abstract forms of writing such as in musical notation, but are a graphic representation of the instrument's fingerboard at each single moment of performance" (page 75). Tablature, however, is more than a mere graph; it is a means of recording music. As music can only exist in time, tablature must have synchronic implications.

Gorzanis' music involves an elaborate use of accidentals due to his basic plan to write pieces on each step of the chromatic octave. In the Tonazzi edition, for example, the fifth passamezzo antico involves a key signature of six flats, while the tenth passamezzo moderno has a key signature containing an equal number of sharps. Furthermore, there are numerous chromatic alterations during the course of any single piece. The music will make excellent sight-reading material for guitarists anxious to confront accidentals, but it is considerably harder to read than the original tablature. Tonazzi has added a further complication by eliminating half the original bar lines. He has indicated them, however, with dotted lines. This means it is difficult for performers to remember chromatic alterations that need to be retained for an entire measure. Numerous reasons exist, then, why this edition should have included tablature. If space was the sole reason for leaving it out, it would have been far better to eliminate some of the 114-page introduction. Reproduction of eight title pages may be nice, but reproduction of the manuscript itself would have been more valuable.

The "Libro de Intabulatura di liuto" is a remarkable document. Its charming music was written with skill and insight. Guitarists will find much here to interest them; lutenists, I'm afraid, will do better with a copy of the original tablature.—Peter Danner

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5 Tonazzi's original reads: "L'intavolatura di liuto non è una scrittura astratta come quella musicale ma, come già accennato, la rappresentazione grafica della tastiera dello strumento in ogni singolo momento dell'essuzioni."


Some of the loftiest music ever written for lute is contained in the suites and single pieces composed or arranged for it by Johann Sebastian Bach. Although all of these works (BWV 995-1000 and 1006a) have long been available in a variety of editions for guitar and keyboard, only one—the g minor suite, printed (with editorial alterations) in F. J. Giesbert’s Schule für die Barocklute—has to this reviewer’s knowledge previously been published in tablature for the lute. Hence the publications announced above represent a significant step forward for baroque lutenists.

Only three of the seven compositions survive in French tablature transcription made in Bach’s own time, and none of these is in Bach’s hand: the g minor suite (BWV 995), the c minor suite (BWV 997; without the fugue and double of the gigue), and the g minor fugue (BWV 1000). In 1966 Hans-Joachim Schulze of the Bach Archive in Leipzig identified Johann Christian Weyrauch, a Leipzig organist, lutenist, law student and later notary, as the intabulator of BWV 997 and 1000; the intabulator of the g minor suite remains unknown. All three French tablature versions of Bach’s works currently lie in the archives of the Leipzig Musikbibliothek, and have now been published together in facsimile by Dr. Schulze.

The format of this facsimile is a thin, hardbound quarto volume with the reproductions printed on yellow-brown paper resembling eighteenth-century manuscript paper—both in color and texture. The tablature is clearly legible, though rather cramped in the g minor fugue (necessary if a page turn was to be avoided), with only one awkward page turn in the middle of a piece (the g minor Prelude). Thus it can serve as a preforming edition. The extensive introductory notes by Schulze display very sophisticated scholarship. princi-

1Lutenists should be aware, however, that the intabulators made some changes and some errors in these versions, so they should be compared with Bach’s versions in Vol. V/10 of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe, which will be published soon.
pally devoted to the problems of biography, manuscripts, and the identification of calligraphers. The tears and patches on the battered originals are scarcely visible in reproduction, and the faint spots come out quite clearly. Every baroque lutenist and scholar interested in Bach’s lute pieces should own this volume.

David Rhodes of Boston plans eventually to bring out all Bach’s lute works in French tablature editions. Prelude Publications’ first volume in this series is Rhodes’ arrangement of BWV 998, the Prelude, Fugue, and Allegro. Rhodes has determined that E-flat Major was an unviable key for lute performances of this suite, and has transposed it to F. Rhodes’ version lies well on the instrument, though numerous spots naturally require considerable practice before performance; but the entire Prelude (as Bach called this three-part piece) can be played by lutenists with advanced techniques. A particularly attractive feature of this edition is that no page turns lie within any of the three movements. This edition’s physical appearance is striking: Rhodes’ hand-calligraphed tablature resembles that of Silvius Weiss, and his transcription (on one clef in E-flat) resembles Bach’s script. Both tablature and notation are easy to read. One wonders, however, about the (unexplained) purpose of a G-clef transcription; guitarists cannot play fluently in E-flat, and keyboard players cannot easily read octave transcriptions.

Some changes need to be made by the user of this tablature edition. Some of these changes are restricted to fingerings: at several points Rhodes requires the player to stop the thirteenth fret of the second or third course. Many modern baroque lutes (and, indeed, most old ones as well) do not have a thirteenth fret, and the notes produced there are more likely to sound better on a lower fret of a higher course, since the thirteenth fret (when it does exist) is well out onto the belly, which absorbs the tone.

More serious problems include transcription errors and departures from the original source. Rhodes makes a few corrections in an extra sheet included with the edition, but leaves uncorrected some mistakes in the tablature he corrects in his G-clef version. Note, for example, the following errors in the Prelude: in measure 7 the slur d-c (tablature letters) on the third course should be a-c; in measure 14, a on the first course is omitted on the downbeat above the bass, and a on the first course near the end of the measure is incorrectly notated F instead of F-sharp (or b on the second course); in measure 39, the bass note (5, or B-flat) on the downbeat is omitted, and in this measure of the notation version Rhodes has changed some notes enharmonically from the Bach-Gesellschaft edition. Many basses are intabulated by Rhodes an octave lower than the BG version, a lutenistic practice but still not always necessary.

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Unlike the careful introductory notes of Schulze, Rhodes' preface involves a good deal of pure speculation, as in: "This edition represents a theoretically lost manuscript . . ." The edition itself contains many usually intelligent performance indications (dynamic markings, slurs, fingerings, and so on), but the performer is not warned that almost all are editorial additions. These examples prove this is one man's performing edition, and should not be regarded as the last word in authenticity. Despite these drawbacks, however, baroque lutenists owe Rhodes a debt of gratitude for his practical research and efforts to make this wonderful music accessible to them.

The last of the three new editions identified above, Alfonso Borghese's transcription of the g minor fugue for guitar (in a minor) is the most conscientious attempt by any guitar editor to date to transcribe Bach's lute music for that instrument. Borghese has compared every note of eighteenth-century versions of this work for lute, organ, and violin, and prints significant variants parallel with the transcription whenever necessary adjustments for the guitar are made. Another considerate procedure is the inclusion of a facsimile of Weyrauch's intabulation, though it serves a more academic than practical purpose because it is so laid out that a page turn is necessary in the middle of the piece. The guitar fingerings are sensible and carefully thought out, but somewhat pedantic (that is, the editor often arranges fingerings so that notes can be held for their full values, no matter how awkward such fingerings prove to be). The transcription, too, is less practical than academic in that it requires five page turns. Extensive notes in Italian, English, and German offer justifications for many editorial decisions. In general, this very fine edition should be consulted by guitarists interested in Bach's music.—Douglas Alton Smith
The French assumed leadership among European lutenists shortly after 1600, creating new tunings and a strongly idiomatic style that, with the exception of Italy, dominated the national styles of Continental and English lute music as pervasively as French manners and politics influenced the European social and political realms during the reign of Louis XIV. They even helped develop a new keyboard style, with French (and French-influenced German) harpsichordists borrowing figurations and ornaments from their lutenist compatriots.

Several recent publications from the catalog of Minkoff Reprints, Geneva, Switzerland, call renewed attention to the activity of French lutenists of the seventeenth century.

The earliest of these works, the Trésor d'Orphée of Antoine Francisque, is one of the first to call for a nine-course lute (with the lowest courses tuned F, D, C), and to include pieces in scordatura. Francisque's retuning, called cordes avalées (g', d', b-flat, f, B-flat, G, F, E-flat, B-flat), favors the "key" of B-flat and facilitates the playing of parallel thirds, a device for which Francisque seems to have had a particular fondness.

The Trésor opens and closes with transcriptions ("Susane un jour" of Orlando da Lassus and "La Cassandre" from Thoinot Arbeau's Orchesographie), but the rest of the music consists of preludes, fantasias, and dance movements. These dances include such representative Renaissance dances as branles, pavans, galliards, passameses, and voltes, and also such more modern dances as the courante and the first gavottes to be published. Francisque's attractive style is transitional, retaining Renaissance diminutions but with many
passages of parallel sixths or thirds and syncopated exchange of melodic movement between voices. The collection contains not a single ornament sign, but the music should unquestionably be embellished in performance.

One of the most important anthologies of lute music ever printed is the Thesaurus Harmonicus of Besard. This international collection, published by a Frenchman from Besancon in Cologne, Germany, contains 403 pieces primarily by Italian and French lutenists, but with England (Dowland), Hungary (Bakfark), Poland (Dlugorai), and Germany (Mertel) also represented. The 172 folios of music are followed by three and one-half folios of instructions in Latin reprinted in English translation by John Dowland in his son Robert's Varietie of Lute-Lessons (London, 1610).

The Thesaurus is not only a large and varied collection, but also contains extremely appealing music. To my mind, it is the largest and best single source of good, concert-caliber lute music written in the Renaissance, and it is odd that more of this music is not better known. My own favorites are the preludes and fantasies of Laurencini, who always succeeds in sustaining musical interest throughout a piece, something that cannot be said of many lute composers.

Denis Gaultier's Pieces de Luth and Livre de Luth are two of the most important musical publications of the baroque era, recording many of the pieces of Denis and his older cousin, Ennemond (the latter only in the Livre), who together formed the fabled Gaultier school of lute playing in Paris during the mid-seventeenth century. Each book is prefixed with a set of instructions (those in the Livre are the more comprehensive) that explain the use of ornaments indicated in the tablature.

Most of these miniature preludes and dance movements are not technically difficult, but are stylistically much more foreign to us today than the works of Dowland or Laurencini on the one hand, or of the eighteenth-century German lutenists on the other. The performer who steeps himself in the music will be richly rewarded, however.

Not long after the death of Denis Gaultier (1672; Ennemond had died in 1653), a music teacher named Perrine set about to convert lutenists to the use of conventional notation (bass and alto clef). Apparently his efforts had some effect in France, for the Livre appears to have been reprinted there at least twice (in 1682 and 1698), and he published another method and a collection of pieces by the Gaultiers too. Robert de Visée uses two clefs instead of tablature in his Pièces de Théorbe et de Luth of 1716. But the Germans, to whom the leadership in lute music fell late in the seventeenth cen-
tury, retained French tablature, and Perrine must be regarded today as an experimenter of historical interest.

One of the first modern scholars to investigate lute music was Michel Brenet (a pseudonym for Marie Bobillier). Mme. Brenet's lengthy articles on the history of French lute music, originally published in the Italian journal *Rivista Musicale Italiana* in 1898 and 1899, were subsequently reprinted separately in Turin as *Notes sur l'Histoire du Luth en France*, an 83-page volume documenting the entire history of the lute in France from the time of Machaut (1370) to the concerts of Karl Kohaut in Paris during the 1760's. It has since been surpassed in details by the research of Monique Rollin, Lionel de la Laurencie, and others, but remains a classic study to which modern historians still refer.

The quality of the Minkoff facsimiles is among the highest of those currently being published. The paper and bindings are good and made to last, the hard covers of the Besard, Gaultier, and Brenet books are attractive, and the printing is generally clear. Where the tablature or text is difficult to read, the fault lies with the original copy, and with the publisher, who did not have faint and illegible spots darkened.

These reprints of seventeenth-century publications would profit greatly from the addition of modern prefaces written by specialists; Minkoff has added nothing but his own title page and modern printers' mark to the facsimile. A chart of errors should also be included, especially with the *Thesaurus*, in which rhythm signs are frequently missing or misplaced. In view of this lack of editorial material, the prices of these books seem very high (SF 230 for the *Thesaurus* equals about $92 at present exchange rates) and place them beyond the financial reach of many lutenists. Nonetheless, the fact these high-quality reprints are now being published in such numbers is an auspicious sign for lutenists and musical scholars, and their appearance is welcome.—*Douglas Alton Smith*

To many people, Ernst Gottlieb Baron’s *Untersuchung des Instrumentum der Laute* has been known by name as an important document in the history of the lute, but the language barrier has prevented it from being studied by those of us unable to cope with eighteenth-century German.

Douglas Alton Smith is uniquely qualified to have undertaken the work of translation, since he is a baroque lute performer, has studied German intensively, and is a trained musicologist. He has produced an extremely readable text, while managing to preserve Baron’s quirky style and exuberant character in very acceptable English. Many helpful footnotes identify books or passages in classical literature alluded to by Baron, and translations are given. Notes are also provided on some of the less well-known personages whose names appear in the text.

Ernst Gottlieb Baron was born at Breslau in Silesia (now Wrocław, Poland) in 1696. He attended the University of Leipzig as a student of philosophy and law; he had been drawn to the lute at an even earlier age, however, and about 1710 he began to study the instrument with a Bohemian lutenist named Kohott. After four years in Leipzig, he spent some years traveling and visiting various German courts. He eventually returned to Nuremberg, a city he had passed through previously, and there his book was published in 1727.

Baron moved to Prussia in 1737; near the end of that year, he obtained the post of theorist in the household of the Crown Prince. He remained in the service of Frederick the Great until his death in 1760.

Baron was a skillful composer as well as a famed performer, and his compositions have *galant* charm. His output was not large, consisting of some solo suites, duets for two lutes (of which only one part now survives), and a few trios and sonatas for lute and other instruments. Of his two fantasias for solo lute one, a particularly fine example, was printed at Leipzig in 1757, together with twelve minuets by Ferdinand Seidel. Smith’s edition contains a slight error concerning this volume, of which I possess a facsimile: the publisher was Breitkopf and not Seidel, as stated by Mr. Smith.

Baron was originally provoked into writing his book by Johann Mattheson’s unpleasant remarks about lutes. He refuted Mattheson’s attacks with considerable skill and wit. I can remember a time when Mattheson’s criticisms of the lute (not always properly understood) were quoted to me by people unsympathetic toward my own efforts...
as reasons to abandon such an unsatisfactory instrument; if I were so misguided as to want to play lute music, I should do so on something more acceptable, such as a guitar or even a piano. Fortunately, we now realize how narrow-minded and prejudiced Mattheson’s opinions were, and how right Baron was to respond to them with so much wit and gusto.

Baron’s rebuttal of Mattheson’s attacks constitutes, however, only a small part of his book. Baron has the distinction of being the first man to attempt a truly serious history of the lute. Before him, writers who felt it necessary to bring in historical background as a preface to their lute instructions cited the ancient legends about Mercury and Orpheus and left it at that. Occasionally a famous name from an earlier period was mentioned, but this was rare. Baron had a very inquiring mind, and he speculates about the origin of the word ‘lute’; he writes about the instruments of classical Greece and how the lute first reached Italy; he was familiar with the names of many Italian figures of importance from the sixteenth century, and he knew the early history of the lute in Germany. He mentions Hans Newsidler and Judenkünig, and reproduces a diagram of the fingerboard according to the German system, as well as including a sample of German tablature. The latter he understands and explains, though he condemns its complexity. He speaks with great admiration of Jean-Baptiste Besard. He tried tuning his lute in the Renaissance way to acquire first-hand knowledge of that era’s music, and thus came to know the works of great composers such as John Dowland, Laurenzini, Jakob Reys, Alfonso Ferrabosco, and a host of others.

Baron’s knowledge of the German school immediately preceding his own generation is also extensive, and he makes respectful remarks about the work of a number of practitioners. When he comes to the French composers of the mid-seventeenth century, however, he reveals a curious prejudice, and goes so far as to agree with his enemy Mattheson “when he satirizes the scratching away at allemandes in the Parisian style.” Of course Baron makes many errors in this section of the book, and it should be used with caution as a source of historical facts. Nevertheless, it is surprising to find out how much knowledge Baron managed to accumulate from thorough study of the fairly limited material at his disposal.

The greatest value of this book undoubtedly lies in Baron’s own intimate involvement with the style and performing practice of the lute in Germany during the period of his adolescence and early adulthood. His study of law and philosophy, combined with his life at the various courts he visited, gave him the basis for an excellent understanding of the social attitudes and thoughts of his time. This is constantly shown in his comments on the function of music and the
extent to which various musicians of his day fulfilled what he conceived to be their role in society. His instructions on technique, and especially on ornamentation, are excellent, and he is full of good advice on how musicians should conduct themselves in their lives and public appearances.

Altogether this is a delightful work that can be read as much for pleasure as for the very real profit that may be obtained from the chapters in which Baron wrote from first-hand knowledge of a subject obviously very dear to his heart.—*Diana Poulton*
The Journal has received the following communication from Eugen M. Dombois, Basle, Switzerland:

In the "Communications" column of this Journal, Vol. VIII (1975), p. 106, I attempted to correct an error discovered in my article, "Varieties of Meantone Temperament," originally published in this Journal, Vol. VII (1974), pp. 82-89. Although the original mistake was corrected, a new misprint has unfortunately crept into the formula. The correct reading of the formula in question is:

\[ y = 1 - \frac{1}{1200\sqrt{2^x}} \]

The new error occurs in both formulas printed on page 106 of Vol. VIII, and concerns the letter "x." The "x" should not be multiplied by the "2," but is the "exponent" of the "2." This detail is correct in the original article itself.

Another notation of the same formula is:

\[ y = 1 - 2^{-\left(\frac{x}{1200}\right)} \]

Perhaps this notation stands a better chance of getting by the printer unmutilated.

The editor, who confesses a weakness in higher mathematics, apologizes to Mr. Dombois and hopes that he and his printer have at last gotten the formula straight.

The editors would like to point out a few additions to the bibliography given by David Lyons in his article on Nathanael Diesel in this Journal, Vol. VIII (1975), pp. 80-94. Attention was first called
to the Diesel collection by Hans Neemann in "Laute- und Gitarre-
pp. 124-131. It was subsequently mentioned by Wolfgang Boett-
ticher in the bibliographical appendix to Zur solistischen Lauten-
praxis im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert (Habilitationsschrift, Berlin,
1943). Most recently an article was published by Knud Rasmussen:
"Nathanael Diesels guitarkompositioner," Dansk Aarbog for Musik-
forskning (1963), pp. 27-68. There is a short article on Diesel and
these manuscripts by Nils Schiørring in the supplementary volume
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